

c.c.

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

CASE NO: 18/75/254

DATE: 13TH MAY 1976

THE STATE

VS

S. COOPER AND EIGHT OTHERS

VOLUME 92

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LUBBE RECORDINGS (PRETORIA)

COURT RESUMESMOSIOUA LEKOTA, STILL UNDER OATH:

EXAMINATION BY MR. SOGGOT CONTINUED: Mr. Lekota, we had got as far as EXHIBIT SASO M.1, your own particular document, Report of the Permanent Organiser? --- That is right.

I want you please, could you summarise very briefly what this report M.1 was about and the circumstances of your giving it? --- This report was presented to the SASO National Executive Council meeting at the Federal Seminary May Alice. One should realise there that I dealt in this specific page with the resuscitation of the SASO local committee in Turfloop. I have suggested there that the local committee was resuscitated, that Accused No.6 become its chairman, and that subsequent to that there was a coup, the ousting of the SRC. 10

What page is that now that you are referring to?

COURT: 17? --- That is right. Of course I also tried to make some propaganda here for our organisation here by suggesting that because the student body had subsequently elected Accused No.6 as the president of the SRC that this was in a way a declaration of confidence by the student body in the organisation SASO itself. 20

MR. SOGGOT: Now, I just want to take you through a couple of steps, when was this meeting in March, can you remember this meeting of the SASO group at Turfloop? --- It must have been around March of that year, 15th - 14th somewhere there.

And then what you say - or let me put it this way - that meeting was held on what day? --- The meeting was held on a Saturday afternoon. 30

And / ...

And after the revival of that branch did you then leave Turfloop? --- Yes I came back.

When was this report written? --- This report would have been written in May.

There is reference here you will see to Jerry Nefolovhodwe, Accused No.6 has since become president of the SRC, do you know when he became president of the SRC? --- He became president of the SRC perhaps some weeks later, I don't know exactly when, but it was ~~some time later~~ because the first time I knew about the coup of the SRC I was in Johannesburg, and I got this from one of the students who was at the time in Turfloop. I think they had come down here for one of the students' visits and things like that - who told me then that the SRC had been ousted. And at a much later date I ..(Mr. Soggot intervenes)

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I am sorry can I interrupt you there, you say a student gave a report that the SRC had been ousted? --- That is right.

Did he indicate how long after the SASO meeting? --- I think the week following that.

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And who was the student who gave you this report? --- I remember his surname was Marumu, but I cannot remember exactly his name and things like that.

Now what you say in your report here is:

"In three days time we have had effect of student opinion effectively to oust the then student leadership and set this campus once more on the road to independent Black thought"

What was your basis for saying that? --- Oh yes, I think he indicated to me then that the SRC - the ousting of the

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SRC / ...

SRC took place I think on a Tuesday following the Saturday, this is where I drew my statement from.

COURT: Who told you that, No.6? ---No, Marumu.

MR. SOGGOT: Now, subsequent to that you did not go back to Turfloop I take it for a few months, is that right? When did you go back again? --- The next time I visited Turfloop was August, 1974.

Tell us why you went there and what happened?

--- I went there on the invitation at the time of the SASO local committee for the occasion of the Day of Compassion.

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Did you give a talk? --- I gave a talk there, yes.

What was your talk about? --- The talk really was a speech on Black Theology, its title was The Nation is Shattered, actually the State had it but we haven't been able to get it back from the State, the full context of the speech.

And can you just tell us in a word what the speech was about? --- What I suggested in that speech was that in the Black action taking in our effort to build our community it was important for us to take into account the fact of the church, and I suggested also that the church must recapture the loyalty of the Black youth, if it hopes to play a significant role in the Black revolution so to say. I would have levelled a number of criticisms perhaps at the behaviour of the church or what one may call the apathy of the church in so far as it relates to Black people, and this kind of thing would have been inspired by the fact that one finds quite a lot of students or young people, young Black people who do not find any expression or need in the Christian message because it does not relate to the

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immediate situation in which they live.

Are you a member of any church? --- I am Roman Catholic.

And are you a practising Roman Catholic? --- That is right.

And have you, apart from this occasion, wrote or said anything else that you can remember about the subject of Black theology? --- Oh, variously I would perhaps have been involved in discussions around the theme of Black Theology, I would have addressed certain meetings other than that one on the question of my views in relation to the church, the biblical message and so on and so on. 10

Can you remember when you first made contact with this concept of Black Theology? --- I would have made contact with it around 1971.

Can you tell us what the circumstances were and how it struck you and how it appeared to you and what it appeared to say? --- The very concrete first thing that I can remember about Black Theology, I remember reading an article I think by Vic Mafungu, who had been the vice-president of the National Federation of Catholic Students. He wrote an article on Black Theology to the SASO newsletter, it is in one of the exhibits, I think it is the August or September newsletter, it is K.2 I think. That would have been - this is about the earliest I remember that I came across Black Theology, then I would have read a number of other articles either in papers or other magazines of other bodies, organisations like Pro-Veritate of the South African Council of Churches and so on. 20

Do you encourage Black Theology? --- Quite a lot yes. 30

Can / ...

