

(TRANSVAALSE PROVINSIALE AFDELING)

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PRETORIA

1987-08-25

DIE STAAT teen:

PATRICK MABUYA BALEKA EN 21

ANDER

VOOR:

SY EDELE REGTER VAN DIJKEORST E

ASSESSOR : MNR. W.F. KRUGEL

NAMENS DIE STAAT:

ADV. P.B. JACOBS

ADV. P. FICK

ADV. W. HANEKOM

269

NAMENS DIE VERDEDIGING:

ADV. A. CHASKALSON

ADV. G. BIZOS

ADV. K. TIP

ADV. Z.M. YACOOB

ADV. G.J. MARCUS

TOLK:

MNR. B.S.N. SKOSANA

KLAGTE:

(SIEN AKTE VAN BESKULDIGING)

PLEIT:

AL DIE BESKULDIGDES: ONSKULDIG

KONTRAKTEURS:

LUBBE OPNAMES

ISMAIL AYOB & ASSOCIATES

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VOLUME 269

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COURT RESUMES AT 14h00 ON 25 AUGUST 1987.

POPO SIMON MOLEFE, still under oath

FURTHER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR JACOBS : Mr Molefe, I put it to you that the importance of this issue removals and group areas, it is important for the UDF in order to organise and mobilise the rural people in order that they reject their leaders in the homelands? -- I think removals and group areas - is counsel linking that to homelands? I am not sure.

COURT : That is what he said. -- May counsel repeat the question. I do not understand. (10)

MR JACOBS : I put it to you that it is important for the UDF to conduct - to address itself on this issue of removals and group areas in order - and it is important for the UDF to organise and mobilise the people in the rural areas in order that they reject their leaders in the homelands? -- In the rural areas. Well, that is not the basic reason. The reason is that the UDF is opposed to the policy of separate development and it sought to express its views and to propagate its views, but also the fundamental reason is that we sought to build a broad front representative of (20) organisations from all parts of the country.

You referred only to the basic reason, but it is one of the reasons that it is important to organise and mobilise the people in the rural areas in order that they reject their leaders in the homelands. That is also a reason? -- In a sense we are opposed to them and we obviously believe that those who join organisations affiliated to the UDF would be sharing the broad principles enshrined in the UDF declaration. But as I say, the primary purpose of organising people is to build a strong voice against the policies of apartheid. (

That/...

That would have included obviously the policies of homeland relating to the homelands.

I am going to ask you one more time. It is also one of the reasons why you conduct - why you address yourself to this issue, because it is important to organise and mobilise the people in the rural areas in order that they reject their leaders in the homeland? -- That is not our primary consideration. It may well be that in the course of that we propagated, we stated our view vis-a-vis the policy of homelands. That was not the consideration of the UDF. (10)

And I put it to you that they are organised and mobilised around this issue in order that they come into open revolt against their leaders in order that the puppets, so-called puppets of the government can be destroyed with the homelands. That is not so. We are not organising a revolt. That has never been a goal of the UDF. It is true that we see those homeland leaders as puppets. That I have said many times.

And you want the people to rise up against the leaders of the homelands as part of the destruction of the homelands? -- That is not so. We seek to win them away, if there are any who willingly support those policies. We seek to win them away from those policies. Any political organisation propagates its views and seeks to win more support at all times. This is what the nationalist party does. This is what every organisation does. It is up to the people to debate the issue and decide which organisation they want to support.

I put it to you that it is also part of the tactics and plans of the UDF to identify issues unique and closely related to the people - in the living conditions of the people in the homelands as a result of removals, so that you can mobilise (30)

and/...

and organise the people to come into an uprising against their leaders? -- That is not so and secondly, in respect of the answers that I have given, my answers must not be construed to mean that I say we had specific campaigns in respect of the issues that counsel has put to me. There have been arguments made in speeches possibly, that people have referred to those things, but those are not campaigns.

Secondly, when we are dealing with the question of removals, by and large we are dealing with the situation that is outside the homelands and we are merely saying that we are opposed (10) to that, because that seeks to make people part of a homeland and in which case they would then lose their citizenship right of what is called the White South Africa. So, that it is not really a situation that has to do with the actual citizens of a Bantustan. It may be - there might have been exceptional cases of that nature, where the citizens, where the people were in a homeland already. I cannot remember of any, but by and large really, we are dealing with situations like where the government sought to make the people of Mubudi part of Bophuthatswana and in other parts of the (20) country.

Is the question of land and the land act of importance in the rural areas? -- The question of the land is important for the Black people in this country, anywhere not rural areas only, because in the urban areas there is not enough land and in fact until very recently, Black people were not allowed to own the land say in places like Soweto for instance

And I put it to you that in the UDF it is regarded that the question of land is an important issue to mobilise people around in the rural areas and to get them and to accept (30)

that/...

that they must claim the land on which they live there? -- It may well have been said. I cannot remember that, but the issue of land, the land question has been a burning issue since 1913 when the bills of Mr Hertzog, I think, proposed around 1911 became act in 1913 and again in 1936. Eversince that time the issue of the land has been a subject of debate right through the removals of the people from Sophia, Nuclear, Martindale and so on, when they were taken away from the land that they had owned in those places where they had freehold right. It has really been a subject of debate for a long time.

Since the launch of the UDF on a national basis, that became a national issue and it was addressed on an organised, a nationally organised basis then? -- That is not so. We did not have a program in respect of that. In speeches people might have spoken about it, but we did not take up any campaign around that. We called for the scrapping of the land acts 1913 and 1936, but we did not take up the issue as a campaign.

But the UDF did address the issue? -- Spoke about it (20) and what the UDF was saying was not different from public statements that other people have made in the past. Dr Motlana, my chairman in the Soweto Civic Association had been saying that for many, many years before the UDF was formed. It was really just a public statement in that respect. There was no campaign.

Is it correct that since the launch of the UDF the intention of the UDF was to address all the issues on a national basis and to be part of a national liberation struggle? -- It was the intention to take up those issues (30) which/...

which were identified as burning issues by the affiliates of the UDF and on which the affiliates believed that the UDF had to take up.

And all the issues so far mentioned from the constitution up to now, they were all taken up and regarded by the UDF as national issues and which the UDF must give direction and leadership? -- Well, there were those issues that were debated. The mechanics of how the UDF was going to address those issues were not discussed, were not finalised. They would obviously over a period of time be looked into and (10) the UDF might have decided that each turn, which one it was going to take as a priority and how it was going to do that. My evidence in respect of the campaigns in chief, my evidence-in-chief has not changed.

