

Yes. -- Yes, that is correct.

So in August 1981 when you drew up this document Fine was aware that you were a member of the A.N.C.? -- Yes.

And you knew .. -- Or he knew, possibly - let me be as precise as the court would wish - Fine knew that I had a relationship with Mr Schoon and corresponded with him.

But that is not what you say here. -- What do I say?

"My relationship to A.N.C.," not to Schoon, "has already been exposed to one comrade." -- In that sense what I suppose I am assuming is that Mr Fine knew that Mr Schoon was a (10) member of the A.N.C. and, therefore, deduced from that that I was working for the A.N.C., but bearing in mind your need for precision yesterday, I would not like to say that he definitely knew.

So what you refer here to is "my relationship to A.N.C. has already been exposed," you really say that another comrade has a suspicion that I may be working for the A.N.C.? -- Yes. Not that he had any idea of what instructions I had.

COURT: Well you follow that up by saying that when you visited the same house, now is that the house of Schoon? (20) -- Correct.

At the same time, each believing that the other was not working under instructions and only coming to realise when we were there that, in fact, both of us were working under instructions. -- Yes.

That is a clear indication that .. -- That there was a relationship between, as I say, a relationship of discipline between myself and Schoon and Fine, but Fine, I do not think was ever told in that many words the situation and I do not want to confuse the court again. (30)

MR SWANEPOEL: So at that stage you realised you were both working ...

working under instructions? -- Yes.

He thought you were working under instructions of A.N.C. and you thought he was working under instructions of S.A.C.T.U.? -- Of S.A.C.T.U. or the A.N.C., one of the two, yes.

Why did you not ask Mr Schoon whether Fine was working for the A.N.C. or not? You asked him about Aggett and others. -- Why did I not ask him?

That is the question, yes. -- Well Mr Schoon, in fact, broached the subject with me and said to me would I like to work with Allen Fine in a cell and I said no. (10)

So did you then ask him is a member of our organization? -- I did not go further than that because I did not want to prejudice further than what had already been broached to me.

Why did you not ask him whether Fine is a member of the A.N.C. and whether you can trust him? -- Because there was sufficient for me to believe that Fine was a trustworthy person. As I said, I had good reasons and suspicions. I did not see the necessity to get a verbal confirmation from Mr Schoon.

Although you wanted verbal confirmation from him regarding Aggett? -- Yes, because that was a very difficult issue in (20) which I was involved. I was not involved in a difficult issue with Mr Fine.

If you were, for argument sake, to accept that Mr Fine was a member of S.A.C.T.U., the implication is clear that Mr Schoon, a member of the A.N.C., wanted to put you in a cell with a S.A.C.T.U. member. -- Or vice versa, put Mr Fine, change his affiliation and put him into S.A.C.T.U. - put him into the A.N.C., sorry.

But you gathered from what Mr Schoon said to you that there was some working relationship then between A.N.C. and (30) S.A.C.T.U.? You foresaw that possibility. -- No, he never discussed ...

discussed with me saying in any way that the A.N.C. executive or the S.A.C.T.U. executive has discussed your relative positions and have decided that this might be. The issue came out, I think, because Allen Fine and I have worked together for a very long time, since 1974, and I think he was not putting that proposal to me as a means of saying that there was a definite relationship between S.A.C.T.U. and the A.N.C., but more as saying you people have known each other, it seems logical that some how you should work together.

At that stage you thought, or you had suspicion that (10) Fine was working for S.A.C.T.U., is that right? -- Or the A.N.C.

So you did not foresee that he may be working for S.A.C.T.U., he may have been working for either? -- For either, yes.

If you turn to page 8, almost the middle of the page: "Thus I continued to work as best I could in consultation with comrades inside." -- Yes.

This would also refer to the names that you have already given? -- M'mm.

Also on page 8 you say, towards the middle of the second (20) paragraph, just below the middle of the page: "Once of twice a comrade was able to arrange for me to send through a fairly lengthy document which was organised by the forward area, but these infrequent and haphazard forms of communication were inadequate to transform my formal commitment to the A.N.C. into a more dynamic relationship." I want to ask you about "once or twice a comrade was able to arrange for me to send through a fairly lengthy document." Who were these comrades? -- I refer to one, Allen Fine.

Did he arrange for you to send through a fairly lengthy (30) document? -- Yes.

What ...

What document was that? -- A document on jobs.

How did he arrange it for you? -- Well he was in Botswana, when he was going to Botswana I asked him if he could arrange it.

And approximately when was this that he arranged it for you?  
-- It must have been round about August/September 1980.

Now you say once or twice, what do you .. -- Once.

Oh, shouldn't the words "or twice" be in this document?  
-- No, or twice should not.

Why all these inaccuracies, Miss Hogan? -- The twice was referring to a potential sending of a document which never (10)  
got sent.

But that is not how the sentence reads. "Once or twice a comrade was able to arrange." In other words, he had arranged it. -- Yes, but the arrangement fell through.

Now why do you then say, if there was not a second arrangement why do you say once or twice? -- Because at the time of writing this document it had not fallen through yet.

So he had arranged for you to send a document a second time?  
-- Yes. No, no, someone else had arranged - sorry - someone else had arranged it unknown to me. I was approached by (20)  
Cedric de Beer in South Africa saying that arrangements had been made. Who that comrade was I do not know.

So Cedric came to you and he said a comrade has arranged for you to send through a document? -- He did not say comrade, he said someone.

Someone. -- Ja.

To send, what did you say, to send a document to whom? -- To Mr Schoon.

Did you ask him who the person was? The person that had arranged .. -- No, no, I did not. (30)

Why not? -- Because I did not see any purpose of knowing things ...

things that I need not know.

You were not scared about your own safety? -- No, I trusted Mr De Beer.

Completely trusted him? -- Yes, I trusted him.

Because he was loyal to the A.N.C.? -- As I have said, loyal to the A.N.C. is an admiration for the A.N.C. for particular reasons, for particular aspects of the A.N.C.

Now what kind of report was this that you had to send through? -- This is the report that I referred to earlier on, a report that he said dealt with his work in E.D.A. (10)

So did De Beer come to you and say I have arranged for you to send through my report, is that right? Please say yes or no, it does not pick up when you nod. -- Sorry, yes, that is correct.

How did you know that it was a fairly lengthy document that he had compiled or that he would compile? -- Because he told me, he told me.

So he said to you he had compiled a fairly lengthy document of E.D.A. and he has arranged for it to be sent through? -- M'mm.

Is that right? -- M'mm. (20)

Yes or no? -- Yes, sorry.

And he wanted to send it through your communication system? -- Correct.

He did not want to send it by ordinary post? -- He did not express reasons, he just said that he had been told to send it through my communication system.

Now you say it fell through? -- M'mm.

Did it not go out, was it not sent? -- I do not know precisely what happened to that document. It fell through because it never went through my communication system. (30)

On page 9 you once again refer to comrades, towards the middle ...

middle of the page. Start with obviously: "Obviously I was recruited to do work for the A.N.C. This I did by working to win over groups and organizations to an A.N.C. position in all aspects of my political work, which went much further than the particular areas I had been appointed to by the forward area. I was aided in this work by comrades who are loyal to the A.N.C. and to act as my chief reference point for my political work." Who are these comrades? -- The people that I referred to earlier on who I relied on for the bulk of my political activity.

De Beer, Van Heerden? -- Anderson.

(10)

Smithers, Anderson? -- Yes.

And who else? -- Smithers, Fine.

Is it correct that they aided you in this work? -- Now as I explained before, this document is a retrospective reflection on the membership of these people to the A.N.C. At the time that I was working with them until about sometime in 1981 I had no idea that these people were members of the A.N.C. I discovered that later, and this is reflected in the document, that I discovered them later to be members of the A.N.C. So it would be correct to say that I worked with people to win (20) over people to an A.N.C. position, some of whom were members of the A.N.C., but that was not my understanding at the time of those activities. When I say an A.N.C. position, I am not saying I am trying to win people over to the A.N.C. as an organization. I am referring there to a non-racial democratic ideology in South Africa, based on the principles of the Freedom Charter.