Can you tell us briefly why you encourage it what good does it do to anybody? --- I think, M'lord, the importance of Black Theology is one because of the prime interest of Black people in spiritual health. Perhaps one can just generalise and say so, what Black Theology in fact attempts in my view to do is to suggest to Black people that the fact that for instance they are in the ghettos, that they live in those conditions and so on, is not a God-created kind of situation. What in fact Black Theology seeks to say there is that God is not approving of the oppression of Black people or their desolate situation. It seeks to draw from the Bible the liberatory message that is in there, and putting into context Black people in relation to God. If I may just be literal, what they would really seek to say would be that God is involved with the Black people, he is involved with the Black experience, and that therefore Black people must see themselves as an extension if I may so say of God - I mean an embodiment of God. I think this is an abstract thing that is a bit difficult to explain.

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COURT: Does it differ from Catholicism? --- I think there are differences, M'lord, with Catholicism.

Now what are the differences? --- Catholicism seems to uphold certain absolutes.

Such as? --- May I just take my time on this?

Yes, you may think about it, you can tell me tomorrow if you want to? --- I would be glad if I could do that, M'lord.

MR. SOGGOT: Whatever it is you think that Black Theology is a helpful thing? --- I think it is a very good phenomenon.30

What / ...

What is the reaction of Black students to Black Theology? --- I must say there is a tremendous lot of interest. I think in the absence of Black Theology there would be less discussion on the theological meaning or theological issues than there are now when there is this mood about Black Theology.

You have heard the suggestion repeated at various times in this case that there is a use or a potential use of the Deity or Christ to validate or legitimate the use of violence. What do you say about that? --- I wouldn't say that that is what Black Theology is about, but what Black Theology says to Black people is to suggest that Black people must stand up and take the initiative in determining their own lives. It does not at all suggest that Black people must take up arms in order, say, to get freedom for instance or to make their lives better. Certainly I do not align myself with that theory, with that sentiment.

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COURT: I think I missed that, just give it to me again? --- I would say, M'lord, - well the suggestion was that Black Theology seems to portray violence as justifiable or to justify violence by drawing from the Bible, but what I am saying is that this does not come through to me as being the meaning or intention of Black Theology. What it does suggest is that Black people must stand up and take the initiative and decide their lives. It goes on to suggest perhaps that because this is - I mean the need for justice for Black people is such an important thing, that Black people can even suffer for this cause, but it certainly does not suggest that Black people must take up arms and fight

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in / ...

in order to get their freedom.

I don't understand Black Theology like that from the documents that we have here. Have you seen the documents that were handed in? --- Yes, I have seen them.

And you say it says what you are saying now?

--- I say this is what it says, yes, M'lord, I say so. I mean maybe one may perhaps get wrong impressions from the formulation perhaps of the words and things like that, but certain Black Theology does not advocate violence. It certainly does not do that.

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What would you say what does it advocate? --- What it advocates is more a determination for Black people to stand up, I mean to take the initiative really and to determine their lives, but it does not at all suggest that violence is justifiable from the Bible, it certainly does not.

MR. SOGGOT: I wonder, M'lord, if the witness may be shown SASO EXHIBIT G.1, that is the same as the "Christ is a revolutionary" resolution.

COURT: On what page?

MR. SOGGOT: M'lord, it will be page 304, Resolution 41, I think it will be page 21 on his copy, M'lord. Do you know that Resolution? --- I know this.

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COURT: Now read this carefully and tell me whether you say - whether you think it agrees with your views on Black Theology? --- I do not know what the problem is for Your Lordship in this Resolution, but may I say this much ..(Court intervenes)

I have no problems, I am asking you? --- Well I don't see anything here that is underground or that is violent. What it suggests here is it says for instance (a):

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"Therefore / ...

"There we should state that Christology is
1. a religion for liberation as indicated by

God's actions against the Egyptians who were
oppressing Israelites" - (Court intervenes)

Yes, but now what was noted before they arrived
at this Resolution? --- Oh I see, let me have a look at
that, M'lord, it says that "Christ was a revolutionary who
had pledged his life for the liberation of his race from
Roman imperialism and oppression". I do not think there
is anything wrong with that. I think actually that all
that this statement here connotes, what it really means is:
look, we have got to take the Bible and say now what did
Christ do, because I think that is the most reliable
document ..(Court intervenes)

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Well, if you want to know what Christ did, read
the second paragraph? --- Well let me take it in this way,
M'lord, if the man says here that Christ was a revolutionary
then the most reliable document about Christ's life and
actions is the Bible, and obviously, well let me say this
much that there is nothing in the Bible that suggest that
Christ was violent, but He does say Himself in the Bible that
He came to release the captured and free the oppressed and
so on.

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But how, how did He say was He going to do it?
--- Well there is no suggestion in the Bible that He
undertook violence.

I am asking you then what does the Bible suggest
how is a person to do it? --- I think Christ was more the
social revolutionary than a political revolutionary, He was
really a social revolutionary, and that He must have

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influenced / ...

influenced the thoughts of His time.

But He was more concerned with the spirit of the people? --- Precisely, M'lord, because what is the spirit of the people? It means influencing the thoughts of people, in a situation where Christ said, when He was on earth, when He said that He would not discriminate between the Jews and the Gentiles, that was a very revolutionary statement in His time, but it was a social revolution that He was involved in. In that sense He was a revolutionary in that sense, and the reason why I say He was a social revolutionary in that He tackled the issues of His time, He influenced the thought trend of those days.

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Well, let us try and read the second paragraph and see how that alters the position? --- "That to this end Christ joined the Essenes and worked in close collaboration with the Zealots, an illegal guerrilla warfare unit against Romans."

