

Yes, carry on. -- I think that is all.

Yes, now when did the students start moving towards the hall where the rally was to be held? -- I can say around at about quarter to two.

Yes? What was the attitude of the students? -- They were excited

Yes? Was there any motorcar - did you see any motorcar at that stage in the vicinity? -- Yes, we saw a private car moving from the direction of the administration block to the gate at the western side of the University. 10

Yes? And what was the reaction of the students for those? -- Well the students started shouting at it.

What did they shout? Friendly messages or what style messages? -- I wouldn't say exactly whether it was friendly or hostile but they were simply saying go away.

Could you make out who or what was in the car, was it Whites or Blacks or Indians or Coloureds?-- I didn't definitely look exactly who was inside.

And did you yourself go to the hall at some stage? -- Yes. 20

About when did you go there? -- It was about at the same time, about quarter to, ten to two.

Quarter to ten to two? -- Yes.

Very well, now just tell the Court what happened in the hall?-- The meeting was opened by the President, Mr. Sedibe.

Yes? -- And he continued, he started his speech on the historical background.

But now when the meeting was opened was there any singing or any shouting or anything of that nature? Was there any salutes given? -- They were singing but I cannot say/.. 30

say exactly whether there was salutes given because I couldn't get into the hall myself, I found the hall was packed and I remained outside.

Right, carry on. You say, Mr. Sedibe, accused No. 7 addressed the audience? -- Yes.

Can you give the Court the gist of what he said?
-- As far as I could hear he spoke about Frelimo had started as a student organization in Mozambique. As time goes on they were aroused by the authorised and they fled to Tanzania where they began fighting back into Mozambique for some years until this was stopped by the transit government in Portugal.

10

Yes? -- And this led to the taking over of that place.

Was any mention made of the banning of the SASO and BPC rallies? -- Yes, he mentioned that the banning, that the people who have banned that are scared.

What people had banned it? Which people are scared?
-- Those who had banned the rally.

Any other speakers? -- The following speaker was Mr. Nefolovhodwe, No. 6.

20

Was he the President of SASO at the time? -- Yes, he was the president of SASO.

Just tell the Court briefly what did he say? -- He opened his speech by mentioning that he was not speaking as the National President of SASO, but he was speaking as a student of the University of the North and that he was coming to speak about freedom which is in Mozambique when there is not freedom for the majority of people in the country. He said that Frelimo took time fighting for the freedom and he said that it is time for students to realise that freedom needs own involvement, and he said that Frelimo

30

fought/..

fought the way they did and got their freedom but not as the freedom can be obtained through the same way as he emphasised this point by referring - by saying that he is not your enemy advocating for the methods used by Frelimo.

Yes, carry on. What was the reaction of the students to Mr.Nefolovhodwe's speech? -- There was an applause and saying "power".

Saying "power".-- Yes.

Who says "power"? -- The students.

10

When is power said. Yes, but under what circumstances does the people say "power"? -- (Inaudible) there is a meeting and he was speaking about our liberation, that is usually where you hear the word power.

Yes and does anything accompany the use of the word "power"? -- Yes, they give the Black Power salute.

Can you demonstrate the Black Power salute? Just show the Court. Is it the right fist or any fist? -- It is the right fist.

In the air. And who is the Black Power? You say it is the Black Power salute. -- Yes.

20

Yes, now who constitutes the Black Power at that University? -- The Black students, the other Black students.

Yes, carry on, and then after Mr. Nefolovhodwe had spoken, what happened then? -- After Mr. Nefolovhodwe had spoken, it was followed by MissLebitjone.

Yes, and what was the gist of whatshe said?

-- She spoke too about freedom, that we are celebrating freedom which is in Mczambizue and that we are expecting Samora to celebrate with us tomorrow. She said that we students should not sit because Frelimo could not sit just and hope

that /...

that they will be free. He said that students could continue fighting for a good university with no freedom, but it is time we start and fight for our freedom. She said that she is actually disappointing president Kaunda, Nyerere and Mabuti when she is not fighting for her freedom. Then she further said that don't students demanding something similar dramatic as the South African Mau Mau.

Just repeat that please, I didn't catch it. -- She said that don't students imagine something similar dramatic as the South African Mau Mau.

10

I see. South African Mau Mau. -- Yes.

BY THE COURT: Now let me just make it clear. Now what did she really convey by that? What did she try to convey by saying that? Did she warn the students against anything that was similar to the Mau Mau in South Africa? -- No.

Well I don't quite see what she was saying. -- In fact it depends whether the students do know what the Mau Mau is, but for instance..

Do you know what the Mau Mau is? -- Well I only know that Mau Mau is something that is connected with ?? times of colonialism, but I don't know exactly what it is.

20

Was she trying to say that they must not expect a sort of Mau Mau in South Africa? -- I think that they should expect it, although I personally don't understand really what she..

Now just try and repeat what you say she said? -- She said that "Don't students imagine something similar dramatic than the South African Mau Mau."

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Was she asking a question? -- A sort of a question.

MR REES: Yes and then? Alright now she says don't students imagine something like a Mau Mau. -- Yes.

And how does she go on, what does she say further? You people were now celebrating there and what does she say? -- I couldn't hear everything that she said because as she was speaking at the hall I could see the Police were coming and so from there on I couldn't..

You didn't pay much attention to her. Now what did you do when you saw the Police coming? -- I realised we should inform students before they arrive at the hall so as to avoid them being ^{shocked} at seeing them, after they had the assurance from the Rector that they could continue with the rally. 10

Yes? -- So I - but I couldn't get into the hall because the hall was packed so I went out and not through the window next to Mr. Sedibe was with Mr. Mangwate and Mr. Ratlhagane. The response came from Mr. Ratlhagane. I tried to tell him that Police were coming but just couldn't put it through.

Yes? -- And at that time the Police had already arrived. 20

Yes, and then what happened? -- The students made an uproar when they saw police peeping through the open windows.

Yes? -- And the open door.

Yes, carry on. -- And Major Erasmus standing at the open door on the eastern side of the hall tried to speak to the students. They kept quiet to listen but we could not hear what he was saying and that caused students to shout again and we could not hear what was said. 30

Yes? -- Mr. Sedibe went to him and they spoke to

him/..

hi

him and after some seconds or so students went out through the western side of the hall.

Yes, and then? --Then we all went to the football grounds and students were continuing singing. When we arrived at the grounds I saw Mr. Sedibe but he was looking at the S.R.C. - seeking to see the S.R.C. members so I went to him and asked him what did Major Erasmus say. He said that he thought we should, the students would disperse and he said that it is his opinion that we should disperse. So in the meantime S.R.C. members was around and we agreed 10 to stop the rally and so Mr. Sedibe stopped the students from singing and told them that the rally had ended.

Did somebody play a drum there? -- Yes, it was Mr. Sedibe having a drum.

When did he play the drum? -- At the time when he stopped the students.

And how did he play the drum, with his hands or what? -- With his hands.

Yes, and then what happened? -- After telling the students that they should disperse, there was a good res- 20
ponse. Female students went to the direction of their hostels to the northern side and the male students to the southern side and in the meantime I remained with him and other S.R.C. members just had the centre of the sports field and we were just discussing a little bit about this police intervention, and I realised that the police were moving - they were no longer staying on the eastern boundary, they were moving to the southern side which ??
and others were getting into the ground to block the way between us and the male students but I didn't pay much 30
attention because I know that everything was over.

Immediately/...

