SHUN CHETTY.

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

CASE NO. 18/75/254

In the matter of:

THE STATE

versus

S. COOPER AND EIGHT OTHERS

<u>VOLUME 12</u> PAGES 1038 - 1109

LUBBE RECORDINGS (PRETORIA.)

## COURT RESUMES 3/9/75

HARRI SINGH, STILL UNDER OATH

MR SOGGOT: My Lord, before my Learned Friend carries on with the re-examination, I have received instructions relating to - specific instructions relating to this witness's discussions with Mr. Ankra. May I put the instructions to him, My Lord.

BY THE COURT: Yes.

MR SOGGOT: Mr. Singh, I want to put it to you that I am instructed that Mr. Ankra specifically denies having told 10 you that the WCC makes grants on condition that the organisations have taken up arms? -- This is what he said to me, when I asked him for assistance, and that was the reply that I got.

I have no further questions.

RE-EXAMINATION BY MR REES: No doubt, we will have an opportunity to ask Mr. Ankra a few questions in consequence of this. Mr. Singh, this man who was evicted at the symposium by accused No. 5, who said he had been in ANC what were the considerations, why was he evicted? -- Well at 20 the beginning, My Lord, he was acting rather suspiciously and we thought that he may be a security policeman, but then on questioning him, we found that - he said that he was in fact a member of the ANC and it was for this reason then that we asked him to leave.

Does this photograph show the evicting theme - what was the exhibit number? -- Yes, this was when he was already led out of the hall downstairs on the road.

And who are the people concerned with him, the man on the left as you look at the photograph who is that?-- 30 That is Nkwenkwe Nkomo the BPC organiser.

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Accused No. 5? -- Yes, My Lord.

And the man who has got hold of the evictee on the right, who is that? -- I am not too sure, I think this is the administrative assistant of BPC, Mehlamula as I know him.

The man who is being evicted is that the man in the middle? -- That is correct.

Will you just show His Lordship the photograph.

My Lord, if that could be numbered <u>BPC N.3</u>, if you please.

Then I show you another photograph which will be BPC N.4, 10 does that show accused No. 5 outside the hall arguing with the man? -- That is correct.

Did you obtain these copies of these photographs?
-- Yes.

And what did you do with them? -- I had them with me for a day or two and then I handed them to accused No. 1, for him to have a look at them.

And what did he do with them, do you know, or can't you - don't you remember? -- I don't know what he did with them.

Did you ever get them back? -- No.

You were asked to look at accused No. 1's handwriting in this exhibit G.1. First of all I would like you to have a look at EXHIBIT G.6. My lord, for the Court's convenience these six is in fact a copy of page 55 onwards of G.1 and the evidence will be later on that this exhibit G.6 was found in possession of Accused No. 1 by the Police subsequently. Would you have a look, have you got G.6 in front of you? 4- Yes.

Would you just check up on EXHIBIT G.1 page 55, would you kindly hand the witness EXHIBIT G.1. Are you looking/...

- 1040-

SINGH

looking at the original of G.1? Is that a photo copy of G.1? -- Photo copy.

Now page 51 there and G.6 do they appear to be the same document? I am sorry, 55, it is my mistake, Mr. Singh. -- Yes, My Lord.

Dealing specifically with G.6 then, what if anything do you know about that document? -- I can recognise the alterations, the handwritten alterations.

In whose writing are they? Just firstly deal with page, the first page of G.6. That is accused No. 1's hand- 10 writing.

And the alterations on the second page? -- Also the same.

And just go through it page by page and just tell
His Lordship whose handwriting there is, if you can recognise it. -- The next page is also the handwriting of No. 1.
The following page as well, and the next page.

Then on the last page there is a piece of just writing. No, you are not there yet are you, yes carry on.

-- There is writing on the back of the second last page 20 as well.

Yes? -- That is also the writing of accused No. 1.
And the last page.

Thank you. And for the convenience of the Court, would you just look at EXHIBIT G.1, you have been taken through it yesterday, it wasn't clear to me whether you covered the whole of the item, and would you page through it, fairly quickly and just tell the Court when you come across accused No. 1's writing.--On page I think it is 19.

Just let me catch up with you, what is the heading 30 of that? -- "Black Genocide in Mozambique"

Right, whose handwriting is that? -- Accused No. 1.

-1041- <u>SINGH</u>

Yes, carry on. -- And the next page which is 20. There is two pages that -- 24 and 25 both of them are crossed out.

What is the heading? -- "NIC EMPLOYS DOUBLE STANDARDS".

Yes? -- That was also accused No. 1, and the page after that as well.

That appears to be No. 26? --Yes.

Carry on. -- Must I only recognise the writing of accused No. 1?

Yes, please. If there is any of the other accused's 10 writing there, if you should see any just tell the Court.

Page 101. That is also the handwriting of accused No. 1.

102, I have gone through all of them.

Thank you. There are some questions about Colonial Regimes and Settler Regimes and things like that.

Was the question whether the Republic is a Colonial Regime or a Settler Regime ever specifically discussed in BPC circles? -- It wasn't discussed.

You referred to a speech which you made at the trial of yourself and accused No. 4, in which you made what 20 you said was a political speech. Did you make that of your own volition or did you discuss the making of that speech with anybody else? -- Dr. Mokoape, who was the person who was tried with me then and myself discussed what we should say whether to plainly plead not guilty or to use the box as a political platform.

And what did he do, did he go into the box or did he follow the same line as you did or did he follow a different line? -- No, we both took the same attitude, in that we make speeches when asked to plead.

You were also asked about the accuracy or otherwise

-1042-

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of the tape recording that was finally accepted by the Court. -- Yes.

Now what is your attitude towards the tape recording and the speeches as finally accepted by the Court, was that substantially accurate or not? -- It was.

You were asked whether No. 4 had any special qualification or anything to be an adviser to BPC and in that connection were you ever informed, did you ever learn of his association with any of the leaders of any other organisations or not? -- I was told about this, about his association with Sobukwe.

Who told you? -- Accused No. 1.

What did he tell you? -- He told me that at some stage before the formation of BPC Dr. Mokoape had gone over to Robert Sobukwe to seek advice in the formation of BPC.

This person Rev Cooper, what are his full names?
-- Revabalan Cooper.

Is he related to any of the accused? -- He is the brother of accused No. 1.

Thank you My Lord.

BY THE COURT: Yes thank you.

