

-- Yes.

When was that? What year? -- 1975.

And it was while she was doing these night classes there, do I understand, that you got the idea that you needed people to help you in educating or in giving these classes amongst other people in the township? -- Yes.

And is that when you decided to train certain coordinators then? -- Yes.

And then she, amongst others, I think Errol was another and some others, went as a class or whatever you like to (10) call it, to Wilgespruit where these literacy classes were given to train these people as coordinators? -- Yes.

When did you shift your activities or night classes really from Lingau to Busile? -- It was early in 1976, in about January or February.

Now this class that Miss Mosweu and others attended at Wilgespruit, now this is, let us call it the coordinators class, was that more or less the beginning, the first half of 1975? -- It was in mid-1975.

Did Miss Mosweu and others then pay to attend these (20) coordinators classes? -- Yes, they paid. They paid by a bursary which they received as a result of my application for a loan.

Just explain that to me. I am not quite certain what is meant by that. -- Going to Wilgespruit and using the facilities there used to be paid for.

Someone had to pay for that. -- Whoever goes there and uses the facilities there must pay.

So in this case as it was your coordinators class, were you responsible to Dale White for paying for those facilities?

-- Yes, I was responsible to him. (30)

Now what payment did you have to make? -- The facilities



we had to use there, there is also catering.

What did you have to pay him? What did you pay him? -- I cannot remember what the total costs amounted to because there were also books included. Now whether or not it was R100 and something I cannot say.

Was it over R100? -- Yes, it was.

So then you had to pay Dale White R100 at some stage for the use of these facilities. -- Yes.

Then the coordinators-to-be, those people who were going to be trained as coordinators they then had to pay you, is (10) that correct? -- These people were going to work in the classes we would hold in the evening. Now all the fees we would receive in these classes, part of the fees we would receive would be used to pay at Wilgespruit.

You mean after they had trained as coordinators and they went out and held their own classes, the fees they would get part of that would be used to pay what was owed at Wilgespruit? Is that how I understand it or how you put it? -- Yes, though not really that. They would receive fees at that school, I was in charge of that whole school. (20)

What school? -- The night classes. I was in charge of these classes and I would receive all the fees and I would use part of those fees to pay what was owed at Wilgespruit. I had also suggested this to the committee.

The Wilgespruit Committee? -- The committee that was running the night classes.

What money was actually paid to Dale White? -- I realised while we were at Wilgespruit with the coordinators classes that I will not be able to meet all the costs and then I suggested that we all meet in one class. I realised that I will not (3) be in a position to meet all the costs and then I made

negotiation/...



negotiation to have these classes fall under Wilgespruit.

What do you mean by fall under Wilgespruit? -- There was a literacy program at Wilgespruit. When I realised that I shall not be in a position to pay all the costs of these classes, I made negotiations to get a subsidy to cover for the costs because I also realised I would not have enough money to pay for all the costs of these classes. I could not be sure beforehand how much money I will have in 1976 so as to be able to pay what would be owed to Wilgespruit.

You say you got a subsidy. Who did you get a subsidy (10) from? -- I would get it at Wilgespruit.

What did Miss Mosweu and the other of your pupils pay for their night classes? That is the night classes. -- R2 per month.

And did you have the night classes once a week or twice a week or was it on a regular night of the week or what was the position? -- From Monday to Thursday.

Was that every night, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday? -- Yes.

Were those then different classes on each night? -- (20) Different classes?

What I want to know is this: you have a class on Monday night consisting of say, 10 people or whatever it is, whatever number it was, I do not know what number it was. Did you then have a class on Tuesday night consisting of different people? -- No, it was the same people every day.

Oh, the same, you had only one class then? -- I had classes from standard 5 up to matric.

But then those are different people, are they? -- I said this because of the Court's question whether there were (30) different people on these different days. What I am now

explaining/...



explaining is I said I had classes between standard 5 and matric. There were students for the standard 5 class, students for the JC class and students for the matric class.

Yes, I understand that. Did they all come though at the same time? -- Yes.

I see. So you took them all at the same time and then divided your attention between the various classes as you taught them? Different standards, I should say, standard 5, JC and matric. -- There were qualified teachers who attended to all these classes, the standard 5, JC and the matric (10) classes. Each class had a qualified teacher attending to it.

I am sorry then I have had a complete misapprehension all along. I thought that you actually gave these classes.

MR SKWEYIYA: The evidence is that he taught Tswana and Biology.

BY THE COURT: That is what I am talking about, Tswana and Biology. I thought that you gave those subjects. -- It is true that I was teaching Tswana and Biology, but this was in the beginning stages of these classes in 1975, but I had qualified teachers to attend to all classes in 1976. I was in charge (20) of the whole administration.

THE COURT ADJOURNS FOR TEA.      THE COURT RESUMES.

DANIEL MATSOBANE: still under oath:

FURTHER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR ACKERMANN: I did ask you before the adjournment, I do not know whether you have replied yet, was there any animosity between you and Mr Sejanamane? -- Not to my knowledge.

And Adam Kunupi? -- Adam Kunupi as well.

Now I merely formally put it to you that the State evidence as far as you were concerned, is the truth and that (30) you are telling untruths in denying that you have taken any part/...



part in the activities of the PAC in Kagiso. -- The State evidence as far as I am concerned against me, is not true.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR WILSON: You started your school in 1975. Is that so? -- Yes.

And where was it that you started it? -- At Lingau.

BY THE COURT: Is that a school?

MR WILSON: That is a school at Kagiso. -- Lingau Higher Primary School.

And as I understand it, when you started it you only had a few pupils at the night school. -- Yes. (10)

And this was lessons relating to ordinary school work, standard 5, JC and matric that you gave. -- It was at that time JC and matric only.

So you did not have the lower one. -- Yes, except the literacy classes .. (intervenes)

No, leave the literacy classes. And what subjects did you teach at the beginning? What subjects were taught at the school at the beginning? -- Tswana, Biology, English and Mercantile Law.

And you yourself taught Tswana and Biology? -- Yes. (20)

And did you have somebody helping you in the other subjects? -- Yes.

And were the classes separate but held at the same school? -- Yes.

And did the size of your classes grow? -- Yes.

And did you have to get other teachers in to help you? -- Yes.

And by the end of 1975 were you having trouble with accommodation? -- Yes.

Were you too crowded? -- Yes. (30)

And did you then move to another school? -- Yes.

Busile/...

Busile? -- Yes.

And was it then that you decided that you would take over the administration of the night school but would get in professional teachers to teach the classes? -- Yes.

And is this what happened in 1976 at Busile? -- Yes.

And was there also a committee formed then to assist in administering the school? -- Yes.

And did the various professional teachers teach their own subjects as in an ordinary school? -- Yes.

And did people come to school four nights a week each (10) night to do the same subjects? -- Yes.

Is the position that most of the pupils were just doing one or two subjects? -- Yes.

You were not providing a full range of tuition, you were helping people who either had to do one subject to pass their matric or a week in one or two subjects? -- Yes.

Then going on to your literacy class. You have told us that people came along who wanted to learn to read and write and you decided to run a literacy class. -- Yes.

BY THE COURT: Had this already started in 1975 or was this (20) only developed in 1976? -- It started in 1975.

MR WILSON: It started in fact, didn't it, from the beginning of your school, as soon as word of your school spread around older people started coming? -- Yes.

And the literacy lessons were to be aimed at older people, not at students. -- Yes.

And you decided that to help you in this, you should get coordinators. -- Yes.

And to find coordinators you asked for volunteers from your older and better qualified students at the night (30) school. -- Yes.

And/...



And you decided to hold these classes at Wilgespruit.

BY THE COURT: The classes we are now talking about is to teach the coordinators in turn to hold or to help him with the literacy classes. Is that correct? -- Yes.

MR WILSON: Your coordinators could of course all read and write. -- Yes.

And they were being taught how in turn to teach literacy to older people. -- Yes.

And you have told us that anybody who wants to make use of the facilities at Wilgespruit has to pay for them. -- (10)  
Yes.