Immediately I heard a gun shot and I saw students started running but immediately my attention was attracted by another policeman, White policeman with something in the right hand who was running behind Mr. Ishmael Mkabela who was just relaxed moving to the hostels.

MR ALLAWAY: I didn't catch that name, My Lord, Ishmael?

-- Mkabela.

MR REES: Yes? -- He hit him once and he fell down because he was not - the way I could see he was not aware of this and I started realising that we were in danger here and 10 I started running to the hostel side in order to dodge the number of police who were blocking the southern side, and when I was running I could see a dog running freely from the eastern side where the number of policemen were and at the time I thought I was tired and I ran faster and managed to pass and in front of me there was Peter Singh who was not running, he was just moving slowly and the dog caught him and he fell down. In the meantime I stopped at the nearest hostel where there was a group of students. So we were looking at the way the dog was handling him and 20 at a certain stage he managed to stand but could not free himself from the dog until - then we saw an African policeman coming to his direction carrying a long stick and wielding it as though he was going to hit him but fortunately he didn't and at that time the dog was freed from him but I couldn't see how he was freed and so a White policeman arrived and they took him to the police van and then when the students were moving now out of the hostel, where they were assembled and they went to the direction of the police van and I could see some throwing some things I could presume #30 were stones and at that time I wanted to go to the police vans/...

vans too to find the reason why, the reason for the whole thing but I was then affected by tear gas which they were shooting tear gas balls to the coming students and it affected me and I went to the hostel for some few minutes and then I came back. When I arrived I found that it was the time the rector had already arrived and those arrested students Ishmael Mkabela, Peter-Singh and Jacob Mamabola were then released. The police then released them.

Did you have anything to do with the talking to the police that resulted in this release? -- Not personally. 10

Did you hear what was said? -- No.

Now did you then proceed to the S.R.C. office? --Yes, the rector, after speaking to the Police that they should go...

No, just answer my question, did you go to the S.R.C. offices that afternoon? -- Yes, I did.

And who did you find there? -- I found a number of students.

Who? -- Mr. Sedibe was present, Mr. Nefolovhodwe, Mr. Mangwathe, Mr. Ratlhagane, and Miss 20

What were they doing? -- They were asking Miss Victoria Masha about her taking photographs at the rally.

Yes? What were they concerned about? -- They were trying to find out the motive of taking the photos because at a certain stage it was said that she even took a photograph of Mr. Sedibe.

Yes, what did they regard her as? -- Well we regarded her as a Police informer.

And then what did you do with her photographs? -- We confiscated her film and the responsibility was given to Miss Toni and Mr. Ratlhagane to get it processed and developed/... 30

developed so that we could see actually which were the people taken so that we could deduce the motive of taking their photos.

Why were you adverse to them taking photographs of the S.R.C. Members that day? -- We thought the people who are exposing us to the Police to give our photographs to the Police.

Would this be a convenient stage to take the adjournment?

COURT ADJOURNS

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JONAS LESIBANA LEDWABA STILL UNDER OATH:

EXAMINATION BY MR. REES CONTINUED: I would just like to find out some facts about the interrelationship between SASO and the SRC. Before the SRC(MACHINE FAULTY) did they have an independent local committee, or did they form part of the SRC? --- Before it was banned there was a local committee of the SRC.

In 1974 after SASO came back onto the campus, did they share the same office as the SRC or did they have a different office? --- They actually had no office but they could only 10 keep their(INAUDIBLE) in the office ...(INAUDIBLE)

If they wanted to telephone what telephone did they use? --- They used the SRC telephone.

What is the number of that SRC telephone? --- It is Sovenga 65.

Now, was there a man by the name of Nat Seratse? --- Yes.

Was he there on the day of the rally? --- Yes.

What is he? --- He is a reporter of the Rand Daily Mail.

Do you know how it came about that he came there?

--- No, I do not know. 20

You do not know who organised for him to come? --- No.

Or whether he came on his own? --- I think he came on his own.

Now did you see him in the SRC office that afternoon?

--- Yes I saw him.

What was he doing there? --- He was using the phone, and I presume that he was ..(Mr. Rees intervenes)

I don't want to know what you presume, you saw him using the phone. Did you see anybody else using the phone there that afternoon? --- Yes, Mr. Nefolovhodwe did. 30

Did you know who he was speaking to? --- No, I do not.

When was this with relation to this incident with the woman, you know the woman that you thought was a spy? Was it before that or after that? --- It was after that.

I want to deal with a few aspects, this will be generally Counts 1 and 4. Now you spoke of this SASO formation school, do you remember? --- Yes.

And that was being held shortly before these rallies? --- Yes.

Can you remember roughly the date?

MR. ALLAWAY: M'lord, my learned friend can lead the witness 10 I don't think there will be any objection, I think it is common cause that such a school was in fact held.

MR. REES: M'lord, I don't think anything turns on the specific date, thank you, I am indebted to my learned friend. Now, were there various commissions in this formation school? --- Yes there were.

And were you chairman of one of the commissions? --- Yes.

What was the commission that you were chairman of, what did they deal with? --- They were dealing with the Bantustans, how the Black students can help to destroy these since we 20 do not want these.

Was anything concerning training institutions dealt with? --- It was on our recommendation that we should involve students in high schools and other training institutions, so that they can help us with this task.

How were you to involve them? --- We were to approach them and tell them about Bantustans.

And what was to happen to teachers who did not fall in line with your suggestions? --- We thought that there are teachers in high schools and training institutions who would 30 like to work against us for their own selfish ends, and we

recommended / ...

recommended that such teachers be punished.

And when you talk of punishing the teachers, what did you have in mind? --- Well, this is what I had in mind, the commissions did not deal with this, I think I can hit them.

COURT: What did you say? --- I think personally I can hit them.

You mean assault them, was that your personal view?

--- That was my personal view.

MR. REES: Who kept the notes of the commission of which you were chairman? --- They were kept by Mr. Ramaposa. 10

Now did these commissions have to report back to the meeting as such? --- Yes.

And did your commission report back? --- Yes it did.

And what was to happen to the reports that the various commissions drew up? --- I don't know exactly, but I think they were to be taken by the Transvaal Regional Director.

Of SASO? --- Yes.

Who was he? --- Gerald Phukudje.

And where was the office of the Transvaal Regional Director of SASO? --- In Johannesburg. 20

When the various commissions reported back, did the school as such discuss the recommendations and accept them or reject them, or what was the position? --- Yes, they would have to discuss them, but there was no discussion they were adopted.

Some time in 1974, about August, was there a talk by Accused No.3, that is Lekota? --- Yes, he did talk, but I do not remember it well.

What was the subject matter of these discussions, talk?

--- He was talking about the role of the church in the struggle. 30

Yes, and what is the gist of what he said? --- He said how the churches in this country interpret the true God, because as we go to the Holy Bible we find that the true God is a God of justice who took care of the children of Israel when they were under Egyptian oppression, and so if these churches can get the right God, then that God will take care of people under oppression.

What was the occasion? --- It was the day of compassion.

Now what exactly is this day of compassion? --- On the day of compassion we were thinking of Black people who had died in fighting for the Black cause. 10

Now when you say "we" is that SASO or somebody else?

--- The Black students.

And who are the people you were thinking of in particular? --- We were thinking of people who died while in detention like Ahmed Timol, people like Mthuli Ka Shezi, Onkgopotse Tiro ..(Mr. Rees intervenes)

Just a moment, Mthuli Ka Shezi, how did he die, why is he a hero? --- He was pushed into the platform by a White railway officer at Glencoe station. 20

I take it you were not present when that happened?