MR ALLAWAY: My Lord, I think I did indicate that subject to reading the rest of the record there might be matters which I had to challenge. My Lord, may I do so. It is only a question of putting matters in issue My Lord, that is all. Mr. Singh, you gave evidence about the Rev. Mayathula, going to accused No. 1's flat on Friday evenings for supper when you were present. -- Yes, I didn't mean every Friday.

Well can you tell His Lordship upon how many occasions last/...

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last year you were present on a Friday or any other evening for that matter, at accused No. 1's flat when the Rev. Mayathula was there? -- I cannot put it down specifically to the number..

At the most? -- About say five or six times.

And in 1973? -- I cannot remember how many times

I met him there in 1973.

Again I would like you to sort of go to the upper end of the scale, what is the greatest number of occasions there might have been? -- About three or four times.

And according to my instructions that evidence is not correct. -- I know it to be correct.

Alright and I also suggest to you ...

MR REES: My Lord, it is not clear what is challenged, the number of times or the fact that he had been there at all?

BY THE COURT: Well I got the impression that he doesn't challenge that he was there, but the number of occasions that he was there is being challenged.

MR ALLAWAY: My Lord, I think I had better be clear about 20 that, I am instructed that Mayathula was never there.

I am obliged to my Learned Friend. Never there, My Lord, that is for supper.

BY THE COURT: On a Friday.

MR ALLAWAY: On a Friday evening.

BY THE COURT: But was he there on a Friday?

MR ALLAWAY: My Lord, may I just be clear about this?

My Lord, my instructions are, never, never.

BY THE COURT: Yes?

MR ALLAWAY: Thank you. The next point is this,...

BY THE COURT: Well let us just get clarity. Never on a

Friday/...

SINGH

Friday or never at all.

MR ALLAWAY: Never at all. My Lord, I am sorry, may I go to the accused, I want to be clear about this. Much obliged My Lord, I am instructed Mr. Singh, that you have never been present on a Friday or any other evening at the flat of accused No. 1 when the Reverend Mayathula was there having supper. -- There were occasions that I was there, I did not mean that every Friday that we were there that he specifically had supper there.

And I am also instructed...

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BY THE COURT: No, just wait a bit let him complete that.

-- That there were mostly on Friday evenings that we used
tomeet and more often than not we used to have supper there
on a Friday evening.

MR ALLAWAY: I am instructed that according to accused No.

1, you might have been there on an occasion when the

Reverend Mayathula was there, but he says that this would

not have been with any sort of regularity or frequency.

-- I didn't say - I think I tried to make it clear when

I was saying this yesterday, My Lord, that I didn't mean 20

that it was every Friday, but it happened on Friday nights.

I also put it to you that accused No. 1 never made any militant or other suggestions to you for inclusion in the SEMICON programme. Did accused No. 1 ever make any suggestions to you at all as to what ought to be included in the SEMICON programme? -- To me My Lord?

Yes. -- No.

How many National Council meetings do you say took place that BPC council meetings in Durban? -- I don't know how many took place in all but...

To your knowledge? -- I attended two in 1973.

-1045- SINGH

Well, I suggest to you that there has only been one National Council meeting of BPC held in Durban ever and that was in the first half of 1973? -- That was one in the first half of 1973 and one a little later on.

What I suggest to you is that there was no other meeting, I take it you stand by your evidence that there was two? Could you be making a... (Court intervenes)

BY THE COURT: ... later on. -- Also in 1973 a few months later. One was in the first half of 1973 and the second one at a rough estimate at about the middle of that...

What was the venue of..-- The first one was at the business place, accused No. 1 then had a record-lending library. It was there and the second instance it was at the YMCA in Durban.

MR ALLAWAY: Has BPC ever had its Head office in Durban to your knowledge? -- No.

Why did you say in your evidence that it was mooted that the head office would be brought back to Durban from Johannesburg? -- I shouldn't have said brought back, we 20 wanted to bring the Head Office to..

I think I have already challenged your evidence that there was never any suggestion that the head office ought to come back at all. And I also suggest to you that accused No. 1 said nothing to you about Robert Sobukwe with reference to accused No. 4. -- He did.

Did you ever have a discussion with accused No. 1 on Friday the 13th of September, if the date is of any significance, to the effect that you accused No. 1 of a lack of principle in accepting non-White money when money was being collected from Black professional people

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in businesses for supporting the rally. == The discussion we had there was not Non-White money. Accused No. 1 had gone fund-raising for the symposium which BPC was to hold on the 15th, the 13th was the Friday before that symposium, and on that Friday night when I was at his flat, he said to me that a certain lawyer, Indian lawyer had given him only R1 and I said a person like that who works so much with money, you shouldn't have taken a R1 from him, and then accused No. 1 said to me the best thing to do would be, after the symposium, write a letter to him and enclose his R1 and send it back to him. That was the truth.

Anyway you are right in talking about the symposium it was not the rally, but did you ever suggest that money collected from people of that sort should be thrown in their faces as you, that is BPC, were not beggars? == That is what I said that we shouldn't accept a R1.

Much obliged, My Lord.

BY THE COURT: Anything arising from that Mr. Rees?

RE-EXAMINATION BY MR REES: No questions.

#### NO FURTHER QUESTIONS

CHANDRAKANT NAUTAMLAL MEHTA, Duly Sworn states:

EXAMINATION BY PROSECUTOR: This witness will be giving evidence on Count No. 1, my Lord and then specifically on Count 13. This concerns one of the SASO newsletters

ANNEXURE 9.

MR ATTWELL: Mr. Mehta, you are an adult Asiatic male, residing in Durban? -- Yes.

And a Director of Universal Printing Works? Now at Claremont in Durban, is that correct? -- Yes.

Would you just answer into the microphone please? -- Yes.

During/..

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MEHTA

During 1971, would you indicate to the Court where the business premises of Universal Printing Works was situated? -- In 53 Beatrice Street.

Durban? -- Durban.

Are you aware of an organisation the South African Students Organisation, commonly known as SASO? -- Yes.

Now in relation to your business site in 1971 where were the SASO offices situated? -- They were also situated in Beatrice Street, I think the number was 86.

Very close by? -- Yes.

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Now Universal Printing Works is in fact the General Printing Works, it does printing work for anybody, is that correct? -- That is true.

Have you had any professional dealings with the organisation SASO? -- In the nature of business?