Now, how do you work closely with an Israeli guerrilla warfare unit? --- No, M'lord, what happened here is.....(Court intervenes)

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THE COURT: No, just tell me how does one work close with an Israeli guerrilla warfare unit? --- It seems to me that He might even have administered for them, I mean probably He organised a mass for them or something like that, but I think the point that is being suggested here, M'lord, it must have been drawn from some given work, unfortunately I was not at this GSC, I would probably remember.....

Yes, but why do you ignore it when I ask you what you understand by Black Theology, then you tell me something

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and / ...

and we are just referring you to this, so I am asking you whether you disagree with this. This is now the official view of your organisation? --- No, but I think also we must note, M'lord, that the part we are dealing with is the noting part.

Yes, and what does that mean? --- That means one notes the social circumstances, what is happening, then one takes policy on those circumstances.

How can one note that Christ was working in close collaboration with the Zealots, if he did not work in close collaboration with the Zealots an Israeli guerrilla warfare unit? --- The point of this is, M'lord, the man who moves this motion - the conference definitely would have said to him: now look, that is what you suggest, you must motivate it, we have got to have evidence why you are saying this. He probably would have ..(Court intervenes) 10

But this is not what he says it is what the conference noted: "that this GSC noting" this thing, and you were one of the GSC? --- No, I was not at this GSC.

Oh, were you not at this GSC, but your organisation noted that this was the position? --- That is so, M'lord. 20

And we say this was not the position? -- The point I am making, M'lord, that there must have been a work of some kind, there must have been something concrete, definitely, that - let me see - that Kabu would have referred the GSC to, one does not come along and say: look, I know that people have been removed from Doornkop, they want to know: where do you get that from, then a man can give you something concrete and say: this is what I get it from.

So he shows that it did happen? --- There must have / ... 30

have been a work.

Yes, but now if you note that this happened that He worked in close collaboration with the Zealots, an Israeli guerrilla warfare unit, then you assume that He had information that that was so, but you do not accept it because you tell me that that is not how you understand Black Theology? --- I certain do not. You see this sentiment now that He worked with an Israeli guerrilla unit, I don't know, I haven't really come across any work which deals with this thing, the only thing is I cannot say I don't accept 10 this statement, or that it is a lie, what I can say is that: well, I know this statement but I have got to question it, I have got to find out how it comes to be a fact, if it is a fact. But now the most important thing about the Resolution, is the resolving part, that is when you resolve now to take policy.

All right, let us see what is further resolved on page 305(a), will you just read (a)? --- "Look at Christ as the first freedom fighter to die for the liberation of the oppressed; encourage Christians to follow Christ by 20 involving themselves in liberation movements for the redemption of the oppressed...(Court intervenes)

THE COURT: I mean is there no violence where He meets His death as a freedom fighter? --- Is there no violence there?

I am asking you. --- There is violence there against Him, not He taking up violence against somebody. They resolve to do "the Black Theology agency must engage the assistance of Black historians and Black theologians in the correct interpretation of the Scripture." Certainly there is no violence about that. "That the Black Theology 30 agency / ...

agency should encourage all Black people to involve themselves in and utilise Christianity and all the facets of this concept in attaining the goals and principles as laid out in the struggle of the Black people". Now I don't see any suggestion of violence there, M'lord, what I do see, however, is that this Resolution suggests that the Bible should be the ground upon which the principles, the guiding principles of the Black people's movement should be based upon.

But what I do not understand is that the Black Theology agency must engage the assistance of Black historians and Black theologians in the correct interpretation of the Scriptures". Now how do you do that, they note something here which you say is not in the Bible, that is point 2? --- Well certainly, M'lord, I think we heard even Dr. Manas Buthelezi told us that some of these theological controversies, but those controversies do not necessarily constitute a fact, and this is why this GSC did not resolve to go around telling people that this is what in fact Christ has been about, what it resolved to do was to say we know these things as laymen, but what we must do there in order to seek the truth about this matter, we will mandate the Black Theology agency to do these things in order to establish for us the truth. 10 20

Well now to get a correct interpretation of the Scriptures, now you say does this correctly interpret the Scriptures, that to this end Christ joined the Essenes an Israeli revolutionary movement and worked in close collaboration with the Zealots an Israeli guerrilla warfare unit against the Romans". Now is that a correct 30

interpretation / ...

interpretation of the Bible? --- Well, this is not an interpretation of the Bible, M'lord, it is an observation. If there is any truth about it, I mean we know what happens in research, I mean theology has the status of a discipline as well, so what happens in these disciplines is that we find lots and lots of researches that go on, and let me just take an example, if I went out and said to anybody that this kind of thing is true, I think the natural thing to do would be to say now look, where do we get the evidence, I mean scholars in this type of discipline would seek then 10 to investigate biblical writings and so on to find out whether it is true or not.

And on what do you base your Black Theology?

--- Black Theology is based ..(Court intervenes)

No, you, on what do you base your Black Theology, you say you take an interest in Black Theology? --- I personally?