I put it to you that the ANC identified and accepted that harassment and repression are important issues around which campaigns could be undertaken and which can be of assistance in order to organise and mobilise and politicise the masses, the people into active participation in the freedom struggle? -- I cannot confirm nor dispute that. (20) I do not know.

And I put it to you that the UDF also accepted that harassment and repression are important issues around which campaigns could be undertaken and which can be of assistance in order to organise and mobilise and politicise the masses into active participation in the freedom struggle? -- The UDF addressed those issues in the context in which I have explained in the course of this cross-examination and in my evidence-in-chief.

And I put it also in the context of organising and (30)

mobilising/...

mobilising and politicising the people against the government and the police force and the defence force? -- It is in the context in which I have explained. I have got nothing to add.

And I put it to you that the (ANC did accept and identify in principle the so-called (imperialism as an issue which could be of assistance to isolate the South African government from the rest of the world which will be advantages to the freedom struggle? -- I cannot dispute, neither can I confirm that. I do not know. (10)

And I put it to you that the (UDF also accepted and identified in principle that imperialism as an issue which could be of assistance to isolate South Africa, South African government from the rest of the world which will be advantages to the freedom struggle of the UDF? -- That is not so. That was addressed in the context in which I have explained previously.

Did the UDF try in its endeavour around imperialism referring to America, England and Israel to isolate South Africa from them and to get them to reject the South African constitution? -- We have in the discussions with them insisted that we as the majority of the people in the country, the oppressed people, had a right to present our views in respect of the new constitution and they had no right to decide for us on that issue. We have criticised them for saying that the new constitution was a step in the right direction. (20)

Did you try in your endeavour to get the governments of the United States and England to agree to an arms embargo against South Africa? -- I cannot remember discussing (30)

those/...

those with them. We did not.

Did you try in any of the publications of your affiliated organisations to get them to agree to an arms embargo against South Africa? -- I think before I respond to that question we must get it clear here on the issue of affiliates. The affiliates of the UDF are independent. When they issue publications those are not UDF publications. We may - they may decide that they write something that the UDF may be did at a meeting or a statement of the NEC, but it was not imputed that what an affiliate of the UDF has said in its publication is what represents the view of the UDF. It may conflate with the views of the UDF. It may not simply be what the UDF is doing. It may represent the views of those in that organisation, because it is independent. So that we in the UDF, to deal now with what counsel is putting to me, I do not know of a situation where the UDF put that kind of stuff in a document of an affiliate. (10)

Did the UDF on national or regional basis entertain the idea of - that there be an arms embargo against South Africa? -- I cannot remember that specifically. Obviously (20) when one deals with the whole question of isolation of South Africa, that may well be one of the issues. I cannot remember a formal decision on that point.

And if affiliates of the UDF, which are in actual fact also the UDF, write on that, it will not be contrary to UDF expectations and principle? -- An affiliate of the UDF is not the UDF.

Is it so that the UDF only consists of ... -- Affiliates. Not one affiliate. All affiliates coming together and agreeing, taking certain decisions. If you take a single affiliate (30)

or/...



or two affiliates doing their thing somewhere, you cannot turn that into the UDF.

I will repeat my question that you did not answer. If an affiliate did publish in a community paper or other papers anything to the effect that there must be an arms embargo against South Africa, it will not be against UDF principle? -- UDF did not take policy on that specific issue to my knowledge. One cannot even begin to talk about that. It would have been a subject that would be debated and then the UDF might have taken a different decision in any direction. (10)

And I put it to you it is also in accordance with UDF principles on a national as well as a regional basis that there must be an economic boycott against South Africa? -- The UDF to my knowledge has never taken that specific decision.

But it was in line with their principles? -- It might well have been considered later on, but that was not decided upon by the UDF at any meeting, any NGC that I know of.

And I put it to you that also in this regard that the UDF did either on a national, regional or affiliate basis (20) publish articles to the effect that there must be an economic boycott of South Africa? -- Is counsel putting to me that the UDF did that? I would appeal to counsel to be specific and say the region of the UDF has done that or national has done that.

I put it to you that that will be in line with the principle of the UDF? -- Is it a hypothetical question or is counsel putting to me that the UDF did that or is he saying if the UDF was to do that?

COURT : It is an oblique question. -- (Witness laughs) (30)

MR JACOBS/...

MR JACOBS : You can either dispute it or agree to it?

COURT : The witness wants to know if you say that a region of the UDF published that article or are you saying an affiliate published such article? He is entitled to know.

MR JACOBS : I put it to you that - I will come back to this one later and I will bring the document. I have not got it here and then I can put the documents to him. Can we in the meantime go to the next issue. I put it to you that the [ANC] adopted and identified in principle that the [freedom] charter is a very important document and that it must be (10) popularised under the people as the basis for the government of the people? -- I believe, yes, the ANC is a signatory to the Freedom Charter. It subsequently adopted the Freedom Charter as its program.

And I put it to you that in the [UDF] the principle is also accepted that the Freedom Charter is an important document and that it must be popularised under the people as a basis for the government of the people? -- I do not believe that is UDF policy. It might well have been taken later as counsel put to me yesterday that the UDF adopted the Freedom (20) Charter, but if you are dealing with the situation as at the time up until, as at the time when I was active there until the time of my arrest, that is not true.

And I put it to you that in actual fact many people, persons in the leadership of the UDF on a national basis and on a regional basis and on the basis of leadership in the affiliate organisations did propagate the UDF - the Freedom Charter as a basis for the government of the future? -- It may well be that the organisations to which those individuals belong subscribed to the Freedom Charter and they (31)

also/...

also subscribed thereto. I cannot dispute that, but it was not on the basis that that is the UDF policy. I believe it was what they were recommending either as individuals or as representatives of their own organisations.

You say the propagation of the Freedom Charter was not part of the UDF policy? -- No, it was not. It is not UDF policy.

Was such a decision taken? -- To do what?

That the Freedom Charter is not adhered to by the UDF as a basis for the government of the people? -- The UDF (10) has got its own declaration which sets out the principles upon which it was formed and we had made that position clear time and time again. I have said so at several public meetings. I think what counsel is putting to me is like ~ arguing that those affiliates within the UDF which are committed to the Freedom Charter - the Black Consciousness philosophy have been talking about Black Consciousness. It is their right within the UDF to talk about principles to which they subscribe. A document, if it is a program, if it was the Azanian Manifesto they would be free to talk(21) about that. The UDF is a broad front of diverse organisations. The Black Sash if it had something else, it was free to talk about that. As long as it agreed that the new constitutional proposals were not good, it was opposed to it and the Koornhof bills, the UDF would have been satisfied.