Why did you not say so? -- Because I am saying an A.N.C. position. Surely that is self evident for a person who is a member of the A.N.C.?

(30)

And you were aided in this work by the 5 persons that you have ...

have mentioned? -- Yes.

They assisted you in trying to win over groups and organizations to an A.N.C. position? -- Position, correct.

And at the time when you wrote this document they were, as far as you were concerned, loyal to the A.N.C.? -- Yes, for certain reasons of their own.

Please turn to page 10, about three-quarters down. "This year I am also trying to cement the alliance between community and student groups in their relationship to the labour movement. I do this work in conjunction with other comrades, (10) relying on them for the day to day input necessary for political work." Does that also refer to the same 5 persons? -- No, it refers to a wider range of people.

Please give us some names? -- They would be people listed under that advisory reference group.

That would be paragraph (b) on Exhibit B.3? -- Yes, yes.

That is Aggett, Floyd, Favis, Moosa, Momoniat, Noorsam. -- Now let me say Favis not, Floyd not, the others yes.

And would it also include persons like De Beer, Van Heerden and the others that you mentioned? -- Not De Beer. (20)

Fine? -- Fine, yes, I would say Fine.

Smithers? -- No, not Smithers.

Van Heerden? -- Yes.

On page 13 you refer to a comrade who has been submitting reports rolled up in a magazine. That would also be Mr Fine? -- That is Mr Fine, yes.

In the middle paragraph, the one that is handwritten. -- Yes.

You say towards the end of that paragraph: "Very recently I had to make use of this comrade's method to send a report on my position. There had been a general alarm and it was felt (30) that I should leave immediately. I sent the report via this method ...

method." What was the nature, the exact nature of this report?

-- In June 1981 I had been told to leave the country because they had thought that my communication with Mr Schoon had been intercepted based on the fact that an envelope in which I had sent a message had been slit opened. I discovered subsequent to that, that all the envelopes out of which that particular envelope came, all the envelopes in that packet, as yet unused, were inferior and slit open when you used them. I, therefore, sent a report to Mr Schoon telling him this, querying the necessity for my having to leave the country and also in- (10) forming him that I was under security police surveillance.

Page 14 please. Can we start with the second paragraph. "Again, if the forward area is going to be the central point from which political initiative arises, then consideration must be given to the fact that there is a growth internally of people who are influential in determining political programmes and policies who are also loyal A.N.C. people." Were you referring to specific persons here? -- No.

"For example, in the labour field informal contacts between labour people play a significant role in determining (20) policy." Were you saying that there were or that there are people in the labour field that are loyal A.N.C. people? -- I am saying that the person that I knew of who was a loyal - who I mistakenly believed to be a loyal A.N.C. person - was Allen Fine. Further than that I do not know.

"Although I am formally in regular contact with the forward area, I still depend on comrades inside for my political growth and development, more so than on the forward area." Now these comrades would be the ones that you have referred to? -- Various people, yes. (30)

"In this sense I would be in a schizophrenic position if the forward ...



forward area were to advocate a line of action for me that was different to those advised by my comrades inside. This has already happened as regards the question of my leaving the country. Other comrades have also experienced the problem of different political directives coming from different forward areas." This last sentence, who are these other comrades that also had problems with forward areas? -- I do not know. Rob Adam told me that my experience was not unique and that he had been informed that this was the case.

So all you knew was that Rob Adam said to you certain (10) other people had also been having difficulties with the forward areas? -- Yes.

Why did you then call those persons comrades, because they were not friends, you had not worked with them, they were not trusted? -- Yes, but the second definition which I said that people who are members of the A.N.C. tend to call themselves comrades.

So you were told other members of the A.N.C. have also got difficulties and that is why you called them comrades? -- Yes. (20)

So when you call someone a comrade he can either be a friend or a member of the A.N.C.? -- No. Yes, oh yes, definitely.

Yes, certainly. Now, Miss Hogan, when you were first, can I say recruited by Mr Khutzwayo in Swaziland, exactly what were the instructions that you were given by Khutzwayo? -- The instructions that I was given, after several meetings with Mr Khutzwayo, were to send academic documents that I came across in my academic work that related to social, economic, whatever conditions, in South Africa.

Was that the only instruction that you got from Judson (30) Khutzwayo? -- I got an instruction to open a post office box.

What ...

What else? -- And that would be all, yes.

Why were you told to open a post office box? -- Because Mr Khutzwayo was unhappy communicating with me, if it be necessary, at my home address.

And then you opened a post office box under a false name and a false address? -- Yes, under my code name.

Roger Adam? -- That is right.

Why do you think was the A.N.C. interested in academic documents of the nature that you have described? Why would that be of importance to the A.N.C.? -- I would not like to (10) speculate, there could be all sorts of reasons, but the reason that I saw that they wanted to be in touch with what was happening in South Africa.

For what purpose? -- That they were an exile organization, had been in exile for many years, and the dangers of the splits occurring between people in South Africa and outside South Africa could become - it could lead to a situation of potential civil war, I would imagine.

So the information was, as Major Williamson put it, important to the A.N.C. for strategising, for working out (20) tactics? -- I do not know if it was a matter of strategising or working out tactics, I could not presume that it would go that far. I think it was just a general information thing that they needed.

What did you think were they going to do with that, evaluate it or just throw it away? -- I thought they would read it.

Yes, and evaluate it and possibly use it.

COURT: But for what purpose? -- Read it.

Why would they be interested in this particular branch? (30) -- They would be interested because they were in exile. They had been ...

had been out of the country for some time and in those terms it is difficult to keep abreast of current events in South Africa.

No, I realise those are the difficulties they may have experienced, but why are they interested, particularly in this field? -- Oh, it was not necessarily that they were necessarily interested in this particular field. It was because I was in that field.

Yes, and you could assist them in supplying them with information. -- And I could assist them in that, yes. (10)

But for what purpose? -- It was never spelt out to me for what purpose.

Well did you not know for what purpose? -- No, it was not spelt out.

Eventually if they could use it, presumably they would use it for their ultimate purpose. Could there be any doubt in your mind? -- Possibly, but I also felt that it could just be a general information thing without it being as strictly something that they wanted to get, something that is urgent that they wanted to get to work on. (20)

Yes, but they had certain, definite aims and objects.

-- Yes.

They would not waste time in reading unnecessary documents with no valuable information if they do not think that it might assist them in attaining their ultimate results. -- Yes, yes, I would agree with you there.

MR SWANEPOEL: It is very clear, because you were recruited for only that one purpose. They were prepared to recruit a person for one purpose only, and that is to send them information on labour or whatever it was. -- I cannot comment on the reasons why I was recruited. I certainly was not under the impression ... (30)

impression that I was recruited specifically because they wanted information. The discussion with Mr Khutzwayo covered more than just - the decision to send information came out of a discussion with Mr Khutzwayo, it was not as though I arrived in Swaziland and he said: "You are the person that we have chosen to send information."

COURT: No, but he saw in you ... -- A potential person, yes.

... a potential idealistic sort of person who could supply them with valuable information. -- Yes.

MR SWANEPOEL: And did you send, as a result of your talks (10) with Khutzwayo, did you send out information to the A.N.C.? -- Yes, I did.

What did you send them? -- I sent a copy of "Work in Progress," an academic journal which deals with various analyses of situations in South Africa. I sent a copy of a South African Labour Bulletin. I sent a copy of the Institute of Industrial Relations, a news sheet. Then in a more private capacity which Mr Khutzwayo asked me personally, I was not sure that that was specifically A.N.C., he had asked me to send a book which contained an article which he had written and I (20) sent that book to him and also a Natal Mercury.

This journal, "Work in Progress," is that a journal that has often been banned, certain issues of it? -- Yes.

Does the same apply to the Labour Bulletin? -- No.

You had various discussions also with Mr Khutzwayo? -- What kind of discussions?

I am going to ask you about that. -- Okay.

Did you have various discussions with him? -- I had discussions with him, yes.

In fact, you visited him I think three or four times? (30) -- Three.