--- No.

Now where did you hear that from? --- I got this from the newspaper.

And Onkgopotse Tiro? --- Tiro was killed by a parcel bomb in Botswana.

Who else? --- We also think of people who were shot dead in Sharpeville and Carltonville.

What did you hear about what had happened at Carltonville?

--- I heard that miners who were asking for a better deal like good wages were refused the right, but when they pressed 30

for /

for their rights they were shot by the police.

Were these White miners or Black miners? ---- Black miners.

Yes, anybody else that is thought of? ---- I think that is all.

That concludes the examination-in-chief.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. ALLAWAY: How old are you now?

--- I am 23.

And how long had you been at Turfloop before your arrest? ---- Three years.

When were you arrested? ---- I was arrested at Mashade ? township in Randfontein. 10

When was that? ---- On the 20th January ~~this~~ year.

Now, after that were you kept in detention by the police? ---- Yes.

Were you ever told by any police officer that you were being charges as a terrorist or with terrorism? ---- No.

Were you ever told why you were being arrested? ---- Yes they told me because they suspect me of being a terrorist.

Do you know the name of the policeman who arrested you? ---- I cannot remember. 20

Is he in Court today, can you see him? ---- I was arrested by the Krugersdorp police.

And are you still detained or are you moving about freely at the moment? ---- I am still detained.

After your arrest in January where were you kept? ---- I was kept at the Pretoria prison.

That is here at Pretoria Central Prison? ---- Yes.

And have you been there all the time? ---- No, no, I was later taken to Erasmia police station.

And have you been detained there since? ---- Yes. 30

When were you taken to the Erasmia police station? Can you / ...

you remember the month? --- It was in February.

Of this year? --- Yes.

Now, did you find that after your arrest members of the Security Branch wanted you to provide them with a statement? --- Yes.

And in terms of the Terrorism Act, you are entitled to be detained to be interrogated, do you know that? --- Yes.

And were you interrogated? --- I was interrogated at the Security headquarters in Pretoria.

Is that called Compol? --- Yes.

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When did your interrogation begin, how long after your arrest? --- It began on the 22nd.

Of? --- January, up till - I cannot remember the date but it was the following Monday.

The Monday following the week of your being taken to Compol? --- Yes.

And by that time had a statement been taken from you? --- Yes.

Did you provide more than one statement or only one statement? --- Only one statement.

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And did you sign it? --- Yes.

So did you sign your interrogation statement in January? --- Yes.

And after that were you questioned at all by any of the police officers about any of the things in that statement? --- I cannot remember.

Well, as I understand it you were interrogated by the police and then eventually a statement was prepared and you signed it? --- Yes.

Now after you had signed that statement, did any police officers question you again about anything in the

30

statement / ...

statement? --- No.

So did your questioning stop the moment you signed the statement? --- Yes.

And after that no policeman at all ever spoke to you about that statement? --- No, I can say no.

I just want to understand this clearly, you see, the statement that you signed, was it a typed statement, or was it in handwriting? --- It was in handwriting.

And after you had signed it nobody questioned you about it again? --- I was questioned by Mr. Rees. 10

Well that is understandable, he is prosecuting the case for the State, incidentally, when did Mr. Rees question you about that statement for the first time? --- It was some time last week.

So between the time of signing your statement in January and Mr. Rees questioning you about it, no policeman ever spoke to you about anything in that statement? Or is that a hard question to answer? --- I think it is a hard question.

I would like you to tell me why that is a hard question 20 to answer? --- Because normally the police visit - pause -

I gathered that. --- And they do speak with us, and that is why I say when they speak with us on general things, that part of it may get into it.

All right, but you only signed one statement, is that correct? --- Yes.

How many days did it take to take that statement, how many days of questioning, I am not suggesting you were questioned for 24 hours a day, but how many days did it take from the time of the start of trying to get the statement 30 to the time that you signed it. --- It started on a Wednesday

up till Monday.

Wednesday what time, the morning, before lunch? --- Late in the morning.

Late morning, and then by the following Monday the statement had been completed? --- Yes.

And what time do you think it was on the Monday that it was completed, was it after lunch or early in the morning? --- It was after lunch.

Were you questioned on the Thursday, that is interrogated on the Thursday? --- Yes. 10

And on the Friday? --- Yes.

And on the Saturday? --- No.

On the Sunday? --- No.

Over the weekend no interrogation? --- No.

Now, since then you have told the Court that since you signed the statement you have been visited by members of the police force? --- Yes.

Are those members of the Security Branch? --- Yes.

How often did you get visits roughly? --- They did not come regularly. 20

No, I am sure they did not, but say for example during an average week, how many times would you be visited? --- Twice.

And was it always by the same policeman, or was it by different policemen of the Security Branch? --- It was by different policemen.

Who did you see most frequently, which policeman? --- Major Strydom.

Now who were the police officers who were directly concerned, do you understand me, with interrogating you to get your statement? --- It was Major Strydom, and once it was Major Stadler. 30

He is in Court today? --- No, I am sorry it is not him.

All right, let us get the right gentleman, you say Major Strydom and who else? --- He did not tell me his name.

Now I suppose these gentlemen, the police officers, had to question you and then they wrote down your answers, is that right? --- Yes.

Because that is the usual way to take a police statement. For what sort of length of time were you questioned each day? --- I think from 8 up till 5 o'clock.

8 a.m. to 5 p.m. And did you get some time off for lunch? --- Yes.

But otherwise you spent your time answering questions? --- Yes.

Was all that you said written down - how did they go about it, I am not used to the way the police work you see, how did they go about it? --- I cannot understand.

Well look, there is a man there, a police officer, and you are making a statement to him, he is asking you questions. Now, did he write down what you were saying and you gave an answer, or did he talk to you for a bit and then write down what you had said. In other words was there a discussion and then he would write something down, or was there question and answer? --- Sometimes it was a question and writing down and sometimes it was discussion and then writing down.

Did you form any idea - say for example you say Major Strydom questioned you mainly did he? --- Yes.

Did you form any idea of his attitude towards SASO, did you form the opinion that he thought it was a good organisation or a bad organisation from the way in which he questioned you? --- I think he thought it was a bad organisation.

You formed the view from the way he questioned you that Major Strydom took the view that SASO was an organisation that was something that was against the State? --- Yes.

And should be stamped out? --- Well, I cannot give that answer.

But he certainly had very clear views of his own about SASO? --- Yes.

And the message that came through to you on this questioning was it that Major Strydom had views to the effect that SASO was not an organisation that should be allowed to function? --- Yes.

Did he seem to have views that SASO was in fact an organisation that was concerned with promoting terrorism? --- Yes.

And he is quite a big man, Major Strydom, is he not? --- Yes.

What height would you say he was? Over 6 feet? --- Well I do not know he is higher than myself.

How tall are you? ---INAUDIBLE ..

COURT: How does your size compare with Major Strydom's? 20

--- I think about four inches, he is 4 inches taller.

MR. ALLAWAY: He is a well built man is he not? --- Yes.

Had you ever been detained by the police before, I am not suggesting you have? --- No.

So this must have been something of a frightening experience for you? --- Of course.

Now immediately after your detention, that is after your arrest, I just want to get this clear, you were not taken straight away to Pretoria gaol, or were you immediately taken there? --- I was taken from Randfontein to Krugersdorp 30 police station and they kept me there for about an hour, then they / ...

they took me to Pretoria.

Did you think of asking to see an attorney or a lawyer when you were arrested? --- Yes, I thought it would be better.

