

(TRANSVAALSE PROVINSIALE AFDELING)

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SAAKNOMMER: CC 482/S5

PRETORIA

1987-09-25

DIE STAAT teen:

PATRICK MABUYA BALEKA EN 21

ANDER

VOOR:

SY EDELE REGTER VAN DIJKHORST EN

ASSESSOR : MNR. W.F. KRUGEL

NAMENS DIE STAAT:

ADV. P.B. JACOBS

ADV. P. FICK

ADV. W. HANEKOM

293

NAMENS DIE VERDEDIGING:

ADV. A. CHASKALSON

ADV. G. BIZOS

ADV. K. TIP

ADV. Z.M. YACCOB

ADV. G.J. MARCUS

TOLK:

MNR. B.S.N. SKOSANA

KLAGTE:

(SIEN AKTE VAN BESKULDIGING)

PLEIT:

AL DIE BESKULDIGDES: ONSKULDIG

KONTRAKTEURS:

LUBBE OPNAMES

VOLUME 293

(Bladsye 16 364 - 16 412)

ISMAIL AYOB & ASSOCIATES

COPY

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

COURT RESUMES ON 25 SEPTEMBER 1987.

MOSIUOA GERARD PATRICK LEKOTA, still under oath

FURTHER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR FICK : Mr Lekota, we were busy with C29 volume 3. Will you please turn to page 2 of C29. C29 is the report on the first national seminar of media committees of the United Democratic Front on 21 and 22 January 1984. Page 2 the right-hand, the column on the right-hand side paragraph 4 "An educational kit or handbook for activists in the signature campaign, might be considered at regional or interregional level." This educational kit (10) or handbook for activists in the signature campaign, was such a handbook compiled? -- Yes, we ultimately produced a handbook for organisers and also a handbook for volunteers.

Do you regard an organiser and a volunteer both as activists? -- Yes, they are activists.

COURT : By organiser do you mean a paid organiser? -- No. What we had in mind there was people who were UDF activists, who we may want to collect signatures in Pretoria. They would then have this handbook. They may look for ordinary other people who may be interested in the project and they would (20) organise themselves into a unit that would collect signatures there.

So, it is one organiser and a lot of helpers? -- And a number of helpers. That is correct.

Did you assist to compile the handbook? -- That is correct.

For record purposes, is that now W52 a document in volume 8? -- That is correct.

This document was found in possession of E. Magashule, Tumahole. It is a document with the heading "Make your mark against apartheid UDF the million signature campaign, (30)

Volunteers' / ...

Volunteers' Handbook?"-- That is correct.

Was this booklet W52 intended only for the MSC or for other campaigns also? -- It was specifically for the million signature campaign, but evidently some of the matters picked up in here would also have applied to any other campaign subsequently. For instance, the behaviour of activists when they deal with people and so on and so on, would have been a thing that was not strictly only for that.

COURT : Do you know this E. Magashule? -- There is a Magashule I know from Parys, but I know him as Ace. I do not (10) know whether he has also got a name that starts with an E.

MR FICK : Do you know an Ester Magashule? -- No, I do not know that person.

This Mr Ace Magashule, is he a member of any organisation on Tumahole you know of? -- He may have held membership to the Tumahole Students Organisation, I am not sure. Or may be to the civic, I am not sure.

Did you visit Tumahole regularly? -- Not regularly, but I have visited it before.

For what purposes? -- The first time was when we were (20) invited by the Tumahole Students Organisation at the time they wanted to affiliate to the UDF. That was in 1983 and I went up there to appraise the situation, but they were the only organisation that was interested and they could not of course affiliate unless there were other organisations with which they could constitute a region.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Who is that now? I do not understand? Are you saying that one particular organisation in a particular place, one organisation by itself cannot affiliate to the UDF? -- Yes, in this case they were in the Orange (30)

Free State. They were the only organisation there. What we encouraged was the formation of a region and then that region would then subsequently affiliate. In other words, all by themselves, it could not happen.

MR FICK : Did you address any meeting on his occasion in Tumahole? -- No.

Was a region eventually established in the Orange Free State of the UDF? -- No.

COURT : So, was the TSO left out on the limb? -- What we put forward to them was to try to locate other organisations(10) so that they could move towards setting up a region. That is what we encouraged. We could have allowed them to affiliate, but it would not have been helpful because it would not have - they would only represent themselves so to say. They would have no council to which they would belong. For instance, seeing that they were not part of the Transvaal, they could not sit in the Transvaal Regional General Council. So, they just remained there.

MR FICK : (The people of the Tumahole Students Organisation were they members of the delegation of the Orange Free State(20) who attended the national launch of the UDF? -- I do not know all the people who attended the national launch from the Free State. I cannot recall anyone of the people who were there who specifically came from that organisation.

COURT : Was there a delegation of the Free State at the launch? -- At the national launch there were some people who came from areas like Bloemfontein, Brandfort, I do not know the other places.

MR FICK : And you have told the Court about the first visit. Did you visit Tumahole again? -- I think there may have been(30)

one other occasion. I cannot recall specifically. The occasion that I recall quite vividly is the one of July in 1984.

Did you or anyone else in UDF do anything to encourage the people of Tumahole Students Organisation to work together with other organisations to establish a region? -- At the time when I was there in late 1983 and I explained to them - when they wanted to affiliate to the UDF, I pointed out that they need to set up a region before they affiliate.

(Yes, but was anything else done by any official of (10) UDF in this regard? -- There is nothing that I can recall.

So, you simply left them to organise on their own? -- They may have from time to time come to the office of the Transvaal office or something. I do not know. All I am saying is that there is nothing that I specifically as I stand here can recall.

The other handbook you referred to, is that EXHIBIT W53 volume 9? -- That is correct.

This document has as its heading "The UDF one million signature campaign. An organisers' handbook." -- Yes. (20)

COURT : Where was this found?

MR FICK : Found in the offices of the BSS Wits Johannesburg. Black Students Society. (This handbook was it compiled specifically for the MSC or could it be used for any other campaign also? -- As it says it is for the one million signature campaign, but as I have also said, some of the matters which are raised in the booklet, could have been used in other campaigns. For instance dealing with police. Information like that can be used in any campaign and even when there is no campaign, it is still valuable. (30)

Were/...

Were EXHIBIT W52 or W53 discussed at any meeting of the NEC of UDF? -- Yes, a decision was taken. I cannot now recall exactly what meeting. It was subsequent to that that these were produced.

And before it was produced, did any region of the NEC of UDF discuss or take any decisions of the contents of EXHIBIT W52 or W53? -- At the time that they were decided upon, I was given terms of references for the purpose of the booklet and it was along those that I worked.

Do you regard EXHIBIT W52 and W53 as UDF documents? (10)  
-- Yes. As far as I am concerned they are.

Do you regard them as documents stating the UDF's policy?  
-- Where policy issues of the UDF arise, yes. Elsewhere it is really dealing with the question of methods, how to behave and how to handle people.

Will you please turn to page 4 of EXHIBIT W53. The very first page is not numbered but from the second page are numbered. There are two pages of one page. Page number 4 under the heading "The organisational approach." Is this UDF's policy that "The UDF believes that it is not a few (20) leaders but the masses of our people that will make history?"

-- Yes, in the manner in which I have explained yesterday. In fact it does explain itself in the following sentence. It says "Only if all our people take part fully in the struggle, can we build a new South Africa." That is all it means.

The second paragraph "This is UDF's organisational approach to the struggle. We need to keep on reaching out to people by mobilising them through issues and activities." Is that UDF policy? -- It is the style of work. If we are (30)  
going/...

going to mobilise people, we must talk to them about matters which affect them. I am sorry, perhaps in relation to the first part, that the first paragraph explains - it really explains itself more, because it does say "For this we need to bring more people into existing organisations" and when we bring people in like that, we strengthen our organisation. It is all it means, but the masses of our people will make our history.