Yes, on what do you base your Black Theology? --- I base it upon the Bible, M'lord. I base it upon the Bible in the sense that what comes through - what I see as coming 20 through as the main theme of the Bible is that God has always identified himself with Justice. This is the starting point, I think everybody accepts this kernel thing, this is common cause, God identifies Himself with justice. The question that then gets asked by Black people is: look, here I am now in this kind of situation, and I am getting oppressed and what-not and what-not, what then is the meaning that God holds for me within the milieu of the Black experience. And by the way the Black experience then, M'lord, also has to be seen in the context that it is not only an experience 30

confined / ...

confined to South Africa, it is a universal experience, we know Black people all over ..(Court intervenes)

Do you accept this statement then here or do you reject it what I have read out to you about Christ joining the Essenes? --- I do not know whether I am qualified enough really to comment on it, but I think it is a contentious point, M'lord, I think it can be contended..(Court intervenes)

Why do you say it is contentious? --- A man can argue for it if you have got evidence, I haven't gone out to research this point and find out what the writings involved are, but I think that a person cannot stand up and say: look, this is in fact true here now.(?)

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MR. SOGGOT: You were not at this GSC, do you know any members of the theological seminary at Hammanskraal? --- I do not think so, I should not think so.

It seems that a person called Mr. Malewa was the main propounder - mover of this motion, do you know what he was? --- He was a student with us at the University of the North in about 1972, and he was the vice-president of the SRC.

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What was he studying? --- He was studying law. But I mean he is a very widely read character.

A widely read character? --- And I mean he is one guy who really goes, I mean he is in church..(Court intervenes)

COURT: He is in what? --- He is in church, he is in sport, he is in everything, I mean he is all over really, he reads indiscriminately. .(LAUGHTER)

MR. SOGGOT: Mr. Lekota, to come back to something which I think was foreshadowed by His Lordship's question, these

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propositions / ...

propositions contained in (1) and (2), would they simply have been put up by Malewa and accepted by the GSC, what would have happened? --- What would have happened there under normal circumstances when a man moves a Resolution of this nature, he moves the motion, then he has got to motivate for it, and after he has motivated, he motivates for the first time and after that the session will then question the Resolution, question parts - the whole part of this will be questioned, and then subsequent to that arising out of the questions that have been put to him, he will have to reply and satisfy the House that he has got at least some authentic evidence of what he is talking about. And it is on the basis of that, that a Resolution would then be adopted, but the most important part of the Resolution most of the time is the resolving part, because that is what really is the Resolution. You can move all kinds of things and so on but what is very very crucial is what gets decided by the GSC as the resolving part of the Resolution.

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Well the noting can have its effect, and what I want to ask you is this, given those propositions in (1) and (2), don't they inspire you to want to use violence, if not, what do they inspire you to do or think? --- No, well look ..(Mr. Soggot intervenes)

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What is their effect on you? --- I cannot see anything - in the first place I cannot see anything here..

(Court intervenes)

COURT: Well you are convinced, because he is a well read man and he doesn't say a thing like that unless he has information about it, so you accept it? --- No, I do.

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not / ...

not have to, M'lord.

Well, what is the use of telling us that he is a well read man? --- Well I am just informing Your Lordship that he could have read something, some book that relates this kind of thing, but it certainly does not mean that I have got to accept it, because if a man reads one book on Black Theology and then he comes and he says all kinds of things here, it may in fact be one book that is out of the flock, so I have got to question him, I have got to challenge it. I mean I have certainly done some reading of the Bible 10 in the first place, that I have done throughout my schooling and even of my own, and I have read other books which relate to the Bible and so on, and I certainly wouldn't just take this because that guy happens to be reading Ian Fleming, I don't agree with that.

Well, but he survived the questioning because the GSC accepted this? --- He must have put some evidence - he must have put some book or something that indicated, M'lord, that he knew what he was talking about.

Well yes, he must have convinced the people that 20 that is so, but why do you stand unconvinced? --- He is not convincing the people, let me put it this way, M'lord, if Your Lordship now says to me well, it is raining outside.

And you see it is raining outside and you say: well, I don't believe it? --- No, if I see it is raining then I must believe.

This man brought you his authorities or he told you his authorities? --- Which is the point I am making, M'lord, when I say that this organisation then calls for the Black Theology agency to investigate these matters, but GSC does 30

not / ...

not say: we resolve to accept your statements in the noting part, is says: we resolve to mandate the Black Theology agency to investigate these matters.

Well now, if you resolve that Christ is a freedom fighter to die for His liberation, if you read that in the light of the fact that He was a guerrilla working in close collaboration with the Zealots an Israeli guerrilla warfare unit, now how did He die do you think will they believe? --- Well the Bible tells us how He died, M'lord.

I know, but they did not all read the Bible because 10 they didn't probably all know about paragraphs (1) and (2), I mean he had to tell them about it? --- You see the other point that is very important that we want to note, M'lord, is that the word guerrilla may not have been used in biblical times, they may have used another word there, maybe a word like for instance redeem.