Did you ask anybody whether you could? --- No.

When you are arrested, if the police do their job correctly, they should tell you why they are arresting you, were you told why you were being arrested?

MR. REES AWAY FROM MICROPHONE

MR. ALLAWAY: M'lord, I cannot cross-examine the witness if my learned friend accuses me of making propaganda, I would 10 ask my learned friend please to remain quiet, when he is questioning witnesses we shall remain completely silent.

COURT: Well please do not make any comments, Mr. Rees.

MR. ALLAWAY: Yes? --- They told me they were detaining me because they want to get information on SASO.

Were you told what sort of information was required?

--- I was not until they started interrogating me.

That was at Compol? --- Yes.

Now when did you first learn that you were being detained under the provisions of the Terrorism Act? --- It 20 was on that Wednesday.

That was the Wednesday when you went to Compol? --- No, I went to Compol, I was detained on a Monday, and I was taken to Compol on the same Monday, when I was brought from Krugersdorp, then from that Monday they did not detain me under the provisions until they did on the Wednesday.

Do you know the name of the policeman who told you you were being detained under the provisions of the Terrorism Act? --- It was Major Strydom.

And were you told by any police officer under what 30 provisions of what Act you were being detained for those first

few days, before they told you it was under the Terrorism Act?

--- Yes, they told me under Section 6(1).

Of what? --- 6(1) of Act No.83.

That is the Terrorism Act. All right, now, when you were detained under the provisions of the Terrorism Act, were you detained with other prisoners, or were you kept alone?

--- I was kept alone.

Could you tell the Court what the size of your cell was?

--- Well I never measured it.

What would it have been, indicate in Court, how long? 10

--- As long as that.

That jury box? --- Yes.

Right, that would seem to be between 12 and 15 feet - I think 15 feet, with respect. And how wide was it? --- From that corner - witness indicates.

I see, about 10 feet wide.

COURT: What corner did you say, the corner of the jury bench?

--- Yes.

That can't be 10 feet, it is about 15 feet.

MR. ALLAWAY: I am sorry, I misunderstood the witness, it is 20 about 15 x 15 feet - you say from that corner of the jury box?

--- Yes.

Right. Height? --- I think it is quite high.

How high is that, high as a soccer post, I understand you were quite a keen soccer player before your arrest?

--- Yes, as high as a soccer post.

COURT: How high is a soccer post?

MR. ALLAWAY: I think about 12 feet, M'lord. Did you have any reading material in there? --- I had nothing.

And as far as your sleeping arrangements were concerned, 30 did you have a bed? --- No, I was sleeping on a mat.

Now I take it you had rugs and blankets and things to keep you warm? ---- Yes.

Did you have any other furniture, apart from the mat?
---- Nothing.

What sort of illumination was there in the cell, how did the light get into it? ---- I cannot understand.

COURT: Are we still busy with the case, Mr. Allaway?

MR. ALLAWAY: Yes, M'lord. As far as this cell was concerned - M'lord, it will be relevant, with respect, according to my instructions. As far as this cell was concerned, what sort 10 of lighting did you have inside it? ---- I had a globe.

One electric globe? ---- Yes.

And how many times a day did you see anybody whilst you were there? Were you woken up or did you wake up normally or what happened? ---- I was wakened by the warder.

Do you know what time it was when you were woken up?
---- I do not know because my watch was taken.

All right, now how many times a day did you see people whilst you were in this cell? ---- People?

Anybody, any human being, you say you were woken up by 20 the warder? ---- Yes.

What did he do when he woke you up? ---- He simply unlocked the door and told me to wake up.

Yes, and then what happened? ---- And then they gave me food.

You were given some food, what did that consist of?
---- It consisted of, in the morning it was soft porridge, sometimes with a cup of tea.

And that was your food whilst you were detained?

COURT: You are talking about the morning now?

30

MR. ALLAWAY: The morning, yes. And - let us call that
breakfast / ...

breakfast. Did you eat that in your cell? --- Yes.

And I take it the door was then shut? --- Yes.

How long after that did you see somebody else again?

--- It depends on when I was being interrogated, then they would come, the Security officers to take me.

But before your interrogation started, how long did you have to wait before someone else came to you, this is before the interrogation began.

COURT: But it started actually on the same day that you were arrested, did it not, you were arrested on the 20th and I 10 think on the 22nd - pause -

MR. ALLAWAY: M'lord, the witness said three days later as I recall his evidence. --- Let me clarify that, the first two days I was at the Central Police Station.

And when you were detained in your cell you say you saw members of the Security Police, and apart from - did you have any contact with anyone else apart from policemen? --- No.

Now, at a university like Turfloop, I take it Black students ..(Court intervenes)

COURT: Are you only interested in breakfast, what about the 20 other meals, are you not interested in those?

MR. ALLAWAY: Yes, M'lord.

COURT: Well you did not ask him about the other meals.

MR. ALLAWAY: I shall ask him, M'lord. Did you get another meal? --- Yes.

When did you get it, how long after breakfast? --- I think around 11 o'clock.

What did that consist of? --- It consisted of porridge with beetroot, and some potato, and sometimes meat.

And between breakfast and - I am going to call that 30 lunch, the meal that you got at about 11 o'clock - if members

of the Security Branch did not come to speak to you, did you see anybody? --- No.

And did you get any exercise in the morning? --- Yes, they took me for exercise.

Was that before lunch or after lunch? --- Yes, between breakfast and lunch.

What did your exercise consist of? --- It consisted of running around the corridor.

How long did it last? --- About 15 minutes.

I see, and then you would run around this corridor 10 outside your cell and you would come in again? --- Yes.

And after exercise you got lunch? --- Yes.

After lunch, did you see anybody in the afternoon? --- No.

And I take it you also got dinner? --- Yes.

What did you get for dinner? --- Sometimes porridge with soup.

Now, between your lunchtime, that is the meal you had at 11 o'clock, what time do you think it was that you were served with your dinner every day? --- I think - you mean 20 supper?

Yes, let us call it supper? --- I think about 3 o'clock.

And did you get anything more to eat after that? --- No.

And between lunchtime, that is your lunch at 11 o'clock and your supper at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, if the Security Branch police did not come to see you, did you see any human being at all? --- I saw nobody.

Did the electric light in the cell burn all day? --- No, they switched it off - they switched it on towards sunset and until sometimes about 11 o'clock. 30

At night it went off, did it? --- Yes.

So from 3 p.m. after you had had your supper until the next morning when the gaoler came to wake you up, if the Security Branch members of the police force did not want your company to question you and take you away, did you see anybody at all? --- Only I saw a judge - sorry a magistrate.

Did he come every day? --- No.

How often did you see a magistrate? --- He came twice.

He came twice throughout the whole of your detention did he? --- During my detention in the Central Prison.

How long were you at the Central Prison? --- About 10
three weeks.

And apart from the magistrate who came to see you twice in three weeks, between your dinner, 3 o'clock in the afternoon and the next morning when the gaoler woke you up did anybody visit you? --- No.

And you say you were at the Central Prison for three weeks, after that did you go to the police station? --- Yes, they took me to Erasmia police station.

And there were you kept on your own, or were you kept in a cell with other prisoners? --- I was kept alone. 20

Did any magistrate visit you there? --- Yes.

How often were you visited by a magistrate? --- Fortnightly.

Every two weeks? --- Yes.

All right. Now dealing with the university, would I be wrong in thinking that at a university like Turfloop the position of Blacks in South Africa is something which is of interest to all students? --- Yes.