Is it also UDF's policy that the following "We must keep on building up their understanding and overcoming their (10) fears"? -- It is not a policy, it is a style of work. You have got to help people to overcome their fears and be prepared to take the initiatives.

The next sentence "We must popularise our organisations and leaders"? -- Yes, any organisation will do that. We also do that in the UDF.

Can we turn now to EXHIBIT C30. -- I am sorry, but may I just make one remark before we leave this document. The attitude that is set out in the section that deals with the police and so on, is to the best of my knowledge correctly (20) reflecting the attitude of the UDF in terms of dealing with officials of the government.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Where is that now? -- That would be page 37 of W53 with the heading "The Signature campaign and the law." It tries to guide our activists when they meet the police how they should behave towards them et cetera, et cetera. It was really calculated to make sure that at all times their behaviour is in keeping with an orderly organisation that does not seek to cause chaos. You say C30?

MR FICK : Yes. -- I have the document.

(30)

Before/...

(Before we carry on with C30 I put it to you that what is said on page 37 of W53 is not UDF's policy with regard to the law. This was written simply to ensure that the organisers and the volunteers know what to do, what they cannot do and that is all. This was done in order to make sure that the organisers are not arrested for illegal activities? -- Which illegal activities? I do not understand the basis of this question. Here I am given a task by the UDF to draft a document amongst others to inform our organisers how the UDF expects them to behave if police come up to them and (10) they say "What is your name?" Then they say "My name is this." "What are you doing?" "This is what I am doing." This is what the UDF says to them how they must behave. How is it not policy of the UDF? Because in the purpose that is suggested by counsel is correct. Somehow the people who are going to receive this, would have had to know that this is not really true, it is just a lie, but where is that? We have sent thousand copies of this around the country and the people who would have read this thing, on what basis would they have to consider the UDF is only - (20) this is only to lie and so on, this is not the truth? On what basis would they think so.

What I put to you is that this was written with the purpose to make sure that the organisers and the volunteers are not arrested and that they should know what to do when they meet the police. This is not a statement of UDF's policy on violence and non-violence. It was never written with that intention? -- This is the policy of the UDF, of course we did not want our activists to do things which are wrong and therefore which would justify them getting (30) arrested/...



arrested. In fact point 1 says this our most important defence, I am reading from page 37 "Our most important defence is discipline. We must conduct ourselves in a proper manner. We must not allow ourselves to be provoked, either by the police or by people with different views. Our discipline will ensure our survival and prevent any potential disruptions." That is what we say to the people. Of course we do not want them to be arrested and the best way of doing so is to tell them, for instance the law says, if you meet a police officer and the police officer says to you "What(10) is your name?" under the law we are obliged to say what our name is and we tell our activists here you must tell them your name, you must give them your address. But if an activist is going to refuse to tell the police his name and his address he will be arrested. What the movement is saying to them here is that they must behave in a manner that is in keeping with the law. So, I deny what counsel says. At point 2 we even went further that people must try to have lawyers in the area in which they are, so that if they are arrested they can ask the police to phone the lawyers so (20) that the lawyer can come and handle the matter. No where does it say "If the police arrest you, you must run away or when you see the police, you must hide so that the police must not know what you are doing." I deny the motives that are ascribed to us in relation to that.

EXHIBIT C30 is a document with the heading "Motivation for national UDF publication UDF Update. This document was found in the offices of UDF Johannesburg? -- That is correct.

Do you know this document? -- Yes. This is my copy.

Who motivated for a UDF publication UDF update? -- (30)

After/...

After the recommendation had been made and before I went to, I was to take the matter to the NEC, I requested one of the media people Khehla to prepare a tentative motivation for me or a budget proposal for me so that when I talk do the NEC on the matter I would have something in hand. So, this was a tentative motivation that he prepared.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Was this motivation prepared by Khehla? -- Yes, I asked him to prepare it.

When you said "This is my copy", you did not mean that this is the copy that you wrote? -- No, I did not mean that. (10) I meant it is found in the office of the UDF, it was my copy, it was actually in my possession. That is all that I meant.

It was written by Khehla? -- It was written by Khehla.

For Terror? -- For the publicity ... (Mr Krugel intervenes)

It is written there? -- It is correct.

COURT : Can you date this document? -- It is March/April 1984.

MR FICK : What is Khehla's surname? -- I will remember it (20) in a few minutes. I have just forgotten it now.

COURT : Is Khehla his surname or his first name? -- No, it is his first name.

It is not Mthembu? -- No. I remember his name, but I cannot remember his surname now.

MR FICK : This UDF Update was also discussed at the national seminar of the media committee of UDF on 21 and 22 January 1984. Is that correct? -- That is correct. The recommendation had come from that national workshop. That is the workshop of January 1984. (30)

Did/...

(Did you discuss this matter - the UDF publication UDF update at any NEC meeting? -- Unfortunately not.

COURT : It was not an existing publication. It was an intended publication? -- It was intended.

But it did later on appear, did it not? So, it must have been discussed at the NEC at some stage? -- May be after I was arrested, but up until I was arrested it had never been discussed there. That is to say up until the beginning of this trial, it had not been raised.

MR FICK : (Did you agree with the motivation of Khehla? -- (10) In general terms, yes. It was nothing final. It was going to be subject to discussion.

Did you already at the seminar in January 1984 decide that the value of the UDF update was seen as being to help to cement the regions and affiliates across the country into a real unity at the level of people's knowledge about UDF? I am referring to the second paragraph on page 2. -- The purpose of this UDF update, on the recommendations that I received from the national workshop, was that it would periodically supply information about the UDF activities (20) around the country. What was happening in the Western Cape with the UDF, what was happening in Natal and so on. In that way our activists all around the country would be informed about the activities of the UDF all over the place, in that way. It would have helped to pull them together. National workshop had found that the UDF News because of its nature was not able to carry the news efficiently and for the news to reach the regions consistently and sufficient news. So, it was specifically really a publication that was going to be intended to give reportage on UDF activities. In that (30)

sense/...

sense it would have served to bring together people. This is just a recommendation. That is the thinking that the national workshop advanced.

Khehla, did he attend the seminar of January 1984? -- As far as I can recall he was also there.

Is he a member of any media committee of the UDF? -- At the time I think he served in the Transvaal media committee.

And from which organisation is Khehla? -- He was a member of the -either AZASO or Black Students Society.

The UDF Update was intended to be distributed only (10) to affiliates and regions. Is that correct? -- At the time that was the thinking. It was really to disseminate information within the UDF about the UDF. It will be seen in this same section that counsel has just referred to, it says that it was also felt that by bringing together facts about UDF activities, the UDF constituents would be able to plan national campaigns, participate in them and help set the direction of UDF from a well informed position about the strength and weaknesses and issues around the country. They would be well informed about the organisations. They would know (20) its stands is and what its weaknesses were.

Media and Research Services, they were situated in Johannesburg, is that correct? -- What are we talking about now?

MARS, Media and Research - Media and Resource Services, their offices were in Johannesburg. Is that correct? -- Who is Media and Resource Services?

MARS?

COURT : What does MARS stand for? -- Media and Resource Services. It is an organisation. I do not know whether (30)

he/...

he is asking about the organisation or whether he is talking about Media and Resource Services in general.

Well, it seems to me he is speaking about the organisation. Where are they situated, in what office? -- At the time I think they were in Braamfontein.

MR FICK : Freeway House? -- Yes, that is correct.

MR BIZOS : I understand it is next to the highway which is sometimes referred to as the freeway.

COURT : Do you want to know how many storeys it has?

MR FICK : No. Will you please have a look at EXHIBIT A1(10) page 61 the first column under the heading "Other" sub-paragraph (h). The first name there is Media Action Group? -- That is correct.

Do you know this organisation? -- No, I do not know it.

Further down we have the name Africa Perspective. Do you know such an organisation? -- No, I do not know it.

The next name Community newspaper project? Do you know such an organisation? -- No, I do not know that organisation.

SASPU National you know? -- That is correct. (20)

South African Students Press Union, do you know it? -- I think it is the same as SASPU. It is SASPU.