Yes. Could you please indicate to the Court from what time you had any dealings with SASO? -- We commenced business with them in about 1971, early in 1971.

Early in 1971. Can you recall which representative of SASO it was who approached you in a professional 20 capacity? -- Mr. Moodley...(inaudible)

Would you just speak into the microphone please.
-- Mr. Strini Moodley approached me.

Mr. Strini Moodley. Were you aware of his position in SASO at that stage? Did he ever tell you? -- Well I knew he was a representative of SASO.

Well I would like you to have a look at the accused in the dock there, they are numbered 1 to 9, do you perhaps see the gentleman you are referring to in the dock?--Yes.

You do, can you point him out to the Court? -- On 30 my extreme..

No. 9 at the end down there. Now what was it that Mr. Strini Moodley wanted your firm to do when he approached you early in 1971 Mr. Mehta. -- To print any materials that they required for the organisation.

And did you subsequently undertake certain work on behalf of SASO? -- I did.

When was your relationship with SASO terminated?

Could you give the Court an indication of when you stopped doing work for SASO? -- I think 1973.

Some time in 1973. And had there been a large 10 volume of work done by your firm on behalf of SASO? -There was a fair amount of work for SASO, I did.

Could you give the Court some indication of the type of material that you did print for SASO what types of things was it that you did? -- There were magazines, brochures, office stationery and various other smaller items.

I see. Now I would like to refer you to specific items. With the Court's permission I hand to the witness SASO K.4A My Lord, a SASO newsletter and titled SASO CONFERENCE ISSUE VOLUME 2 No. 4, September, October 1972. 2 Copies will also be made available to the Defence. This is the subject matter of Count No. 13, in fact ANNEXURE 9, part of ANNEXURE 9 appears in this newsletter My Lord.

<u>MR ATTWELL</u>: SASO, My Lord, this is general, it is the general file K.4A, it is not a SASO exhibit this, it is K.4A.

BY THE COURT: Thank you.

MR ATTWELL: Do you identify this SASO CONFERENCE ISSUE of the newsletter as one published by your firm Mr. Mehta?

-- I do.

In fact, printed by Universal Printing Works appears on the second page, just above the words Editorial, is that correct? -- That is correct.

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Now perhaps for the benefit of the Court you could perhaps just indicate the system employed by your firm, when you take an order to do work, how you work and at this statge I hand to the witness an invoice book and various documents which he will explain, to the Court, My Lord. -- When a client comes to see us about printing 10 any material for matters that they want done by us they first of all request us to quote on the job, in other words, give a price. The exact details of the job, the work involved, they work out they estimate the quotation...

MR SOGGOT: Sorry to interrupt My Lord, I don!t think there is any dispute that this firm in fact acted on behalf of SASO in printing, My Lord, we would suggest details of this order are not necessary.

MR ATTWELL: As Your Lordship pleases. Perhaps you could then indicate, an order was taken from SASO to do this particular job, is that correct? -- That is so.

Could you tell us the date on which you accepted this order? -- On the 9th of October 1972.

How many copies of this particular SASO conference issue did your firm print? -- 4000.

And were they subsequently delivered to SASO? -- They were.

And you in fact are in possession of a receipt by a representative of SASO that they received those copies from your firm? -- That is correct.

The amount involved, what was SASO's..-- R490.

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-1050-

R490. The books are available should the defence require it. I now refer you in addition to a second SASO newsletter. This will be, with the Court's permission, SASO E.1, My Lord, this is the SASO Banning Issue, March/April 1973. Do you identify this particular newsletter Mr. Mehta, as one printed by your firm? -- I do.

This My Lord, for the Court's clarification is a SASO E.1. Onee again your firm's title appears just above the words Editorial on the second page. Is that correct? -- That is correct.

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Did you personally receive the order for this particular printing? I hand one to you, the documents in connection with this particular issue. -- Yes, I would have received this order.

On what date did your firm receive the order to print this particular issue? -- On the 19th of March 1973.

And how many copies were in fact printed by your firm? -- 4 000.

The account for SASO amounted to? -- R520.

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And subsequently 4 000 copies of this newsletter were delivered to SASO? -- That is true.

And you are in possession of a receipt from a representative of SASO that they were in fact received? -- I am.

Are you able to point out which person in particular placed each of these two orders with your firm? Are you in a position to recall which person from SASO placed the orders with your firm? -- On a general listing it was Mr. Moodley that placed them with me, but if you ask me specifically the person, I don't think..

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You had dealings? -- It is four years ago, I had dealings/...

-1051-

dealings with representatives of SASO. I cannot specifically point out exactly who.

Representatives other than Mr. Moodley himself?-Yes, My Lord.

I see. I have no further questions, My Lord.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR ALLAWAY: My Lord, I would just like to ask some questions of a general nature. Mr. Mehta, are you a director of this printing firm? -- I am.

And do you have any system in the firm of reading or betting what you put out for public...(indistinct)-- 10 Not really.

Did you at any stage, were you at any stage under the impression that what you were printing for SASO was going to incite racial hostility or anything of that sort?

-- I was under no impression of that.

No impression of that kind at all. And did you - when did the Police first make enquiries of you about this newsletter? -- I think it was - if I can recollect correctly, it was almost immediately after the second one that we published, the planning issue.

So..-- It was roughly around that period.

So the second one you published, can I just get the dates correctly, please. Would you assist His Lordship there, the date of the second one, that is EXHIBIT SASO E.1. Is that March/April 1973. -- That is right.

And can you remember whether it was the Security Branch who spoke to you about it or some other police officers, or some other police branch? -- It was the Security Branch in one instance.

Do you know the name of the police officer who spoke 30 to you? -- I cannot remember.

-1052-

MEHTA

And did he deal with you directly? -- Yes, he saw me on my premises.

What did he want to know? -- He wanted to know various - he asked me questions pertaining to this book, as to when we received the order.

That is SASO E.1? -- Yes, this one.

So as long ago as April 1973 the Security Branch had been alerted as to the existence of this particular document? -- That is true.

And did you go on printing for SASO after that? 10
Newsletters. -- I cannot remember.

I am speaking subject to correction, Mr. Mehta, but according to my instructions, if I understand them correctly, you did go on printing newsletters and documents for them? -- Probably yes, we did print for a period after that.