And I take it that at that university - I do not know I have not looked at its curriculum - but did you have classes on politics? --- Yes. 30

And is there any attempt to discourage political

discussion / ...

discussion at the university - I am not suggesting there is - but is any attempt made to discourage political discussion among students? --- No.

And I suppose as Black people in South Africa at a university like that, you are aware that Black people do not enjoy the right to vote? --- Yes.

And when you talk, that is you yourself as a Black person about liberation, would it be fair to say that you are thinking about a time in the affairs of our country when maybe Black people will have a voice in running the country, 10

is that what is meant by liberation? --- Well, liberation means a time when everybody will be given a chance.

And that includes White people as well does it not? --- Everybody.

Everybody who lives in South Africa? --- Yes.

That is Black, White, Coloured and Indian? --- Everybody.

And when you talk about given a chance, what do you mean by given a chance? --- I mean that when things are open for us to express ourselves.

Express yourselves freely - when you say express 20 yourselves what do you mean? --- You see when all fields of life in this country are open to Black people.

In other words when you will be - do you know what the word parity means? --- No.

When you will be in a position of equality of opportunity with everyone else, is that what is meant by liberation? --- Yes.

Now, do you agree with me that many Black students at the university never thought in terms of liberation having to come by violence, they were hoping that liberation would 30 come by an evolution, is that right? --- Yes it is.

And / ...

And as far as your connections with SASO were concerned, SASO at no stage as far as you were ever able to ascertain or detect, ever thought in terms of violence as being the way to achieve liberation, it was expected as a matter of policy that this would happen on an evolutionary process without violence? ---- Yes.

And when you talk about revolution, when Black people talk about revolution, for the purpose of this case I have had to read a lot of literature on what Black people say and think, but I understand, correct me if I am wrong, that 10
revolution does not necessarily mean a violent revolution, revolution means the moving round of change and the production of a situation where Black people will have equality without needing to resort to arms.

MR. REES: I wonder if the witness understands all that, perhaps it could be broken down and simplified. Perhaps my learned friend's reading has been too deep.

COURT: Well, he studied his B.A. Mr. Rees?

MR. REES: Well he may be a B.A. but I still doubt whether he will be able to absorb this tremendous mouthful. 20

COURT: Well you must say if you do not understand anything. Do you follow the question? -- Yes I follow.

MR. ALLAWAY: Did you hear my last question? --- Yes.

You might not be able to remember it, but did you understand it? --- I understood.

And do you agree with it? --- Yes I do agree with that.

COURT: What did you major in at university? --- Geography and Sotho.

MR. ALLAWAY: And would it be a fair summary to say this, that the thinking of the SASO people that you came into 30
contact with, was to achieve change in South Africa for Black
people / ...

people without resorting to violence? --- That is right.

And that goes, as far as you were aware, for the executive of SASO and the policy which it was advocating?

--- Yes.

Did you find that when Major Strydom was questioning you though, that he had a sort of recurring theme in his questioning, because I want to put this to you, because of what my instructions are as to the way the accused were questioned. I am instructed along these lines, that one of the recurring themes of the questioning by the Security Branch was to question the accused about Black Consciousness. Now did you find when Major Strydom questioned you, he was interested in Black Consciousness? --- Yes he was. 10

And I do not know whether your experience was the same or not, but according to my instructions, the suggestion put to various accused by Security Branch officers was that look, it is no good telling me that Black Consciousness is not violent, because eventually it is going to involve a violent confrontation. Was that idea put to you by Major Strydom? --- No, I cannot say exactly. 20

Did he ever question you in such a way as to cause you to think that in his own mind, rightly or wrongly, he took the view that eventually Black Consciousness means violence or confrontation of that nature? --- Yes.

I see. Now as far as you are concerned, may the Court take it that the last thing you want in the world is violent confrontation, you do not want violence? --- I would say the last thing I want is freedom, not confrontation.

That is the thing you want? --- Yes.

And do you wish to achieve it yourself not through violence? --- No. 30

Now the idea in holding this pro-Frelimo rally at Turfloop as I understand it, was to celebrate the fact that in Mozambique, which is a neighbouring country of South Africa, peace had at last come and war was finished, is that right? --- That is right.

So as far as the Turfloop rally was concerned, the idea was to rejoice at the cessation, that is the stopping of war and violence there? ---- Yes.

You see the State says in its charge sheet that the idea of the pro-Frelimo rally at Turfloop was to suggest to 10 the students that violence was the only way, or was the proper way to acquire their freedom, that is not correct is it? --- Not a bit.

I will tell you another thing that the State says in its charge sheet about the purpose of the Turfloop rally - I will tell it to you a little bit later - I would just like to get some background to this. Am I right in thinking about your evidence, that as far as the Students' Representative Council at Turfloop was concerned, it decided on its own to hold a pro-Frelimo rally? --- Yes, that is true. 20

Dealing with the membership of the Council, would you please look at the Exhibit, which is RALLY B.2. I am asking you to turn to the second page which is the Minute of the meeting, and at the foot of it it says who was present, it says: Ledwaba, Sedibe, Phaladi and Rathlagane. Now Accused No.7, that is Sedibe, he was a member of SASO, you said that? ---- Yes.

And he was a member of the SASO local committee at Turfloop? ---- No.

Correct, he was not a member. And as far as you were 30 concerned, were you a member of SASO at that time? ---- Yes.

Were you a member of the local committee of SASO?

--- No, I was not.

So all that you and Accused No.7 were, were ordinary student members of SASO? --- Yes.

Which at the time of the decision to hold the rally was an organisation that was not then barred from the campus, in other words it was not? --- It was not.

As I understand it the director's name was Professor Boshoff was it not? --- Yes.

And I understand from evidence which he gave at the 10 judicial inquiry, that at the time that the rallies were held his attitude and the official attitude of the university towards SASO was that students at Turfloop who wished voluntarily to become members of SASO could do so, correct? --- Yes, correct.

But there was to be no automatic membership of SASO by virtue of being a student at Turfloop? --- Yes.

That was his attitude was it not? --- Yes.

Now as far as this gentleman Mr. Phaladi was concerned, is that the way it is pronounced? --- Paladi. 20

Oh, I beg your pardon, my instructions are that he was not a member of SASO, can you comment on that or do you not know? --- No, I think I have never seen him at a SASO meeting.

So you are then unable to say whether he was or was not a member of SASO - what do you believe about him? --- I believe he was not.

Was not? --- Yes.

And as far as this gentleman Mr. Rathlagane is concerned, my instructions are that he was not a member of SASO, what was your belief as to whether he was or was not a member 30 of SASO? --- I believe he was not.

And / ...

And the man who was absent, Mr. Mangwathe, was he a member of SASO? --- Yes he was.

Now, was he a member of the SASO local committee? --- Yes he was.

What was his position? --- He was the treasurer.

So would it be correct to say that the decision of the Students' Representative Council at Turfloop to hold a pro-Frelimo rally was a decision taken by that council acting on its own initiative, without reference to SASO's policy-making body? --- It was, the decision was made by the Students 10 Representative Council as an independent body.

And I suppose that like all bodies of this kind, Students' Representative Council, before meetings are called, the members are told that there is going to be a meeting, they get notice? --- Yes.

And I take it before meetins are called the members of the Council come together possibly informally and decide what their attitude is going to be about decisions that are going to be taken at the agenda? --- Yes, I think so.