But redeem is not guerrilla fighter? --- The question is that the use of words always change like this, let us take the Bible for instance, you will find in the Bible there is the word salvation, what does it really mean, 20 read in the normal sense when people talk about it..(Court intervenes)

Well it doesn't mean to stop a man from drowning, it is dealing with the spirit? --- That is the point I was driving at, M'lord, now if you can bring it into the context of given passages of the Bible, the word salvation means other things as well. In the case for instance of, I think it is Jonathan or somebody of the Israelites - I am not very certain about that but I can give Your Lordship references tomorrow, in the morning I can bring it along, 30

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I think Jonathan fought, the Israelites were fighting some army there and so on, and he beat those guys. Now, when he came back ..(Court intervenes)

Who is this, Jonathan? --- Well I am not certain of the facts, when he came back to his people he made some mistake I think, I mean he contravened some custom of some kind, and what happened there is that one of the prophets or God, through one of the prophets indicated that this man must be punished, or his father Saul said he must be punished, and what did the people say? The reply of the people indicated the meaning of this, they said: now how can we destroy this man who has brought us salvation. There he fought the other people and they call it salvation, I mean the meanings of the words of the Bible, M'lord, are very very tricky I mean they need to be looked at. I mean right now, on the basis of that I can really argue that it is not true to say salvation refers only to the metaphysical aspects of human life, because it certainly does not portray that in the Old Testament. 10

MR. SOGGOT: Mr. Lekota, if I may come down to earth, the last question I want to ask about this, this sort of Resolution and the talk about Black Theology, has that had the effect of encouraging any desires in the way of violence? --- Certainly not, M'lord. Your Lordship will note too that in the programmes of SASO we talk about this Black Theology, we talk about Black Consciousness and so on. Now, right in the background of a statement of this nature, really let us look at SASO and say: now what is SASO doing, because perhaps the background of what the organisation really is about must indicate to us as to what the road it is on is about. Now, 20 30

you / ...

you find people pass all kinds of Resolutions and so on, next thing they leave GSC, now what kind of thing do they do? The main occupation of SASO members and SASO local committies, these guys are involved in community development projects, that is part of their involvement. Even the question of heroes days and speeches there and so on, are quite minimal as compared with the amount of community development that is involved in SASO. We can look at for instance I am sure at the reports that were presented at this GSC before these people passed this Resolution here, all the reports that are there I am sure there is hardly any one of them which does not deal in the main part with community development, because that is the major part of our involvement. Which also brings me to the major complaint that I have always felt has been going on very unfairly, that the State has taken a number of documents and it suggests that look, this is what SASO is all about, these guys are always sitting around calling White people enemies, these guys are always going around calling White men Fascists and so on. Now if one looks at those documents - a big pile of documents they have written, and words repeated so many times, it seems like hell, there is a whole thunderstorm that is coming here, but when one goes back to take the entire organisation and to see these things in the light of experience, there is hardly - I don't think that anybody can ever really say look, I know that man is a member of SASO, because he is just like anybody outside. In fact if anything the only thing that people can say about us is: those guys can really work, they build dams and things like that. I remember at Compol for

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instance / ...

instance when we were interrogated, one of the Security Police actually said: but you guys, I don't understand why you are building dams and schools, why are you doing this and that, he couldn't say for instance: now you guys have been writing these kinds of things and you have been involved in this kind of thing and you have been trying to prepare to kill White people. I mean this is the major part of our involvement, M'lord, the organisation SASO does not imply standing on a platform and making speeches to people, I mean the call for Black Consciousness is not really, it is not the "burn, baby burn" spurious call to people, it involves work, it means we have got to be involved in something concrete, you have got to be doing something, and this is what it means to be a member of SASO. It means hard work, it means spending weeks on end travelling on trains or in open veld trying to reach a certain community in Rooigrond, in Winterveld, in Stormwater, trying to reach those people with a purpose, prime purpose of trying to assist them to make a living, or to live within the South African situation, which is quite oppressive. Now, they all suggest that now look, there was one hero's day in Durban somewhere, and somebody there happened to say White people are enemies, or Harry Singh there probably after having taken a nip of brandy or so, charging all kinds of things there, I mean I was not there, I don't know, but I mean he may have shouted these kinds of things and so on. But one cannot reduce the totality of the organisation to that small little incident there and say now look this is what you guys are about.

Mr. Lekota, you have mentioned in what you have

just / ...

just told His Lordship now Rooigrond and other community development schemes like that, while you were the permanent organiser who was in charge of the community development scheme? --- Well, in the main I was, with the assistance of regional secretaries and local branches.

Were you the administrative prop so to speak?

--- That is right.

Well, could you briefly tell His Lordship what schemes you people had on the go and the way in which you handled the question of conscientisation in those schemes? 10

--- What I would like to point out in this direction is that Black Consciousness, the philosophy Black Consciousness I think I may indicate there is a question of that concept can be discussed amongst myself and the accused there and some other members of the organisation, students perhaps and so on, but the whole thing is such a concept that one cannot go and sit down and discuss Black Consciousness now with the people in Rooigrond. If you come there and discuss Black Consciousness with them, it does not mean anything to them, you are not ^{saying} anything, you are not doing 20

anything to them. So that at that level I think Black Consciousness would operate as a concept at the level of students, and when one goes into the community what it really means is that one must have undergone this psycho-therapy to be able to pass it on to other people, but now if you are going to pass it on to a community of people who have not been to the University of the North, like I have been, or who have not been matriculants and so on, the thing is to practise Black Consciousness, to live it. As I think Nyameko Pityana referred to this kind of thing in talking 30
about / ...