December 77, September 78, November 78 and April 79. -- Yes, four times.

Four times. -- Ja.

What did you discuss during those visits? --There was very, very limited discussion. The basis on which I were to meet him would be for about an hour or two in the evening at a prescribed place. The first time that I saw him was not even as long as that, it was for about an hour. There we discussed the position of whites in the A.N.C., what the A.N.C.'s policies were on political work. I gave him a brief back- (10) ground to myself and he stressed to me - and we also discussed, one of the things we discussed was the question of violence, whether I would have to participate in violent acts or not.

Is that all that you discussed? -- Things like, incidental things like how was my transport going to be paid. Various things that could relate to my physically coming there we probably would have discussed.

But you never discussed the purpose for which you were recruited? -- As I say, I do not think I was ever singled out in South Africa as a person to be recruited to send academic (20) literature. I think I was recommended by Ian Robertson to be recruited and out of that came the decision, but at that time all that was said to me was send anything that you find interesting, it was as loose as that, because as I have said, my commitment to the A.N.C. at that stage was still going through a process and the understanding was that I should think, although I had formally committed myself to the A.N.C., was that I should think about what we had discussed.

Did you not discuss the question of what use you could be to the A.N.C.? -- Insofar as I was working in the academic (30) world, yes.

Did you ...

Did you discuss that? -- That is, as I say, what we discussed, the academic work.

Did you also discuss the labour situation? -- No.

Did you not talk about the work that you were doing in South Africa? -- At that stage I was not involved in labour.

Matters relating to labour? -- No, I was a full-time student at that time.

So you did not discuss your activities with Mr Khutwayo? -- I was not politically active at the time. I was a full-time student. (10)

So there was really nothing to discuss? -- Exactly.

Why did you discuss the question of violence? -- Because it was a question which was uppermost in my mind.

And that is because everyone in South Africa knows that the A.N.C. is at war with South Africa at the moment? -- Yes - well yes, I could say that. That is one of the things that people know about the A.N.C.

And you knew that if you joined the A.N.C. you were joining an enemy of South Africa? -- I would not call it an enemy. I would call it an opposition force. (20)

Why not an enemy? -- Because the A.N.C. consists of people who are South Africans.

COURT: Yes, but what would you call people who differ from the Government of the day and who has it as their main purpose to overthrow the Government, if necessary by force? -- I would call them guerilla fighters in the same way that in the Boer War people who were South Africans nevertheless waged war against the current Government, but did not call themselves, the Government, the enemy, but an opposition.

But what were they looked as? -- They were looked on as (30) guerilla fighters.

Is that ...

Is that not mere semantics? -- Well I think the question of enemy and things like that is semantics.

Well in any event, you knew what their aim was and ...  
-- As one of their aims.

... that it would include eventually, if it is necessary, violence, armed violence? -- I knew at that stage, yes, that that was one of their aims.

And that concerned you... ---Yes.

.. because principally you were opposed to that part of their, if I can put it that way, their principles. -- Yes. (10)

You would not subscribe to that? -- Ja, that is right.

But presumably, as an intelligent person, you knew at the time that if you assist them in any other way to attain that idea, it would be a manner in assisting them in obtaining their ultimate aim which might include violence? -- Yes. Now yes, I agree with you there, but I would like to put one qualification on that. I would like to distinguish between the means and the goal. For me I think the principle factor which attracted me to the A.N.C. was its goals, its end result, a non-racial, just, democratic society. I knew that as a means to achieving (20) that society the A.N.C. had engaged in a campaign of guerilla warfare, but I was assured by Mr Khutwayo that that was not the only means towards achieving a just and democratic society, but that was one of the aspects which the A.N.C. had chosen and that was the basis on which I joined the A.N.C. So the means, one of the means was guerilla warfare, but I was told that there were other means towards gaining, towards the attainment of a free and just democratic society.

Yes, but you also knew that it was very unlikely that they would attain their aims unless they resort to violence? -- I (30)  
am not so sure about that, even now, I am not so sure.

Well I ...

Well I can understand it, you being a committed A.N.C. member, I can understand that. -- I am not so sure that that is a way that is going to lead to ...

They obviously do not agree with you, because they have already resorted to violence. -- Yes.

We have listened to the various stages. -- Yes.

It is only the final stage which has not started yet. -- Yes, but what I would say is that there is difference of opinion in the A.N.C. about the question of resorting to violence, and that there are continual differences of opinion (10) within the A.N.C. about that and I think that also one of the things that I would be opposed to is the A.N.C. seizing power through military means, but with very little fundamental - seizing control of the Government, but with very little fundamental change actually gaining a country. In other words, a militarist overthrow, but without fundamental changes taking place. And I think that is also one of the concerns of people in the A.N.C.

Yes, well I can fully understand that, but it does not derogate from the simple fact that one of their main aims (20) is to overthrow the Government of the day, by force if necessary. -- Yes. As I say, the choice ...

And if one assists them in doing that, although you do not press the trigger yourself, does that make any real difference -- I would say that you have to be able to point to a way in which that assistance can help to pull the trigger, you know, that there must be some way of distinguishing between activities that are activities designed to bring about a democratic society in a non-violent way.

If you pave the way for them so that they can take over (30) eventually? -- If you can explain the way in which that paving of the ...



of the way allows for that.

For instance, by organizing people in quite a democratic manner, in legal fashion. -- Yes, but now in organizing people that does not necessarily mean that you are paving the way for the A.N.C.

If you know that eventually they will step in and take over from you and manipulate those people.-- No, no.

.. into attaining that object? -- Okay, if that is the way that you would see it, that you are building up these democratic organizations and the A.N.C. can just move in and (10) take it, those democratic organizations are powerful organizations because they are people who have not been manipulated. The stress on the democratic thing, on the democratic running of those organizations, is that the leadership is not able to just go and tell those members what they should do and confuse them and lead them in a way that they would wish, but those people actually have a say in the way that those organizations are run. And in that sense, in the building up of a democratic organization, those organizations themselves would be able to reject a policy of armed violence if they felt that it was (20) incorrect, and I think it is incorrect to feel that every person in South Africa who is oppressed, as it were, necessarily believes that armed violence is the answer and only by building up a democratic organization are we allowing the people of South Africa to decide what their future would be rather than allowing the A.N.C. to impose, or any other organization, to impose what they would see as the way to freedom. And in that sense I can see, in a certain way, your feeling that you could pave the way, but I think too often we tend to see any kind of organization as being in the interest of an opposition grouping. (30)

I follow that. Yes, Mr Swanepoel.

MR SWANEPOEL:....

MR SWANEPOEL: You have said just now in your speech that you think that the A.N.C. can achieve its goal without using violence? -- Yes, I still think that it is a possibility.

One way of doing it would be to cripple the economy of the country? -- No.

Why not? -- Because I think you are still looking at this way of achieving a democratic South Africa as a means either through guerilla warfare or through anarchy. You know, crippling industry is creating an anarchic situation, it is breaking the economy. Now I do not subscribe to that. I do not think (10) that that helps anybody.

No, I am not asking what you think. I say is it possible to achieve the goal by crippling the economy? -- To achieve what goal?

Of the A.N.C. -- What goal are you referring to?

The goal of the A.N.C. that you would know better than I, I suppose. -- I distinguish between two things, means and ends. Are you saying that the way of achieving a just and democratic society is by crippling industry or are you saying is a way of facilitating the guerilla, the violent overthrow of the (20) Government crippling industry?

No, I have referred you to what you said. You think that the A.N.C. can achieve its goal, I did not say that, its goal, without violence. Now I am just putting to you the possibility. Is it possible that the goal of the A.N.C., whatever it is, can be achieved by the crippling of the economy of this country? -- No, because as I see what the goal of the A.N.C. is, the end goal of the A.N.C., is the achievement of a just and democratic South Africa in which people are able to earn a living and if you are going to cripple industry you (30) are going to have massive starvation, you are going to have destitution ...

destitution and you cannot, therefore, have - you cannot then talk about achieving your goal by working contrary to the achievement of that goal.