I put it to you that according to your Working Principles, if it is policy of the UDF that it does not accept the Freedom Charter as a basis for the government of the people, then vice versa all these organisations who propagated the Freedom Charter as a basis for the government(30

of the future was working against UDF policy? -- I think the situation is different. If we are talking about the Freedom Charter, we would obviously have to look at whether at that time there were affiliates which committed themselves to the Freedom Charter and UDF as a front whether it says it is a violation of policy for any organisation to subscribe to that. The UDF does not say that the Freedom Charter is a bad thing. All we are saying is that it is not something that the UDF can use as a basis for the unity of organisations opposed to the new constitution, because it would (10) simply mean that those which are not committed to the Freedom Charter would not be part of the UDF. We sought something much broader than a Freedom Charter. It is like trying to unite organisations committed to the Black Consciousness philosophy. Inevitably you would not get Black Sash, NUSAS and so on. You would just get those like AZAPO and so on which are committed to that philosophy, so that the declaration is something loose and much broader that anybody can come there and become a part of it, as long we agree that constitutional proposals are not good and the Koornhof bills (20) are not good and we are going to, from time to time, campaign against that. So, it is not as if the UDF took a specific decision that nobody must talk about the Freedom Charter in the UDF.

Is the position not then that it was not against UDF policy to propagate and canvass for support of the Freedom Charter as a basis for the government of the people? -- It was not against UDF policy to propagate that or to keep quiet or to propagate anything against that. It was not against the policy of the UDF. Either way, affiliates (30) were/...

were free to talk about what they believed in.

And to propagate the Freedom Charter as a basis for the government of the people. That was also not against UDF policy? -- Yes, but that is not UDF policy to propagate that either. So that the UDF for itself as a front it does not propagate the Freedom Charter as a document that every affiliate must subscribe to, but simultaneously, the UDF would not stand in the way of those affiliates which propagated the Freedom Charter.

I put it to you that so far as we have gone on this (10) question of the Freedom Charter, that there is absolutely no difference between the freedom struggle fought by the ANC and the freedom struggle fought by UDF? -- There is a difference. The ANC is fighting a violent freedom struggle. It is using violent methods. That is not what the UDF is doing and the ANC is a political organisation that has a common program to which every member must commit himself and that program being the Freedom Charter. That is not the program of the UDF and we are not asking everybody to commit himself to the Freedom Charter to become part of the UDF. (20)

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So far as we have gone, I put it to you, on the part of getting the masses to be part of the freedom struggle there is absolutely no difference between the UDF and the ANC in regard to the freedom struggle? -- Is counsel putting to me that the ANC is recruiting members and it says the masses must participate in its struggle and that the UDF is saying that, is also saying that? Is that the similarity that counsel is taking about? I do not understand the first one. May be if we do not move away from it.

COURT : Well, answer on that basis as you have put it. (30)

We/...

We recruit organisations, we persuade organisations to join the UDF and we emphasise the fact that the ordinary people must participate in the decisions of the UDF, by extension meaning that if affiliates, ordinary people must be active, so that if the ANC is saying that it is true that it is saying what we are saying, but we are not doing that because the ANC is saying that and that is what AZAPO is also doing. I think counsel must add that and counsel must also add that the Nationalist party, the PFP and everybody is going out to get the ordinary people to participate in those parties. (10

MR JACOBS : And I put it further to you that the UDF came into existence as a result of the call of Mr Oliver Thambo made on 8 January 1983 for a democratic movement in order to lead the masses, organise the masses and mobilise the masses, inside the country, because the ANC cannot do it itself inside the country.] -- I reject that proposition. The UDF was formed subsequent to the call made by Dr Allan Boesak and it also came at a time when there had been debates in the communities at various levels as to how to oppose - what to do about the constitutional proposals and I have (20) also testified in this court that I myself had had that concept of a front long before the formation of the UDF. Dr Neville Alexander had made that call. The ANC was a bit belated because it only made it in January 1983.

And I put it further to you that it is as a result of the call of the ANC and further then that the ANC even goes so far as to ask people to join the organisations affiliated to the UDF and also ask and persuade other organisations to join the UDF as affiliates? -- I do not know if the ANC is saying all those things. If it indeed is saying that, (30) there/...

there is nothing we can do about it. We have got no control on the ANC but the ANC says, what it writes in its publications that we can testify only about what we know, simply that we were not formed as a result of any call made by the ANC.

And I put it to you that it even goes further than that, that you in the UDF identified and popularised the same leaders as the true leaders of the people in the leaders of the ANC? -- It may well be. Those are what are perceived as leaders in our communities and we are not alone in that. (10) Many other people, some of them participating in the homelands, have continued to speak publicly that Nelson Mandela is our leader and so on. Many people have said so. It may be a coincidence, but we are not doing that because the ANC is doing it. It is simply part of the history of the people of this country.

So, it is then true that the leaders of the ANC ... -- When we - the UDF did not take a decision to popularise the leaders of the ANC.

[Is it then correct, I put it to you that the leaders (20) of the ANC is also the true leaders of the UDF? ] No, not of the UDF. I have dealt with that aspect previously. They were regarded as leaders in the sense that they emerged as leaders of that stature in that community at a particular point in time.

I put it to you in this regard even Oliver Thambo and the people in exile are propagated under the people as the true leaders of the UDF and the people? -- Not the leaders of the UDF.

Was it ever said that they are not the leaders of the (30)

UDF/...

UDF? -- I am saying so. It is for the first time that we are told that we actually said that they were the leaders of the UDF. If that question had arisen when we were outside, we would have responded to it in the same way that I have responded to it.

(I put it to you even further that most of the people in the leadership of the UDF are ex-members of the ANC or people with a history of coming - being sentenced for political crimes and sentenced to jail?) -- Most of them. Are we talking about the national leadership or those in (10) the national executive?

I talk about the national leadership and even in the regions?-- Well, I have not dealt with that, calculated that fact which one of them was a member of the ANC and so on. It may well be, but may be if I go and look into all the executives in the regions that is not the position. I cannot dispute nor confirm that.

Is it important ... -- If I may just comment on that. When these people became part of the UDF, the consideration was not whether they had been members of the ANC or not. (20) They were elected by majority vote and open vote and they were respected people in their own organisations and in their own communities.

Is it correct what you are saying now ... -- And we have no right to deprive people participation in the organisation simply because at a certain point in time they had been members of the ANC.

Is it correct ... -- Homelands have also accepted members, people who had been convicted previously as members of the ANC and so on. They are participating in some of (30) these/...



these homelands.

Is your statement correct about people being elected in open elections and so on ?-- That is so.