Then we find Community Resource and Information Centre. Do you know that organisation? -- That is correct.

Where are they situated, their offices? -- They were at the same place as Media and Resource Centre, Freeway House.

Accused no. 21, is he in any way connected to the Community Resource and Information Centre? -- As I understand he worked for them at some stage.

Before or after 1983? -- I do not know when he started, (30)

but/...

but I know at some point he did. I do not know the details.

Then we have the name Africa News Association, do you know such an organisation? -- I do not know that organisation.

Do you know an organisation called Afro News? -- Yes, I have - let me say this, I know the name quite well. I cannot remember where exactly they are situated, but I know about it.

African News Association, is it a different organisation than Afro News or can you not say? -- I do not know. It may well be. I really do not know.

Then we have the Labour Resource Centre. Do you know(10) such an organisation? -- That is correct. I have heard about that.

Where are their offices situated? -- I do not know where their offices are, but they were in Johannesburg. I do not know whether it was a national organisation. I seem to think that they are national and then they have offices all over, but I know they also had an office in Johannesburg.

Then we find a name Media and Resource Centre? -- Yes.

Do you know such an organisation? -- Yes, that is (20) MARS.

No, that is Media and Resource Centre, not Media and Resource Services. -- Oh, yes, that is correct. I do not know this one. I could see that this C was not making MARS and I could not understand what was going on. I do not know this one.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Did you say that you knew about National Education Union of South Africa or did you leave that out?

MR FICK : I left that out. And Speak newspaper you also(30) know/...

know? -- Yes.

Do you know whether Mafison Morobe was on the executive of Speak? -- It is the second time we travel that ground. I said I do not.

COURT : The answer is again no.

MR FICK : Do you know an organisation with the name Afripix?  
-- Yes.

And do you know Afroscope? -- Yes.

Is there any connection between Afripix and Afroscope?  
-- I do not know. (10)

Are they not in the same building or offices? -- I did not think that that constitutes a connection as such, but they were in the same building.

Not perhaps in the same offices? -- I am not sure about that. I have always understood that they were two separate organisations.

Will you please turn to EXHIBIT C32 volume 3. This document of a copy thereof was found in the offices of V. Francis Benoni and another copy in the offices of SAAWU Pretoria? Do you know this document? -- No, I do not know this document. (20)

This is a document with the heading "Interview kit". -- Yes, that is correct.

There is no date and the UDF logo at the bottom of the page? -- Yes.

Will you turn to page 2 please, the first column the first name Valli. Is that Mohammed Valli? -- I believe so.

The second name is Lisa Seftel? -- That is correct.

The third name is Mike. Do you know a Mike Roussos? -- Yes, but there are also other Mikes. I know Mike Roussos. (30)

The/...

The next name Tobie. Do you know a certain Tobie Ratcliffe?  
-- That is correct.

The next name is Maurice. Do you know a Maurice Smithers?  
-- I know him, that is correct.

The next name is Karl. We will come back to that one.  
Dilip is the next name. Then the next name is Guy. Do you  
know a Guy Berger? -- That is correct.

Then again Khehla? -- That is correct.

You still cannot remember his surname? -- I cannot remem-  
ber his surname now. (10)

Then the name Dipak? -- Yes.

And a name Thabiso? -- That is correct.

COURT : This seems to be an interview kit for members of the  
media committee to interview the affiliates if one looks at  
the first page. -- That is correct.

These people here, from Valli up to Thabiso, do they  
fit in with the possibility that they are members of the  
media committee? -- Some of them, to my knowledge.

That is now Mohammed Valli, Lisa Seftel, Mike Roussos,  
Tobie Ratcliffe, Maurice Smithers and Guy Berger? -- I know (20)  
that Khehla served in the media committee there. I know Guy  
served there. I think some of the others, but I do not know.  
I was not sitting in that committee.

MR FICK : Do you know any Karl who was a member of the media  
committee Transvaal UDF? -- No. As I see it, it looks like  
this document was prepared and then everyone of the people  
was given a chance to go with this kit to go and interview  
the various organisations. Some of them may have been I think  
members of the committee. The others may have just been  
asked out of convenience and so on. So, I do not know (30)

exactly/...



exactly what the position is there. Because as I see this thing it has got a series of questions. So, they would have gone to an affiliate and have asked this question and that question and make the answers and bring them back.

COURT : Thabiso? -- What about him?

{Ratsomo?, -- I think so.

{It looks like it. -- He was staying in the Vaal, so it would have been convenient amongst other things to sent him to talk to organisations in the Vaal, but it looks like they were collecting information about this. I do not know (10) for what purpose. May be for media, may be just to supply the - may be the Transvaal REC or RGC had asked for something like that. May be it may have been as a result of the fact that the NEC had, however, mentioned at some earlier stage that the secretaries must go and collect information about all the affiliates. I think it would be recalled from some of the minutes. It could have been for any of those purposes, but they were collecting information from what I can see here.

MR FICK : Below the name of Thabiso there is MARS. -- Yes.

I put it to you that UDF Transvaal used MARS to do (20) certain tasks for them in relation to publicity? -- No, I would refuse that. UDF Transvaal has got its own media committee.

Yes, but the UDF media committee used MARS? -- They cannot use them. It is an independent organisation. It would use their media committee to do their publicity work.

I put it to you that according to this "Who is seeing which affiliates" you find MARS and then SAYO, that is Saulsville, Atteridgeville Youth Organisation, Winterveld Action Committee, Mamelodi Action Committee, CASA. Do you know what is (30)

CASA/...

CASA? -- I do not know what the full name of that is.

Afro News SAAWU Pretoria MACUSA and NGWU? -- Yes.

What is put to me in relation to that?

I put it to you, it is clear from this that the media committee worked hand in hand with MARS on the issue of media? -- No, it is not so. In the state, we could have had somebody who was there, who would tell us exactly what happened here, but I know for a fact that MARS is an independent organisation and that the Transvaal UDF has got its own media committee which it uses and if one looks under MARS(10) one will see the names which counsel has just read which are independent organisations, Saulsville/Atteridgeville Youth Organisation is an independent organisation. Winterveld Action Committee is an independent organisation. So with Mamelodi Action Committee. So with SAAWU. So with MACUSA, which is a trade union.

COURT : You are missing the point. The point which is made is this that the members of the committee went to see some affiliates. Mr Valli was to see ACTSTOP, Karl was to see WCS and COSAS, Thabiso was to see the Vaal Civic and MARS was to(20) see these you have mentioned. -- Oh, I see. That would mean, I am now summing, looking at this that these organisations because, as it may be remembered MARS was affiliated at the time or at some time it was affiliated, that it was asked to - it may have been asked to send somebody who is its member to go and interview these organisations, because it was affiliated at that time, not that it is being used.

MR FICK : I put it to you that MARS participated actively on the media - with the media committee of Transvaal? -- When it was affiliated, there may have been one or so persons (30)

who/...

who were serving in the UDF Transvaal media committee, but the Transvaal has got its own media committee and that is what it uses.

Have you seen the document on page 3 called the blue pamphlet? -- On page 3 of?

EXHIBIT C31. Next to the section that we were dealing with.

COURT : Mr Fick, this must be the same document, merely a different page of it, otherwise why is it set out in this form. (10)

MR FICK : I will leave it at that. Will you turn to EXHIBIT C34 in the same volume.

COURT : Where was this document found?

MR FICK : D. Nkosi, Heidelberg . Do you know the Ratanda Civic Association? -- I have heard about it.

Did you attend this UDF media workshop on 5 February 1985 in Khotso House? -- No. I also do not know this document. I have not seen it before.

Do you know a Dan or Danile Nkosi of Ratanda Civic Association? -- No. (20)

Is it correct that the Transvaal UDF media committee published the UDF news for other regions as well at some stage? -- Which regions?

Northern Cape, Border, Northern Transvaal? -- I do not know that for a fact. I think it was not produced for Border. I do not know in relation to the Northern Transvaal. I have no personal knowledge.