MR ATTWELL: If this is of any assistance to the Court, the State is in possession of the job card of this firm for all the work done by them on behalf of SASO, and the witness is able, if necessary to indicate to my Learned Friend what work was done by this firm on behalf of the SASO...

MR ALLAWAY: My Lord, that would be very convenient, I am much obliged to my Learned Friend. You are being shown your job card by My Learned Friend Mr. Attwell. When - until when did you go on doing work for SASO according to that job card? -- Up to - well actually it was up to, the printing continued up to 23rd of May 1973.

Yes. -- And it was almost immediately after this. There are further entries here just indicating the closing of transactions.

-1052-

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-- 1053- MEHTA

I see. So your firm continued to do work after April 1973, it ceased to do work round about at the latest mid year of 1973? -- May 1973.

Thank you, My Lord.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR SOGGOT: Mr. Mehta, there is one point I want to ask you about. You know Mr. Nayager of the Security Branch in Durban? -- Yes.

And he used to visit your premises regularly? --Yes.

And he asked you to show him the proofs of your publication for SASO? -- That is true.

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And I understand that you refused to show him the proof but that you did agree to give him the completed publication before you handed it over to SASO. In other words, shown him an example of the printed job before you returned the order to SASO. — I am not quite clear at what stage I gave him the thing, but I think I said that as soon as the client receives his order, he is entitled to have a copy from me, because it then left my possession.

Yes, I see. -- I could not give it to him before the client had accepted the copies from me.

BY THE COURT: You adopted the attitude that when you had released the documents to the client, then you are prepared to let him see the document but not before then? -- In a general sense yes, that is what I meant.

MR SOGGOT: And that was your arrangement with him? -- With Capt. Nayager?

Yes. -- Yes.

Thank you.

RE-EXAMINATION BY MR ATTWELL: No questions.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS

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WITNESS IS EXCUSED.

### KLAGTE 2

HENDRIK WOLRAADT MARTHINUS NAUDE, VERKLAAR ONDER EED: ONDERVRAGING DEUR MNR REES: Is u 'n konstabel in die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie? -- Dit is korrek.

Waar is u gestasioneer? -- Duiwelskloof.

Die tolk is nou teenwoordig, Edele. Is u 'n konstabel in die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie? -- Korrek.

Waar is u gestasioneer? -- Duiwelskloof.

Op die 25ste September 1974, was u op spesiale dienste by die Universiteit van die Noorde te Turfloop? -- Dit 10 is korrek.

Het u onder die bevel gestaan van majoor Erasmus van Pietersburg? -- Korrek.

Sal u vir die hof baie kortliks meedeel wat gebeur het van die tyd wat julle op die kampus aangekom het? -- Ons het ongeveer 2,30 by die kampus aangekom van die Mankveng Polisiestasie af. Ons het na hulle saal toe gegaan. Ons het aan die oostekant van die saal vergader. Majoor Erasmus het die studente wat in die saal teenwoordig was toegespreek deur 'n draagbare luidspreker.

Sal u net na die tolk luister dat hy tolk. -- Hy het hulle versoek om die saal te verlaat binne vyftien minute.

Kan u vir die hof - ja-nee, gaan maar aan. -- Daar was blykbaar 'n vergadering in die saal aan die gang. SASO/BPC vergadering. Na ongeveer vyf minute het die studente die saal verlaat en na 'n sokkerveld aan die westekant van die saal toe gegaan. Hulle het vergader op die sokkerveld. Die polisie het aan die oostekant van die sokkerveld stelling ingeneem op 'n wal. Majoor Erasmus het van tyd tot tyd die studente oor die luidspreker meegedeel/...

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meegedeel hoeveel tyd al verstreke was en hoeveel tyd nog oor is. Net voordat die tyd verstreke is, het die studente uitmekaar uit gegaan. Die mansstudente het suid beweeg na hulle hostels toe en die vroue-studente noord beweeg. Die polisie het toe op die veld beweeg ongeveer die middel van die veld. Die studente wat toe alreeds van die veld af was, bo-op die suidelike pawiljoen, het met klippe begin gooi na die polisie. Majoor Erasmus het toe opdrag gegee dat die studente uitmekaar uit gejaag Die studente het oor die teerpad beweeg aan 10 moet word. die suidekant van die sokkerveld, en die polisie het net tot by die teerpad gegaan en nie oorgegaan nie. Na onderhandelinge tussen van die studente en majoor Erasmus het die studente opgebreek en die polisie het toe teruggegaan na Mankvweng Polisiestasie.

Was u betrokke in die arrestasie of poging om enige persoon te arresteer daar? -- Dit is korrek.

Vertel net vir die hof daarvan. -- 'n Mansstudent wat nie van die veld wou afgaan nie, ek het na hom toe gestap om hom te arresteer. Hy het met sy rug na my 20 toe gestaan en hy het omgedraai toe ek by hom kom en my in die gesig geslaan met sy gebalde vuis. Hy is toe gearresteer deur my en nog 'n ander persoon en hy is na 'n polisievoertuig geneem.

Het u enige plakkate of enigiets daar opgemerk?--Ja.

Vertel vir die hof die algemene aard van wat u opgemerk het. -- Al die plakkate was pro-Frelimo gewees, sommige het Viva Frelimo, Viva Revolution, Vorster's days are numbered, was van die slagspreuke wat op die plakkate geskrywe was.

Wat was die algemene houding van die studente? --

oproerig.

Dankie, Edele.

KRUISONDERVRAGING DEUR MNR ALLAWAY: Konstabel, wanneer was u gevra om getuienis in hierdie hof te gee?-- Met die aanvang van die verhoor, Edele.

En wanneer het - het u 'n verklaring wel gemaak in verband met die gebeurtenisse van die dag? -- Ek het.

Wanneer het u 'n verklaring gemaak? -- Vroeg hierdie jaar.

Net na - vroeg hierdie jaar? -- Vroeg hierdie jaar. 10
Sal u sê dit was Januarie of Februariemaand? -- Ek
kan u glad nie sê nie.

U het nie getuienis gegee voor 'n ondersoek deur regter Snyman in verband met hierdie Pro-Frelimo rallies nie? -- Glad nie.

En u kan nie sê of u enige van die beskuldigdes daardie dag wel gesien het nie? Die beskuldigdes wat hier is?-Ek kan hulle nie identifiseer nie. Dit is te lank terug.

Jy sê die studente was oproerig. -- Dit is korrek.