Well we will come back to that at a later stage. You agree with me that the A.N.C. has been and is still killing innocent people in South Africa? -- I would say that with a qualification, that the A.N.C.'s main aim in its guerilla warfare is not to kill innocent people.

I am not talking about that aim. I am talking about the bare fact, are they killing innocent people? -- I am saying (10 as an incidental aspect of more important work innocent people have been killed.

And if you attack places like police stations, you know that you may have to kill people, it is logical? -- Yes.

In that sense then the A.N.C. must surely be regarded as an enemy of South Africa? -- Can I explain that further?

What is an enemy, if I can ask you the question? -- I would always see the enemy as someone who has declared war, is trying to kill, is trying to break the military power.

Please look at Exhibit B.2, page 12. -- B.2? (20

Yes. -- Page 12.

The middle of the handwritten paragraph: "I do not know how the document is, in effect, transmitted and secondly, I do not know to what extent its contents will remain confidential and free from enemy infiltration." -- Yes.

Now enemy as you have defined it, you have just defined it, who are these enemies or who is the enemy? -- I am talking about the security police.

How did you define enemy? -- I would define the security police, the context in which I am defining the security (30 police as an enemy, as people who have done a lot of damage to people ...

people who are very close to me and in that sense I am calling them an enemy.

Not in the same sense that you have explained ... -- Not in a military sense.

... two seconds ago? -- Not in a military sense, no. In much the same sense that I can say that when children are squabbling they can call each other enemies, I am using it in that sense, not in a military sense.

In page 13 you also refer to the enemy, "free from enemy infiltration." -- That is exactly the same context. (10)

Infiltration by the security police or any other members of the police, why only the security police? -- I was not aware that the other members of the security police were doing surveillance on A.N.C. activities.

What about national intelligence service? -- Are they policemen?

I am asking you, were you not referring to them as well? -- I was not aware that they were South African police.

What about Mr Carl Edwards, do you not know about him? -- Mr Carl Edwards. (20)

Do you not know about him? -- He was a spy.

Was he a policeman or not? -- He was a policeman in his early days, I do not know in what capacity he worked as a spy.

So you have just referred to the enemy as the security police? -- Yes.

A specific branch of the police? -- Who do surveillance on A.N.C. activity.

And part of the State machinery. -- M'mm.

So in broader terms, the State would be the enemy? -- No, that is stretching it far too much. I mean I am talking (30)  
about the fact that these are people who are close to me in a sense ...

sense of trying to follow up on my activity and the way that I have been dealt with and with many of people that I know have been dealt with by the security police, personally for me they constitute an enemy, but I am not extending, in any sense, that - by the fact that the security police are employed by the South African Government - that they are one and the same time enemy.

COURT: But surely on page 12 you did not refer to the security police as enemy in this sense, meaning personal enemy to you because they have done, as you have said, injury or damage (10) to close friends of yours? -- Yes.

Here you refer to the enemy as being the people who might infiltrate the organization, because you refer specifically to enemy infiltration. -- Yes, and that is ...

Enemy of the organization. -- Yes.

This is enemy of the A.N.C., is that correct? -- Yes, yes.

It is not necessarily your personal enemies? -- No, not necessarily the personal enemies, yes, yes.

I follow that.

COURT ADJOURNS FOR TEA:                      ON RESUMPTION: (20)

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR SWANEPOEL (cont): Apart from receiving instructions from Mr Khutzwayo about working for the A.N.C., you also received instructions from Marais Schoon? -- Correct.

Did you get instructions regarding your work or activities from any other A.N.C. members or officials? -- No, Mr Schoon was the person who directly gave me the instructions.

You did not get any instructions from other A.N.C. officials or members? -- Regarding my work in South Africa, no.

What instructions did you get from Marais Schoon over the period that you worked with him? -- The first instruction I (30) got was to take a job in the urban training project, that is an office ...

an office, an organization which is part of a black trade union movement, the Council of Unions of South Africa, and it provides it with legal education on whatever resources, it provides the trade union movement with those resources.

And why were you instructed to take that job, for what purpose? -- Mr Schoon was interested to know what was going on in C.U.S.A. There had been a tremendous amount of in fighting, well between fighting, between C.U.S.A. and F.A.S.A.T.U. F.A.S.A.T.U. had requested that C.U.S.A. join it in a federation and C.U.S.A. did not want that so Mr (10) Schoon was interested in knowing what the position of C.U.S.A. was.

Why was he interested? -- He did not specify to me why he was interested.

Did you not ask him? -- No, I did not, I could not see the point of asking him why specifically was he interested over and beyond what he had already told me.

But he tells you to go and take a job in a certain trade union office. You do not say but why should I work there? -- Well he told me, the reason that he gave me was that he did (20) not understand what was going on.

What other instructions did you get from Mr Schoon? -- I got instructions to look towards ways in which an unemployment union could be set up.

Why was the A.N.C. interested in that? -- Because they felt, Mr Schoon felt that unemployed people, that there needed to be some kind of unity between unemployed people and trade unions because unemployed people were often taking the place of striking workers and in that sense weakening the position of the trade union. (30)

And the other instructions that you got? -- Those were the main ...

main instructions as regards my work. There was not an instruction but a suggestion to me that I recruit white people and leave the country.

Recruit for what? -- Recruit for the A.N.C. and leave the country.

What else? -- Then there were matters relating to setting up a communication system. He gave me various instructions on setting up communication systems. Do you want the details of that?

Not at this stage. -- Okay.

(10)

Anything else? -- He instructed me to return and to tell Cedric de Beer and Auret van Heerden and Gavin Anderson that the A.N.C. was satisfied that Mr Van Heerden was not a spy and that the personal fighting, in-fighting between Mr Schoon and Mr De Beer and Mr Van Heerden ought to be sorted out, needs to be lessened, and that I was to try and get them to understand that it was not a personal attack from Mr Schoon on them, that he was not personally attacking them.

Any other instructions? -- As far as I remember now, that constitutes the bulk of the instructions that I did receive. (20)  
There might be one or two minor ones.

The main instructions were then to take the job in the urban training project and to try and set up an unemployed workers union? -- Correct, yes.

Were you not directed to any other fields of activity at different stages? -- The only other field of activity was the recruit white people, but as I say, that was not an instruction. I offered some resistance to that so it was left to me as a suggestion.

Were you ever instructed to work in the labour field? (30)

-- No.

Although ...

Although the setting up of an unemployed workers' union would bring you into the labour field? -- What I mean, what I understood you to mean by the labour field was a general thing to work anywhere in labour where I saw fit. I was never instructed to do that.

No, no, I am not referring to that. You can clarify. Were you told to go and work under specific workers to investigate labour relations, anything to that effect, anything in the field of labour? -- I was given those specific instructions. The unemployment one had reference to labour, (10) as did the union job.

Were you ever instructed to work in the white left or something like that? -- As I say, I was - not instructed - it was put to me as a possibility and a suggestion and quite a lot of pressure put upon me to work in the white left to recruit people and then for me to leave the country.

So were you only told to work in the white left with a view to recruiting people? -- Yes, to go and isolate people who I thought could be recruited in the white left.

You were not asked or instructed to gather information (20) for the A.N.C.? -- With Mr Schoon?

Yes. -- On a general level of gathering information, is that what you want?

No, any level. -- I was not instructed by Mr Schoon to gather information generally and send it. On one or two occasions I was asked by Mr Schoon to send documents through.

So you were not instructed to gather information for the A.N.C.? -- Yes..

You were not? -- I was not instructed to gather information, no. (30)

You were also not instructed to send information to the A.N.C....



A.N.C.? -- Yes, but I was asked at certain times for information and at times I did send one or two things that I thought interesting.

The decision what to send out was yours? -- Yes. No, it varied depending on the document.

Did you agree to carry out these instructions or these suggestions? -- All of them?

Ja. -- Not all of them, no..

Let us take the first one, did you agree to take the job in the urban training project? -- Yes, I did. (10)

Did you agree to look or to investigate the possibility of setting up an unemployed workers' movemebt? -- Yes, I did.

Did you agree to recruit people? -- No, I did not.