COURT : Northern Cape? -- I cannot recall that that is the position. As far as I know the Northern Cape only produced one publication, some time in the middle of 1984 (30)

and/...

and they produced another only, I do not know whether Transvaal did it for them.

MR FICK : (What is your relationship with UDF News? Are you in control of the publications of the contents of the UDF News or what is the position? -- I am technically responsible for the production of UDF News national.

And regional? -- Those are under the control of the UDF regional publicity secretaries with the media committees in those regions.

Transvaal, is there a publicity secretary for UDF (10) Transvaal media? -- Yes, they had a publicity secretary.

Who was that? -- I wonder whether may be I could not refer to some of the documents here. Somebody was elected there, but did not perform those duties and from time to time the vice-president of the Transvaal, the Reverend Chikane tended to take the responsibility there. It was largely an ad hoc arrangement, because there was somebody who was elected, but I cannot remember now who it was that specifically had to do that.

Was that now the position of 1983? -- From late (20) 1983.

I put it to you from page 2 of EXHIBIT C34 the right-hand column in the middle under the heading "UDF News." One was done by Transvaal media committee for the Northern Cape, Border and Northern Transvaal. Two were done for Transvaal. -- I was not aware of those arrangements. As I have understood it, I had always understood that Border produced their own UDF News. May be what would have happened is that Border may have paid Transvaal for Transvaal to produce for them. I think if we refer to W41 or so we (30) will/...

will find that ... (Mr Fick intervenes)

Volume 8 W41. This document was found in the offices of UDF Johannesburg. -- I just want to make sure whether this is the right one I am referring to.

What about 43?

COURT : Before you start throwing numbers around. What are we looking for? -- I was looking for this UDF Newsletter of Northern Cape.

MR FICK : This document was found in possession of I. Mohammed Johannesburg. -- It will be seen that it says it was (10) issued by UDF Northern Cape and it gives the address there. That is at page 2 but it is correct at another column it does say Shams Printers. Shams Printers is here in Johannesburg. So, I think they printed it here. They must have paid the Transvaal and asked the Transvaal to print it for them and then take it home.

Can we turn to EXHIBIT C35 still in volume 3 the first document found in the offices of Afroscope Johannesburg. I put it to you that Afroscope and UDF and its affiliates worked closely together? -- No, that is not so. Afroscope (20) is a service organisation and the cover activities of any organisation. Sometimes meetings of AZAPO, sometimes meetings of whoever it is.

COURT : For what purpose? -- Sometimes they take photographs. They video the proceedings. They seem to record what takes place there. I do not know what they subsequently do with all the information that they collect, but I know that that is what they do.

But are they paid by you to record? -- No, no, no.

Or do they come on their own? -- Yes, they have got (30) their/...

their own project there. I do not know the foundation of the project but they do that kind of thing. I do not know whether they are not attached to the South African Council of Churches or whether they are not operating in a similar manner as the organisation of Mr Harris or something like that. I do not know what they do with all those things, but they are independent of the UDF. We have no control over them.

MR FICK : On the first page of EXHIBIT C35, it is a document with no heading and no date, we find in the third (10) column the following "Afroscope. The community based video assess organisation is making a video on the position of Black women in South Africa today. It is being made in conjunction with the Federation of South African Women and will be used during the week of August 9th by women's organisations nationwide." -- If anything, I think this really throws light on the question that the Court asked me. For instance, here now they say they are making a video. So, we may find that we have been collecting a lot of information about women's organisations all over. So that they could(20) make something like a film that will be shown. May be they might sell the copies or they may loan them out for people who may have interest in pursuing the subject and so on and so on. They would do the same thing with the activities of the UDF. Sometimes they have approached us, I remember in 1984 or so I was approached by some of them who wanted to make a video on the new constitution and new dispensation and they wanted us to help them fund raise because they said the UDF itself has got interest in a program of that nature. I wrote some motivations for instance for them (30)

to/...

to go and ask for money indicating that the project, that we supported the project but we did not have means to give them money. So, we could encourage those people who had the means to help them on the understanding that the project they were going to do would also benefit the UDF.

Will you turn to page number 4 .. -- But I must also say that I do not know this document. The first time I saw it was here in court.

The fourth document found in possession of Afroscope. It is a document with the heading "United Democratic (10) Front" no date but signed by M. Valli, secretary. -- Yes.

I put it to you from the first paragraph it is clear that Afroscope is not only the service organisation, but it is participating and supporting the campaigns of the UDF according to Mr Valli. "The UDF wishes to place on record Afroscope's participation and support in the ongoing campaigns of the UDF. This closely knit relationship could best be expressed in the intensive coverage of UDF events and activities and in productions associated with UDF." (I put it to you from this it is clear that Afroscope is not only the (20) service organisation, but it is supporting and participating in the campaigns of the UDF? -- If by that is meant that they pay a fair amount of attention to the activities of the UDF, that is correct. I know of no other - nothing other than that that can be said to be the support that the UDF has with Afroscope. It does say "relationship could best be expressed in the intensive coverage of UDF events and activities and in productions associated with UDF." So, if they produced videos on the UDF and so on and so on, it is a relationship but so would they produce publications and (30) videos/...

videos on the activities of other organisations and trade unions.

WITNESS STANDS DOWN.

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES.

MOSIUOA GERARD PATRICK LEKOTA, still under oath

FURTHER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR FICK : Mr Lekota, we are still busy with the fourth document of EXHIBIT C35. I put it to you it is stated here that Afroscope is not only recording mass meetings but it is participating and supporting the ongoing campaigns of the UDF. That is what is stated(10) here? -- That is what is stated there, but I do not know - may be I should refer the Court to page 1B of the same document. At page 1 Afroscope is explained there. It says that Afroscope is a unique community service. Its aims are twofold. (1) To make video programs about important issues which are distributed and see by many people, organisations et cetera, to document events in South Africa on video. This is done on a continuing basis. (2) To provide access to video technology and skills, to community organisations, trade unions et cetera. So that the participation(20) in information, distribution, et cetera is not limited to a privileged few. We therefore run workshops, train people in organisations to use video equipment and make films and provide free access to costly equipment and they set out what projects they have already carried out. Amongst our projects I have film about, page view, the Indian group area which was demolished because of the group areas act, a video on Mayfair, a neighbouring area which as been declared an Indian group area, a video on Western Coloured township, a video on the launching of the UDF in Cape Town, et cetera. (30)

COURT/...



COURT : It seems to be a philanthropic organisation. -- That is how I always have understood it. It is an organisation that is available to help people and help organisations in that fashion. I think that what Mohammed Valli is stating here is in appreciation of some of that kind of work, for instance the video of the UDF that they made about the national launch, which they made available to the public and I do not anything more than that can be read into it and as I have said yesterday, some of these videos here, a lot of these videos here were found in their offices. (10) They came to the meetings of the UDF and they covered them at their own expense. If they asked us for instance to recommend to people who may have the means to help them, we would do so willingly and other organisations also, did so on the basis of the same document. AT page 3 for instance FOSATU which was not affiliated to the UDF, an independent trade union federation - FOSATU education committee or whatever, wrote a recommendation that whoever may have the money, should help them, because also FOSATU I think some of their activities may have been covered by Afroscope. (20) Indeed at paragraph 2 of that page FOSATU says "On three occasions we requested Afroscope to put onto video programs we have run. The first occasion involved filming a full day of film and drama. We were very pleased with the program. On the second occasions they videod a negotiations role play we conducted and we were able to show it immediately for evaluation of tactics used, a very useful educational session. On the third occasion Afroscope came in the evening to video or choir performing. This video has been shown a great many times since then. So, one can see that with (30) every/...

every organisation they do it. So, if for instance they did this for the Transvaal, it is only proper that it would be grateful to them, but there is nothing special other than that.

COURT : From the reference or references which are in EXHIBIT C35 it seems that Afroscope is in your camp, to use the words you used yesterday? -- By our camp, does it mean that it is ... (Court intervenes)

(It is on the side of progressive organisations? -- It is not sympathetic to apartheid. I think it can generally(10) be said like that.