This seems to happen in most bodies of this kind, and 20 as far as you are concerned though, you see the State says in its charge sheet in this case, and this is what I am interested in, the State says that SRC Turfloop was in effect working hand in glove with SASO to hold Republic-wide rallies all round South Africa in September to celebrate pro-Frelimo. Now, according to my instructions, that statement is wrong, the SRC Turfloop decided on its own initiative to hold its own rally? --- Yes.

I would like to take you now please to deal with the discussion that you have given evidence about where No.7 30 made reference to the fact that there had been a report in

the Rand Daily Mail I think you said, to suggest that the rally had been banned, that is where I would like you to focus your mind at the moment. Do you understand that?

--- Yes.

All right. Now firstly, where were you when Accused No.7 told you? --- I was in the diningroom.

On what day of the week please? --- On Tuesday.

And that would have been Tuesday the 24th? --- Yes.

Was it about lunchtime? --- Yes.

Who else was present when Accused No.7 told you about this report in the Rand Daily Mail? --- He found me there alone, but in that time when we were discussing it we were joined by Mr. Mangwathe.

Now he was the gentleman who was apparently not present at the meeting, is that right? --- Yes.

And as I understand your evidence Accused No.7 was disappointed at what he had read in the newspaper, he was sorry? --- Yes, he was sorry.

And was his attitude - what was his attitude, was it that the rally should go on regardless, or that enquiries would have to be made to establish whether it could go on? What was his attitude? --- His attitude was that there should be enquiries, that is why he suggested that we consult ..(Mr. Allaway intervenes) 20

I am sorry, but you speak very softly, could you raise your voice a little bit? --- Yes. His attitude was that we should consult - pause -

COURT: Get legal advice? --- Yes. So we consulted senior law students.

MR. ALLAWAY: Well it seems that the Rector of the university Professor Boshoff, did the same thing, do you know of a professor / ... 30

professor there of law, Advocate Muller? --- I heard of him.

Anyway the professor has given evidence before another body and I do not want to put what he said there, I hope the State will call him. But it seems that the professor also took some legal advice about the matter, did you in fact go with Accused No.7 and speak to these various legal students yourself? --- Yes I did.

And did Mr.Mangwathe go as well? --- Yes he did.

Now this suggests to me, but I might be quite wrong, that both Mr. Mangwathe and Accused No.7 and for that matter 10 you yourself, were genuinely trying to find out what the proper legal position was, is that right? --- Exactly.

And I am instructed, that means I am told, that the Rand Daily Mail issue of that day carried the text of the banning order? --- Yes.

Did it do so? -- Yes.

Did you see the newspaper? --- Yes.

And did you read it? --- Yes.

Now I am not asking you to be a lawyer, geography is your subject is it? --- Yes. 20

When you read the text of the banning order, what did you think, did the language cover the Turfloop SRC decision to hold the rally or not? --- It did not.

As far as you were concerned? --- As far as I - pause -

Now these gentlemen that you consulted on the campus, you have told the Court what they were reading, they were all reading law I take it? --- Yes.

Had any of them passed any examinations, what is their position?

COURT: Well he says they are senior students. 30

MR. ALLAWAY: M'lord, I do not know how it works at Turfloop, whether / ...

whether a senior student means that you are qualified?

--- Last year two of them were doing LL.B. ... (INAUDIBLE)

Final year? --- INAUDIBLE ..

And as I understand it they gave you the green light, they said this is not hit by the ban? --- Yes.

Now over and above that, that is going along and finding out in good faith whether this was the position, over and above that do you know whether Accused No.7 had any discussions with the Dean of the University about this matter?

--- Yes, he did have a discussion. 10

Were you present during that discussion, because according to my instructions you were not? --- I was not.

So you only got a report of what the Dean is said to have told them? --- Yes.

Now as far as - incidentally, what is the Dean's name? --- I think it is Mr. Mapena.

And is he the person who acts as a liaison, if you understand that word, a go-between between the students and the Rector? --- Yes.

That is the proper channel of communication at the university? --- Yes. 20

Did you yourself see Accused No.7 or this gentleman Mr. Mangwathe talking to the Dean at all? --- No, I did not.

Now after you had taken Counsel's opinion from the senior law students about the matter, where did you go after that with Accused No.7, you spoke to these gentlemen, they said: it looks all right to us, where did you go? --- Well I went off to a class.

Oh, you went off to a class, so you split up? --- Yes.

You did not go anywhere with Accused No.7? --- No. 30

And when did you next see Accused No.7? --- I cannot

remember / ...

remember - pause - ... (Mr. Allaway intervenes)

This would now be in the morning that you went to talk to the legal students? --- Yes.

COURT: It could not have been in the morning, it was lunchtime that he heard about it.

MR. ALLAWAY: I beg your pardon, thank you M'lord, it was lunchtime, when did you next see Accused No.7 - did you see him that day at all, later on? --- I remember seeing him at the SRC offices.

What time was that? --- Late, around 7 o'clock, 7.30. 10

What did he tell you about the holding of the rally, if anything? --- The first time I met him he told me about the meeting he had with the Dean of students.

So he reported to you on the meeting with the Dean? --- Yes.

And in his own mind, from what he said to you, what did he convey to you, that the rally could go on or not go on, as far as he was concerned? --- Well he said the rally could go on, especially after - pause -

And was Mr. Mangwathe present then? --- No. 20

At that stage what was happening in the offices? --- Mr. Rathlagane and Miss Tshoni were painting a sheet.

Now I understand that outside the SRC offices there was a placard "Viva Frelimo", did you see it? --- Yes.

And according to my instructions, the SRC had put that placard outside its offices as an example of the sort of placards that the students should prepare. Are my instructions right or wrong? --- I was not in for the whole afternoon, I found that placard with the other members inside the office, so I cannot say, because it was a time when students were 30 coming to collect the papers, so that they could see that paper.

Well / ...

Well the evidence will apparently be that at the time when the students were coming to collect the paper to prepare placards, there was up already outside the SRC office a placard which merely read "Viva Frelimo"? --- Yes.

And is it correct that Accused No.7, and I suggest this happened whilst you were present, said to the students that as far as the SRC was concerned, they did not want a demonstration, they merely wanted the placards to accord with the rally? --- Yes.

Now, Turfloop unfortunately has been a university where 10 there have been demonstrations previously? --- Yes.

And one of the troubles at Turfloop was concerned with the expulsion of the student Tiro, was it not? --- Yes.

I understand after that the Rector had a lot of trouble with students who demonstrated against his expulsion? --- Yes.

And at that time apparently placards were prepared and banners were prepared which were very anti the university authorities? --- Yes.

And generally anti-State, anti-government, or can't you say? --- I cannot say.

20

Was Accused No.7 not therefore trying to make it clear to students that he did not want any inflammatory placards?

MR. REES OBJECTS: I object, M'lord, he is asking for his opinion, he is asking him to make a deduction from what had happened before. My learned friend can ask him what happened and what he himself decided, but he cannot ask him to draw a conclusion as to what went on in another man's mind.

MR. ALLAWAY: Well I am very happy to reframe the question to save an argument as to whether the question is admissible.

Demonstrations at the university have always been frowned on have they not? ---- Yes.

30

Quite rightly so, because demonstrations are complaints and objections and they cause trouble with the authorities?

--- Yes.

COURT: Excuse me please - what would you call a demonstration?

--- I would call a demonstration action taken by a group of people to show their hurt feelings about something or someone. Like we demonstrated against the expulsion of Mr. Tiro because we did not want him to be expelled.

So they demonstrated their feelings in a particular way?