about community development projects, where he actually indicated that our approach of community development schemes should not be seen in the normal Boy Scout idiom of just doing a good turn and so on, but it must be seen as Black Consciousness at work, which is a most important thing. I can talk about Black Consciousness and so on but as long as I am not living and working Black Consciousness, it holds no meaning. The important thing for us then has been to assess our communities in their various set-ups, and to assess their needs either with the help of the existing leadership of the given community or with the help of the people themselves generally. And to try and engage them in these schemes, our belief being that if Black people see a Black student taking the initiative to assist them with what they perhaps need, then the Black community begins to feel at home, it feels it belongs, in the process of carrying on a community development project which the people might have undertaken on their own, but they had not, they are just sitting around not doing it, once one begins to do this thing, they see it being done and they begin to realise these things can be done, we can in fact do these kind of things for ourselves. They begin to realise that the Black youth is concerned about the welfare of the community, and therefore they begin to feel at home, they begin to feel confident, they begin to feel that there is somebody who is at least concerned about them. Now with the various community development schemes carried out at various levels, some with success some with failures, in some instances like Dimbaza, our SASO local branch there undertook and in fact completed

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a project, they were building a dam. Incidentally I never saw that dam, but one of the Security Police who had seen it repeated to me that it was quite an impressive work.

..INAUDIBLE.. --- I don't know about secretive but it is only nice and private. Anyway, we had other projects, M'lord, Accused No.4 has already referred to some of these projects like the new farm project, and to Dudu. In the case of Dudu for instance it was quite a mammoth project, it was initially begun there with the students of the Black section of the University of Natal were concerned about assisting private students out there in that given area, it is a very rural area, with a tribal chief there and so on. And subsequent to that when these people were having these classes and the numbers grew, I think they went right up to about a hundred at one stage, there now came about a need for a kind of community centre, where classes and so on could be undertaken. Now the community itself, it had always had this kind of need, but they were not aware that they could have undertaken this kind of thing. So what SASO then realised was the need to put up a community centre of this nature, which could be used not only for the kind of thing for schooling and assisting those people who were studying, but which could also be used by the people on their social occasions and so on and so on. So we then undertook this through our head office, head office came in now because this became quite a mammoth project. They must have made budget proposals to given organisations to assist in the financing of this scheme, and then we began this project and we began

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building / ...

building. I have been myself to Dudu, as I indicated earlier on in my evidence, in the second half of 1972, and we did a lot of work there, I mean apart from the fact of this being a question of community development and a scheme of SASO, I found it quite an enlightening experience. And I think most of the students who went out there were quite happy and keen about this, and I mean there we didn't start there now, I mean if we were planning for violence we could easily have started there now by saying to those people; I mean they are out in the rural area, there are no policemen around, and we could have started there and said to them: I think the best thing rather than build a community centre, why not make some bombs and so on, because we are preparing to meet the White man with violence. This is not in our programme, it is entirely not in our programme, and I think it is quite ridiculous to suggest that we could, a whole national Black student body, go out and really plot for such a stupid thing as racial hostility, just to plan to tell Black people, to hate White people, I think nobody - I don't think there is anybody who would be prepared to assist in anything or really have anything to do with it - it is so naïve, M'lord, to begin to go out and tell Black people to hate White people. What is the meaning of that? It certainly has no ground, I say it has no ground within the organisation.

Mr. Lekota, you people were supporters in many cases of BPC not so? --- Yes.

One of the questions is - I still want you to deal with all the projects very briefly - but one of the

questions / ...

questions is in your various projects, wasn't the opportunity taken to press BFC ideas, or to advertise the organisation? --- Certainly not, I think my attitude perhaps - if this may throw some light - my attitude has been that the Black People's Convention was efficient enough in itself to carry on the schemes, I mean its propaganda of popularising itself and building itself into a movement. Of course we realise also the importance of ourselves as we are part of the Black community, and one would feel obliged to assist in the building up of the Black People's Convention. But certainly this has never been one of SASO's concerns that we must go out to those community developments and tell those people to join the Black People's Convention, it was certainly not our concern. And if I may perhaps indicate, I think Barney Pitso sent out a circular to the branches some time in the early part or second part of 1971. At that time I think we were involved in Turfloop with the Mankoenj Clinic scheme, the only project really that we had of SASO. In this circular Barney indicated that as much as is possible what we are out there to do is to do the work that is there, it is not to advertise SASO itself. Anyway SASO in any case would not really be campaigning for membership amongst ordinary people out there, because they then would not be qualifying otherwise. So, I tried to look up this circular, H'lord, with the documents the State gave us when we asked for them, but unfortunately I could not come across it. It was a very clear document in itself.

COURT: What did it say? --- Well, its purpose was that there shouldn't be any political discussions out there, or if I

may / ...

may go further perhaps to say even Black Consciousness, because I think the worry there, the concern there was that if we went out to a community, say we were going to build a dam and so on and we sit holding meetings there and rallies, this may be misinterpreted as overstepping what in fact we are supposed to be about. The question of - at community level, there is no question of really discussing about politics, about Black Consciousness out there, because this is not the point that we are there about.

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MR. SOGGOT: Now, Mr. Lekota, you talked about the one mammoth project, can you just tell us briefly what the others were which you were concerned with? --- Well, we would have had - another project we had, but I didn't work in that project unfortunately, what we did there was to finance the scheme, this was at Ntsetse just next to Umtata, actually we have got a whole school that is complete there that we financed right through, it was completed in July last year. And we had been called upon to come up there again to assist those people with the building of the clinic. 20 Your Lordship will realise from the documents here, I wish I could refer to some of these documents.