MR FICK : Will you turn to the fourth document, the one with the UDF heading signed by Mohammed Valli, the last paragraph "The development of alternate media in South Africa is part of a process. However more specifically more alternate film is relatively a new and dynamic area for exploration and in this view appreciate the pioneering work of Afroscope." Then "We hope that Afroscope's Support and continuing participation will continue in the campaign to popularise mass resistance to the PC proposals and the(20) Koornhof Bills." -- That is correct. That is what it says.

COURT : What is alternate film? Do they mean there videos? -- Yes, they mean that. I think what they mean is that one has some of the video and filming agencies which may be seen as more on the commercial side and so on which purely goes for making profits and so on.

Oh, I see, it is like the alternative media which are not for profit. The alternate film is also not for profit. -- I would understand it in that way.

MR FICK : Turn to page 8. There I put it to you also (30)

SOYCO, an affiliate of UDF on 3 November 1984 said the following in this letter signed by the administration secretary the very last paragraph the last sentence "With all this statement we recommend beyond any reasonable doubt the efficient participation of Afroscope in community activities and the struggle in general." I put it to you also SOYCO regards Afroscope not only as a service organisation, but as an organisation participating in the struggle? -- No, I think if we look at paragraph 1 of the same document, it tells us clearly what type of relationship SOYCO has with Afro-(10) scope. They say they have a working relationship - let me just read that "The abovementioned organisations hereby wish to confirm the working relationship we have with Afroscope." In fact they say working relations. "The nature of working relations is based mainly on the coverage of events as taken up by our organisation. These events include amongst other things workshops on publications. SOYCO's practical responses to high rent increases, recreational activities such as sport symposiums and a host of other youth activities in Soweto." So, it is just a question that (20) Afroscope does make a coverage of what they are doing. They say that. I do not think we can read more in this letter than that what is said there.

Will you turn to EXHIBIT C36 in the same volume. It is a document found in possession of the offices of Afroscope. -- I may just say, all these documents, as I am commenting on them, are not known to me. I see them for the first time now that they appear in court here.

First of all, do you know Mr Calvin Prakassim? -- That is correct.

(30)

Was/...

Was he in charge of Afroscope? The offices? -- I do not know what he was in charge of. As far as I have always understood, he was a member of the interchurch or so. Unless I am wrong.

COURT : What is the interchurch? -- Interchurch Media Program. It is a media program of the South African Council of Churches.

Is that a sort of a publisher? -- It is something like one of the committees of the South African Council of Churches which records activities either by film or photo taking. Some kind like that. I did not have very much (10) insight into it.

MR FICK : From page 2 of the document you will find that Mr Calvin Prakassim signed as co-ordinator. -- That is correct. By the way this organisation is not affiliated to the UDF. It has got nothing to do with us. It is completely independent and outside our structures. I do not know these documents also.

Do you know anybody on the executive of Afroscope? -- No, I do not know the executive.

COURT : Are we dealing with Afroscope now? (20)

MR FICK : Afroscope. From page 3 of C36. Heading "Clarification on report submitted." I put it to you on the first paragraph it is stated in the second sentence "Challenge in the sense that we are creating a popular approach towards video and film and also creating alternate modes of production and distribution outside of state interference and the industry and when summed up we clearly see the film unit as a vehicle for clearly expressing the oppressed masses' aspirations in this beautiful yet tortured land of ours." Then in the same paragraph further down it is stated that (30)

"The/...

"The situation in South Africa is characterised by intense State repression on the one hand. On the other hand we see a popular resistance developing in response to this repression under the banners of UDF and the trade union movement within the country. We, the film unit, define our role within the process of action towards change in this country." Then still the same paragraph "Our commitment could also be summed up in terms of our entire relationship with organisations involved in the struggle for equal rights. We make films about the struggle for equal rights from an inside(10) point of view, not from the outside, from a position of involvement in the struggle about ourselves as oppressed people struggling to be free." I put it to you from Afroscope itself it is clear that they see themselves as part of the struggle? -- I do not know this document. I accept - I may just accept it that it is a document of Afroscope, but Afroscope is not an affiliate of the UDF. It is an independent organisation. It is telling us here what it is doing and why it is doing that and so on. We in the UDF have nothing to do with this. We have nothing against it,(20) however and all we can welcome is that there are more people than ourselves who are also contributing to the elimination of apartheid. I do not know what else counsel expects from me on this point.

Will you turn to page 4 the third paragraph, there is a sub-heading "community participation in film unit", the third sentence. There Mr Calvin Prakassim said the following "I am involved in the United Democratic Front in a media capacity and belong to an organisation towards the Johannesburg action group." So, I put it to you Afroscope is (30) represented/...

represented in UDF on its media? -- No, that cannot be. I think the position is completely misunderstood by counsel. The fact that a man holds membership to the Roman Catholic Church and then at the same time he is a member of the UDF does not mean that the Roman Catholic Church is represented in the UDF, unless that man there is elected by the church to go and represent it in the UDF. This man does not say he is representing Afroscope in the UDF. Afroscope is not affiliated to the UDF. He cannot represent Afroscope in the UDF. It is not possible. (10)

Will you turn to page 6.

COURT : Johannesburg Action Group, JAG, is that affiliated to the UDF? -- I do not know. On the basis of this it does appear that it is. I do not know this organisation. If Johannesburg Action Group is affiliated, he may have been elected by that organisation to represent it in one of the councils of the UDF perhaps, but it cannot be said that he is representing Afroscope, because Afroscope is not affiliated to the UDF.

MR FICK : Will you turn to page 6. (20)

COURT : Do you know Calvin Prakassim? -- I know him, yes.

Is he a migrant worker? -- I did not know that that was the position. I see that it is written here "I, Calvin Prakassim is a migrant worker who came to Johannesburg in search of work." This is news to me. Of course I do not know where he came from.

Is he an Indian? -- He is an Indian. Whether this is a play or ... (Court intervenes)

It seems to me he lives in Hillbrow. We are looking at page 6. (30)

MR FICK/...

MR FICK : Will you turn to page 6. There is a paragraph numbered 6 "Political . Afroscope is presented on UDF media commissions which basically deals with the question of developing effective media campaigns against the new constitution. Our production of the UDF is being used both nationally and internationally to promote opposition to Botha's new deal. Refer to UDF national launch unit production." -- What is put there?

I put it to you that Afroscope is not a mere service group. Afroscope is actively participating on UDF media (10) commissions. -- Is counsel interpreting the word "presented"?

They are actively ... -- I just want to find out, what is the meaning of presented?

I put it to you from this it is clear what I have read to you, that they are involved, they are active on UDF media commissions? -- No, I reject that. If counsel is interpreting the word presented to mean represented, I have never known that in any English dictionary the word "represented" could be mean presented. They are two distinct different words and I know of no connotation that can (20) mean representation when you say presentation. I reject it. I do not know whether this man was writing this when he was a bit drunk or what, but this organisation is not affiliated to the UDF. There is no way ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : Afroscope? -- It is not. Afroscope is not. He is talking about being a migrant worker and what not. I do not know what the state of mind of this man was here. This is not a UDF document. We do not know it and I reject its content. I am sure my organisation would never accept this.

MR FICK : On the list which appears on pages 6 and 7 (30)

I put it to you that the majority of the organisations mentioned in the first list under the heading "List of contact with some organisations, the majority are affiliates of UDF. On page 6 it is only the Federation of South African Trade Unions which is not an affiliate of the UDF. -- You say the majority are affiliates?

Yes, or its meetings of affiliates which are mentioned here? -- Yes, I think the majority are affiliates.

Will you turn to page 7 the second list under the heading "High-lights on documentary footage." I put it to you that (10) also in this case the majority are UDF affiliates? -- That is under productions.

Yes.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Just for the sake to help me, please, Mr Fick. The State is not contending that Sworn(?) Mkhize's funeral is a UDF affiliate?