Is the true position not that all the leaders of the national executive of UDF were elected after it has already been decided beforehand who will be the members of that and that they were nominated and that they were only nominations? -- Well, that is how organisations operate. Every organisation. They nominate leaders. They discuss that before the elections and then matters are debated in all the (10) regions. Those nominations were made and besides, when we went to the national conference those upon which there was agreement were elected as they were and on presidency. For instance the national interim committee has suggested one president. The suggestion was rejected by regions and then we ended up with three presidents. So, it is not as if some people sat and then manipulated the whole thing and decided who must be on the executive. Secondly, the Working Principles of the UDF is a document set out - written such that regions would have automatic representation in respect (20) of their two secretaries, regional secretaries. They would have two ordinary members in the executive. They would have two vice-presidents. So, insofar as those six people are concerned, it would be a matter really that is decided by each region independently. Western Cape would decide on which six people they want to send to sit on the national executive. Natal would do the same. Transvaal would do the same and any other region that came into existence later did the same and if they had elected two secretaries, a new region was formed after the UDF was formed, we would (30) immediately/...

immediately accept the secretaries of the Interim Committee into the National Executive. We would not even know who those people were, but as long as we were told that these are our secretaries, we would accept them. That is how it operated. Then of course it was the national treasurers, two national treasurers, the national general secretary, the national publicity secretary and the president who would really be elected on a common vote, a vote by all the regions together. We could not reach a consensus on the question of one president for the UDF. Each region was (10) saying, Transvaal was saying "We want Mrs Sisulu to be our president." The Western Cape was saying that. Natal was saying they want Oscar Mpetha. Natal was saying they wanted Archie Gumede and they were saying - some regions were saying if you do not accept our nomination, we are not going to accept the results of your election. Transvaal was saying the same. We have to strike a compromise. We were in a situation where we wanted to build a front and address ourselves to the constitutional - the problem that was facing us at the time. We could not afford any (20) divisions, but there was a consensus in respect of the national treasurers and national general secretary and national publicity secretary.

Is it correct that the whole executive of the UDF at the launch was chosen after it was made known that all the regions beforehand decided on who the people are that they are suggesting and that the names were given and that they were elected? -- That is so. That is how organisations operate.

And is it correct that there was an instance where (30)

somebody/...

somebody of the Free State wanted somebody else to be elected on that ... -- That is so.

And he was not elected and he was referred back to the regions, that he must go back to the regions? -- Yes, there were some reasons for that. Firstly, the Working Principles which had been adopted at that meeting provided that only those regions which were structured, which were formally structured. People from those regions could serve on the executive. So, that it was simply in violation to try and put that person, would be in violation of the Working (10) Principles. We did not have a region of the UDF in the OFS and the Working Principles which had been adopted before the elections did not provide for that.

So, will you then agree that it is not so that anybody - any organisation or any delegate from an organisation could have come and ask for any person to be elected on that executive? -- I have explained the procedure. A member of the PFP cannot go to a congress of the Nationalist Party and then nominate another fellow member of the PFP to sit on the executive of the Nationalist Party. The whole thing (20) is guided by the constitution. If the constitution says that may be done, that may well be done, but if the constitution does not provide for that, you cannot do that. So, it was the same situation we had in the UDF. The Working Principles says only structured regions, people from structured regions may be elected into the executive and at that stage we had only three structured regions. We had Natal, we had the Western Cape, we had the Transvaal. So, we could not get any other person from Eastern Cape, Border. It was simply not in line with the Working Principles. (30)

Yes/...

Yes, but you made mention that anybody could be nominated and anybody can choose anybody. So, that is why I am putting it to you ... -- Well, in line with the provisions of the Working Principles. I am sorry if I made that - I confused counsel by that statement.

I put it to you that the actual people who is responsible for the choosing of the executive is the different regions? -- That is so. Affiliates constituting those regions.

Let us go back to the people in the UDF. First, Mr [Mandela]. He is an ex-ANC member? -- A patron of the UDF. (10)

Mr Goldberg is a patron and ex-member of the ANC? -- I believe so, yes.

Mr [Kathrada] is an ex-member of the ANC and a political prisoner? -- I believe he was. I am not sure of he was from the ANC.

All three of them so far were ex-Rivonia trialists? -- That is correct.

Mr Mbeki was an ex-member of the ANC and a Rivonia trialist? -- That is so.

Mr Mohlaba was a member of the ANC and an ex-Rivonia (20) trialist? -- That is correct.

Mr Mhlangeni, ex-member of the ANC and a Rivonia trialist? -- I believe that is Mlangeni.

Motsoaledi. He is an ex-ANC member and trialist of Rivonia? -- I believe he was a member of the ANC and SACTU, South African Congress of Trade Unions.

And the ANC and a Rivonia trialist? -- Yes.

And Mr Sisulu, the same? -- That is so.

Then Florence Mkhize, is she an ex-member of the women's wing of the ANC? -- I believe she was. (30)

Dorothy/...

[Dorothy Nyembe, ex-member of the ANC Women's League? -- I believe she was.

[Frances Baardt, ex-ANC? -- And a leading trade unionist of the Food and Canning Workers, African Food and Canning.

[Martha Mahlangu, she is the mother of Solomon Mahlangu the person who was tried and found guilty of terroristic activities? -- That is so. I do not know if he was convicted of terrorism, but he was found guilty. I do not know the specific sentence that he received.

COURT : Was he executed? -- He was. (10)

MR JACOBS : Archie Gumede is an ex-member of the ANC?

COURT : We have now gone away from patrons?

MR JACOBS : Patrons is finished. -- He is not a patron.

COURT : Now the presidents.

MR JACOBS : The presidents. [Archie Gumede?] -- That is so. He was also chairman of the RMC in Natal. He was a wellknown attorney also, practising attorney in that region.

And previously also a member of the ANC? -- That is correct.

[A. Sisulu. She was a member of the ANC's Womens' League? -- That is so. (20)

[Oscar Mpetha was also an ex-member of the ANC? -- Yes, and a leading trade unionist. He was also a member of SACTU and the African Food and Canning Workers Union.

If we go to the secretaries, you yourself said you were a person that had learnings from members of the ANC, like Joe Quabi and other members mentioned yesterday in court? -- Of the many people he is one of them, but I had also been a member of the Black Consciousness Movement. I have got a strong background thereof. (30)

And/...

And then Mr Lekota also had learnings at the knees of Mandela as stated by himself in V16 page 32? -- Yes, I think in one of his speeches he spoke about that. I do not know exactly which meeting. He is also a very - he had a strong background of the Black Consciousness also. He had been a member of the South African Student Organisation.

Mildred Lesia, do you know her? -- I was on the same executive with her.

I see it is spelt in the records in the books as Lesiea.  
-- That is wrong, the correct spelling is Lesia. (10)

COURT : What about Mildred Lesia?