THE COURT: What sort of documents do you want? -- They are reports, Executive reports to the GSC's, branch reports to the GSC's and so on, all these things that I am talking about are involved in these documents, only I think M'lord you have not been given the privilege of reading these documents, they have always been reading them sort of as I see it.

Your Counsel, or who? -- I think Counsel here, I don't know whether there is a conspiracy between the Defence 30 and / ...

and the State. (LAUGHTER)

You had better tell your Counsel to find those documents? --- M'lord, I have got here, I have made a list here for myself of the documents that refer to our community development and so on, they are all in the reports and most of them have actually been submitted and so on. They have always been held low.

Well will you ask your Counsel to give you those documents for tonight, then you can go through them tonight, and then tomorrow you can sort of give it to us in the proper order, you see otherwise we are going to be looking around for documents? --- I will tell you, M'lord, I have gone through the documents and what I have done here is to set them in order as they appear here and so on, in their chronological order in time.

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Have they got exhibit numbers? --- They have got exhibit numbers.

MR. SOGGOT: Mr. Lekota, if I may interrupt you and follow His Lordship's suggestion with respect, could you perhaps this evening run through them and assemble your ideas, and then very briefly with reference to them refer to them tomorrow morning? --- Yes.

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I think that might be the most expeditious way of dealing with the matter. Will that be in order? --- Yes.

All right, now, I have asked you general questions, is there anything further that you wish to say as to the general approach to SASO in regard to the community projects which you say is the main thrust of SASO activity? --- No, I don't think there would be much that one could say, except for this much that I think really that SASO in pursuing

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these / ...

these community development schemes has actually been assisting in maintaining law and order, because where otherwise people would probably have run amok because of their failure to catch up with the problems of their lives, we came in there to soothe the situation.

How did that soothing take place in your perspective?

THE COURT: Well, he means they kept people occupied?

--- We kept them occupied with work that gave them some truth and that made their lives generally easier than it is. 10

And you tried to uplift them? --- We tried to uplift them, I mean this is the basis - PAUSE -

MR. SOGGOT: Now, Mr. Lekota, you were a member of SASO were you ever a member of BPC? --- M'lord, I have never held any official membership with BPC.

Were you a member? --- I have never been a member of BPC, but I think I would regard myself as a follower of the Black People's Convention.

In other words, an unofficial member shall we say? --- So to say. 20

THE COURT: Are you not automatically a member? --- No. If I wanted to join the Black People's Convention, M'lord, I would join a branch, and I would carry a card, and then I would be a member of the BPC, so this is what I mean when I say I haven't been a member of BPC, I have never belonged to any branch, I have never held membership to the BPC, I mean I have never been able, for instance, to attain such status as to be able to go to a BPC convention and vote for instance. That I have never been able to do.

MR. SOGGOT: You and Singh went to a semi-Con, is that 30
correct / ...

correct? --- That is right.

But you did not attend, I think at the same time, this was at Hammanskraal in the middle of last year - of 1974 rather? --- August - end of August last year - 1974.

You did not attend the BPC meeting there? --- The Semi-Con - I attended the Semi-Con, there was a seminar and I think an official meeting of the BPC, but I was at the seminar because I was invited to present a paper at the seminar, and I spoke at the seminar, I delivered a paper there mainly on Black Consciousness, and participated ..(Mr. Soggot intervenes) 10

But you were simply a guest speaker? --- That is all.

What other BPC meetings have you been to if any? --- I don't think there is any other BPC meeting I attended as yet, except meetings like say ..(Mr. Soggot intervenes)

Did you attend any of the conventions? --- No.

The inaugural meeting? -- No.

Any of the meetings in Durban? --- No.

And BPC literature, what literature did you have access to prior to your arrest in this matter, have you got a list of that, I asked you to prepare a list of exhibits that you were aware of? --- Oh I see, well really I think I probably know about one document, Semi-Con, Semi-Con, Semi-Con, as Mr. Rees would call it, but I certainly have not - the BPC did not have publications that I could have read, I could have read some Press statements by the BPC, but I certainly have not - well I have not been exposed to the BPC literature generally. The documents that I am aware of of the BPC, that I would have been aware of before I came here would be the agenda to the Semi-Con 20 30

at / ...

at Hammanskraal in August 1974. I may or I may not have seen the BPC Constitution, I am not sure, I may have seen their membership card, and this is about all I can remember of the BPC that I have come across before I was arrested.

Apart from giving your support and approval - you gave your approval to BPC I take it? --- Certainly yes.

Would you say you were a supporter of it? --- I would say I was a supporter of the Black People's Convention.

But would you say you were a member of it, not 10
in terms of its Constitution at any rate? --- I am one man
the BPC could rely on at any moment, if I could put it
that way.

COURT: Well as Dr. Mokoape says it is a Black Consciousness movement, both are Black Consciousness movements, and you were involved in that? --- That is right.

MR. SOGGOT: As far as you are concerned, SASO we know was struggling for psychological and physical liberation? --- That is right.

Would you tell us how you understood SASO - first 20
of all would you say SASO was a political organisation
involved with political work in the community? --- I would
say SASO was merely a student trade union, it may have
perhaps expressed itself on certain communal matters, but
certainly I would not call it a political organisation.