MR FICK : No, but I put it to you that the majority of the affiliates listed as well as the meetings listed are meetings of affiliates of UDF? Do you agree? -- You see I have got a bit of a problem. A lot of these meetings, I do not (20) know whether they were UDF meetings or what. This thing for instance removals at Chicken Farm Kliptown, it seems like those. I do not know whether I can say the organisations are UDF organisations or what. I see "Samuel Hlubane Commemoration by NEUM." NEUM is not affiliated to us. I do not know if there may have been some of our affiliates there. Street interviews are also there and so on, but some of the organisations here are affiliates of the UDF and quite a number of them here are activities which are not connected to the UDF.

(30)

Did/...



Did the UDF use the video recordings for purposes to educate the people, to mobilise the people in the struggle? -- Except for the video of the national launch of the UDF I cannot remember that the UDF ever used any other video.

Will you turn to page 9 the second last paragraph on page 9 under the heading "Recent development. (1) Our UDF videos that had produced are being used intensively all over the Transvaal, even in other centres of the country. At house meetings at Grassroots level, also on mass meeting level. Our video has been shown in Scandinavian countries (10) West Germany, United Kingdom and Wales, at anti-apartheid meetings by the UDF. Also our films are travelling up to the north of Africa." -- I do not know who may have been using those videos. As far as I know the only video that UDF ever used was the one of the national launch. I never heard that even a region of the UDF or an affiliate was using any of the other videos, unless they loaned them so some other people, church groups or so, but I do not know about all this.

COURT : If it refers only to the launch, would it then (20) be correct? If it refers only to the UDF launch video? -- Even with that one, no, because we obtained an edited copy and we produced a number of copies which the UDF sold to the regions. We did not loan from them to go and play them and give it back to them. We obtained them and we sold them for R50,00 and then the regions sold them. When affiliates have bought them, they would then use them.

It is not that this group made that video? I understood you to say that the Western Cape had to arrange for the video to be made. Could they have utilised the services (30)

of/...

of this group? -- Let me put it this way, the Western Cape drew up Al, but they had all the tapes. As I understand it they utilised this group because they have expertise to make the edited version of the video, which then - of which then a number of copies were made by the UDF and given or sold to the regions and they they were told to our affiliates.

So, Afroscope probably had a master of the video. Could it be that they distributed copies on their own? -- No. The master belonged to the UDF. They were only asked because of expertise to make an edited version and then to put it(10) together so that it is well done, but everything else belonged to the UDF.

MR FICK : Mr Kevin Harris, is he in any way attached to Afroscope? -- I do not know. The first time I saw him was when he came into the Court at Delmas.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Just before you go on to Mr Harris, Mr Fick. Mr Lekota, the second paragraph just below the one that Mr Fick referred you to now, reads as follows "He broadcasted our June, 16th footage of the Regina Mundi Commemoration service of the Soweto uprising to West (20) Germany." Do you know whether these people have this type of facility? --I have never heard that they have any facility that could to a thing of that nature. I do not understand what was going on with this paper, but quite frankly I think there was something wrong with who was writing this document, because for them to have broadcasted this thing, they would need extensive facilities. I have never heard that Afroscope had anything that comes next to its level.

MR FICK : (Did UDF mandate some of its leaders to go overseas to popularise UDF overseas? -- As I recall it, at some (30) point/...

point, the first instance I remember I was invited by the Holland Church and I could not get a passport. Then somebody - Professor Coovadia was abroad - was therefore asked to speak on behalf of the UDF there.

COURT : Where was that? -- In the Netherlands. Then some of the people did go subsequently and coming from the NEC of the UDF and on an occasion they spoke on behalf of the UDF like Valli, Mohammed for instance.

MR FICK : He was for six weeks overseas. Is that correct? -- It may have been that amount of time. I cannot remember (10) now for how long. He was given a passport, so he went.

Which countries did he visit? Do you know? -- Some countries in Europe and I think in the United States as well.

The United Kingdom? -- Yes, I think so.

West Germany? -- I cannot remember all the details, but he did visit some of the European continental countries and he went to the United States as well.

COURT : Is this now Mohammed Valli? -- That is correct.

Or do you say Valli Mohammed? What should be first? -- I think it is Mohammed Valli. (20)

MR FICK : And also Mafison Morobe went overseas? -- Yes. He was also given a passport.

COURT : Why did they call him professor? -- He is a young man but he started bolding very fast. So, they just gave him the nickname.

MR FICK : Mafison Morobe went to the Scandinavian countries. Is that correct? -- That is so, yes.

COURT : Is that now on behalf of the UDF? Or just for a trip overseas? -- No, on behalf of the UDF. The UDF had been offered a prize there and he went to receive it. (30)

MR FICK/...

MR FICK : Both Mr Morobe and Mr Valli as well as Professor Coovadia went overseas inter alia to speak on behalf of UDF and to speak about UDF to the people overseas? -- Professor Coovadia had actually gone abroad on some academic commitments of his own, but we just took advantage of his presence there to ask him because I failed to get a passport. Mafison Morobe went to receive - the UDF had been offered a prize and he went to receive that. So, he went there on behalf of the UDF. I cannot remember specifically now what was the issue in the case of the visit of Valli Mohammed, but he did(10) speak on behalf of the UDF whilst he was there.

Did any of these gentlemen not take a copy of the video recording of the UDF launch with to show it overseas? -- I cannot remember. That may be.

Can we please turn to EXHIBIT C80 volume 5.

COURT : Where was this document found?

MR FICK : The first document was found in possession of Professor I. Mohammed. That is a document with the heading "Afroscope" dated 31 July 1984 and signed by Adrian Purcle, Chris van Wyk, Jennifer Mohammed. The second document was(20) found in possession of Professor I. Mohammed. It is a document signed by accused no. 20 dated July 1984 addressed to Professor Mohammed and the third document was found in the offices of UDF Johannesburg. It is a document signed by accused no. 20 dated 19 July 1984 addresses to Bishop Tutu. Do you know these documents? -- I know documents numbers 2 and 3.

You actually wrote and signed documents 2 and 3 of EXHIBIT C80? -- That is correct.

In the second document you stated "We are aware that (30)  
Afroscope/...

Afroscope intends to put together a video around the new constitution with a view to raising the level of critical understanding of the new deal in affected communities. It is our considered opinion that this is an initiative that will stand the struggle for a just ordering goods tent(?) and the UDF'S campaign against the new constitution will benefit. We therefore recommend that any assistance that they require and which is available, be given to them" What assistance did they require seeing that you do not know document number 1? -- You see, but I have seen it here. (10) They wanted to produce a video on the new dispensation. They needed money for that purpose, because they are not a profit making organisation. We did not have the money ourselves to do that, but our contribution was to recommend to those who may have the means to help them to do so.

COURT : So, you wanted Professor Mohammed to open his purse strings and pay some money to Afroscope? -- Whatever he may have. That is correct.

Well, is it not that you wanted Professor Mohammed to see to it that they got proper references or that you wanted(20) Bishop Tutu in document 3 to pay out his own money to Afroscope? -- No, no, apart from that, they could have given any contribution they wanted. They could have contributed by giving them references. They could have contributed by actually opening their purse and contributing some money if they had some money. So too with Bishop Tutu. It was really up to them which is why there I say that what assistance they require and which is available, whatever is available.

MR FICK : I put it to you that from this document and the(30)

previous/...

previous documents I have referred to, it is clear that UDF and Afroscope are working very closely together. Afroscope on its part makes videos about UDF's meetings, UDF's campaigns, it supports the struggle and participates in the struggle and UDF on its part assists Afroscope to obtain the necessary funds to continue with that work? -- I have already explained the question of relationship between the two organisations. I reject the suggestion that is put by counsel. I do not want to repeat some of the things I have already said.