Did you agree to work in the white left in order to recruit people? -- That was a simultaneous thing. It was one and the same act.

Did you agree to set up a communication system? -- Yes, I did.

And you did, in fact, set up such a system? -- Yes, I did.

Did you also agree to go back and tell De Beer, Van Heerden and Anderson that the A.N.C. was satisfied that Van Heerden was not a spy? -- Yes. There were small little bits and pieces after the time that I met with Mr Schoon, small things that he asked me to do, but I did not see those as instructions relating to the main fields of my activity. It was just bits and pieces. (20)

Like what? -- He asked me to spread anti-Republic Day pamphlets.

Yes? -- He asked me at one stage if I would select someone to distribute literature. This was in correspondence, it was not when I met with him. (30)

What ...

What else? -- He asked me to also select someone who could be trained how to conceal documents so that they could be sent across the border legally, illegally.

That is what you call camouflage training. -- That is right, yes.

Anything else? -- He asked me at one stage to put him in contact with a person in labour. There were various things, I cannot remember the full details. It was little bits and pieces of things that he asked me to do.

Did you agree to do this or not? -- Shall I go through (10) the things that I have listed? I did not recruit anyone for literature distribution or for concealing, nor did I spread anti-Republic Day pamphlets at all. What are the other things I have listed there?

Did you put him in contact with a person in labour? -- I did not actually understand what he meant by that so I wanted clarification, I did not have the opportunity to clarify that with him.

So you did not carry out any of these requests? -- As I say in my document, I objected to doing them because I saw (20) them as specifically underground kinds of activity not related to the field of work which I had understood myself to be working in.

But did you understand that you were only to work in a specific field? -- At that stage when he asked those things I was working in unemployment, yes.

So was the agreement between you and Schoon that you would work only in unemployment and nothing else? -- Yes.

So they apparently regarded unemployment as very important, to put an agent, if I can call you that, to work on one (30) aspect only, that is unemployment? -- I do not know if it is a matter ...

a matter of whether they saw it as so important to have only one person, they would have put more people in, I am sure, if they saw it as that important. I think the reason why they gave me, why I was only to work in unemployment was they did not want me to be jumping around with various activities for the A.N.C. that could interfere with each other.

Were you not also given instructions about the Fatti's and Moni's boycott? -- No, none whatsoever.

You were not asked to report about it? -- Oh, when I was in Botswana they asked me to write a report. I do not see (10) that as an instruction.

What were you asked to do? -- Sorry?

What were you asked to do in connection ... -- To write a report on Fatti's and Moni's, my participation in the Fatti's and Moni's boycott.

Do you know why that would interest the A.N.C.? -- I think for them it was something, it was a new event in South African history and in that sense they were interested.

Well why would they be interested in such a new event? -- Because it showed a new method that trade unions could (20) use to try and achieve their goals.

Are you saying that before the Fatti's and Moni's boycott campaign in 79 there were not others? -- There were boycotts, but a long, long time ago.

So it was not really new to the A.N.C.? -- It was not new to the A.N.C., but it was new of this era.

Now why would it then interest them, because they thought of employing the same type of thing in order to overthrow the Government eventually? -- No, no.

Why then? I am asking you. -- As I say, it was something (30) that had not occurred for a very, very long time in South African ...

African history, it was something new, and I think it was a curiosity to know what it was, what motivated people to do something like that.

Was it not because it has a connection with labour, was that not the reason? -- It has a connection with labour, but I mean that is a bit vacant.

Did you report to the A.N.C. on anything new that occurred in South Africa? I mean outside, say in the sporting field? -- No, but I had specifically participated in the Fatti's and Moni's campaign, that is why they asked me to write it. (10)

No, but I am asking you, why was the A.N.C. interested in Fatti's and Moni's? -- We never discussed it further, other than that they saw it is a new event.

So you never questioned the A.N.C.? -- I never questioned the A.N.C.

You carried out their instructions without questioning it? -- I did question them, I wanted to know why they wanted it and they told me.

Why, what did they say? Why did they want information about the Fatti's and Moni's boycott? -- Because they saw (20) it as a new event in labour, in the way - a new method of ways in which unions could achieve their ends.

Is that what Schoon told you? -- Yes.

What were your instructions regarding the setting up of an unemployed workers' union? -- My instructions were very broad, I was not given anything specific to work on. Basically I was told to explore ways in which an unemployed workers' union could be established in South Africa. I suggested, I myself said, I mean I had my own personal interest in unemployment, and I myself said that I was going to do a Masters on (30) unemployment, which it was agreed to. I felt that the question is so ...

is so highly complex that it just cannot be approached simpliciter. I wanted to familiarise myself, in order to set up this unemployment union, I wanted to familiarise myself with the conditions of unemployed people and to that end I worked in jobs, which Mr Schoon was aware of that I was going to do. It was also felt that possibly the unemployment union could emerge out of jobs itself, but once again, I was left to explore that possibility.

Were you only told to explore or were you told to do something or to report or to submit recommendations? -- The (10) exploratory part was a preliminary to establishing an unemployed workers' union.

I accept that, but what were your instructions, only to explore or what? -- To explore with the view in mind of setting up an unemployed workers' union.

And what was your instruction, if you have finished exploring were you to do something, report to them or just throw away your papers? That is what I am asking you. -- Oh, I see, no, obviously to go ahead if I saw a chance of doing it.

To go ahead and do what? -- To set up an unemployed (20) workers' union.

To set up an unemployed workers' union, but not under the banner of the A.N.C.? -- Not under the banner of the A.N.C.

To set up an unemployed workers' union as a front for the A.N.C.? -- Not as a front for the A.N.C., no.

What connection would it then have with the A.N.C.? -- The A.N.C. did not see it necessarily as having a connection to it. The A.N.C. saw it as having a role to play in supporting trade unions in South Africa.

But surely the A.N.C. wanted to set it up, it meant to (30) use it, otherwise why would the A.N.C. set it up? -- Because the A.N.C. ...

the A.N.C., as I understood it and it was always told me, the A.N.C. is still concerned with the growth of democratic organizations in South Africa. It is a role that it has had in past history and it is a role that it cannot shed, given that people still see it in that light.

So are you saying the A.N.C. did not intend you to set up an unemployed workers' movement in order to further the aims of the A.N.C.? -- Which aims are you referring to?

Any aims. -- In one sense in one aim, yes, it did ask me to do that. (10

Were you told to contact trade unionists and to try and work through them? -- No. My specific thing was to work in jobs.

So when you contacted people from the South African Allied Workers' Union, that was your own decision? -- That was my own initiative.

Were you also instructed to work in jobs? -- Yes.

And you agreed to do this? -- Yes.

Were you also instructed to work in R.C.D.T.? -- No.

Who took the decision that you should enrol for an M.A. and do a thesis on unemployment? -- I had taken the decision to enrol at a university to do a Master's thesis on unemployment and it was agreed that that was a useful thing for me to do. It fell within the parameters of that exploratory period. (20

But it was not an instruction or a suggestion from the A.N.C.? -- It fell within the general instruction.

But they did not tell you, go and register, go and study unemployment, do a thesis on unemployment? -- They agreed to my doing an unemployment - to doing a thesis. (30

In other words, they did not instruct you? -- No, I am not ...

not saying they did not instruct me. I am saying that they gave me a general instruction. Out of that I said that I was going to do a Master's thesis on unemployment and to that end I registered for a Master's degree.

So the answer to the question is simple, they did not instruct you? -- No, that is not what I am saying. I am saying I am given a general mandate.

In Exhibit B.3, page 3, towards the middle, you say: "It was then decided that I work in unemployment. To this end I registered as an M.A. student, doing a thesis on unemployment." -- Yes. (10)

Is that what you say?

COURT: What Exhibit is it? -- B.2.

MR SWANEPOEL: Exhibit B.2, M'Lord. So you register after you had been instructed to work in the field of unemployment? -- Correct.