Nou ek wou wel aan u lees getuienis wat gegee was 20 deur 'n mnr. Kloppers en miskien sal hy, as die Staat hom nie roep nie, sal hy 'n verdedigingsgetuie wees, in verband met wat gebeur het toe die studente by die sokkerstadium gekom het.

DEUR DIE HOF: Wie is mnr. Kloppers?

MNR ALLAWAY: Mnr. Kloppers, U Edele, dit lyk of hy verbonde is met die Universiteit en volgens sy getuienis moes hy die gronde en die geboue en dié soort.. (praat gelyk)

DEUR DIE HOF: Ken u mnr. Kloppers? -- Hy is nie aan my bekend nie, Edele.

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MNR ALLAWAY: Was u teenwoordig toe die studente uit die saal/...

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saal uitgekom het?-- Ek was.

En volgens mnr. Kloppens se getuienis - Edele, ek lees van bladsy 13 van die betrokke afskrif af, vanaf dit is lyn - dit lyk asof dit lyn 21 is. Hy het gesê -

"Die studente kom singend uit die saal uit."

Stem u saam met sy getuienis dat toe hulle uit die saal uitgekom het, was hulle singend? -- Hulle was singend.

"En hulle beweeg in die rigting van die sokkerveld"

Stem u saam daarmee? -- Ek het dit alreeds gesê in my
getuienis.

Ek betwis dit nie, ek wou net weet of u saam met hom stem, dit is al? -- Ek stem saam.

"Daar het die polisieoffisier in bevel met hulle gepraat oor luidsprekers en hulle het uitmekaar uit gegaan" --Dit is korrek so.

"Die dames studente na die onderkant van die sokkerveld"

Stem u saamdaarmee? -- Dit is nou as dit na die noordekant toe is, ja.

Ja, hy noem dit die onderkant. -

"En die mansstudente na die bokant van die sokker-

veld in die rigting van die pawiljoen"

-- Dit is korrek.

"Daardie konkrete pawiljoen"

hy noem dit. Was die pawiljoen wel met konkreet gebou?-Konkreet gebou.

En hy was gevra hierdie getuie mnr. Klopper "Hoe was die studente se reaksie toe gewees, was
hulle kalm gewees"

En hy het getuig -

"Hulle het baie-stadig gereageer, stadig geloop,

sommige het gesing ander het ander het handegebare gemaak"
Stem u saam daarmee? -- Dit is korrek so.

En hulle het wel nie vinnig gereageer vir die bevel van Majoor Erasmus om uitmekaar uit te gaan. -- Hulle het baie stadig gereageer.

En toe was hy gevra -

"Ja, maar .."

Edele dit is op bladsy 14 lyne 2 -

"Ja, maar ek kan nie sê of die studente ontsteld
was of was hulle kalm gewees op daardie stadium" 10
Die stadium waaroor hy gevra was, die stadium toe hulle
gevra was om uitmekaar uit te gaan. En hy het geantwoord -

"Op daardie stadium was hulle redelik kalm."
Stem u saam? -- Ek stem nie saam nie.

Wat was die houding op daardie stadium? -- Hulle het gesing, hulle het die Black Power teken gegee en hulle het die polisie uitgejou. Wat presies aan die polisie geskree is, kan ek nie meer onthou nie.

En wat hulle wel gesing het? -- Ook nie.

En hierdie getuienis gaan aan. Hy was gevra "Goed, die mans en die dames beweeg toe uitmekaar
na die polisie gepraat het? -- Ja, die studente het
toe op beweeg na die konkrete pawiljoen se kant toe
en daar het hulle gaan sit, die mansstudente".

Stem u saam daarmee? -- Hulle het bokant die pawiljoen gaan sit tussen die sokkerveld en die teerpad.

En die getuienis gaan aan dit sê -

"Daar het die offisier in bevel hulle weer toegespreek en daar was geen reaksie nie."

Het majoor Erasmus hulle toe weer toegespreek? -- Hy het die polisie toe toegespreek en ons meegedeel dat ons

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die studente moet uitmekaar uit jaag, want ten tye wat hulle gaan sit het op die grondwal het party gestaan, het hulle met klippe begin gooi.

Nou volgens my instruksies en volgens hierdie getuie se getuienis, was geen klippe op daardie stadium gegooi nie.

-- Die getuienis wat ek hier lewer is net getuienis van my eie waarneming.

Ja, maar jy stem nie saam met mnr. Kloppers dat die offisier in bevel het weer toegespreek en daar was geen reaksie nie. -- Hy het hulle nie toegespreek toe hulle 10 alreeds bo by die voltooide pawiljoen was nie.

En toe was hy gevra -

"Kan u onthou wat hy by daardie geleentheid vir hulle gesê het?"

En hy het geantwoord -

"Op een stadium het ek gehoor dat hy vir hulle gesê
het hulle moet opbreek en teruggaan na hulle koshuise."

Nou het jy wel op een stadium gehoor dat majoor Erasmus
vir hulle so gevra het? -- Dit was nog voordat hulle by
die pawiljoen gekom het, toe hulle nog op die veld was 20
toe hulle meegedeel is dat daar nog net 'n paar minute
tyd oor is.

En toe gaan hy aan -

"En daar was geen reaksie van die kant van die studente nie en hulle het maar gebly sit."

Stem u saam dat hulle maar net gebly sit het, hulle het nie gereageer nie? -- Ek stem nie saam nie.

"Toe het daar 'n bevel gekom van die offisier om die polisie en honde het vinnig na die studente se kant beweeg."

-- Dit is korrek.

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Nou volgens sy getuienis was die oorsaak van die feit dat die polisie hulle gestormloop het en die honde gebruik het, dat daar geen reaksie van die studente was nie, nie dat die rede dat klippe gegooi was nie. -- Die bevel het gekom van majoor Erasmus dat ons hulle uitmekaar uit moet jaag nadat hulle met klippe begin gooi het.

Was knuppels gebruik? -- Dit is korrek.

En toe het die getuienis aangegaan dat nadat die polisie die honde gebruik het, was die studente oorgedryf bo-oor die pad na die koshuis se kant toe, ek lees eer op bladsy 14. Is dit reg dat nadat die honde gebruik was en na die knuppel stormloop was die studente wel oorgedryf oor die pad na die koshuise se kant toe? -- Hulle was oor die pad gedryf, die polisie het tot by die pad gegaan.