• --- Yes, but when we are specifically against someone or something. 10

• MR. ALLAWAY: And had there only been the one demonstration there about Tiro whilst you were a student, or had there been other demonstrations apart from that? --- As far as I can remember that was the demonstration.

So if you were told by someone on the SRC look, prepare a placard but we do not want any placards to do with demonstrations, what would you understand by that? --- I would understand that when you draw that placard, you are not going to write something against somebody. 20

Right, and that is certainly what you heard Accused No.7 say? --- Yes.

But I suppose students are students are they not?

• --- Yes.

• You know what I mean, I take it amongst students at a place like Turfloop everybody has got his own ideas? --- Yes.

• Sorry, I could not hear the answer? --- Yes that is right.

And have you ever found a bunch of young men at a university who just took orders and obeyed instructions without any ideas of their own, blind compliance. Do they 30 comply blindly or do they each have a little character of their

own that they want to express? ---- I know that under certain circumstances when a person knows that he can act and not be easily traced, he can easily get in and write what is normally not accepted.

I see, what is normally not accepted by representative and responsible bodies like the Students' Representative Council, is that right? Because I gather from looking at the university statutes that is the constitution and the rules and regulations, that there is provision in those very regulations for a Students' Representative Council, is that 10 so? ---- Yes.

And it is a responsible body which is elected by the students again to focus the attention of the university authorities to matters which concern students? --- Yes.

Now you stood for office for the SRC in the year previously, did you not? --- Yes.

That is 1974, and you got in? --- Yes.

Had you stood before that? ---- No.

I follow. You have seen some of these placards - or did Major Strydom possibly show you photographs of some of 20 these other ones when he was questioning you? ---- Yes.

We have got a large number of photographs of these at the back of a book, did Major Strydom show these to you? --- Yes he did.

And some of them say some most unpleasant things about the South African Government? --- Yes.

And some of them say some very unpleasant things about certain White people who live in South Africa? ---- That is correct.

Now from what you gathered from what Accused No.7 was 30 saying to the students when they came to get these papers, if

he / ...

he tells the Court that the placards that were anti-White and anti-Government and to a large extent anti people who are called Boers, that he did not intend the students to write those placards, would you be able to comment on that?

MR. REES OBJECTS: I must object again, he is again asking for his opinion, M'lord.

COURT: Yes, but he knows the circumstances.

MR. REES: He can tell the Court what the facts are, but he cannot say as to what went on in the accused's head.

COURT: Well if he gives a reply then we can always find out 10 the facts upon which he basis his reply.

MR. ALLAWAY: M'lord, all I am trying to do is through the medium of the State witness express what I understand the accused's defence is to be, and with reference to his attitude towards the placards.

COURT: Then you will probably ask him why he forms that view, yes.

MR. ALLAWAY: I am sorry, I will have to repeat the basis of my question. I am instructed by Accused No.7 that in his own mind he never intended students to put up placards which 20 were insulting to people like Afrikaans-speaking people. Now, ... (Court intervenes)

COURT: Would that be consistent to the general approach to the problem? --- Yes.

MR. ALLAWAY: Now, you have told the Court that the idea behind this rally was to celebrate the end of war in Mozambique, was it also to celebrate the birth of a new Black nation? --- Yes, I would say it is to celebrate the birth of a new nation, promises of peace and happiness in that country.

And I want you to express your own views here, because I 30 do not know that you can express the views of any of the

accused on this, but in your own mind, as a young Black person in South Africa, a young Black student, in what way is it helpful towards accomplishing your liberation, to have another Black nation on our borders, why will that help accomplish liberation? --- I am sorry, I do not understand that.

Look, were you pleased that Mozambique was now free of Portuguese colonialist control? --- Yes.

Were you pleased about that? --- Yes.

And you told the Court there is another Black nation now being born? --- Yes. 10

A new nation of Black people, and did that please you? --- Yes.

Now would you agree or disagree with me, that the more Black nations that we have immediately on our borders, the better are the prospects for the Black people in South Africa, because we must now live harmoniously with these people.

Would you agree with that? --- I would agree that if we have Black states on our borders, in the first place they are normally out of the bloodshed of Mozambique, but now there will definitely be harmonious relations because there is no 20 more war or fighting, and that will definitely give rise to harmonious relations between those states and our country.

And our Government? --- Yes.

And would you expect our Government - I do not know, I am asking for your thoughts as a Black student going to a pro-Frelimo rally, would you expect our Government to want to normalise relations with Mozambique? --- Definitely.

And did you possibly yourself have that in mind in having a pro-Frelimo rally, that it would convey to the Government, look, Black people in South Africa are happy that 30 there is a new Black state being born, and we hope that you as

a Government will normalise relations with them? --- Yes.

Would that fairly express your own attitude? --- Yes.

And the attitude of other SASO students that you came into contact with, would that be a fair expression of the way they thought about it? --- Exactly.

Now later that afternoon when you went down onto the soccer field, that is the day of the rally, and there was this unfortunate incident between the police and the students, were you shocked or not? ---- I was shocked.

Is this something which you ever expected before you went to the meeting that morning? ---- I think that is what I least expected. 10

I tell you why I ask you this, because the State says that the whole idea in holding this rally at Turfloop was to embarrass the State, which I understand to be the Government, and to bring about a confrontation between the students and the police. Now according to my instructions that is absolute nonsense, what do you say about that? --- I will not agree with that because first of all if that was the idea I would not see Mr. Sedibe agreeing or willingly suggesting: let us stop this rally in the place there with Major Erasmus, and secondly, I would not expect students to disperse willingly and happily going to their hostels when Mr. Sedibe suggested that we stop the rally. 20

So you do not agree with the statement in the State Particulars that the idea of the SRC in holding this rally was to bring about a confrontation between the police and the students? --- No, I do not.

Or between the students and the university authorities?
--- No. 30

Or between the students and anybody else? ---- No.

You / ...

You have mentioned that there was a gentleman in a motor car just before the meeting started, what was it, a Volkswagen, or can you not remember? --- I cannot remember.

Well, apparently Major Strydom gave evidence before the Snyman Commission, and it seems from what he said there that it was probably him who was in the car, you did not recognise him? --- No, I did not know him.

You said in reply to a question by my learned friend that you could not see whether the police in the car were White or Black or what? --- Well perhaps I was not concerned to examine the car.

Would it be fair to say that from what you saw of what the students said and did, they wanted to have their meeting on their own without any intrusion from people who were not students? --- Exactly.

And is that why, judging from their reaction and behaviour they told these people to go away? --- Yes.

Seeing that you were arrested only in January, you must have come to know that members of the White staff, the tutorial staff on the university, were apparently assaulted later on 20 the afternoon of the rally after the police had left? --- Yes I know.

Did that surprise you or not? --- It surprised me.

Had students ever assaulted any members of the tutorial staff before that at the university? --- No, it was the first time.

Now, you mentioned also in your evidence that Accused No.7 in reporting on what the Dean had told him, had said that the rally was all right, it could be held, as long as normal university commitments were not interfered with? --- Yes.

I understand that afternoon the Rector was playing golf, do you know about that? --- No, I do not.

You do not know that he was on the golf course. Well, normal university arrangements as far as tutorials are concerned, lectures, finish I believe at 1 o'clock, is that right? --- Yes.

Then you have lunch, is that correct? --- Yes.

And we have heard from other witnesses, can you possibly confirm it as well, that as far as the morning was concerned at the university on the day of the rally, lectures 10 were attended normally, things went by without any sort of problem at all? --- Yes.