MR JACOBS : She was an ex-organiser of SACTU? -- I believe she was.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : What is her position in the UDF? -- I think she was on the National Executive and on the Western Cape Region, the regional executive. She was also in the executive of the United Women's Organisation.

MR JACOBS : And the women's part of the ANC? -- I am not sure about that. I cannot remember.

And Gunic Ndhlovu, he is an ex-member of Mkhonto we Sizwe? -- I believe he was. (20)

And was also previously sentenced to 20 years for sabotage? -- That is so.

And he was also on the executive of the UDF? -- That is correct.

Mr Steve Twete. He was an ex-member of the ANC? -- He was an ex-member of the ANC.

And he is now back with the ANC? -- As I understand, yes.

And he was from the executive of the UDF? -- That is correct. (30)

And/...

And [Edgar Ngoyi was also an ex-ANC member? -- He is an ex-ANC member.

He also served 17 years on Robben Island? -- He did some time. I cannot remember exactly how many years now.

In the Transvaal region, there was Curtis Nkondo? -- Is counsel interested in those who had been members of the ANC? Are we now leaving the members of the ... (Mr Jacobs intervenes)

I would perhaps come back to them, but do you know of any of the others being members of the ANC? -- I thought (10) counsel was really just interested in the background of each member of the national executive.

But is it not so that the national executive consists of people also on the regional executive? -- Yes, but I thought we would also talk about people like Joseph Marks and many other people who sat on the national executive.

Joseph Marks, was he an ex-member of the ANC? -- He is a trader. I do not know. He does not have any connection with the ANC. He is a member of a trader's organisation in the Western Cape. (20)

In the [Transvaal] region, [Curtis Nkondo, is he an ex-member of ANC? -- No, he had never been a member of the ANC.

It seems as if, if we have a look at EXHIBIT C131 to 133 then he has contacts with the ANC? -- Well, I do not know of those are his documents. If he wrote those documents. I do not know anything about that. I can talk about the fact that I know from the discussions and from what he had written about his past. I cannot remember a single statement on the ANC.

And Eric Molobi? Do you know him? -- I know him. (30)

He/...

He is on the Transvaal executive of the ... -- He was up until 1985.

And he is an ex-member of the ANC and a person from Robben Island? -- No, no, he was a member of I think the Black Allied Workers Union, BAWU, a Black Consciousness orientated trade union.

[Did he serve some time on Robben Island? -- That is correct.

For political offences? -- That is so.

Dr Motlana an ex-member of the ANC and Mkhonto we Sizwe? -- (Witness laughs) No.

MR BIZOS : I think that My Learned Friend had better withdraw it quickly in order to mitigate the damages that he may have to pay Dr Motlana.

MR JACOBS : Was he a member of the ANC? -- He had been a member of the ANC Youth League, yes.

And was he a member of its Youth League?

MR BIZOS : Is he withdrawing the allegation or is he not?

MR JACOBS : I was referring actually to Youth League and then I made a mistake. But he was a member of the ANC? (20) -- Youth League, yes.

[Murphey Morobi? -- I know Murphison Morobi.

Do you know whether he is an ex-member of the ANC? -- No, no, he is just a small child. He was born probably just before the ANC was banned.

Did he serve some time on Robben Island? -- Yes, he did serve some time on Robben Island.

For sedition? -- That is so.

And [Mr R. Sudner, was he a person who was sentenced under the security legislation? -- He did some jail term. I do (30)

not/...



not know under what circumstances.

Under the acts of suppression of communism? -- I am not certain about that.

Dan Motsitsi, was he an ex-prisoner from Robben Island? where he served some seven years? -- I think he did about four or five years. I am not sure. Not seven years.

Was he charged under the security laws? -- That is so.

Arthur Mkhwanazi, was he an ex-Robben Islander? -- That is so.

And he spent seven years on Robben Island for sabo- (10) tage? -- I do not know the circumstances of his case, but I doubt if it was sabotage.

COURT : Was it a political offence? -- It was a political offence, but I doubt if it was seven years.

MR JACOBS : In the Cape Region, do you know Rachid Seria? -- I know that name, but I cannot place the name.

Was he not a vice-president of the Union of Black Journalists, an organisation, if I understand it correctly that was also banned? -- Yes, I think it was banned in 1977 with other Black Consciousness organisations. (20)

And David Pieterse?

COURT : Well, was he vice-president of the Union of Black Journalists or do you not know? -- I cannot remember. I can only remember who the president was.

MR JACOBS : And David Pieterse? -- No, I cannot remember that name.

Can you say whether he was an ex-member of the Coloured people's convention? -- I cannot. I simply do not know. Coloured people's convention? I never heard of that kind of an organisation before. (30)

We/...

We will come back to it in a minute's time. In [Natal] Billy Nair.

COURT : Is this now the regional executive council?

MR JACOBS : Regional executive council? -- But I may just indicate that a lot of names have been left out in those. I think counsel is interested in those who are connected with jail and may be past connection with the ANC.

Billy Nair, was he an ex-member or ex-Robben Island prisoner? -- That is so.

He served 20 years for fifteen acts of sabotage? -- (10)  
I do not know for how many acts. I know that he did some jail term. I do not know what the circumstances were.

Do you know whether he was an ex-member of Mkhonto we Sizwe or not? -- I believe he was, but I know that he has got a strong trade union background.

And Mountain Qumbula from the Western Cape in the regional executive of the Western Cape?

COURT : Are we jumping back? I thought we had the Western Cape region? You referred to Rachid Seria. In what connection? You said Cape. Now which Cape is that? (20)

MR JACOBS : I suppose that is the Western Cape. -- I cannot remember if that person was on the executive committee there. I cannot remember.

Do you know Mr Mountain Qumbula? -- I know that name.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Is he a big man? -- I do not know him. I cannot place him now. I might have seen him, but I cannot place him now.

COURT : He might also be a steadfast man? -- It might also be just a small chap.

What about [Mountain Qumbula? (20)

(30)

MR JACOBS/...

MR JACOBS : He is an ex-member from Robben Island for political offences where he served 10 years? -- I do not know.

And do you know Jerry Cronin? -- I do not know Jerry Cronin. I know Jeremy.

COURT : Cronin? -- That is so.

MR JACOBS : He was also on the Western Cape executive? -- I think he was elected in 1985 - into the 1985 executive.

Do you know if he is an ex-Robben Island prisoner where he served 7 years for contraventions under the security law? -- No, he is a White man. I do not know if White men are (10) sent to Robben Island, but I know that he did some jail term. I do not know where. It may well have been in Pretoria.

Just to go back to David Pieterse, you said you do not know the Coloured People's Convention? -- No, I do not know that organisation. I have never heard about it.