En toe gaan hierdie getuie aan -

"Nadat die studente oor die pad oorgedryf was, wat het aangegaan met die klipgooiery, dit, het dit nog aangegaan.."

-- Dit het nog aangegaan.

Want hy gaan aan, hierdiemnr. Kloppers en hy sê - "Ja, daar is van die studente wat deurgeloop het, onder die knuppels van die polisie"

Is dit reg? -- Dit is heel moontlik.

En hy is gevra in verband met die honde op bladsy 15 en hy sê -

"Een van die honde, nadat die studente oor die pad gedryf was, en dit natuurlik terwyl hulle oor die pad was daar baie studente wat klippe in hulle hande gehad het, en aan die ander kant van die pad het een van die studente omgedraai en na een van hondemeesters gegooi en hom teen die gesig getref"

-- Ek het dit nie gesien nie. Ek was toe op die veld

ten /

ten tye wat ek self aangerand was.

En mnr. Kloppers, daarvandaan af in hierdie verband, hy sê dat -

"Dit is wanneer die klipgooiery wel begin het, Nadat die polisie die knuppelstorm en die honde losgemaak het."

-- Ek stem nie saam nie.

Nou, jy het gesê nadat jy by die saal was het jy persoonlik op die veld gegaan? -- Dit is korrek.

Jy was op die sokker terrein? -- Dit is korrek.

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En hoeveel polisiebeamptes was daar op die sokkerterrein saam met u? -- Dit is moeilik om te sê want sommige
van die polisiebeamptes het op die oostelike wal van die
sokkerveld bly staan.

Was enige van die hondemeesters daar op die sokkerterrein? -- Ek stel my soiets voor, ja.

Hoe ver van u af? -- Ek kan nie sê nie.

En het u persoonlik ingemeng met die studente? Wat daar op die sokkerterrein was? -- Glad nie. Behalwe...

Ingemeng, het u daar tussen hulle ingeloop? -- Nee. 20 Sonder om in te meng nie? -- Glad nie.

Het die Polisie op - in 'n klomp saam daar gestaan en die studente op 'n ander kant van die sokker terrein gestaan? -- Die polisie was redelik verspreid gewees aan die oostekant van die sokkerveld.

Het jy gesien waar die studente die klippe gekry het wat hulle gegooi het? -- Nee.

Was daar enige hofsaak in die magistraatshof in verband met die aanranding op u? -- Nee.

Die student wat jy in hegtenis geneem het, waar het 30 jy hom geneem? Aan wie het jy hom oorhandig? -- Hy is geneem/...

geneem na 'n polisievoertuig.

Was hy aan majoor Erasmus oorhandig? -- Ek persoonlik het hom nie orhandig.

Op 'n latere stadium was hy losgelaat? -- Ek veronderstel so, ja.

Weet jy waarom? -- Nee.

Weet jy die naam van die betrokke student? -- Ek kan nie meer onthou nie. Ek sal hom ook nie weer kan identifiseer nie.

Kan jy die besonderhede kry as dit moontlik is, is 10 daar besonderhede? -- Daar sal besonderhede definitief wees en ek kan dit ook kry.

Is majoor Erasmus nog gestasioneer daar naby Turfloop?

--- Hy is in Pietersburg gestasioneer.

Hy is in Pietersburg. Hy is nog lewend? -- Ja, hy lewe nog.

Goed. Hy is beskikbaar as getuienis as dit nodig is?
-- Ek veronderstel so.

Ek wou net graag besonderhede kry in verband met u getuienis dat die studente oproerig was. Praat u van 20 die stadium toe hulle op die sokker terrein was? -- Ek praat van die stadium wat majoor Erasmus hulle begin toespreek het, het hulle hom uitgejou en hom nie kans gegee om te sê wat hy wou sê nie.

Was dit by die saal of by die..- Dit was by die saal gewees.

Maar hulle het wel uit die saal uitgekom? -- Toe het hulle uit die saal uitgegaan na 'n tyd, ja.

Ja, en volgens getuienis wat alreeds gegee was, het hulle het gesing terwyl hulle na die sokkerterrein gegaan 30 het en hulle het 'n gebalde vuis gemaak? -- Volgens my waarnemings/...

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waarnemings was hulle oproerig gewees.

Maar wat is oproerig asseblief? -- Hulle wou nie saamstem en die polisie tegemoet kom nie. Hulle het dit wel tegemoet gekom maar eers na 'n tyd.

Maar die vergadering was nie aan die gang op die sokkerterrein nie? -- Nee, hy was nie, hulle het net gesing en slagspreuke geskree.

Toe jy die kampus verlaat het, was alles reeds toe kalm gewees? -- Hulle was redelik kalm gewees.

Het jy met enige van die studente gepraat?--Glad nie, behalwe die een wat ek gearresteer het.

Het jy wel gedink jy was geregtig om hulle na die koshuise toe te stuur? --- Definitief, ja.

Dankie.

KRUISONDERVRAGING DEUR MNR SOGGOT: Konstabel, ek wil net duidelikheid kry op een punt. Op 'n sekere stadium voordat julle die bevel gegee het om die studente uitmekaar te jaag, u sê daar was - hulle was besig met klipgooiery? Enkele onder hulle. -- Almal van hulle of driekwart van hulle het klippe gegooi toe ons die bevel gekry het om hulle uitmekaar uit te jaag.

Nou dit is net waaroor ek vir u die vrae stel, u sê ongeveer driekwart van hulle was besig om klippe te gooi? -- Dit is korrek.

Ongeveer hoeveel sou u skat het klippe gegooi op daardie stadium? -- Enigiets van 300 na 400.

En waar presies het hulle gestaan? -- Dit is die gedeelte tussen die suidekant van die sokkerveld en die pad en selfs oor die pad agter die pad.

Hoe ver sou u sê van die kant van die sokkerveld? 30 -- Die pawiljoen is direk langs diesokkerveld.

En / ..

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En het u gesien het hulle ænvoudig daar klippe opgetel en dit gegooi? -- Ek het nie gesien dat klippe opgetel was nie, maar ek het net die klippe gesien wat hulle gegooi het.

Jy het op geen stadium gesien dat hulle voor daardie punt en tyd, klippe daarheen gebring het nie? -- Nee.

En net een finale punt, enige persoon daar in die omgewing sou maklik gesien het dat daar was daardie etlike honderde studente besig om klippe te gooi? -- Ja, dit was ooglopend gewees.