And initially, as I understand it, you said that you would be responsible for paying for the use of the facilities for your coordinators' literacy classes. -- Yes.

And you hoped to be able to pay the money that you would owe Wilgespruit through fees which you recovered when you started literacy classes in the 1976 year. -- Yes.

Is it also the position that entirely separate from what you were doing, the Wilgespruit Centre was also running literacy classes? -- Yes. (20)

BY THE COURT: Was that a fairly old program or a new one? --  
It was an old program.

MR WILSON: That was in fact why you had been trained in literacy to assist in the Wilgespruit program. -- Yes.

BY THE COURT: Is that the one you told us about where you had to go and pay R50? -- Yes.

MR WILSON: And did you realise shortly after starting your coordinators literacy course that the payment of R100 would be rather a millstone around your neck? -- Yes.

BY THE COURT: The course at? (30)

MR WILSON: The coordinators course at Wilgespruit, this was  
in/...



in July - about July, 1975. -- Yes.

And to avoid having to pay this R100 odd and to put things on a proper basis, did you approach Reverend Dale White and ask him whether your coordinators class could not be taken over by Wilgespruit? -- Yes.

And did he agree to this? -- Yes.

And did this mean that the coordinators course would then be classified as a Wilgespruit course and there would be no charge made for it? -- Yes.

RE-EXAMINATION BY MR SKWEYIYA: Now you said something (10)  
about a book which students were given apparently in this course when they were being trained as coordinators. Remember that?  
-- Yes.

What sort of books were these? -- These were literacy books.

Where were they obtained from? -- From the Bureau of Literacy and Literature. There was also another book entitled 'Communication in Industry' by Arnold Vati. I had bought this book though I do not clearly remember where I bought it from. I had also bought standard 6 reading books, these I bought (20)  
from CNA.

And were these the books which were given to the coordinators as they were training to be qualified teachers? -- Yes.

Now just about this Bureau of Literacy, which you have referred to, was this a national association or institution, or was it only confined to Johannesburg? Do you know? -- It was national.

And do you know whether it was international? -- No, I do not know.

Now you have EXHIBIT P P P P P before you. Look at the (30)  
5th paragraph, page 1. You have already said that you have no  
cause/...



cause to dispute this because it is a fact-finding paper. Now I am reading you the 5th paragraph:

"We wish to be joined by all peace loving peoples of the world in asking God Almighty to deliver us to a new day, a day in which all people of this land and other lands can be peacefully together."

Do you agree with that? -- Yes.

Did the fact that you had to help the URC in their (10) bulk buying scheme have anything to do with the resignation of Moruru as a community worker? -- I do not understand the question well.

Would the bulk buying project have been done by Moruri in Kagiso if he had not resigned in other words? -- Yes.

And incidentally Moruri was in fact a resident of Kagiso. -- Yes.

And he still stays there up to now. Do you know that? -- Yes.

Now coming to the question of booking of the Wilge- (20) spruit Centre for any seminar and so on, what length of time had those booking the hall to give you people before they could get a date? -- They had to book for a period of just a little over a month before getting a date, though some people made their bookings three months in advance.

Or more than three months I presume. -- Yes.

Now talking about this Black Renaissance Conference or seminar, whatever it was, is this a conference which involved people like Mrs Fatimah who is a sociologist and a person like Collins Ramusi who was then a member of the Bophuthatswana (30) Assembly?



MR ACKERMANN: I do not know what my Learned Friend is intending with this leading question he is asking. Wouldn't it be more proper to ask who attended this convention or this conference?

BY THE COURT: Yes, I think it was a leading question, but I do not think it matters. Do you know who were the sponsors of this conference? -- I do not know who the sponsors were.

Do you know perhaps some of the people who were connected with it? -- Yes, there were people like Mrs Mear(?), there were ministers of religion, though I am not really certain who the people were who had formed a committee for this body. (10)

MR SKWEYIYA: Have you ever read or heard - in the newspapers or heard people referring to the policies of the present government as being institutionalised violence? -- Yes.

And in Monday's Star there was a report there of a paper delivered by Professor Kotze of the University of South Africa who referred to the South African society as a structurally violent society. Have you ever heard anything of that sort before? -- Yes, I had heard of it before.

I hand you EXHIBIT LLLLLL. Have a look in particular at pages 4 and page 7 where the dialogue awareness method is (20) dealt with. Is what is reflected on those pages what in fact was/is dialogue awareness method? -- Yes.

And were those notes made by you whilst the facts of that conference were fresh in your mind? -- Yes.

And up to the stage of your detention in connection with this trial do you know whether SASO or BPC were legal organisations? -- I knew them to be legal organisations.

Were you aware who all the members of YARM or YACM were before your detention in this trial? -- No.

The entry which you made in EXHIBIT OOOOOO, the diary, (30) were the entries in that diary mostly connected with your work?



-- Yes.

Incidentally before you saw that diary here in court yesterday, when last had you seen that diary? -- I last saw it at Howick.

And after you had seen it at Howick do you remember when this was? -- In about March when I was there.

March of which year? -- 1977.

Did you have occasion to ask for this diary at any stage between that date and yesterday? -- No. When we were given time to go and have a look at the documents that were (10) taken in our possession, I asked for this diary and I was told it is not there.

What was the reason for you asking for this diary? -- I wanted to refresh my memory of what was contained in the diary.

And from whom did you ask for your diary? -- I cannot remember who of Mr Van der Walt and Sergeant Smit I told. I also told Mr Pitman about the diary.

BY THE COURT: There is an entry here you made on the 20th March, 1976: "YACM Executive 3 p.m. Kagiso." What was that about? -- I do not know whether I had gone to perhaps talk (20) to them about a booking or about a projector they had lent at my place of employment - they had borrowed at my place of employment. It was borrowed by Mr Letseleha.

Did you see the executive? -- I met Mr Letseleha and Mrs Raborifi.

There is an entry on the 3rd May, 1976: "Zeph and Dan URC progress in WFC". What is that? -- I think it was when Mr Mothopeng had come to me and I had to report to him what the progress in connection with the vegetables is.

The vegetables? -- In connection with the vegetables. (30)

How is that URC progress in WFC? WFC I take it stands for/...



for Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre. -- It is written in that manner because he, Mr Mothopeng, would have to come and see me at Wilgespruit where we would discuss this program.

I take it the vegetables is the bulk buying scheme. -- Yes.

On the 25th May, 1976 there is an entry, there are several entries actually: "Dr Winter .." .. (inaudible) .. then there is a phone number ..(inaudible) .. and so forth. Then there is "YACM 6.30 p.m. Busile." What does that refer to? -- Yes.

What does that refer to "YACM 6.30 p.m. Busile"? -- I do not clearly remember what it was for but during that time (10) they had made a booking for a conference to be held by them. I phoned Mr Letseleha.

How do you mean during that time? -- As far as I can remember they had to hold a conference some time in June. The fellowship centre is in about June very busy. I had to get a confirmation of their coming so that we should give the place to other people if they would not be in a position to come and I had phoned Mr Letseleha, asking him to come and see me and confirm their coming if they would still be coming.

Then on the 11th - Friday, the 11th June, 1976, there (20) are two entries: 1 and 2. I am reading from 2. "12 o'clock URC final arrangements YACM seminar." And just below that: "6.30 p.m. preliminary meeting." What was that about? -- On the 11th?

Yes. You do not need to translate it for him, Mr Interpreter, he wrote it himself. -- As far as I remember I think this 12 was written as an appointment I had to go to St Ansgars. I had to go and make bookings at St Ansgars. This was because many other bookings that had been made were for Blacks like the YACM booking which was for Blacks. I think there was (30) an indication in the entry made in the registers that this group/...



group, the YACM group was going to put up there. So I had to go and make those arrangements for their accommodation at St Ansgars.

You see the entry for the 6th June? -- There is no entry. The 7th. -- Yes.