In EXHIBIT C95. That is volume 6, there we have got the name of David Pieterse on page 3, the second line from the bottom? -- I see it, but I do not know that organisation.

Former member of the Coloured People's Convention, CPC? -- I do not know that organisation. (20)

MR BIZOS : May I suggest something that may be of assistance to Your Lordship. My Learned Friend is obviously looking at the admissions document AAS4 where all these names are admitted and that will save a lot of re-examination as well, because from that Your Lordship will be able to work out the percentage of persons with degrees from various institutions and those that have not. It will also avoid the spelling.

MR JACOBS : I just want to ask you about three more names. On the border region Lucille Meyer. She was on the executive (3 of/...

of the border region? -- That is correct.

Do you know whether she had any convictions under the security laws? -- I do not know.

And Henry Fasi, do you know him? -- What region are we dealing with?

Eastern Cape? -- Yes, I know him.

Was he an ex-member of the ANC? -- That is so.

And he served time on Robben Island 21 years? -- I do not know exactly how many years he served on the island.

And Stone Sizane, also of the Eastern Cape? -- I know (10) him, that is so.

Was he an ex-member of the ANC? -- He is also just a young chap. He is even younger than I am.

Do you know whether he served any time on Robben Island? -- He did a jail term on the island.

It was contraventions under the security act? -- Political reasons, yes.

I want to put it to you that - can you tell the Court, was it one of the ideals of the UDF that people who were steeped in the struggle in the past, that they must be take (20) an active part in the leadership of the UDF? -- That was not a consideration.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Who did what in the struggle?

MR JACOBS : Who knew and who was part of the struggle in the past, to be re-elected or be elected on the executive of the UDF either national or regional? -- That was not the consideration. I think the whole thing depended on the respect that each one of them commanded in a community that he came from. That was not a consideration.

(So, I put it to you so far it seems as if a very great (30) number/...

[number of people who were ex-members of the ANC or ex-political prisoners were at the head of UDF national either nationally or regionally? Or people who were conversed with the ideology and plans of the ANC? -- I do not know how much they were conversant with the plans of the ANC, because the ANC was banned in 1960. Some of them had been in jail for 20 years as counsel has pointed out. I do not know if they were conversant with that. It is true that in the communities from which those people came, they commanded respect and that is something that one can do nothing about. If the community (10) has got a respect for a person and they elect him into an organisation, nothing could be done about that, as long as that person abides by the policies of that organisation. Naturally, people who were previously being involved in activities, they get respected in their own communities and then they get elected into organisations. That is a thing that happens everywhere.

And I would like to put to you also that even from the national office it was - the message was sent to the youth of Soweto that they must associate themselves and take (20) their queue from the youth league of the ANC and will you have a look at EXHIBIT 39 - AB39 in this respect. This is a document under the letterhead of the UDF National Office. Is that correct? -- That is so.

And it was signed by accused no. 20? -- That is so.

And I put it to you that the message sent to the Soweto Youth Congress is the following "Our dear comrades, we are informed that the Soweto Youth Congress will be holding its first annual congress from 3 to 5 August 1984 and we wish your deliberation all the success it deserves. As a Soweto (10) based/...

based organisation, SAYCO takes its queue and inherits the militant record of the youth of the past. You march on the footsteps of the ANC's youth league of the forties and fifties. You are imbued with the spirit of the youth that carried the squatter struggles of the forties under the militant leadership of Sofasonke Mpanza. As the reactionaries drag Mpanza's name in the mud of community councils, the country looks up to you to salvage his image. Above all, however, you have daunting tasks of matching the ability to organise the militance and selfless courage of the (10) '76 Soweto youth. Respond to the challenge of the youth in Cradock, Lamontville and Parys. If you will claim your rightful place in the pages of the country's history, you must perform as never before, organise the employed and unemployed, drop-outs and illiterate youth. Let our generation's word of deeds inspire our people to levels of resistance that must crumble apartheid forever. Long live SOYCO. Long live the youth of Africa. Long live the United Democratic Front. Yours in struggle for a free and non-racial democratic South Africa." I put it to you that this is (20) a message to the youth of the Soweto Youth Congress that they must associate themselves with the African Youth League and that they must take them as an example in the struggle that they must wage in the future? -- Well, he seems to be saying so, but he is talking here of the youth league that operated as a legal organisation in that period. I think he is really citing it as an example because in the history of the African people really, the ANC Youth League is the only youth organisation that deserves a page in the historical records. The others were just small organisations which (30)

came/...

came and passed. So, I think really he was using that as an example because that is part of the history of the youth of this country. But I may also indicate that Safosonke Mpanza was not a member of the youth league. On the contrary, he was a member of the Advisory Board. He is respected because he is one of the people who campaigned for the people, squatters, who were removed from places like Alexandra, Nuclear Martindale, Sophiatown, those people who were moved there. He campaigned for them to get places to squat on and finally to get houses. I think one of the places that is to his (10) credit that was established and built to his credit is a place called Jabafu White City in Soweto. He was really a member of the Advisory Board and I think he was not a member of the ANC.

Are you sure about that or do you not know? -- He was a member of the Advisory Board. I am sure of that. I do not know if he is connected with the ANC. In fact the records that I have read of history he had had several clashes with certain people in the ANC. I think one might say, to use an example of an advisory man who was in the Advisory Board (20) is to suggest that the youth must follow his example, but I think all he is saying is that Mpanza, when the need arose, defended the rights of those who had nothing.

I am putting it to you that the message of accused no. 20 to the youth is that they must associate themselves with the ANC Youth League? -- No, what he is saying you are marching on the footsteps of the ANC Youth League of the forties and fifties. He is merely saying that you are walking where other people have walked, who have passed. I do not understand it that way. I think it is a matter of (30) history/...

history. You cannot deny people their history. In fact other people have said this in the past. They have argued, they have said that a people without a history is not a people and we cannot honour the generations that came before us if we do not know our history. We cannot respect our forefathers if we do not know about our past and these were the arguments really which were put forward by the Afrikaners I think during the time of Milner, after the Anglo Boer War when they were forced to learn everything in English and they were denied the right to talk about the history.(19) They argued that it was necessary for them to talk about the past. They argued it that it was necessary for them to talk about oppression and the British Empire to talk about the Slagtersnek Rebellion. To talk about the East Frontier problems with the Natives. To talk about the denial of a share in the wealth of the country. The imperialist domination and take over of the mines and diamond gold mines and diamond mines in the Transvaal and in Kimberley. They argued that they had a right to talk about that. They argued that even the history of Jopie Fourie, they had to tell it(20) to the children in their schools. They argued about all these things. So, sometimes when a person talks about the history, the past history, I do not understand that to simply mean that one is advising people to use the same methods or to accept the same policies of those who came before them. They are merely saying that those who were striving for the ideals that all of us are striving for in the case of the Afrikaners, they would talk of national self determination of the Afrikaner nation. We are today talking about the ideal of a non-racial and democratic South Africa, where(30

we/...



we will all have a vote in one government. Many people have spoken about that. They adopted different methods at different points in time. We are talking about the same things, but we have thought to use different methods to achieve those things. I find it difficult that one should be expected to shy away from the history. One may not necessarily adopt the same methods, but one may well have to talk about what happened in the past in our history.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : Unfortunately we do not know the date of this letter that was apparently sent out from (10) Khotso House to the comrades of the Soweto Youth Congress. But we do know from the first paragraph that this letter was sent to invite them to the first annual congress which would have taken place on 3 to 5 August 1984.