On the question of the regions' authority to make press(10) statements, are the regions allowed to make press statements on UDF ... (Court intervenes)

COURT : I just want to get clarity. Why is everything directed to Professor Mohammed? In what organisation was he that made him so important? The first document is directed to him and your letter is also directed to him? -- If I recall the circumstances with regard to the documents that were written by myself, the one that went to Bishop Tutu I specifically addressed to Bishop Tutu. On the second document I left it open for them to fill the name of what-(20) ever organisation or whoever they wanted to approach. That is - it seems to me that they then added Professor Mohammed's name there. Looking at document 1, the first time I saw it was after I have been charged, it seems to me I am just summing, I have no fact or any kind that it may be that having spoken to Professor Mohammed - it seems to me that having taken the original to Professor Mohammed, he may well have asked, because the document I wrote gives no indication of for instance some of the details which appear in the first document, unless they may have felt that they were no(30)

more/...

more going to use this one and they were going to draft a new one. I do not really know what happened.

This Jennifer Mohammed, is this his daughter? -- One of his daughters, yes. For instance the last paragraph which indicates that they have already got a promise of R1 000,00 somewhere and that they needed so much money. That detail does not appear in the note that was written by myself. May be just to give people an idea of what they really needed and so on. It may have become necessary to draft a different note and so on. I do not know what the reasons(10) were.

I see that Afroscope in document one EXHIBIT 80 has as a telex The South African Council of Churches. So, is Afroscope an, let us call it, affiliate of the South African Council of Churches? -- I cannot really say, I do not know.

On what floor is the South African Council of churches in Khotso House -- The whole of Khotso House actually is South African Council of Churches. So, one will find various offices on various floors. It may well be that there is a relationship between the South African Council of Churches(20) and them of an organisational nature. It may be perhaps that an agreement was made that they may use telex facilities of the South African Council of Churches. I do not know.

MR FICK : Adrian Purcle, do you know him? -- Yes, he was also in Afroscope. I do not know what his position was in Afroscope.

And Chris van Wyk? -- I only know him as a poet. I do not know what he does otherwise. I do not know whether he was a member of Afroscope or whether he works for them of whether he is in the executive. I just do not know (30) anything/...

anything else.

Do you know what the position of Jennifer Mohammed is in Afroscope? -- I do not know. She is part of it, one way or the other, but what position I do not know.

Another topic, the regions, are the regions allowed to issue press statements on UDF policy? -- Yes, the regions are autonomous and on issues of their own they are free to make press statements.

Must they first consult with you? -- Not necessarily. They may if they choose to on issues which affect the UDF(10) nationally. If issues are specifically relevant to their regions, they may not.

Something else. Will you please look at EXHIBIT D1 page 4 the last paragraph, paragraph number 13. Minuted of the UDF held on 10/11 September 1983 Durban. "The NEC resolved to have no contact with the American, British and Israeli diplomats because their countries supported the forces of oppression the world over. SG (secretary-general I presume)?"-- Yes.

"And publicity secretary were mandated to set up (20) meetings with diplomats in South Africa and also to establish links abroad. The secretary-general was also instructed to write letters to all support groups and individuals who sent messages of support to the national launch. The secretary-general was further requested to send copies of the Grassroots supplement with the UDF declaration to those groups and individuals." -- Yes.

First of all did you and accused no. 19 set up meetings with diplomats in South Africa? -- Yes, we did.

Did you and accused no. 19 establish links abroad? (30)

Nothing/...



-- Nothing that I specifically can think of.

Why not? -- May be one of the reasons being that we were never in a position to go out of the country to meet people there and so on. We were never able to get passports. There was no special reason that I can think of.

What was the purpose of the meetings with the diplomats?

-- Well, this was September 1983. The UDF had just been formed, it was important for us to meet these people, explain to them what the UDF was and what it was about to establish rapport with them. Just to introduce our organisation (10) to them, so that they do not read all the misconceptions and form an impression about the UDF from all these misconceptions in the newspapers here. They must get it from the horse's mouth.

And what was the purpose of establishing links abroad?

-- Similarly to win friends for the UDF, to be able to explain the UDF to the international community. The same purpose.

Was this not also done because UDF wished the South African government to be isolated internationally therefore (20) they established links with diplomats and links with people abroad? -- There is no where where this minute says that.

Ask you? -- No, it was not said in that light.

It was said in the light that the UDF must win for itself more support, both at home and abroad.

I put it to you further from this paragraph the last sentence it is clear that the UDF and Grassroots community newspaper worked closely together? -- On what basis is that put, if I may ask?

The secretary-general was further requested to send (30)

copies/...

copies of the Grassroots supplement with the UDF declaration to those groups and individuals who supported the UDF and sent messages of support? -- No, this is a misunderstanding of the situation. At this time it was September 1983. The UDF booklet A1 had not as yet been produced but we needed to inform people about what the UDF had done and Grassroots, an independent community paper had produced a centre spread page in which they included the full text of the declaration of the United Democratic Front. In order to catch up with time, we could not wait until the production of A1. (10) We had to keep people informed about it, about the UDF had decided upon at the national launch. That is why it was asked that those - we must obtain copies of those declarations and then whilst we wait for the production of A1 Comrade Popo, accused no. 19, must send these to the other organisations so that they at least in the meantime know what has been decided. There is no question of close working relationship and some conspiracy. Even if A1 was produced, we would have instructed him to send A1. It did not come out at that point in time. (20)

Will you turn to EXHIBIT E1. The Minutes of the UDF NEC meeting held on 5 and 6 November 1983 Johannesburg. I see you were present. -- Yes, I was present.

Page 2 paragraph 5.1.3. Can you tell the Court whose paper was presented? -- This first meeting of September, that is EXHIBIT D1 it will be seen at page 2 of D1 that it was noted that the leadership and activists within UDF have little understanding of the nature of the front and therefore Yunus Mohammed was asked to draft a paper explaining the UDF and so on and so on. When the NEC met for the second (30) time/...

time in November, he presented that paper here. That is the paper that has been talked about.

Was this paper improved? -- At this NEC what he presented was not satisfactory. It was then sent back that there must be a redraft with additional points as set out here. I cannot recall that ultimately it came back to us. So, the problem remained for a long time and it will be recalled that as late as July 1984 accused no. 19 was still writing to say that he was asking Steve Tshwete if he could not write a paper to attempt to put across what the UDF was about. That(10) again as I have said, we never got to the point where it could be adopted as far as I know.

Is that paper before Court? -- Which paper?

The first one drafted by Yunus Mohammed? -- No, I am not aware of it here.

Did anyone else draft a paper on the front? -- Not that I specifically know about, but there are so many of these drafts and some thoughts on the UDF and what not. I do not know who did them and on whose authority.

Will you turn to page 5 of EXHIBIT E1 paragraph 6.1.5(20) the second paragraph of that with the heading "International support." Second paragraph "It was recommended that information about UDF be made available to agencies for publicity abroad?"-- Yes.

Whose task was this? -- I cannot remember that this specific task was given to somebody. Even the minute does not say so. In any event, as I say, accused no. 19 had been asked to send the declarations abroad and so on. It is in the same spirit, just to make sure that people are informed and they know what the UDF is about and what they had decided(30)

to/...

to do.

COURT : The question is whose task was it? Was it yours as publicity secretary or was it the secretary's?-- I do not think it was given to anybody specifically.

Well, who did it then? -- AS I say, part of the work on this same minute, accused no. 19 was asked to attend to that. It is not the same minute, D1 where he was asked to send the brochures on the national launch abroad.

MR FICK : What information about UDF was to be made available to agencies abroad? -- The UDF declaration, why had it been(10) formed, what was it to do? After we produced A1 we also made that available to people. If people visited us at the head office of the UDF or some of the other offices these documents were made available to them for their own reading and therefore information on the UDF.

Which agencies did you have in mind? -- Any group. There was no specific one that was selected. Anybody. Sometimes you would find church groups coming here and visit South Africa and then when they want to know about the UDF we supply them with the information. Sometimes trade union(20) representatives from various other countries also visit and we give them. Sometimes there are diplomats, we give them. Sometimes we go to the embassies and supply them with this material so that they know what the UDF is about.