Is that the one that says "Zeph and Dan planning YACM seminar". Is that the 7th? -- Yes, it is.

Do you want to reconsider your earlier answer to me or to Counsel in regard to that entry? -- I do not know whether the answer I gave is not satisfactory, but what I had said (10) was this Dan and zeph was meant for a meeting between me and Mr Mothopeng in connection with the bulk buying scheme. I had to go and plan for the coming seminar of the YACM and this I would do at my place of employment. These two would be done at two different times, it being two different incidents. If this explanation is not satisfactory I can perhaps talk to my Counsel.

Then there is an entry on the 15th June, I think you have told me about that already. There is "Zeph and Dan". I think you told me there that you had arranged to meet him but you did not keep the appointment or it was not kept for some (20) reason. -- Yes.

Do you know why it was not kept? Can you remember now at all? -- I cannot really remember but what sometimes happened is that Mr Mothopeng could not always keep appointments and as a result I had suggested that he rather come to me whenever we had an appointment. I do not know why he could not keep all appointments, whether this was because of being forgetful or not.

Then I see there is an entry for Saturday, 26th June "YACM seminar" and you have deleted it. Does that perhaps refresh your memory? Was that the date they had booked for (30) the seminar? You can see it. I do not know whether it is, I

do/...



do not want to put words into your mouth but that may be the date. They were meant to have the seminar but it was put off. -- I think it could be the date on which they would hold the seminar but I think what made me delete it was that I may have realised that that date had been cancelled.

That is what I meant. That is what I understood it perhaps to mean, that you said it had been postponed or cancelled and that is why you deleted it. -- Yes.

Do you think that could be in fact the reason? -- That could be the reason. (10)

What is that other lettering that appears underneath the words "YACM seminar"? "WHC", I do not know. -- I cannot remember what it stands for.

On the 20th July there is an entry "BB Group 7 o'clock". What does that refer to? Would that be the bulk buying? -- It can be.

Can you think of anything else that you wrote "B-B" for? -- I think it must have been the bulk buying group.

On the Wednesday, 21st July there is an entry "Zeph and Max and Dan." What was that about? -- I cannot remember. (20)

Zeph is presumably No. 1 accused. Is that correct? -- Yes. And Max? -- I cannot remember who he is.

Well, I might help you because there was a - I see you have written elsewhere the word "Pastor Max", was he a clergyman or a person in the church called Max? I see you have got it "Pastor Max", that is on July the 26th. You have got 'Toing, Dan' an arrow and 'Pastor Max'. Does that refresh your memory about Max? -- I seem to remember the name though I cannot clearly remember who this person is.

Then on August 12th an entry ".. (inaudible) Duncan's (30) place bulk buying". Does that refer to a meeting about bulk buying/...



buying? -- I do not know because there was the practice of dividing these vegetables at the different places of the members of the bulk buying scheme. This could perhaps be what was to be done there.

But it refers to the bulk buying scheme, does it? -- Yes, it may be so.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

THE COURT ADJOURNS FOR LUNCH.

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THE COURT RESUMES AT 14h00 ON THE 31st JANUARY, 1979.

RODNEY TSOLETSANE: sworn states:

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR HAASBROEK: You testified that you belonged to the debating society at your school. Is that correct? -- Yes, I said so.

And that your speciality was politics, current affairs.

-- Politics.

And current affairs. -- Yes, that is true.

And you were still a school child at the time. Why were you so interested in politics? -- The debating master is a (10) person who chose us, like choosing one to specialise on one aspect, one on the other one. I was chosen to do politics.

Who was the debating master? -- Mr Moajana.

And you were very enthusiastic about politics. Is that correct? -- My aspect, yes, that was my aspect.

And what did you do to apply your political ideas? -- Applying them?

Yes, what did you do with your political ideas? Did you belong to other societies or what did you do with them? -- No, I did not belong to any political organisation. (20)

And what was the nature of the discussions that you had during the politics discussions? -- In debating we are given a topic on which to debate and also a side. Either one takes the negative or the affirmative side. So one's discussion would be determined by which side he is, either against or for the topic.

Well, name a few subjects in which you participated. -- A topic, say such as the hand that rocks the cradle should rule the world.

Yes, that is women of course. -- It is a topic about women. (30) And on such a topic I would give examples such as for instance

Indirah/...



Indirah Ghandi, Golda Meijer of Israil, Helen Suzman because that is - because these are women and political figures.

And were those the only points that you discussed? -- Yes, I would say so.

And did you not discuss the socalled oppression of the Black man by the White man? -- Saying what about that?

Well I am asking you a question. Did you ever discuss that sort of thing? -- It would have depended on the topic on what topic it was.

Did you never discuss something like that? -- I do not (10) remember the oppression of the Blacks being discussed.

Not even once? -- I say I do not remember.

And who were the most outstanding pupils who took part in these discussions? -- Outstanding in what way?

The most prominent.

BY THE COURT: Do you mean as debators?

MR HAASBROEK: Yes. -- We had a debating team and if Counsel is interested in the names of the debating team I can give him the names.

Was No. 15 there? -- Yes, Themba, No. 15, was there. (20)

Did he take part in any of the political discussions? -- As a debating team we worked together and when given a topic we would first practice before the actual day and if he had a point which he wanted raised or something to add on, then he would have done so.

And was accused No. 16 there? -- Yes, he was one.

Adam Kunupi? -- Adam Kunupi was not actually a member, but he was one of the pupils who had great interest in debating and whenever we had debating practice we would invite not only the members but all these children. He came on that basis. (30)

And Bonaventure Malaza ? -- The same with Bonaventure

Malaza/...



Malaza.

And Papuis Seroka? -- The same.

And B.G. Manamela? -- B.G. Manamela was the chairman of the debating society.

BY THE COURT: Was he on the team? -- He was on the team.

MR HAASBROEK: And Felicia Sehume? -- No, not Felicia Sehume. She came, but not always; she would come on a day.

She did not come regularly? -- Not regularly. This is how I remember, as far as I can remember.

And are you certain that these people never discussed (10) the topic of the oppression of the Black man? -- As I have explained that would have depended on what topic there was before us. If such a thing was discussed then it is possible that I do not remember this, but as I say I do not remember this being discussed.

Why is it then possible that you cannot remember when this was discussed or whether it was not discussed? -- Well, as a debator I know what I discussed.

So you deny that this particular topic was ever discussed there? -- I do not say this was never discussed, I say I (20) do not remember it being discussed. As I was dealing with politics and which is very broad, it is possible that this might have been discussed.

Did you attend all the meetings of the debating society while you belonged to it? -- I would not say I attended all the debates.

How many did you miss? Can you remember? -- I do not remember.

You see according to some of the State witnesses those topics were discussed at the debating society. (30)

BY THE COURT: Just before you answer that you say that 'those' topics/...



topics. What do you mean by that? Because you are only asking about one topic.

MR HAASBROEK: Yes, I withdraw that. I wish to refer to that particular topic. -- Does Counsel mean the topic given to us as being oppression of the Black man?

Yes. -- No, I do not remember that.

BY THE COURT: I think there may be a misunderstanding. When they said that these topics were discussed - this topic was discussed, the oppression of the Black man, I do not know whether they meant, as you have explained it, that that was (10) now going to be a specific debating question like should you fight for king and country. I think what they may have meant is that this subject was discussed in the course of perhaps a debate about the position of the Black man in South Africa or the position of the urban Black or something like that. I do not know whether they specifically said that it was now - that that was the subject of debate. -- As Your Lordship puts it, yes, that is very possible.

Yes, but the point is can you remember it? That is what Counsel is asking. Can you remember in the course of your (20) debates having discussed or propounded or whatever it may be the oppression of the Black man by the White man in South Africa. Can you remember it? -- In this sense I would say it was discussed, I would make an example, for instance, the debators making a comparison between the Whites and the Blacks. Say a debator saying our fathers are being underpaid as compared to the Whites.