En u is definitief op een punt, dit het plaasgevind voordat die bevel gegee is om die studente uitmekaar te jaag? -- Dit is so.

Geen verdere vrae nie.

KRUISONDERVRAGING DEUR MNR PITMAN: Geen vrae.

HERONDERVRAGING DEUR MNR REES: Geen vrae.

DEUR DIE HOF: Konstabel sal u net kyk na hierdie kiekie asseblief? Nou ek dink u het op een stadium gepraat van 'n voltooide pawiljoen. -- Ja.

Na wat verwys u daar as u praat van 'n voltooide 20 pawiljoen? -- Die voltooide pawiljoen is nie 'n pawiljoen met 'n dak op nie, volgens dié een nou, dit is die pawiljoen direk onderkant waar die studente staan op hierdie foto, Edele.

Daardie betonterrasse? -- Dit is korrek, dit is veronderstel om 'n pawiljoen te wees.

Nou ek weet glad nie wanneer daardie kiekies geneem is nie, was die studente ooit so versprei op die wal by die pawiljoen soos die foto toon? -- Ja.

Op watter stadium sou u sê was dit? -- Dit is net 30 voordat die klipgooiery begin het.

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Is dit net voor die klipgooiery? == Dit is net voor die klipgooiery.

Is dit die samedromming wat die majoor teen beswaar gemaak het? -- Nee, Edele, die samedromming wat op
die veld wel plaasgevind het. Die mans studente het
toe beweeg na waar hulle nou is volgens die foto, en toe
die studente wat nou nog op die veld is, ook op die pawiljoen
is bo-op die wal, toe het die klipgooiery begin en toe is
die bevel gegee om hulle uitmekaar uit te jaag.

Nou waar was die polisie op daardie stadium wat die 10 foto geneem is naastenby? == Almal was op die oostelike kant van die sokkerveld, op die wal.

Is dit met ander woorde, buitekant die veld na die foto aan die linkerkant? == Dit is korrek so.

En waar het u gestaan? == Ek was meer na die noorde= kant toe.

Dit wil se op die foto? -- Meer die kant toe, af ondertoe.

O, dit is heelwaarskynlik agter die man wat die foto geneem het? - Ja, ek veronderstel so.

Mou wat was die toestand daar gewees toe die klippe begin gooi is, was die studente soos hulle daar geplaas is? -- Hulle was ongeveer so gewees behalwe dat die polisie toe al meer op die veld was, meer polisiemanne was toe op die veld gewees.

Ear van die Staatsgetwies het gese dat hy was op die sokkerveld gewees en die massa van die studente was al heeltemal af van die sokkerveld af gewees. -- Dit is koppek, hulle was almel af gewees, hulle was bo-op die paviljoen gewees op die grondwel.

Wanneer was die traangas bomme geskiet? -- Nedet die studente/...

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studente uitmekaar uit gejaag is of begin jaag is, met die knuppels, van die wal af na hulle hostels toe, is van traangas..

Was die studente toe geplaas soos hulle daar geplaas is of was hulle bietjie anders? -- Nee, toe was hulle al meer uitmekaar uit gewees, meer in die rigting van die hostels. Ek self het nie gesien toe die traanrook gebruik is nie, want toe is ek, net soos ek my getuienis gegee het, ek het 'n persoon op die veld gearresteer en ek was met hom besig gewees ten tye van die traanrook skietery.

Die een wat u arresteer het, was dit 'n kruppel outjie gewees? -- Nee, glad nie, groot frisgebou.

Het u gesien dat 'n kruppel man gevang was? -- Nee, nee, Edele.

Volgens die getuienis wat reeds afgelê is, is daar drie mense gearresteer daarso en in die vangwa gesit.

Weet u iets daarvan? -- Ek weet daar was mense in die vangwa, ek kan nie sê wat die getal was nie.

Hier is 'n ander getuie wat sê dat die klippe is eintlik gegooi deur studente wat anderkant die koshuise gewees het en dit is na die stormloop. -- Toe was ook klippe gegooi. Nadat hulle al tussen die koshuise was, het hulle nog steeds klippe gegooi, tussen die geboue uit.

Weet jy hoeveel honde gebruik is? -- Ek dink drie.

Het enige van die honde van die manne daar gebyt?--Nie wat ek gesien het nie.

Ja, dankie.

#### GEEN VERDERE VRAE

HOF VERDAAG

HOF HFFVAT

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MR ATTWELL: This witness will be giving evidence My Lord on/...

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on Annexure 8 appears on a newsletter and this witness will be giving evidence concerning that newsletter, that is Count 12 ANNEXURE 8.

SIVAJEE SUNIL RAI BRANDAW, DULY SWORN STATES:

EXAMINATION BY MR ATTWELL: Mr. Brandaw, you are a director and manager of Leader Press in Durban? Is that correct?

-- Yes.

Are you familiar with an organisation the South African Students Organisation commonly known as SASO? --- Yes.

You have had professional dealings with them concerning printing of publications for SASO is that correct?

-- Yes.

I would like to refer you to two documents, with the Court's permission the first SASO newsletter, reference is <u>K.2A</u>. At the same time I would like you to look at <u>K.2</u>. The Defence are being supplied with copies of both these. I would like you to have a look at K2A the SASO newsletter in the final form. Do you recognise this particular SASO newsletter as one published by your firm? 20 -- Yes, I do.

In fact, on the very last page Leader Press' name appears, is that correct. -- That is correct.

The last words of this document. Could you perhaps
tell the Court when you printed this and on whose directions?

-- We would have had an order to print this newsletter
some time before the date which appears on this newsletter.

In other words some time before. .-- September 1971.

And who was it that approached you on behalf of SASO to print this particular newsletter? — To the best 30 of my recollection it was the publications director of

SASO.

And that was? -- Mr. Strini Moodley.

Would you perhaps have a look at the accused in the box, they are numbered one to nine. Could you perhaps identify Mr. Moodley? -- Yes, I do.

Could you point him out to the Court? -- Yes, the one on the end.

The one on the end. No. 9. How many of this particular copy were you to print? -- According to my records 2 500.

2 500 copies. And did you in fact print these?
-- Yes, we did.

Were they delivered to SASO? -- Yes.

And what was SASO's account for this particular ...