Then there was lunch, and we have heard from one of the lecturers that some students have practical classes in the afternoons? --- Yes.

On that particular day of the week, who would have been the students who would have had to attend these practical classes? --- Excuse me?

Sorry, on that day, the day the rally was to be held, what faculties were having practical classes? --- It is 20 normally the science faculty.

Have you got any friends amongst the science students? --- Yes.

According to my instructions the science students went to their classes that afternoon. Can you confirm that? --- Yes, I can confirm that.

So, university life to that extent was not interfered with at all? --- Not at all.

Now dealing with the police and their arrival. I think you said in your evidence-in-chief when my learned friend, 30 Mr. Rees, was questioning you, that when you saw the police

come / ...

come you were surprised? --- Yes.

Would it be better to say that you were bewildered?

--- PAUSE

Or is that taking things a little too far? --- Yes, I think so.

All right, just surprised? --- Yes.

Were there many students like yourself at the door who could not get access to the hall? --- Yes.

And I take it what you were doing was all crowding around at the entrance to the hall to try to hear what was going on? --- Yes. 10

What was the reaction of your fellow students who were outside the hall when you saw the police coming? Were they surprised? --- Yes, they were surprised too.

Now is it usual or an unusual thing to have policemen coming on the campus at Turfloop? When did that last happen? --- It last happened in 1972.

Were you a student then? --- Yes.

And these policemen who came there on that occasion, that was on the occasion in 1972, did they come there in the 20 same numbers compared with the police who came on the Frelimo rally day, or were there more policemen on the Frelimo rally day? --- There were more policemen on the Frelimo rally day.

Did you see any dogs amongst the policemen who came? That is when you were waiting outside the hall, listening to what was going on, and you saw the police approach, did you see whether there were any police with dogs at that stage? --- No.

Did you see - you talk about him as Major Erasmus, he was the man who had the loud hailer? --- Yes. 30

Now did he come up to where you were at the entrance?

--- No, he was on the opposite side, the eastern side, and I was on this side.

I follow. M'lord, I wonder if the witness could be shown the plan, it is an exhibit marked RALLY B/53, do you have that?

COURT: Should you not have an extra one for me, because every time you ask for exhibits they take my exhibits.

MR. ALLAWAY: M'lord, with respect we did prepare an extra one, it seems to have been mislaid.

COURT: Perhaps one should have extra exhibits for the Court 10 and one for me.

MR. ALLAWAY: M'lord, we shall have the matter remedied, but we did have enough exhibits for Your Lordship to have one, my learned friend, and the witness.

COURT: Well the last RALLY B/53 that we used, well, coloured marks were made on that one, and I haven't got that one, perhaps that should be the Court copy.

MR. ALLAWAY: M'lord, if any papers get lost it is always my learned friend Mr. Soggot who is to blame, I shall deal with the matter after the adjournment, I have no doubt he has 20 got them. (LAUGHTER) M'lord, may I show the witness my copy because it is marked in colour, if that will help him?

COURT: Is that not the Court one?

MR. ALLAWAY: M'lord, no, I do not believe it is. Mr. Ledwaba, kindly look at that document and just familiarise yourself with it, it has got an exhibit number on the top of of it, it is RALLY B/53, do you see that? --- Yes.

And it is not to scale, it is supposed to be a diagrammatic illustration, a plan approximately of what the Turfloop complex looks like, do you see that? --- Yes. 30

Now there is a road running right through it, past what

is / ...

is called a soccer ground, do you see that? --- Yes.

And then there is a building which is marked "administration block" top right hand corner, have you got that? --- Yes.

Then there is something called the "great hall" to the left of it? --- Yes.

Now someone has put a red circle, I think it was, or a cross on the right hand side, that is the eastern side of the hall? --- Yes.

Now where were you standing when you were listening to 10 what was going on inside the hall? (PAUSE) It seems from your evidence you were standing on the opposite side to where the red marks were made, or were you standing on the same side, that is the cinema hall side? --- The rally was in the hall not in the great hall.

In the cinema hall? --- Yes.

Not in the great hall? --- No.

And did you see Major Erasmus come up to the entrance? --- No, I saw him standing at the entrance on the other side when I was on the western side. 20

Did you pay any attention to what he did after he got to the spot, did you watch him? --- Yes I did.

I suppose you must have, it must have been obvious to you that he was the person in charge? --- Yes.

And because he was the person in charge, you being a member of the Students' Representative Council, not expecting the police to arrive, I take it that you paid some attention to what he did and said? --- Yes.

Did you see any student go up and speak to him? --- Yes.

Do you know who that student was? --- It was Mr. Sedibe. 30

Accused No.7? --- Yes.

And / ...

And you were not close enough to hear what he was saying? --- No.

Do you think you could be making a mistake in thinking it was Mr. Sedibe, Accused No.7, or are you sure it was Accused No.7? --- I am sure.

Now was this before or after the students left the hall? --- Before.

Did you see Major Erasmus lift the megaphone to his lips and start to speak into it? --- Yes.

Now when he did that, was he at the entrance to the hall, or was he inside the hall? --- He was at the entrance. 10

And at this entrance as you have described, there was quite a big crowd, a throng of students? --- Yes.

So he had difficulty I suppose in moving right in through them to get into the hall? --- Yes, that might be.

Or maybe he did not want to do that, I do not know. How far approximately were you away from Major Erasmus when you saw him at the entrance with his megaphone about to make an announcement, indicate in Court? --- I was standing at the door which could be that corner. 20

The far corner of this Court? ---- Yes.

COURT: About 15 - 20 paces away.

MR. ALLAWAY: As the Court pleases. --- There is another, there are two central halls on the eastern side, so he was standing at the central door.

He was standing at this central door? --- Yes.

Is that a double door? ---- Yes.

A big double door? ---- Yes.

Could you hear what he said? --- No, I could not, because the megaphone was squeaking, I could not hear. 30

Did you say squeaking or speaking? --- He was speaking but / ...

but there were squeaking sounds - pause -

Sometimes these electrical apparatus go wrong, they make a high-pitched noise? --- Yes.

Did he try again, the Major, when the megaphone squeaked or can't you say? --- I cannot say.

Anyway, did you change your position to go up to where he was at all, or did you stand where you were? --- I just stood where I was.

Did the major go inside the hall at any stage? --- No, he did not.

10

And according to my instructions, correct me if I am wrong, I want you to give your evidence, how long after the major stood at the entrance and spoke into the megaphone, about how long afterwards did the students first begin to come out, was it a long time or a short time? --- I would say it was a short time.

Some people have different ideas about what a short time is, could you just approximate for the Court, I know you are going to be guessing, but just to give the Court an indication? --- About ten minutes.

20

Ten minutes, and then they started to come out of the hall? --- Yes.

Now this salute which my learned friend, Mr. Rees, was interested in, the Black Power salute, is it a hostile thing as far as a Black person is concerned to make that salute, are you being aggressive when you do it? --- That is actually - I would not say we are aggressive - a person is aggressive when he is making a Black Power salute.

Is it merely a token - do you know what a token is, a sign, it is a sign is it? --- Yes.

30

Which is intended to try to get people, Black people, to

become / ...

become united? --- Exactly.

Is that right? --- Exactly.

I understand that a clenched fist is supposed to be a sign of solidarity, is that correct? --- Yes.

And the fist is put up, not the way a boxer puts his fist up, but the other way about is it not? --- Yes.

COURT ADJOURNS

/VMD.

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