MR HAASBROEK: Did you discuss that particular subject on many occasions? -- I would not say so because everything depended on what topics were given. (30)

Can you remember whether it was discussed only once or more than/...



than once? -- I had been in the debating team since 1976 and I would not be able to say how many times this was raised, though I am not able to say it was only discussed once.

Was the idea behind those discussions not to make the young people, the Black young people more aware of their situation in South Africa? -- No, the aim of the debating school is to promote the language and not to make scholars aware.

Only to promote the language? -- Yes.

What language did you use? -- The English language.

BY THE COURT: Didn't you debate in your own language? -- (10)  
Not in Tswana.

Why? I see that you are smiling. Why is that? -- This is because even at class level in debating we never used Tswana and Tswana was never used as a language since I had started in the debating team.

Yes, but I am interested. Do you know what are the reasons for that? You had been in the debating team for a long time. You must have thought about this. What was the reason for that? I mean I know you want to improve your English but Tswana is your own language. -- Though I do not know what the reason (20) is but I think it is because they felt that Tswana being our mother tongue we have no difficulty in expressing ourselves in this and English was used in debating so that whenever we leave school and one had to address say an executive meeting, he uses one of the official languages, either English or Afrikaans.

Is it possible that there is also a certain limitation in Tswana in expressing certain ideas or concepts which you could not really properly express in Tswana? -- I do not think so because Tswana is simple and particularly if one is (30)  
Tswana speaking, I do not think you would encounter difficulties



in expressing anything.

MR HAASBROEK: What were your views with regard to the position of the Black man in South Africa? -- The position of the Black man in South Africa as it is, is not satisfactory and I feel it must be improved.

Are you in favour of change in this country? -- Yes.

What means must be followed to bring about change in this country? -- I feel we are all human beings capable of thinking and we should all come together, use our heads, agree on certain points and then by negotiating things would come right. (10)

Your policy is a policy of negotiation between the races? -- That is correct.

You are not in favour of violence then? -- No, because I feel violence is not going to solve anything.

And are you aware of the existence of the PAC in this country? -- What I know is what I have read in the papers that the organisation PAC was banned in the sixties.

Yes, and what were their policies? -- I do not know what their policies were.

Don't you know anything about the PAC? -- Excepting (20) that it was banned and that its leader was Sobukwe.

And were you aware of the fact that it was the policy and still is the policy of the PAC to bring about change by means of violence in this country? -- I have not read the PAC policy.

Do you know whether accused No. 13 is a member of the PAC? -- No.

You frequented his place, isn't that so? -- Yes, that is so.

Did you ever have discussions with him in connection with politics? -- No.

Not even once? -- Never. (30)

And you visited Sabina there in his home. Is that correct?



-- Yes, Sabina.. (inaudible)

And did he ever discuss religion with you? No. 13. --  
Whenever I visited Sabina we attended to our schoolwork problems we had and at times one would find accused No. 13 not home and whenever he came in, he would only greet us, go past and not interfere with us.

BY THE COURT: Do I understand you never discussed religion with him? -- No.

MR HAASBROEK: Do you know whether he was a member of the Islamic faith? -- Yes, that I know. (10)

When did he become a member? -- That I do not know.

How did it come about that you know that he is a member of the Islamic faith? -- On a certain day I was at accused No. 13's home. We were doing maths with Sabina and on the dining-room table were some booklets; booklets in Islam and Christianity. I asked Sabina what booklets these were. She explained to me that this belonged to Bro Mike, accused No. 13, and that he was a Moslem. She further told me that the Islamic Bible is known as the Koran.

Yes, how did you find out that he belonged to that (20)  
religion?

BY THE COURT: He said that he was Islamic.

MR HAASBROEK: You heard it from her? -- I heard it from Sabina.

And did he ever discuss anything about Christianity with you? -- No.

And Jonas Letswalo do you know him well? -- I know him well.

Were you on friendly terms with Jonas? -- Yes, we were on friendly terms.

Now you heard what Jonas testified about you. Is that (30)  
correct? -- Yes, I did.



He testified that he visited No. 13 at his place and that accused No. 13, in the presence of No. 17, that is you, said that Christianity was a deceptive religion. -- This did not happen, not in my presence because whenever I took or we invited Jonas to accused No. 13's home is when me and Sabina encountered problems in mathematics and he (that is Jonas) being a senior student to us and a student of mathematics was invited to come and help us.

Is Jonas telling a deliberate lie here? -- Yes, it is a lie. (10)

And he also testified about a meeting behind the classroom with Manamela and No. 15 on that occasion made a speech about Black unity and you also being present. Is that correct? -- -- The position is we always assembled or just went behind the laboratory. This place is where we used to sit and have discussions, solve problems and this could have been said by accused No. 15 but I would not say in a meeting because this did not constitute a meeting.

It could have been an unofficial meeting or an informal meeting. -- This is a place where we used to sit and bask (20) in the sun. Students would come together just to bask in the sun, and anything is being said there. I would not say anything said there was said in a meeting.

So you will not deny that Jonas Letswalo there is correct actually, that No. 15 had spoken about Black unity. -- I would only desist when he says this was said by No. 15 in a meeting.

Yes, very well, I understand that. And on that particular occasion No. 15 also invited those present to join YACM, the Young African Christian Movement. I am referring to page 1 627. -- That part I deny because I was not at any gathering (30) where accused No. 15 invited those present to join YACM.



So he is also telling a lie against you as far as this is concerned. -- That is true, it would be a lie.

BY THE COURT: Before you go on. Wasn't No. 15 asked by No. 13 to try and get members? -- That is correct.

What would have been so odd then to invite people then to join YACM? -- Yes, there would have been nothing odd if he did so.

Well, it would have been something that you would not even ..(inaudible) -- Yes, what I mean is if accused No. 15 had on that day extended this invitation to those who were (10) listening to join, I would still be able to remember. I am saying it did not happen or else I was not there.

MR HAASBROEK: And you also testified that you know about the existence of YARM OR YACM. Is that correct? -- YACM, yes, I know; it was introduced at school.

And you testified that you were also a member of YARM and you became a member some time in November, 1976. Is that correct? -- That is correct.

Now I wish to refer you to the evidence of Kenneth Masuku, Volume 72, page 2 861 at the bottom of the page. The (20) question was then asked in the vicinity of line 30 by Mr Ackermann:

"And can you remember who the members were of that executive committee of the organisation (referring to YARM)? -- Yes, I do remember some of them.

Could we have those names please? -- One was Rodney Tsoletsane.

BY THE COURT: That is No. 17, is that young Rodney? -- Yes, Themba Hlatswayo. (30)

That is Themba, No. 15. -- And others

whose/...



whose names I do not know.

When was this second meeting? -- I cannot clearly remember when this was, but it was after the first meeting we had at our school.

Well, when was the first meeting?

-- It was in about March."

So that according to Masuku you had been a member early in that particular year. -- Masuku is making a mistake there and this is how this mistake probably came to be made. After (10) the introductory meeting of the YACM at school, a meeting of the SCM was called where officials of this organisation, the SCM, were elected. I was elected, Themba was, Lathli was and some other students. And during this meeting some students were asking questions from Themba and Lathli, which questions pertained to the YACM organisation and these questions were answered by 15 and 16 and since I was also elected to the SCM and being in the forefront these students inferred that I was also a member of the YACM. And another thing is they usually saw me walking with Sabina who was known to be staying at accused (20) No. 13's house and might have drawn an inference that I have some connection with YARM since I go about with her.

Is that your explanation? -- That is so.

I also wish to refer you to EXHIBIT HHHHH, the statement by Themba Mazibuko.

BY THE COURT: Just before you go on. I hope I have got this down right. If you do not mind I want to just see if my note is correct. After the introductory meeting, a meeting of the SCM was called. The Student? -- Student Christian Movement.

How long, was it a short time after the introductory (30) meeting, the one that you are talking about of the SCM? -- Yes, it/...



it was a few days after the meeting of YACM.

Now the last question in regard to that. You said it was an introductory meeting of YACM. Did you give me a date when you were speaking now? -- I think I said in March.