Will you please look at page 5 of that document, Exhibit B.2? Towards the end of the second paragraph. "At times it was decided that I work in specific areas, labour, unemployment, recruitment of white left." Do you see that? -- Page 5? (20)

Yes. Page 5, towards the end of the second paragraph. -- The second or the third one?

The second one, the paragraph starting with "First period." You go on, about the second sentence says: "This situation arose because we never worked out the precise content of our mutual relationship." -- Yes, that is right.

"Although at times it was decided that I work in specific area, labour, unemployment, recruitment of white left." -- Yes.

Was it at times decided that you work in specific areas? -- Yes. In specific areas. (30)

Was this decision taken by the A.N.C. or was it a joint decision ...

decision? -- The decision that I work in certain areas was a decision taken between me and Mr Schoon, but I was allowed a certain amount of latitude in those decisions as well.

Now please tell us, when it was decided that you work in the specific area of labour, what exactly were your instructions? -- The urban training project job.

So you were, at one stage, instructed to work in the labour field as I asked you some time ago? -- No, I was not. No, I was not. I am merely using that as an abbreviation to say that I was instructed to work in a job in the urban training project, etc., etc., and I am using it as an abbreviation. (10)

Why do you then include unemployment? -- Because I was instructed to work in unemployment.

Also at page 6 you refer to the same idea, in the second paragraph: "As I have said, it was recommended that I undertake work in specific fields of activity." -- Yes.

The word "recommended" is not correct, you were in fact instructed? -- On two occasions I was instructed, on the one recommended. Something left very open and something I was not happy with. (20)

In what fields were you recommended to work and not instructed? -- It was decided that I think about white recruitment, about recruiting whites and it was recommended that I go ahead and do that. However, I resisted that and I never did it. It was always left to me as a possibility, therefore.

You were politically active in the white left? -- To a certain extent, yes.

Did you regard yourself as a member of the white left? -- It is not an organization so I would not regard myself as an organizational member, but I would regard myself as one of the white ... (30)



the white left, yes.

This is an exclusive group? -- No, by no means exclusive.

Why is it then white? -- Oh, yes, in that sense it is exclusive, yes.

The political work that you did was in the white left and in the broad left, that is the one that is not only white, or did you ... -- I was not familiar with those terms of white left, broad left connotations.

But you refer to it, you say you were instructed or suggested to work in the white left. -- Yes, but I am saying (10 that I was not familiar with the other term, broad left, as a contrast to the white left.

The rest of the left then, those that are white and black and brown, did you also work amongst them? -- Not in an A.N.C. capacity.

But in other capacities? -- Yes, in other capacities, yes.

So you were involved in political activities in, shall I say, the leftist groups in the country? -- Not only leftist.

What other groups? -- People who would be more to the right of left. (20

COURT: Well how far to the right of the left? -- I do not know, we waltz up and down.

MR SWANEPOEL: Did the A.N.C. approve of your political work? -- I think it is a point of this document, the A.N.C. was not aware all the time of my political work in the other spheres.

Although you gave Marais Schoon your background at one stage? -- Yes.

But he was not aware of your political work? -- He was aware of certain aspects of it, but not all of it, no.

So he was aware of some aspects of your political work? (30) -- Yes.

And he ...

And he knew that you were doing political work? -- I am not sure how much he knew more than I told him.

But he knew? -- What I told him, yes.

And you told him something about your work? -- Yes.

Can you please explain, I think you have done so before, what you mean when you say at page 9 of B.2, that you were working to win over groups and organizations to an A.N.C. position. Firstly, what groups were you referring to?

-- Informal groups in the white left.

And what organizations were you trying to win over? (10

-- I would say something like Black Consciousness movement.

Is the Black Consciousness movement an organization? -- No.

I am asking you what organizations? -- Organizations that fall within the umbrella of the Black Consciousness movement.

Give us the names please? -- M.W.A.S.A.

That is the Media Workers' Association of South Africa.

-- M'mm.

What else? -- That would be the only one within that grouping.

Other organizations? -- Let me think, I cannot think (20 of any other organization as such that I was referring to.

Why did you then say that you were working to win over organizations in the plural? -- As I say, it is loose wording.

Why? -- It is a general category. I am saying groups, organizations. It is a loose statement.

But you would agree with me, if you were referring only to your work in M.W.A.S.A. you would say, my work in an organization or my work in M.W.A.S.A. -- No, I am saying generally in this field of my activity this is what I am doing and I am saying, you know, it is a general statement. (30 It is not anything ...

So once...

So once again it is inaccurate here? -- To a certain extent, yes.

How did you try to win over M.W.A.S.A.? -- I suppose - now let us clarify what I mean by win over. I am not saying that I tried to win over M.W.A.S.A. to join the A.N.C. or anything like that.

COURT: But that is what you are saying here. -- No, I am saying ...

"Working to win over groups and organizations to an A.N.C. position in all aspects of my political work." -- To (10 an A.N.C. position. Now the position that I am talking about there is the non-racial democratic position that I am referring to, which does not mean that I am saying that I am trying to win people over to the A.N.C. organization, but I am trying to win them over to an ideology of which the A.N.C. is not the sole possessor, an ideology which stresses non-racialism as a solution to the problems in South Africa.

MR SWANEPOEL: Why do you then give it the label of A.N.C.? Why did you not say working to win them over to the non-racial democratic position? -- Because in the history of my relation-(20 ship to the A.N.C. it was the A.N.C. that was the first organization that presented to me the idea that non-racialism was actually the solution, and in a sense I am writing to the A.N.C. and in that sense I will explain it in that way.

But it is ambiguous, you would agree? -- It has ambiguity, I am sure.

Why? -- Because if a person is reading this document without understanding my background, without having worked with me or being able to check on it, it does have ambiguities, as Rob Adam in his preface himself has said, that it had (30 ambiguities.

So I ...

So I suppose the A.N.C. was at that stage already aware of your work to win over groups and organizations, otherwise this would have been very ambiguous, even to the A.N.C. -- It would have been ambiguous, to a certain extent, to the A.N.C. but they would have understood that I believed very strongly in a non-racial democracy and they would have understood that part of it, but they would not have known what organizations or something I am referring to, and in that sense the ambiguity would arise.

But how did you try to win over M.W.A.S.A.? -- It was (10 only a small, quite insignificant thing. M.W.A.S.A. had called for a strike, at least for a boycott. M.W.A.S.A. was out, M.W.A.S.A. is a journalist association primarily of black journalists, it is a union, and they had gone on strike and they were calling, in support of that strike, for a boycott of newspapers. Now as I say, some of us had been involved in boycotts and we had, one of us had been to a meeting held by M.W.A.S.A. to offer our support. We were outrightly - that person was outrightly told that there should be no support from white people, which seemed to me a bit of (20 a contradictory thing. I then met with one or two friends of mine who had worked in boycotts, etc., and we discussed ways in which we could try to speak to M.W.A.S.A. for them to accept that it was not in their interest to reject whites, and in that sense I was trying to, I suppose, say if you are going to achieve anything of value then it must be a non-racial thing and I spoke to Emma Mashinini, a trade unionist who M.W.A.S.A. respects a lot, and I asked her if she could act as a mediator. She did that, but they remained adamant on their position and that is as far as I went. (30

And the other groups that you tried to win over? -- Other groups ...

groups. In the white left there are people who have given up on having anything useful to do in South Africa. They feel that they are caught between the currents of two exclusive brands of Nationalism, on the one hand an Afrikaans Nationalism or a white Nationalism preferably, and a black Nationalism, and in no sense, they could not identify with the exclusivity of the white Nationalism, nor were they allowed to participate in the black Nationalism. And there were people like that who felt that they just did not have a role to play in South Africa, that they had to (10) leave and they were traumatised about having to leave, and it was those kinds of people that I tried to convince and say that as a white they are South Africans and they have a role to play in South Africa.

Page 5 of B.2, towards the middle of the page, you say: "On this basis the role of the forward area is predominantly an information gathering one and people are recruited for this purpose." I know that is hypothetical. Is that a role of the forward area, to gather information in South Africa? -- I do not know. (20)

Do you not know whether the A.N.C. is gathering information in South Africa? -- Once again, it is a matter of precision, of precision of language. I would assume, and I think anyone would be stupid not to assume, that the A.N.C. gathers information on South Africa, but as regards being told by Mr Schoon that the A.N.C. sees its specific role as gathering information on South Africa, I cannot say. He did not say that.