COURT : Just to wish them well.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : They would be holding their first annual congress. -- I believe that is the position.

And then the writer talks about the youth league in the seventh paragraph. He talks about the militancy of the 1976 Soweto youth and then he also says "Respond to (20) the challenge of the youth in Cradock, Lamontville and the rest." Have you any idea to which or to what rather incidents the publicity secretary is referring here? -- I do not know what he had in mind in respect of these two places.

[We heard evidence about Parys in July. -- Yes, that is so. We have got that.

And Cradock? -- I think in Cradock, all one can say is that there had been I think class boycotts there. The students demanded that the only mathematics teacher who had been transferred in fact I think by this time he was (30) already/...

already detained under Section 28.

Goniwe? -- Goniwe - should be released. I do not know if he had that in mind. I think he is coming. He can deal with his own platter. I did not discuss it with him.

MR JACOBS : I would also like to refer you to [EXHIBIT V12] and read a passage to you on page 50, that is the second part on page 50. The last two lines, I will start from there. "So het hulle die spies van die volk gestig. Mandela het gesê dit is die assegaaie van die wêreld. Hy het gesê ons voorvaders het met assegaaie baklei en hy sê hierdie (10) assegaaie gaan ons noem die assegaaie van die volk, want hierdie spies het ons voorvaders met boere mee baklei. Ons wil die boere herinner dat die oorlog wat sal baklei is, nie nuut is nie. Dit is daardie wat van onder begin. Dit is hoekom ons Desember, 16 gekies het as die groot dag van die spies van die volk, wanneer dit by die volk sal verskyn." I put it to you that this is the speech of accused no. 20, part of his speech and the message that he is bringing to the audience here is that Mandela formed Mkhonto we Sizwe and that the people must realise that they are fighting in the (20) same war as Mkhonto we Sizwe, that is why they accepted 16 December as Mkhonto day? -- I do not understand it that way. I think here no. 20 was relating what he was told by Mr Mandela and then Mr Mandela was talking about past history that in the wars that took place, possibly things like the battle of Blood River which we learn about at school, because I see here on page 51 in fact after Amandla Ngawethu there is - there is 1838. I think it is in that context, but any way, I had not had the opportunity really to read the whole thing in context, but I seem to understand him to be (30) saying/...

saying that is what Mr Mandela said. He is not saying so and in any event, the UDF has not chosen December 16 as "Die Dag van die spies van die volk." No, we have not in the UDF done that. I understand this really to be a narration of what he was told by somebody, Mr Mandela. I do not know in what context he was saying that and what he finally said in respect of the UDF's position in this respect.

I put it to you that what is going on here is that he is asking the people at that meeting to associate themselves with Mkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC. -- I do not understand(10) it that way. However, I cannot take a rigid position. I have not read this thing. I cannot accept nor dispute that but all I can say is that I know accused no. 20, he would not have called - I have serious doubts if he could call on people at a meeting of this nature or anywhere else to support Mkhonto we Sizwe, but I would like the opportunity to have a look at this. May be I can have a look at it tonight and then tomorrow I can comment if there is any need for me to comment.

ASSESSOR (MR KRUGEL) : You say December 16 is not a day as(20) it is put here "Die Dag van die spies van die volk." -- I have just forgotten what the word "spies" is?

Mkhonto?

COURT : Spear of the nation. Mkhonto we Sizwe. -- Oh, spear. No, the UDF has not - I know that I have read that. I have read several times that Mkhonto was formed or at least it became known around that time that there was Mkhonto, but the UDF has not adopted that day as anything. We know - for many, many years we had known it as Dingaans Day and then it changed names several times. It became the Day of(30) the/...

the Vow, The Day of the Covenant and so on.

MR JACOBS : Then I would like you to refer to EXHIBIT V16. I will start reading on page 32. It is again accused no. 20 speaking here. He says here - he has again related in this part the two choices, one for the struggle against apartheid and the one for apartheid against the people. "It was a difficult decision to make, for our people had no arms. They were not trained in the art of warfare, but we had to take the decision, that either we are going to submit and die the slave of apartheid or we are going to die fighting and (10) resisting and so we took on the decision that we were going to fight back." Then we go on and in the middle of the next paragraph. "I have found them unbroken." He is referring to the people on Robben Island. They remained to me a symbol that we as the people inspite of many years of humiliation of being downtrodden, of being despised and humiliated, that we too are people, that too can stand and have produced, have been brought among people men who can (put ashame anybody.) We are equal to all others. This is an essential point, but they (inaudible) must take the crucial question. That is (20) the decision of 61. Was not taken seriously by many, especially by the government of the country. Today they are taking it much more seriously. Today they understand very well that the changes that happen in South Africa which make it necessary for them to defend the border from the Atlantic up to the Indian Ocean which confronts them with the might of our own Mkhonto." I put it to you that accused no. 20 is again associating the UDF as a speaker from the UDF here with Mkhonto we Sizwe and he identifies Mkhonto we Sizwe as our own Mkhonto. -- I do not understand it to mean that. (30)

I was not at this meeting, but I think what he is trying to say is that Mkhonto was formed - I really do not understand it to mean that. I think what he is trying to convey here is that it is an organisation that was formed by the people of South Africa or by people who came from the oppressed communities. I think that is what he is trying to say.

I put it to you that there is a clear reference here to the government in the last portion "today they understand very well that the changes that happen in South Africa which make it necessary for them to defend the borders from the (10) Atlantic to the Indian Ocean", that refers to the government? -- Yes, I understand that it refers to the government.