THE COURT ADJOURNS.     THE COURT RESUMES.

RODNEY TSOLETSANE: still under oath:

FURTHER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR HAASBROEK: Do you still remember the witness Themba Mazibuko who was also called by the Defence? -- Yes.

He made a statement, EXHIBIT HHHH and he said that (10) this particular statement was the truth. Do you remember that? -- I remember that.

I want to read to you from page 6, paragraph 20, the statement is in Afrikaans:

"Gedurende Mei 1976 het Themba Hlatswayo en Mothlagegi Thlale georganiseer onder die studente vir 'n verdere vergadering van YACM wat weer in die skoolsaal sou plaasvind. Hierdie vergadering het ook plaasgevind. Themba en Thlale het ons (20) meegedeel dat daar nou 'n komitee vir YACM gekies moes word onder die studente by Masupatsela Skool. Die volgende persone was gekies deur Themba Hlatswayo en Mothlelegi Thlale: Rodney Tsoletsane, (dit is jy) Benjamin Manamela, Mothlagegi Thlale, Themba Mazibuko, Themba Hlatswayo en Nkoki."

Now it appears from this that you were elected to the committee of YACM according to your own witness during May, 1976. (30)

-- I would say he is making a mistake. This is because in the meeting/...



meeting, this is the meeting of the SCM, Themba, accused No. 15, and Lathli were in the forefront, they were writing down the names. This witness Mazibuko is probably mistaking the one meeting for the other.

So he is also mistaken? -- Yes, he is making a mistake.

Then I wish to refer you to what was said by accused No. 15, on page 3 186, Volume 81, line 10. That was the evidence by Hlatswayo. The question being put:

"And before your detention on the  
4th November, 1976, did you know whether (10)  
Rodney was a member or not?"

This was a question being put by Mr Skweyiya and he added then:

"A member of YARM or YACM? -- I knew  
Rodney not to have been a member."

What do you say about that? -- Well, there is nothing I can say.  
If he did not know I was a member, there is nothing I can do.

But he was active on the committee of the organisation.  
Is that not so? -- What I know is that he, Themba, No. 15,  
was asked by accused No. 13 to take down the names of people  
who are interested and whether he was active in the (20)  
committee or not, I do not know.

But will you concede that he is a person that should know  
whether you had been a member or not? -- Well, I have no reason  
to say he must have known. If he did not know then there is  
nothing that I can say.

BY THE COURT: If he did not know you were a member? -- Yes,  
if he did not know I was a member.

MR HAASBROEK: The impression I gain from the evidence is that  
you were actually a leading figure in YARM or YACM. Isn't that  
so? -- Well, I was not a leading member of YACM. I only (30)  
joined YARM in November, not at the time Counsel is mentioning.



I want to put to you the evidence by Ntlokoa, Laurence Ntlokoa, Volume 78, page 3 055 at the bottom of the page on a question put by Mr Ackermann:

"Yet you associated yourself with this criticism against No. 15 and his SRC. --

Yes, I was.

How could you say that he spent more time with YARM movement, not knowing anything about the movement? -- I would say from the time YACM started at Masupatsela

(10)

I was just not interested, I did not like it. Since Rodney and Themba and the others were in the forefront of YARM and eventually they were in the forefront of the new SRC one could deduce as to why the same people - one could deduce these people changed from one organisation to the other and these two organisations are about identical, they speak of their religion, they speak of they cannot take mass action."

(20)

Now, he refers to Rodney and Themba and the others were in the forefront of YARM. -- This witness made a mistake. Myself, Themba and Lathli were members of the debating team, the SCM and subsequently elected to the SRC. People who saw the three of us featuring in all three these organisations could have made the mistake of thinking that it was likewise with YARM.

But he says clearly at the bottom of page 3 055:

"Since Rodney and Themba and the others were in the forefront of YARM and eventually they were in the forefront of the new SRC one could deduce as to why the

(30)

same/...



same people - one could deduce these people changed from one organisation to the other and these two organisations are about identical, .."

-- I have already explained why I think it was a mistake.

So all these people, according to you, are making mistakes and you are the only one who is right. -- Yes.

You joined during November, 1976. -- That is so.

Is it not correct that in November, 1976 YARM was relatively inactive because all the leaders had already (10) been arrested or rather most of the leaders? -- I do not understand who of the leaders were arrested if you say most of the leaders.

No. 15 for instance. Do you know that he was arrested then? -- Yes, I know he was.

And No. 16 was arrested. -- That is so.

I cannot remember the others but these are two leading figures. -- I do not understand what is meant by leading figures.

Leaders of the organisation. -- At the time I joined (20) the organisation, Mr Matsobane, Mr Ntuzula.

BY THE COURT: Is that No. 13? -- No. 13. Mr Ntuzula and some other members of the organisation were there. I do not understand the question that most of the leaders were arrested.

MR HAASBROEK: I am afraid I cannot remember all of the members but isn't that a fact, the arrest of some of the members? -- It is correct that Themba and Lathli were in detention at the time but that does not make most of the leaders.

Was it a quiet time for YARM in November? -- I do not understand quiet. (30)

You joined YARM in November. What did you do in the organisation/...



organisation? -- We went to the Sterkfontein Caves.

Yes? -- I also attended a party of YARM which was held at Mr Letseleha's place.

Yes? -- These are two of the occasions that I can remember and thereafter I heard that they had been arrested.

Was the party only a social event?

BY THE COURT: Thereafter? -- Thereafter - these are two occasions I attended and thereafter I heard that they had been arrested. I mean Mike, Mr Hippo and other members.

MR HAASBROEK: What did you do during November, 1976 to (10) promote the aims and policies of YARM? -- I have said that we went to the Sterkfontein Caves and I attended a party and thereafter the executive of YARM was arrested and from there it became inactive.

The whole executive? -- The two I still remember are Mr Letseleha and accused No. 13 were arrested.

And No. 15 and 16 had already been arrested. -- They had already been arrested.

So is the idea behind your evidence to suggest that you joined YARM at the stage when it was very inactive? -- (20) It could not have been inactive at the time because we went to Sterkfontein and thereafter a party was held.

What did you do at the social event, the party? -- It was an ordinary party. We had music, we had soft drinks and there was dancing.

Nothing was discussed? -- Well, as far as I remember there were no speeches made there. I arrived after the party had started and just joined in.

And when you went to the Sterkfontein Caves it was also a peaceful outing, isn't that so? Nothing was discussed. (30) -- At Sterkfontein there were discussions.

What/...



What was discussed there? -- The ways of raising funds for the movement were discussed.

By whom? -- If I am not mistaken, either Mr Ntuzula or accused No. 13.

And what else? -- This is all I remember but from this discussion it was agreed that a fund raising party will be held. And this was the party to be held at Mr Letseleha's place.

Was anything said about the recent riots? -- No, nothing was discussed, nothing was said about the riots.

Was anything said about giving assistance to certain (10) of the children who had been injured during the riots or to their families? -- No.

When did you become aware of the existence of YARM more or less? -- When it was introduced at school.

When was that more or less? -- During March, 1976.

And can you explain why did you delay from March to November before joining this organisation? -- I did not have the time to join.

Why not? You are a school child. -- Yes, as a school child I had my books to attend to. (20)

Well, other school children joined the organisation. -- I am speaking about myself.

They had time. Why didn't you have time? -- Yes, I say they had time but I did not have.

You were attending to your books? -- I attended to my books. Another thing is, I was a member of the debating team and debating at our school was a weekly affair. I was also a member of the local tennis club and during weekends I was busy playing.

And November was also just shortly before your examinations (30) of that year. Is that correct? -- That is so.



So can you explain why did you have time to spend on this organisation in November, 1976 whereas you did not have any time previously? -- After the riots the debating ..(intervenes)

BY THE COURT: Is that in June? -- Yes. The debating was for one or another reason suspended and I then had time because I did not have to do debating.

MR HAASBROEK: Well, that may be so but you had to spend more time to study for your exams at that time of the year. Is that correct? -- That is correct.