But you yourself were recruited by Khutswayo and all you did was get information and send it out. -- Yes.

So you knew from personal experience that the A.N.C. (30) gathers information? -- Yes, from that personal experience, yes.

You do ...

You do not have to assume that, you know it? -- Yes, you are right there, I'm sorry.

Did you do work for the A.N.C. only inside South Africa or also outside South Africa? -- It is a difficult question, because would you say that my meeting with the A.N.C. people in Gaborone, for instance, is doing work outside of South Africa?

You can explain what you understand by what the word "work" means and then tell the court whether you worked outside South Africa for the A.N.C. -- I would say that the instructions I was given by the A.N.C. is the work that I understood to be my A.N.C. work and that I did that within South Africa. I would say that I was not involved in any of the functions or any of the offices or whatever of the A.N.C. in exile. I met with people who were outside, but that was in order to discuss my specific work inside. (10)

Would you then say that you did not do work outside South Africa? -- I did not see that as my role, no.

So you would say today: I did not do work outside South Africa? -- Apart from visiting A.N.C. people outside of South Africa. (20)

But to visit someone is not to work. -- No, but as I have pointed out to the court, I have been working with them in order to do work in South Africa.

Will you please look at page 9 of Exhibit B.2., about the 10th line from the top: "My most important work was being done inside." Do you see that? -- Yes.

What was done outside, the lesser important work? -- No work was - no, what I am referring to there is saying that I received instructions from outside. My most important work (30)

was not those instructions that I received from outside. My

most ...

most important work was the work I was doing inside of South Africa, outside of outside instructions.

You say, do you not agree with me, "My most important work was being done inside," it means that the less important work was done outside? Is that not the implication from what you say? -- No, within the context in which that is written I am saying that my most important work is being done inside, that the work that I was receiving from outside to do, from outside, I was not considering my most important work.

Did you do anything for the A.N.C. regarding the anti-Republic Day campaign? -- For the anti, no. (10)

In your private capacity? -- There was one incident in which a meeting had been called at the City Hall to protest against, you know, as part of the anti-Republic Day Festival and the speakers had withdrawn and one or two people involved in that meeting had asked me and Fink Hayson and a couple of people whether they should go on with the meeting or not. That was the only way I participated.

Would you say that your political activities amounted to political mobilization or an attempt to political mobilization? -- I would say certain of those activities could be said to be politically mobilizing, yes. (20)

What do you mean by political mobilization? -- Involving people in setting up organizations which represent their interests, organizations run along democratic lines in which their leadership can be disciplined by their membership.

It would also include making people politically aware of their situation? -- Political conscientization, yes.

You also use the word political education, is that also what you did? -- Yes, that is the word, yes. (30)

Were you at any stage instructed to investigate the position ...

position of Auret van Heerden? -- No, I was not instructed to investigate the position of Auret van Heerden.

Did you investigate his position? -- There was no need to investigate his position. What I was asked to do was to report back, I was instructed to report back to Mr Van Heerden his position as how the A.N.C. perceived him and to try and reconcile the warring factions, as it were.

I want to read to you the first admission that you made here in Exhibit 'L'. "During December 1980, January 81, the accused went to Botswana where she met Marais Schoon and (10) other members of the A.N.C. They discussed the white left and especially the position of Auret van Heerden, as there were rumours that he was a spy. She undertook to investigate Van Heerden's position and to report on it to them." -- Yes.

Is that correct or wrong? -- Yes, that is correct.

So you were asked to investigate Van Heerden's position? -- She undertook, repeat that to me again, she undertook?

I am asking you, were you asked to investigate Van Heerden's position? -- I was asked not to investigate Van Heerden's position as a spy, but to investigate Van Heerden, what Van Heerden's (20) attitude now was, that he had been told that the A.N.C. did not believe he was a spy and would not spread rumours to that effect.

So you were not asked to investigate Van Heerden's position, you were just asked to go and tell him something? -- I was told to investigate his position, ja.

A moment ago you said you were not told to investigate his position. -- I was thinking that you were referring then to the main content of those discussions, which was that he was a spy and that you are implying that I returned to (30) investigate ...

I did ...



I did not use the word spy, I do not think I have so far in my cross-examination. I jsut asked were you told or asked to investigate Van Heerden's position? -- Well I presumed that because the main issue around Van Heerden was whether he had been a spy and that was what I was referring to and I was mistaken, I'm sorry.

Is it then correct that you undertook to investigate Van Heerden's position? -- Correct.

You also undertook to report on it to the A.N.C.? -- Yes.

In this admission that I have just referred to now it is (10) said that you met Marais Schoon and other members of the A.N.C. Who were these other members? -- When?

"During December 1980, January 81, the accused went to Botswana where she met Marais Schoon and other members of the A.N.C." That is the admission. -- I met with Reg September, Stephen, Marais Schoon and I briefly met with Patrick Fitzgerald who, I understood Major Williamson to say, is a member of the A.N.C. I was unsure of his status.

I am concerned about the wording of the admission. You met with Marais Schoon and other members. Who would the other (20) members be? -- Reg September and Stephen.

So Stephen is a member of the A.N.C.? -- As far as I understand, yes.

If my memory serves me right, this morning you said you did not know what Stephen's position was, whether he was a member at all or not. -- I said now as far as I understand, yes.

Please clarify that, I do not understand you. -- I said as far as I understand he is a member. I was not ever given concrete evidence that Stephen was a member of the A.N.C.

So this admission also is not quite correct? You should (30) have said you met Schoon, another member and someone else that you suspect ...

you suspect to be an A.N.C. member. -- I had not anticipated such rigour in definition and I would say in terms of this rigour yes, it is incorrect.

You heard when we read out the admissions in court? -- Yes.

And I suppose it was also shown to you by your Counsel?

-- Yes.

I want to ask you some things about B.2 again, page 8, the last paragraph: "This disparity between formal and actual contact did begin to undermine me in certain ways. Firstly, I was always very confused and uncertain as to how I should (10) be relating to the forward area. This tension became acute at times when I was about to do a change in my political activity, as I was not sure whether I should be consulting, but at the same time knowing that there were not the adequate means for consultation." Consulting would mean consulting with the A.N.C.? -- Correct.

So you thought that when you changed your political activities you might have to consult with the A.N.C. about it? -- Yes.

Although you had not been instructed to do political (20) work? -- Yes.

Why did you think it would be necessary to consult them about changing your political work? -- Because it detracted from the specific instructions which I had been given to do.

But you had not been given instructions about political work? -- No, but I had been given instructions to work in unemployment and if I changed my work, if I added on extra things on to my load, it detracted from the specific work which I had been instructed to do.

No, but it does not say adding something extra to your (30) load, it says changing your political activities. -- Yes.

That could ...

That could also imply getting rid of some of it, lessening your political activity. -- No, it just meant, I mean changing is just moving around. Isn't it splitting hairs?

In any event, what you are saying is that when you wanted to change your political activity you thought you should also consult ... -- No, I did not say I thought. I did not know whether I should consult.

Then you continue by saying: "So there was always a tension between the area of work which had been demarcated for me and the actual realities of the situation that constantly (10) forced me out of this area. Hence I was not sure whether I was working out of discipline or not." So you did not know that when you worked in say the political field, the A.N.C. would approve of that? -- M'mm. Yes.

Miss Hogan, we come now to what you sent out or what information you supplied to the A.N.C. You have already testified that you sent certain articles to Judson Khutswayo. -- Yes.

Then you also sent out Exhibits B.1, B.2 and B.3. -- Correct. (20)

You gave them information about Fatti's and Moni's, your role, your position in the Fatti's and Moni's boycott? -- I did not send that out, I wrote that while I was in Botswana.

But you gave the information to the A.N.C.? -- Yes, I did.