"And which confronts them with the might of our own Mkhonto." He is referring to and he identified Mkhonto that is today fighting against the government in you and UDF's view Mkhonto? -- The UDF did not form Mkhonto. We are not part of that and I do not understand it to mean that. I would also like the opportunity to read the transcript. It is one of these that I did not have the opportunity to read. (20)

This speech was given by accused no. 20 on the UDF Do Not Vote rally in the Lyric Bioscope Hall, Kimberley on 28/7/84. That was a meeting organised by the UDF. -- That is so.

Was it only a Do Not Vote rally or was it also a rally in order to organise the establishment of a Northern Cape region of the UDF? -- No, no, it was an anti-election rally. It had to do with the then coming elections. It was organised as part of a build up to the election boycott.

And was it also at that stage - were you and the UDF busy with organising the establishment of Northern Cape (30) region/...

region of the UDF? -- Already there was an interim committee there. I think that interim committee was formed in 1983. It was working towards a fully fledged region. We were not really organising it, but we helped to organise this meeting.

I would also like to refer you to EXHIBIT V4 on page 19 of this exhibit. That is the inauguration of the Alexandra Youth Congress. On page 10 of that, it seems as if this is an unidentified speaker, but that he is from the Azanian Students Organisation. AZASO. That is indicated on page 17. "On behalf of the Azanian Students Organisation, that is (10) AZASO, I bring a message of support and solidarity to the Alexandra Youth Congress." In the first instance on page 19 the third last paragraph there he says "There is an experience that we can draw from the youth league from the African National Congress. I mean the ANC youth league. It will be illustrated by the following." There is also, I put it to you, in this first paragraph a clear indication that again there is an association with the ANC and the ANC Youth League and a little higher up, he also said "our recognised leaders Mandela and Thambo", those are the recognised (20) leaders of the ANC and also the recognised leaders of the people in at least AZASO and he then went on and he is giving us an explanation of the meaning of the clenched fist. "I just give one example. This afternoon there has been shouting of the slogan 'Mayibuye Afrika' and people have shaken their fist with the thumb up. The majority of us that are here do not know the exact meaning of the origin of such clenched fist. The fist clenched like this means unity and it has been used throughout the history of the struggle and in particular the branch, the forties branch (30)

of/...

of the ANC Youth League. When the forties came, let me say that they are the people that resulted in us clenching the fore-fingers (speaker demonstrates). The fore-fingers for us depicting unity, determination, solidarity and militancy and the fifth finger representing the whole of Africa which signifies that we are part and parcel of the whole of Africa. The finger that we have up, signifies (speaker demonstrates). It shows that we take ourselves here in South Africa still to be part and parcel of the struggle of Africa and part and parcel of the struggle at large. (The(10) youths were very happy when the African National Congress we are talking about in 1949 and 50 adopted that as a sign of African National Congress. For me I see the Youth Congress providing the former and the platform of information because all the youths are just like trees." So, on this meeting also it was clearly indicated in the first instance that the true leaders are regarded by the people in AZASO as Thambo and Mandela, secondly that they must follow again the example of the ANC Youth League and thirdly, we got now meaning and the shouting of Amandla and showing the right(20) fist as also meaning that it is indicating that they are associating themselves with the ANC and the principles of the ANC? -- Which principles of the ANC?

In overthrowing the government in this country ? -- Well, I do not understand - the first point is true that this person whom we do not know who in terms of what is transcribed here purported to represent AZASO and says that Mr Mandela and Thambo are recognised leaders. I would understand it in the context in which I have explained it previously. In respect of the youth league again, I would understand it(30)

as/...

as part of the history of the African people and in fact my recollection is that the youth league was a lawful organisation. I think it ceased to exist when the ANC was banned. It is known to have participated actively and influencing the ANC to adopt a program of action of 1949. I think in 1949 which led amongst others to the defiance campaign of 1952 where the defied laws of racial segregation, getting into toilets reserved for Whites and so on and getting arrested for that. We also know that it was a highly disciplined campaign. Before that campaign took place (10) there had been meetings where people were addressed and they were told that even if they were assaulted by White people or the police, they should not fight back. They should not hit back. It was something like a passive resistance really. That is what the youth league is known for really. It was militant in the sense that it got the ANC to take up that defiance campaign but I again in a highly disciplined way, they were not supposed to fight back when they were beaten up. In respect of all the kind of things that the speaker is saying about what the sign might mean and so on, I have (20) given my understanding of that. I simply disagree with the speaker here.

If you go to page 21 at the top "If we look back at the program of action of the African National Congress, we find that the youths are primarily responsible for (problems) such as people like Mandela, people like Thambo and there were under the guidance of leadership of people like Sisulu. Those are the people that directed the people's movement to be whatever it is. Even now, when the people's organisations have been forced underground, we, the youth, must (30)

meet /...



meet our responsibility but we inject life into the people's movement. (I mean we have got to work hand in hand for example with the United Democratic Front. These are the people's organisations." I put it to you that the message here is also clear that although they work under the United Democratic Front, they are also associating themselves with the ANC? -- I do not understand it that way really. I think all that he is saying is that those organisations are banned, they have gone underground. The youth of the past was active in those organisations. They, as the youth, must now also(10) be active in existing organisations like the UDF. I understand it to mean that.

What do you understand "We, the youth, must meet our responsibility but we inject life into the people's movement"? -- Well, I believe he is in this instance possibly referring to the UDF, because he says, immediately after that movement I mean you have got to work hand in hand, for example with the United Democratic Front. Those are the people's organisations. He is really talking about the youth of the past, the role they played in the organisations that existed at(20) the time and he is saying in our circumstances organisations which exist now are the UDF and others. We, as the youth, have got to inject life into these organisations, like the youth of the past did with the organisations of the time and we must work hand in hand with the UDF.

Just the beginning of that paragraph, can you explain what is meant by these words "Those are the people" then he refers to the people Mandela and Sisulu "that direct the people's movement to be whatever it is." Explain that to the Court, please? -- I do not know. He might well have (30)

been/...

been referring to the ANC, because they were members of the ANC, but now the second paragraph is very clear. He explains it. He realises that he had used that movement in a different context. Now here he has got to explain what he means. Now I mean here we have got to work hand in hand for example with the United Democratic Front.

And then another point that I would like to make before we finish before 15h00, is one that the people's movement - here we have got again proof of the fact that the people's movement is referred to and is identical with UDF and with(10) the ANC? -- I do not see it that way.

That is according to your own evidence now? -- No, no, what I am saying is that as at the time of the existence of the ANC as a lawful organisation, the youth of that time participated actively in building that movement. He is saying "now, we as the youth of now, have got to work hand in hand with the organisations, which are existing as of now and in our circumstances, in our time, the organisation that exists is the UDF amongst others." He is citing the UDF as an example.

WITNESS STANDS DOWN.

COURT ADJOURNS UNTIL 26 AUGUST 1987.

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

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