When did your exams start? Can you remember? (10)  
-- I do not remember clearly, but this was the early part of November.

BY THE COURT: What was? The exams? -- The exams.

MR HAASBROEK: So is that then correct, you joined YARM at the same time when your examinations were going on more or less? -- I do not remember whether it was during the examinations but when I joined it was in November.

And you had time to spend on outings of this organisation.  
-- No, an outing and not outings.

Well, there was the social event and there was the (20)  
outing to Sterkfontein. -- That is so.

And were there any other activities of YARM during that month? -- I know of the two I have mentioned, I do not know of any others.

And later on in December? Did it actually stop? -- As I have explained that the executive, Bro Mike, accused No. 13, and Letseleha were detained and after their detention YARM was no more active.

So it actually stopped? -- No, I would say is after their detention I know of no other activities of the organisation. (30)

And before your arrest? When were you arrested? -- I  
was/..



was arrested on the 21st June, I was released on the 25th.

What year was that? -- Of 1977.

BY THE COURT: ..(inaudible - not into the microphone) .. --  
Not any that I know of.

MR HAASBROEK: Is it then actually correct that accused No. 13 was the kingpin of the whole organisation and that without him nothing existed of the organisation? -- This word 'kingpin', what does it actually mean?

The main figure, the head figure. -- Well, I would not be able to comment on that because I do not know of other (10) activities of YARM excepting the two that I have mentioned.

But is it then correct to infer that you considered accused No. 13 to be the leader of YARM? -- Well, yes, at school he was introduced as chairman or president, I do not remember, and I took it he was the leader on that basis.

And there was nobody else to take over from him when he was removed by the police. -- I do not know because I was not attending the affairs of the committee of this organisation.

You also testified that to your knowledge YARM had nothing to do with bulk buying, literacy scheme, URC or the (20) sewing scheme. -- When did I say so?

In your evidence-in-chief. -- I?

Do you know anything about the bulk .. (intervenes)

BY THE COURT: That is what you said. I do not know if you have forgotten. -- That did not come out of my mouth, I did not say that, I do not know anything about it. I could not have said it because I do not know anything about it.

We had better look at the record then. I thought you said that.

MR HAASBROEK: You never testified here in your evidence- (30) in-chief that you had nothing to do with bulk buying, literacy scheme/...



scheme, etc.? -- I would answer it this way that I cannot say I know anything about those organisations, that I said anything about them because I do not know anything about them.

BY THE COURT: Let me read what you said according to my notes. You said YACM or YARM had nothing to do with the PAC or SASM or SCM. Do you remember saying that? -- That I remember saying.

You say you have some knowledge of those matters and therefore you could talk about them. -- I remember having spoken about this.

Then you said YACM/YARM had nothing to do with the (10) bulk buying scheme or the literacy scheme or the sewing scheme. That is what you said. -- Well, I possibly said so but I want to emphasize that I do not know anything about it. I probably forgot having said this.

The point is you say you do not know anything about the bulk buying scheme? -- That is correct.

Or the literacy scheme or the sewing scheme. -- That is correct.

I think it also has nothing to do with either the UBC nor the URC, one or the other. -- I do not know anything about (20) it.

Now you know why Mr Haasbroek said it now. It was clearly as a result of a leading question which I noticed at the time and therefore I do not think it ..(inaudible) What he is trying to convey is that he does not know anything about any of those schemes, therefore it would hardly have been right for him to say that YARM had nothing to do with any of them.

MR HAASBROEK: You have now testified that you know nothing about those schemes. Is that correct? -- That is what I am saying.

Did anybody belonging to YARM ever mention anything (30) about bulk buying to you or to anyone else which you overheard?



-- No.

And did you ever see an invitation by the Young African Christian Movement for people to join them as members? It was embodied in a typed document. -- No, I did not.

You did not react to such an invitation before joining yourself? -- No, it was not as a result of that invitation.

BY THE COURT: What was not as a result? -- It was not as a result of some typed invitation that I responded to joining YARM.

I thought your question was that it was an advertise- (10)  
ment suggesting that YARM members join the scheme.

MR HAASBROEK: No, M'Lord, I referred to a typed invitation and I asked him whether he responded to an invitation. I am referring to EXHIBIT SSSS.

BY THE COURT: Yes, but just tell me what it was in your own words.

MR HAASBROEK: It is an invitation to other people to join the Young African Christian Movement. You did not see that advertisement and you did not join as a result of it? -- That is correct. (20)

While you were a member of YARM did you ever hear anybody say that the members would be assisted to get vegetables at the most reasonable price? -- No, I never heard that.

Where did you buy your family's vegetables? Do you know where it was bought? -- At the market in town or at the local shops.

And I gather from your evidence-in-chief that you testified that at the time YARM did not have to do with the PAC, SASM or SCM. -- That is correct.

Do you know anything about SASM? -- Yes, I do. (30)

And the SCM? -- I know of the SCM.

Was/..



Was YARM the combining factor between SASM and the SCM?

BY THE COURT: Was it a combination? Was YARM a combination of SCM and SASM? -- I do not know that.

MR HAASBROEK: You heard the evidence of Themba Mazibuko? -- Yes, I did.

And you know about his statement, EXHIBIT HHHHH, that was handed in? -- I remember the statement.

Can you say that SASM and the SCM were very similar to YARM? -- No, I do not agree.

BY THE COURT: You do not? -- Not. (10)

What was SASM? -- The South African Students Movement.

That is the one at the schools, is it, and SASO is the one at the universities. -- That is so.

MR HAASBROEK: I want to read to you from EXHIBIT HHHHH, page 5, paragraph 18, the following which was then said by Mazibuko and he indicated that this statement was the truth and Mazibuko is a witness of the Defence. He said the following:

"Die naam van die organisasie sou volgens Themba Hlatswayo, Young African Christian Movement wees." (20)

And I must add that I know that you were not present on this occasion but I am only asking your comment.

"Themba Hlatswayo het aan Benjamin Manamela verduidelik dat genoemde organisasie soortgelyk aan SCM is."

What do you say about that? -- What I can say is what I know about YARM is what I have already explained here and if Themba, knowing YARM .. (intervenes)

Themba, No. 15? -- No, the Themba speaking there.

Mazibuko. -- Mazibuko knew YARM better than I did then (30) he is in a better position to say whether these two organisations/...



organisations are the same.

BY THE COURT: Would B.G. have been in a better position than you? -- I do not know.

Would Themba Hlatswayo have been in a better position than you? -- I think so, yes.

But the point is you do not agree with that that SCM and YACM are the same. -- I would not be able to dispute or to confirm that they are identical, but the little that I know of YARM - of the little that I know of YARM I cannot say that it is the same. (10)

MR HAASBROEK: I want to put the next sentence of Mazibuko to you as well:

"Hy het verder verduidelik dat YACM die organisasies SCM en SASM verbind."

Is that correct? -- I do not know.

Is that because you do not know much about the organisation YARM? -- Yes, I can also not say because of the two occasions I attended that the outing to Sterkfontein combined YARM, combined SASM and SCM. I can also not say that the party that was held in the township is also a combination of SCM (20) and SASM.

I take it before you joined YARM you made sure what its aims and policies were. -- Yes, this was explained to us at school.

And you knew everything about the aims and policies of YARM. == I would not say I knew each and every aim and object of the organisation, I only knew those I remembered having been mentioned at school.

And you also testified that you knew SASM and SCM. -- That is correct. (30)

And is it then correct that you knew everything about their/...



their policies or more or less everything about their aims and objects. -- Also those of the aims and objects which I still remember.

Yet you say that you know very little of these three organisations and especially about YARM. -- Why I say I know little is because I only attended two of the occasions of this organisation, YARM, and between March and November, YARM must have had some other activities which I did not attend.

THE COURT ADJOURNS.

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(10)



THE COURT RESUMES ON THE 1st FEBRUARY, 1979.