Did you inform them of your work in trying to set up the unemployed workers' movement? -- No. I did, I told them that I did not think it was possible to establish an unemployed workers' union through JOB and I gave the reasons why I thought so. Beyond that I did not report on my work in the unemployed workers' union. (30)

Why not? -- It was impossible to report back in code.

As I ...

As I say in this document, the coding system was so laborious and time consuming that to write anything of value would have meant to spend days and days on end writing it.

Did you not inform them when you visited Schoon in Botswana? -- When I visited Schoon in Botswana the main subject, topic of conversation was the problems with Auret and related matters.

So you did not come back to them about your instruction to work in unemployment? -- No, I did not.

And the only reason is? -- The reason was that we (10  
were talking about Van Heerden and such and at that time Marais said that he wanted me to speak to Jenny for some reason about the unemployed workers' union and Jenny was not there.

But one of your two main instructions was to work in unemployment. -- Yes.

Why did you not report back about it? -- Because I was not asked for a report and secondly, as I have said in this document, time and time again there was continual confusion as to what the nature of my role should be. Should I just (20  
go ahead and work on the unemployment union or should I keep the A.N.C. informed of every aspect of my activity? So there was confusion in my own mind.

From the A.N.C. point of view you were just exploring and not giving them anything as a result of your exploring? -- Yes, at the time that I met with Schoon I had not started with S.A.A.W.U.

Did you report on any other trade unions or trade union organizations to the A.N.C.? -- Yes, I sent a report on the history of my relationship to F.A.S.A.T.U. (30

And about F.A.S.A.T.U. itself? -- About F.A.S.A.T.U.  
itself ...

itself, yes.

F.A.S.A.T.U. is the Federation of South African Trade Unions? -- Correct.

It is one of those organizations that is not to a great extent involved in politics, it has a stand against being involved in politics, is that right? -- No.

What is their attitude? -- That politics is an integral part of trade union activity and that insofar as politics affects the functioning of that trade union they will take up those issues, but they do not see themselves as a political party. (10)

No, that is quite right, but they do differ from other trade union organizations, for instance, the South African Allied Workers' Union, that is much more politically orientated. -- No, I think you are confusing things here. I think you are making a distinction between possible militancy and politics. F.A.S.A.T.U. has tended in the past, although not nowadays to try and clamp down on strike activity and not to have any relationship to any other organization. For instance, in the Pepco strike, which was a strike down in Port Elizabeth, the strike was called in sympathy of a worker who was fired who was a community leader and the F.A.S.A.T.U. people came out quite strongly against that strike. However, to say that they differ radically from S.A.A.W.U. on that score as regards politics is, I think, pushing it a little bit far. (20)

Exhibit B.1, that is the social background of the working class leadership. Can you tell the court again ... -- Could I have a copy of it please?

Well I am just asking you questions in general, not about the contents of this. That is the document that you said you got from Merle Favis? -- Yes. (30)

What did ...

What did she tell you, where did she get it from? -- She got it from London.

From which person or organization? -- A person called Mark Lavender.

Is he also an ex-South African? -- He is a South African.

Did he leave the country legally or not? -- Yes.

Does he come back here? -- No, he is still studying.

How did she get it, did she tell you? -- No, she did not tell me how she got it.

Did she go to London and get it there or was it sent (10)  
to her? -- No, no, I presume it was sent to her by post.

Well why did you send that thing to the A.N.C.? -- Because Jeanette and I had been involved in the start of the Industrial Aid Society. F.A.S.A.T.U. was something which had emerged out of it and in a sense I do not think I was seeing myself as sending it to the A.N.C., it was one of those peculiar things which always dogged my relationship to Jeanette and Marais, it was almost a personal thing, plus a thing that I saw as information on F.A.S.A.T.U.

So this document was not actually meant for the A.N.C.? (20)  
-- No, it was meant for the A.N.C., definitely.

It was meant to go to the A.N.C. in Botswana or in London?  
-- Botswana.

Why not London? -- Because I had nothing to do with London.

Do you know what happened with your information that you sent to Botswana? -- No, I do not.

So you just said to Rob Adam, please send this to Botswana?  
-- Which occasion are you referring to in this document? Are you referring to the first time I sent that document or the second? (30)

The second time. -- Oh, sorry. The second time it was  
nothing ...

nothing to do with Jeanette or Marais or my sending, I am sorry. I sent that document twice. The first was to Marais. The second time I sent it via Rob Adam to the people he was working with. He did not specify to me who those people were or where they were based.

But you knew when you gave it to Rob Adam that it would go to the A.N.C.? -- Yes.

So you gave it to Rob Adam to forward it to the A.N.C.? -- Correct.

But you did not say to him forward this to the A.N.C. (10) in Botswana? -- No, I did not ask him to forward that one to Botswana.

In your explanation of your plea, and I refer to Exhibit 'A' M'Lord, page 7, under paragraph 7 you say the following, subparagraph (a): "The accused admits having compiled the documents entitled 'Problems arising in internal political work' and 'Close Comrades,' but denies having compiled the document entitled 'Social background of working class leadership.' (b) The accused admits having handed all three documents to Robert Adam in Johannesburg for the purpose of transmission to the (20) A.N.C. in Botswana." -- That is incorrect then, I am sorry, it is incorrect in the admission.

So you are now saying also that Major Cronwright was incorrect when he said that you admitted to him that you gave it to Adam to be sent to the A.N.C., I think he said in London or Botswana, I cannot remember. -- He never said anything of that sort. He asked me if those were my documents.

I am referring to his evidence in this court. -- Which specific part of the evidence?

He said that you admitted to him that the three documents were yours, you admitted that you were the author, do you recall ... (30)

you recall that ...? -- No, I did not say I admit that I was the author.

No, I am not asking what you said. I am talking of his evidence. Do you remember his evidence? -- Not completely. If I could have reference to it.

Well we will refer to that at a later stage.

COURT: He said in his evidence that not only did you admit that these documents were yours, that is where the difference comes in, but that you also admitted that you were the author of Exhibit B.1. -- Yes, that part I remember of his evidence. (10)

MR SWANEPOEL: Now the reason why you sent that document in the first place, not through Adam, the first one, was that because you thought the A.N.C. would be interested in the document.

-- Yes.

The A.N.C. as such, and not merely Jeanette or Marais Schoon. -- In this case I think I had Jeanette and Marais more in mind than the A.N.C. itself, although I admit that the A.N.C. would have an interest in it as well.

Did you think the A.N.C. could use the information in that document? -- In what way? (20)

Any way. -- I presume they could, yes.

You thought they could use it? -- Yes, they could use it.

Did you think that it was important for them to get hold of that document? -- I did not see it as wildly important.

Do you think they required the information in that document? -- Not urgently, no.

Did they require the information? -- Inasmuch as they required information about events in South Africa, yes.

Why I am asking you is because in your statement that you made when you pleaded you also said that the document contained information which was required by the A.N.C. -- Yes. As I say ... (30)



I say, I do not deny it if the A.N.C. would require information.

Why would the A.N.C. require information about social background to the working class leadership and a document that is clearly a communist document or a Marxist or a Leninist document, even to a layman? -- Because the A.N.C. would like information on anything going on in South Africa and this posed a particular viewpoint on the way a particular group of people saw it.

So you were under the impression that the A.N.C. required information about anything in labour, in the labour field? (10)  
-- Yes, as it was not specific, required information in the labour field as they required information about any other field.

Why did the A.N.C. or does the A.N.C. require information about the labour field? -- Because the A.N.C. has as one of its aims the build-up of a democratic organized - of democratic organizations in South Africa.

So it would use the information to build up democratic workers' organizations in South Africa? -- Yes.

How would the A.N.C. do that, it is a banned organization, (20) how would they build up democratic workers' organizations? -- The A.N.C. itself would not build up those democratic workers' organizations.

Then would you people, as their agents? -- Sometimes they would and sometimes, and most times those organizations develop of their own.

But they would possibly develop a democratic organization by using their agents? -- They could, yes.

And such an organization would then be used as a front or could be used as a front? -- If that was possible, I mean (30) theoretically that is possible, logistically I doubt whether the

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