Will you turn to page 8 paragraph 7.2.5 of EXHIBIT E1 "Video people's rally. Natal will make available to regions and head office video of the people's rally." Which people's rally? Do you know? -- Yes. This was November .- it will be remembered that at the end of October that weekend was declared by the UDF as people's weekend. If I remember (30) the/...

the details well, Natal had made a video of the proceedings there.

COURT : Natal who? Natal region? -- UDF Natal region.

MR FICK : For what purpose must they make available the video? -- May be they want to see it or they want to show it.

Will you please turn to the last page, page 10 of EXHIBIT E1 paragraph 10. The heading is "Publicity secretary media and diplomatic matters. 10.1 Reports of publicity secretary was received. In his report he expressed concern about the irregularities regarding the production of UDF (10) News. Natal had not been able to produce a second issue of the UDF News in time whilst Cape Town could not print it at all." Which UDF News? Was it regional or national UDF News? -- National.

Then paragraph 10.3 "It was noted that Transvaal had issued a pamphlet on Inkatha and press release on results of referendum without consulting with the publicity secretary. Transvaal adopted the critics in and promised to avoid a repetition of the same mistake in the future." Was Transvaal not allowed to issue a pamphlet on Inkatha without (20) consulting with you? -- No, they were entitled, but in this specific case the events that were referred to, events that had taken place in Natal and our Transvaal people without having sufficient and accurate information produced a pamphlet which carried information that was not accurate. Because the events that had happened there in Natal, it was the best - the best people to deal with the matter were the Natal people and then they did that. The criticism arose from that. It was not a matter that was within the regions.

(30)

Are/...

Are they then allowed to issue press releases only on events which occurred in Transvaal? -- In the Transvaal region. They cannot handle matters which are in Border. They do not have information.- It is just wrong and it is going to be clumsy. If it is inaccurate, it presents the organisation in a bad light.

And the press release on the results of the referendum, what was wrong with that? -- What?

Why were they criticised for issuing a press release with the results of the referendum without consulting with(10) the publicity secretary? -- Again the question of the referendum was a national matter and they have not consulted all the other regions. If one was going to deal with a matter like that and even comment on issues in other regions, it is important to consult with them. It was just an administrative mistake that we were correcting.

COURT : Did you set up an office in Durban? -- That is correct, we have a regional office there.

But it is your office? Not somebody else's office? -- Because it says here the "Publicity secretary reports that(20) he would move into a new office in Durban"? -- Yes, it is actually - when it was initially opened, I occupied it, but it is actually a regional office.

So, do you share the office with a region then? -- In Natal, yes.

What is your base seeing that you are a Durban man? Is Natal your base or is Transvaal your base?-- Initially it was intended to be Natal, but it actually became the head office in Johannesburg. A lot of work had to be done from there.

(30)

MR FICK : I would like to refer you to EXHIBIT N4. This document was found in possession of L. McCamel - Lord McCamel. There is something which is not clear to me. If you look at EXHIBIT E1, the one we are dealing with paragraph 10.3 that is the minutes of 5 and 6 November 1983. There Transvaal was criticised for the press release on the results of the referendum without consulting with the publicity secretary. -- Yes.

Now N4 we find a press release by UDF Transvaal on 12 December 1983, that is after the date of the NEC by (10) Frank Chikane. That is on the Black Local Authorities. Was an executive or any other official of Transvaal mandated to issue this press release on the Black Local Authority elections? -- Yes, we in the head office did do so. I was busy in the Eastern Cape that time. Both with the launching of the Eastern Cape and with the preparation for conference. The results were coming out here in Johannesburg. We asked the Transvaal people to attend to the matter. There was that specific arrangement there.

From E2 page 1 that is a Transvaal report to the NEC (20) found in the offices of Afroscope Johannesburg. The first page paragraph 4 under the heading "Publications. Apart from UDF News 'Do not vote' a leaflet on the Black Local Authorities, information leaflet on Ciskei, UDF declaration WCS booklet for churches and what is Inkatha up to were published." Why was it necessary for Transvaal to report that to the NEC? That was on 5 November 1983? -- That is what they have done. They report what they have done.

But were all the regions obliged to report on all publications issued by the regions? -- No, not necessarily. (30)

When/...

When the region reports, it will say what it has done.

Will you turn to page 2, please, E2 paragraph 9, 9.4 "The UDF video was screened in some areas, it was reported." Did the Transvaal inform the NEC where they had screened the UDF video and for what purpose?-- I cannot remember that they said anything more than that they showed it.

COURT : Can you explain how this possibly could have come into the possession of Afroscope? -- What is that?

This document, the Transvaal report to the NEC. Afroscope is not an affiliate? -- Yes. (10)

Is there any possible explanation for this report landing in the possession of Afroscope? -- I do not know, unless - I was not in that office - they may have asked for temporary accommodation because may be they did not have sufficient space, I do not know. I cannot explain that. But it certainly does not have anything to do with the question of affiliation or something like that.

MR FICK : Still on the question of the media and UDF News. Will you please have a look at EXHIBIT H1. This is the Minutes of the NEC meeting held on 21 and 22 July 1984 in Bloemfontein and I see you were present? -- Yes, I was present. Page?

Page 3 paragraph 5.3.1 "UDF News. It was decided that the national UDF News be printed in Natal, Transvaal and Western Cape. That the Western Cape region prints for the Eastern Cape and the Northern Cape while Natal prints for Border region.". Was that the position up to your arrest or did the position change? -- This was only for that occasion. It was not a standing practice. With some of the regions you will find that they do not have printing facilities available in the area. It is just a practical consideration.

(30)

Nothing/...



Nothing else

Can we turn now to EXHIBIT F. This is the minutes of the meeting of the NEC of UDF held on 21 and 22 January 1984 Khanya House Pretoria. You were present? -- That is correct.

Page 3 paragraph 6.1 under the heading "Policy decisions. It was decided that no UDF official spokes person shall give interview to the SATV." Was anyone of the UDF asked by the SATV for an interview? -- No, in fact what had happened is that one of the NEC members had given an interview to some SABC - I think one of the SABC reporters. (10)

COURT : Cliff Saunders? -- That is correct and it was distorted. You see, this is the thing that led to this, because we were willing to give them interviews, but the first interview they were given, they just go there and do their own thing with it and it is a misrepresentation and that is why we decided we will never give them an interview.

MR FICK : Will you return to page 5 under the heading - paragraph 9.5 of EXHIBIT F - "Media. It was agreed that a national poster must be printed. It was decided that the national secretariate translate the signature forms. " Was (20) the national poster printed? -- Yes, it was printed.

Was that a national poster on? -- On the elections.

Not the MSC? -- I am sorry. Let me have a look at this quickly. Sorry, it was on the million signature campaign.

We are still on page 5 paragraph 12 "International relations. 12(c) It was agreed that Comrade Cassim Saloojee might go abroad to establish direct contact with funding agencies?" -- Yes.

Did Cassim Saloojee go abroad? -- I think so. I am not sure. You see, I got detained in August. I cannot remember, (30)

but/...

but I think he went.

We are still in January 1984. -- I am sorry, I see now we are in January.

When did he go overseas? -- I cannot remember now when exactly. I think he went.

Did he report back? -- Naturally, if he went on behalf of the UDF he would have reported back. May I refer to G1 and see what happened there?

Sure.

MR BIZOS : We have found it if we could be of assistance.(10)  
9.1 on page 4.

MR FICK : Yes, but that is not a report on direct contact with funding agencies? -- This is a trip that he took abroad that I can recall. I cannot remember any other report, if he did give one.

COURT : There is a great gap between 1 January and 1 June? -- That is correct, because there was no NEC between January, 21 and June and this one. There was no NEC inbetween.

MR FICK : Why not? -- There was none.

But why not? -- Because there was none.

(20)

WITNESS STANDS DOWN.

COURT ADJOURNS TILL 28 SEPTEMBER 1987.

## **DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985-1989**

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