RODNEY TSOLETSANE: still under oath:

BY THE COURT: Before you go on, I want to clarify something in my notes. No. 15 accused I think you told me was arrested or detained on the 4th November. Is that correct? -- I said he was detained but I did not mention a date.

Have you any idea? Well, I think I can help you. He said, I think, he was detained on the 4th November, accused No. 15. -- That is possible, because when we went to Sterkfontein and at the party subsequently, accused No. 15 and 16 I did not (10) see.

What I want to know is this though, I gathered from your evidence that you had joined YACM after he had been detained, that is after the beginning of November. -- That is so.

So at the time that No. 15 was detained (and he tells us it was the 4th November) you had not yet joined YACM.-- I think that would be the position.

So if he tells me that as at the date he was detained, that is the 4th November, he knew you were not a member of YACM then that is correct. -- That is so. (20)

FURTHER CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR HAASBROEK: The State witnesses also testified that you were already a member of YARM during the first part of 1976. -- That is not true.

Is the position according to you that they are also making a mistake? -- No, this is not a mistake they are making, it is not correct that I was a member at the time; I know when I joined YACM.

Did you ever attend any meeting of YARM during the first half of 1976? -- Yes, I was at the meeting where it was introduced at school and only at that meeting. (30)

And what was the date of that more or less?-- It was about March/...



March.

And did you participate in any of the discussions there?

-- No, I do not remember asking any questions.

Did you ever attend a meeting where it was announced that the name of YACM was being changed to YARM? -- I was not present.

So if Felicia Sehume testifies to that effect, she is not right then? -- She is not correct.

Is she telling a lie? -- It would be a lie.

Felicia is a relative of yours, isn't that so? -- Yes, (10) she is.

In what way? -- Our grandparents are related but in what way I am not very clear.

But apart from that you were friends before you had been arrested. Is that correct? -- That is correct, yes.

And is it possible for you to think of any reason why she would deliberately come and tell a lie against you and incriminate you? -- I do not know what reason she had, what caused her to come and speak this lie about me in court.

And Mr Sejanamane, the principal, are there any ill- (20) feelings between you and Mr Sejanamane? -- I do not know of any.

Because he also testified that you attended certain meetings -- This is not true.

Amongst other things he said that there was a meeting which was held at his home more or less during the month of May and you also attended that meeting in connection with YARM. -- Mr Sejanamane is not telling the truth in that I only joined YARM in November, so I could not have attended a YARM meeting in May.

Yes, but you say that you actually joined in November. --Yes

And that is not according to the State's version. -- (30) Yes, I heard them say otherwise but this is the truth I am saying



Adam Kunupi also testified about you attending certain of the meetings during the first half of 1976. Do you know him well? -- I knew him as a student on campus.

And did you see him on a lot of occasions while you were students? -- Yes, at assembly I would see him.

Were there any ill-feelings between the two of you? -- I would not say there were any ill-feelings between us excepting of course when they started the new SRC.

BY THE COURT: Yes, wasn't he one of those that was very critical of the old SRC? -- That is correct, yes, that is why I (10) say it would possibly be one grievance.

Yes, you would be included in that group of the old SRC I think it was alleged that he called them sell-outs. -- That is so.

And do you think he would include you amongst those people? -- That is so, that is what I think.

Just help me. Were you elected to the old SRC? I am not quite certain. -- I was elected to the old SRC.

And he was also then very critical of No. 15 and 16 for the same reason. -- That is correct. (20)

Just tell me who was the old SRC? It was you, No. 15, No. 16? -- Felicia Sehume and Bruno Mosai and Bonaventure Malaza who later resigned and one Bright Mafaza and Oupa also known as Thabo Moketsi.

But anyway, it was you and your friends 15 and 16. -- That is so.

And later Adam Kunupi and his friends were not satisfied with what you were doing. -- That is so.

MR HAASBROEK: You testified that you had been arrested for the first time in the early hours of the 23rd June, 1977. Is (30) that correct? -- That is so.

And/...



And how long were you detained then? --- I was detained for three days, until the 25th of that month.

And did you indicate to the police at the time that you actually cooperated with them?

MR SKWEYIYA: M'Lord, I do not know what the terms of the accused's detention were at the time that he spoke to the police and indicated whatever he indicated to them and he was interrogated but I presume that it was in terms of Section 6.

BY THE COURT: I do not know.

MR SKWEYIYA: M'Lord, my instructions are that it was (10)  
Section 6, that is why I am objecting lest my Learned Friend is going to ask about what transpired between the accused and the police whilst he was so detained between the 23rd June and the 25th June when he was released.

BY THE COURT: I am sorry, I do not understand your objection.

MR SKWEYIYA: My objection is based on the fact that according to my instructions between the 23rd June and the 25th June the accused was detained in terms of Section 6. Now as I understand my Learned Friend's question, he is asking about what the witness said to the police in that period. (20)

BY THE COURT: He did not quite put it like that. He said did No. 17 cooperate with the police in that period.

MR SKWEYIYA: I am only objecting, M'Lord, indicating that insofar as my Learned Friend may want to delve further about the details, I am merely foreshadowing, as it were, whatever details he may go into that if he does go into details then I would object.

BY THE COURT: But I do not quite understand. I am not quite certain still on what basis you object. Just tell me why you object to him asking whether the accused cooperated with (30)  
the police.



MR SKWEYIYA: Insofar as that particular question is concerned, I am not objecting to that question but I am merely ... (intervenes)

BY THE COURT: Well, if you are not objecting to that question, then please let that question go. I have enough to do as it is. When you feel that you want to object we will cross that bridge when we come to it.

MR HAASBROEK: Did you cooperate with the police while you were under arrest? -- I would say yes in that I was asked questions which I answered. (10)

And were you prepared to testify for the State? -- That was not suggested.

After your release did anybody influence you not to testify for the State?

MR SKWEYIYA: M'Lord, with respect, the witness has said that that was never mentioned.

BY THE COURT: I got the point. I was going to raise it myself. I do not know that that is a fair question, it is rather a trap question. It is like saying when did you stop beating your wife. He said: I was not asked whether I would testify (20) for the police. Now your question is a little unfair because you then say to him, after you had been released did anyone try and persuade you not to testify.

MR HAASBROEK: Yes, M'Lord. Anyway, I will not proceed with those questions. And you later on testified during your evidence-in-chief more or less the following: I did not know that Jonas Letswalo had been a member of YARM. --- Yes, I said so.

Did you know that -- whether he was actually recruited but that he had never become a member? -- I do not know that.

And you also said that you had never encouraged people (30) to join YACM. -- No, I had not.



Do you know who recruited Bruno Mosai? --- I do not know.

Did you ever try to recruit him? --- No, I did not.

And then you testified about the meeting at Tsholetsega School which you had attended and you said that you had never heard Mr Sejanamane encourage students to go on rioting. --- Yes, I said so, I did not hear him say this.

Did he say anything about Black solidarity? --- Yes.

What did he say? --- If I remember well he said something like people should not be divided by petty differences, they should at all times try to be together. (10)

And would you describe his speech as a hot political speech? --- No, I would not.

And then you said that you had not been present at a joint meeting of KAPA and the SRC. --- Where was that meeting held?

Do you know about the meeting in the library? --- I know of one meeting which was supposed to have been held in the library, but it did not take place in the library because the keys were not available and so we had to move off to another - to a certain school.

That particular meeting was it supposed to be a joint (20) meeting of KAPA and the SRC? --- This was supposed to have been a meeting of KAPA, SRC and the school principals.

You were elected on the SRC. Why did you not attend that particular meeting? --- No, I did not say I did not attend that meeting. My reply was the meeting was supposed to have been held in the library, but the keys were not available, so we had to move to a certain school.

Yes, and did you attend that meeting there? --- Yes, I was there.

And what was the meeting about? --- The school (30) principals had the difficulty and what was discussed at that meeting/...



meeting was an intended stay-away. The difficulty the school principals had was whether to tell the children to come to school on that day or not. The SRC and KAPA then met them to get their view.