Now I would like you to have a look at K.2. That in fact appears to be the draft for this newsletter in its final form. Could you perhaps tell the Court about this particular, in your specific instance it is a series of documents, they have been bound together in one document for the purposes of K.2. Would you perhaps tell the Court what that document in fact is. — This would be the copy which was submitted for publication in the newsletter and we would have prepared it in metal for inclusion in the — for the actual printing.

Now I would like you to have a look at the first part of it, that part you now have in your hand. This appears to be in fact the actual layout of the newsletter.

-- It is.

Now who was responsible for that layout as it appears there? Do you notice there are handwritten notes

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all/..

all over and the various articles are stuck down with sticky tape or glue. Who set that out in the form that it is set out there, was it one of your employees? ---No, that Strini Moodley would have done.

Strini Moodley. Was this brought to you in the form in which it now appears before you by Strini Moodley? for printing? -- We would have prepared the gali proofs and submitted it to SASO, for layout purposes and they would have paged them accordingly and would have submitted it to us as a final dummy on which we were to prepare 10 the newsletter.

And this is the final dummy which you now have before you? -- Yes.

Now this you say would have been prepared by somebody at SASO but not by you people? -- No.

I see. With the Court's permission, that will be K.2 My Lord. Are you familiar with the handwriting which does appear on that document? -- No, I...

It is written in red generally at various .. Do you know that handwriting at all? -- No, I don't.

I have no further questions.

MR ALLAWAY: My Lord, I understand this witness has said he was associated with the Leader Press. May he with respect stand down until after the adjournment My Lord, the luncheon adjournment because I do believe I may have to ask him some other questions. Thank you, My Lord.

#### WITNESS STANDS DOWN

MR REES: This witness' evidence relates to COUNT 2 My Lord.
WILLIAM DONALD CLARK, DULY SWORN STATES:

EXAMINATION BY MR REES: This witness will refer to EXHIBIT 6, can it be got out. Are you a constable in

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the:...

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the:...

the South African Police? -- That is correct.

Where are you stationed? -- During last year September I was stationed at Malverne.

What rank do you hold? -- I am a detective constable.

On the 22nd of September 1974 at about 1,50 a.m. were you proceeding to Umlazi conveying members of the Force? -- That is correct, but it was the 23rd.

The 23rd sorry. -- In the early morning.

Early morning. As you approached intersection of Grimsby and South Coast Road, is that Durban? -- That is 10 Durban.

Did you notice a large white sign? -- I did.

Whereabouts did you notice it? -- The sign was in South Coast Road suspended from a tree.

Will you have a look at <u>EXHIBIT 6</u>, which is folded open before you now. — That was the sign that was hanging in the tree, yes.

And what did you do when you saw it? -- I contacted my radio station who instructed me to remove the sign and return it to the radio station.

Do you now hand in that as EXHIBIT 6. -- I do.

Thank you.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR ALLAWAY: My Lord, no questions, and if it will assist the State, I don't think we challenged any part of either the witness Singh's evidence or Bawa's evidence regarding these signs, and it will save the State calling evidence for people to say where signs were found, I have no doubt my Learned Friend and I could formulate the relevant witness submissions to spare My Lord the obligation of having to listen to this sort of evidence. 30 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR SOGGOT: No questions.

RE-EXAMINATION BY MR REES: No questions.

## NO FURTHER QUESTIONS

# WITNESS IS EXCUSED:

MR REES: My Lord, I had proposed to put in a series of witnesses on this particular topic now and that means that I have now run out of witnesses temporarily.

MR ALLAWAY: My Lord, if it will be quicker just to call the witnesses and get it over with that way, it might in fact be a lot faster.

MR REES: My Lord, perhaps I would suggest that the Court 10 takes a short adjournment now or an adjournment. My Learned Friends can take their instructions about Mr. Brandaw, I am informed that he is in a hurry to get back to Durban today.

BY THE COURT: Then the Court will adjourn.

COURT ADJOURNS

# COURT RESUMES:

# SIVAJEE SUNIL RAI BRAMDAW, STILL UNDER OATH:

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. ALLAWAY: Mr. Bramdaw, are you a journalist by profession? --- Yes, I am.

Were you the editor of the Leader newspaper? --- Yes. When you go on the staff of the Leader? ---- As a reporter in 1959.

And when did you become editor? --- I would say about 1965.

Are you still with the Leader? --- Yes.

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Are you still the editor? --- Yes.

And where were you educated? --- I was educated overseas. When did you come to South Africa? --- In 1959.

When did you first go into journalism in South Africa? --- Soon after my return.

That is in 1959? --- That is right.

Is the Leader basically a newspaper directed to - does it have Black readers? --- Well we have Black readers, yes, but it is mainly Indian orientated.

Mainly Indian orientated for the Indian community? 20 --- Yes.

Do you know what your circulation figures were in, say, 1974? --- 1974?

Roughly? --- It must have been about 15 000.

And as far as - I am going to call them Black newspapers are concerned, that is newspapers that are directed to Black readers, how do you rate in the Republic? --- Well, we are small but we have big readership.

I see. I take it like any other newspaper .. (Court intervenes) Can you explain that a little better, what do you mean COURT:

by / ...

by you are small but you have a big readership, do you mean that although you do not sell many newspapers, the papers sort of circulate? --- That is right.

MR.ALLAWAY: And is it a family run business? --- It is.

Like any other newspaper, I take it, Mr. Bramdaw, the Leader has been involved in defamation actions? --- We have not been to Court.

No, I do not mean to Court - I do not want to give away any little secrets, but is it correct that in the Leader, and certainly I would say the years 1971 onwards, you had 10 legal advisers, you had attorneys who acted for you?

--- Right.

And was it not the policy of the Leader to refer any questionable matter to those attorneys before deciding to publish? --- Yes, it was.

Now, with regard to the printing that you did, that is separately from the publication of your newspaper, that was also a substantial source of income? —— It was.

To the proprietors of the Leader? And am I correct in thinking that the policy of referring matters which were in 20 any way doubtful for publication, with regard to matters that you were printing, like the SASO newsletter, also applied there? —— We did submit certain types of jobs that came in for, sort of opinion.

To your lawyers? --- To our lawyers.

For vetting? --- That is right. In the instance of the SASO newsletter we did not.

You did not do so. Now, as the editor of the Leader,

I take it you took a fairly active personal interest in Black

political thinking in the Republic in the years from 1971 30

onwards? --- I did.

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