Yes, and what were their views? -- They differed. Some said they wanted their children to come to school but then they were scared that these children would probably be injured. I do not remember what was said by others.

And what was the attitude of the SRC? -- I do not remember whether the SRC on that day of the meeting told the (10) meeting what their views were but what I do remember is that the SRC went to schools later to tell them what our stand was.

Yes, and what was your stand? -- We said we are not for the stay-away nor against it but we felt if there is going to be any danger then the children should rather not attend school on that day.

Did you attend any other meetings of the SRC? -- Yes, there were other meetings.

And can you give information about some of those? (20) What happened there? -- Like for instance when the school children were detained at school, when they were arrested at school, we met. Myself, Themba, Lathli and Felicia, we decided to meet the parents' association to report to them what happened and to decide on what steps could be taken.

And how many other meetings of the SRC more or less did you attend? -- I would not be able to remember the number of meetings held.

What did the SRC do in order to discourage the rioting? -- Which riot is Counsel referring to? (30)

The rioting in June.



BY THE COURT: But that SRC had not been formed then. -- It did not exist then.

MR HAASBROEK: The riots after the 17th June then.

MR SKWEYIYA: The rioting after the 5th August, 1976.

MR HAASBROEK: Was anything done on the part of the SRC about the rioting later on during that year? -- Yes, Adam Kunupi and his gang ..(inaudible) .. and doing certain things. We the SRC approached them and talked to them. At times they listened to us and at times they did not.

Didn't you consider at a certain stage to hand over to (10) the new SRC? -- No, this is not so. What happened is, what I remember is we at a certain stage felt that these people, Adam Kunupi and his followers, did not want us. We decided to meet the parents' association to ask for guidance in this respect though this did not take place, this meeting did not take place.

What was the reason? -- I do not clearly remember what was the cause of this meeting not taking place. I really do not remember what was the reason for our not meeting the parents' association. (20)

And you testified that you were actually in favour of negotiating with the White people about the problems in South Africa. Is that correct? -- Yes, I said so.

And according to accused No. 14, all the accused in this case with the exception of accused No. 7, participated in singing certain songs here before the court started every morning or virtually every morning. --- My answer is that I personally sang, but what accused 14 said is the way he saw things. I cannot commit other people to have sung.

He said you took part in the singing of the songs. (30) Is that correct? --- Yes, I did.

And/...



And one of those songs was "We shall shoot the White people with a big gun." -- Yes.

Now how can you negotiate with the Whites when you sing a song with that context? -- When we, the Black people sing or at times say certain things, the meaning is not always literal. This song can mean - this can also mean that we would talk to them and the mention of a gun may mean talking.

That is a bit difficult to understand. -- Let me explain it this way: I have been educated. Say we have debated with a certain person and I again meet that person who is a (10) rival of mine and I would say in Tswana, translated, that today I am going to study with asagais and I want it to be red(?) which would mean simplified that today I am prepared, more prepared than I was the last time.

Well what is the meaning then when you are also saying the Boers are dogs? -- The word 'dog' in our language does not only mean the four-footed dog. Anything that is not good, like for instance a person who is not good is being referred to as a dog.

So the Boers are not good. -- According to me, yes. (20)

And one of the other songs were more or less was more or less to the following effect: "Vorster and Kruger will cry when we return." What is the meaning of that? -- This means that after negotiations and when we have all come to an agreement, people like them would not be happy because they are sort of hard-headed people.

I am afraid I cannot understand that either. And you also used the words 'Izwe Lethu' in some of your songs. --- Yes.

And you heard that that is the slogan of the PAC. --- I heard that, yes. (30)

And does that mean then that you support the PAC? --- No.

Don't/...



Don't you support the PAC? -- No, I do not. When I sang this song, like many other songs, I was not then thinking of the PAC slogan.

So what did you think about then? -- When I sang that song, it goes thus: 'Izwe Lethu Africa', Africa is our home. Not that it is in South Africa, I was born here, brought up here and it is my home.

That is correct, but it is also a PAC slogan. -- Well, I am explaining how I sang.

And when the leader of the PAC died, Mr Robert (10)  
Sobukwe, and the morning before the court started, all the accused, with the exception of accused No. 7, stood with bowed heads and they observed the silence for a time, and that included you. -- That is correct.

Did you know that Sobukwe was the leader of the PAC? -- Yes, I did.

Were you sorry that he had died? -- Yes, like any other person dying, it is our practice that we have to pay respect because it is a loss to the community.

BY THE COURT: What about Vorster or Kruger? -- Well, they (20)  
do not help us in anything, I would not regard their deaths as any loss.

MR HAASBROEK: And the late State President, Dr Diederichs, he also died during the course of this trial. What did you do to show respect? -- I do not remember having done anything.

And none of the other accused did anything about it. Is that correct? -- I do not know about the others.

Well, you were present, you were being detained with them. -- Why I say I do not know is I would not know what is going on. If a person is standing there then I would not know (30)  
what respect he is showing.

But/...



But as a group. -- Yes, I say I personally do not remember having done anything. The others were standing there. I would not be able to say whether they were all paying respects or not.

You never saw them observing respect. -- Yes, I would say I did not see them.

I have got to put it to you that you have been telling untruths here in this court and that you have been doing that in order to save your own skin. -- No, what I told here is the truth. (10)

Do you still maintain it is the truth? -- Yes, it is the truth.

RE-EXAMINATION BY MR SKWEYIYA: You spoke of the discussion between the principals, KAPA and the old SRC about an intended stay-away. Who had organised this stay-away to your knowledge? Who was behind it? -- This was allegedly organised by people from Soweto. It was alleged they had been to the junior secondary school where children were told to stay away.

And who were overtly supporting it in your area, in Kagiso, from your observation? At your school, say. -- (20)  
The people I observed to have been supporting this intended stay-away was the gang that belonged to Adam Kunupi.

BY THE COURT: Didn't they criticise you for not following or supporting the lads from Soweto, the youngsters there? -- This is what was said.

MR SKWEYIYA: Now all the persons you have mentioned to have been in the new SRC, namely Sehume, accused 15, 16, Bruno Mosai, Bonaventure Malaza, Bright Mafaza, Oupa Moketsi, were senior students. Is that correct? -- Not all.

Who was chairman of the old SRC? -- No. 15, Themba (30)  
Hlatswayo.

And/...



And who was vice-chairman of the old SRC? --- I was.

And this was known to the Kunupis, the Papuis Serokas and the others, is that correct? -- It was known.

Is it so that Felicia Sehume was detained for a short while in June like you and then released and then detained thereafter? -- What I know is she was detained in December, 1976 and released in January, 1977 and re-detained again in June, 1977.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

THE COURT ADJOURNS.

THE COURT RESUMES.

(10)

ALFRED NTSHALI-TSHALI: verklaar onder eed: (Deur Tolk)

ONDERVRAGING DEUR MNR. SAAIMAN: Jy is 'n volwasse Swart burger. -- Ek is.

Weet jy hoe oud is jy? -- Ek is oor die 30, ek word nou 40. Het jy ooit skool gegaan, enige skoolopleiding gehad? -- Nee, nooit nie.

Jy is getroud? -- Ek is getroud.

En jy het 'n vrou wat werk by die Matsapa Vrouegevangenis te Manzini, Swaziland. -- Dit is korrek.

Wat doen sy daar? --- Sy is 'n bewaarderes.

(20)

Jy het drie kinders. -- Drie kinders.

Die oudste is hopelik nou in standerd 9, vorm 3, sy was verlede jaar in vorm 2. -- Dit is so.

En 'n seun wat verlede jaar in standerd 4 gewees het. -- Dit is korrek.

En dan het jy ook 'n dogter wat in standerd 2 gewees het verlede jaar. -- Dit is so.

Vanaf 1961 tot teen die einde van 1975 was jy in die diens van Koning Sabuza van Swaziland as motorbestuurder. -- Dit is so.

(30)

Hoeveel het jy verdien?

DEUR/...



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