And then tell us about what contributions you
thought SASO could or did make towards physical liberation,
how you saw it? --- I would say the main thing would have
been in their involvement with the Black community, in
building it up into a respectable people, that would merit 30

not / ...

not only attention but the respect of the country as a whole. I would say for instance if there were to be change as we believe there will be change, that that kind of change SASO also was involved in working for, in that in the process of pronouncing on behalf of the Black community - I mean on behalf of the Black students, it also pronounced on behalf of the Black community in most cases, and what then would happen is that SASO put her efforts behind the interests of the Black community. So that, Dr. Mokoape also said as negotiation I mean as bargaining already, in 10 the process of saying, if SASO says for instance Black people do not want to be called Bantus, then - and say the government concedes on this point, it is for us a step forward, an achievement in our bargaining already, because Black people are all united and they are saying through a united voice: look, we don't want to be called Bantus, so the whole superstructure looks at the Black people and understands that they don't want that, and it won't hurt anybody calling me Black so they say: all right we'll call them Black. What we have achieved there is to be able to 20 put across in a very peaceful manner a demand to be called what we want to be called. Also of course we felt that in building up the Black community, in organising it into a respectable people, we would make it easier, this would make it possible^{for}/let me say the White section of the South African society to look at Black people and see them positively. In this way - the process is in this way, M'lord, that White people see themselves as - perhaps if I may use the phrase, super-human, demi-gods above the normal level of humanity, they see themselves above this, and Black 30 people / ...

people again see themselves underneath. So what we are striving for is to reach a humanistic level, a level where everybody is a man, and where everybody is respected, and has got dignity. So if we can assist Black people to move away from the psychological cobwebs which keep them undertrodden, then we can also assist White people to begin to see Black people as a people, as people worthy of respect and therefore to respect them. This is the kind of bargaining that I understood and this is the kind of movement that I understood myself to be involved in. In 10 other words, M'lord, what we want, the most important thing about the kind of society we want is that it must be a society in which humanity rules, as opposed to capitalism where wealth or material possessions determine a man's status, or as opposed for instance to doctrinal European socialism, where doctrine seems to be the most important thing even more important than human life. Because as we see it the position is that there is an alternative, there is a third alternative in the world, so whereas one may well talk about capitalist societies in the world, and 20 also talk about European communist societies, one can also talk about what I prefer to call African familiness, familiness as a concept, I mean because Black communalism is founded upon the family unit, and it has stemmed from the family unit to cover each and everybody that is outside - that is surrounding the family. On the other hand it seems to me that capitalism says: well right, we want everybody to be fine and so on, to have money and so on, but you see, the best thing for you is to grab more for yourself than the other man. Now we feel that it is not possible for 30

anybody / ...

anybody to claim to be working for common humanity at the expense of another man, you cannot work for common humanity at the expense of another man. The same thing will apply to European socialism where they tend to suggest that they through conflict will build a human society, and I mean I don't see how a man can build peace on war so to say, because generally they seem to suggest that now everything must just be a conflict. On the other hand African communalism did not derive like those philosophies from the industrial and agrarian revolution in Europe, African socialism or communalism is founded upon the extended family. The concept of the extended family is a guideline, and we feel, just as we do not advise that we must have exploiters and so on, people who own big - more than in fact they need, we also do not advise that there should be loiterers, because that is a very unthinkable disgrace. What we merely suggest here is that we are waiting for a society in which men will be respected for being real just for that fact that they are men, that is enough.

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COURT: While you were mentioning this bargaining process I just want to ask the other - No.1 and No.4 Accused the question - you need not give me a reply now, you can tell me tomorrow, now you people knew about the homelands development, the Bantustans, you knew the policy of the government that they wanted independent homelands ultimately? -- This is how it has come across, yes.

Now, while you people are preparing and sort of building up a collective and representative voice in order to bargain with the White man, during that period some of

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these / ...

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Now, while you people are preparing and sort of building up a collective and representative voice in order to bargain with the White man, during that period some of

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these homelands will become independent like the Transkei will become independent in October. How you people do not recognise the Bantustans, now how are you people going to deal with these independent homelands or these Bantustans? --- I think, M'lord, the position as we see it is that the Bantustan proposition first and foremost was presented by White society to Black people.

Yes, I understand that, if you have to negotiate with the White man, well you can only negotiate with the White man over matters over which the White man has control, but now those countries will probably be independent by the time that you have organised your collective vote. How are you going to deal with that position, and you reject the Bantustans, the homelands? --- Well certainly we reject the concept of ..(Court intervenes) 10

You need not give me the reply now you can give me the reply tomorrow, or do you think you can give me the reply now. You see it will take some time to develop your idea of Black Power, representative voice, now you say the bargaining is taking place all the time, but now in the meantime some of these homelands are becoming independent, so it means that the White man will have no say and will not be able to bargain in respect of those homelands. How are you people going to face that problem? --- Well I think I will take a try at that tomorrow morning, M'lord. But I was just going to say I do not know whether those Bantustans, even if they become independent, may not in fact at a later stage negotiate themselves on the same lines that we are negotiating now. 20

With whom? You see you are building up an antithesis / ... 30

antithesis for the White man, you are not building up an antithesis for the Black homelands? --- In fact, M'lord, the basis for our attitude is that we do not see the Bantustan concept as ...(Court intervenes)

Well it does not matter, I mean if they are independent they are independent? --- But it is not representative of the people of South Africa.

That may be so, I mean how are you going to deal with that proposition, I mean you cannot bargain with the White man to try and get those places freed if they are independent, and you will not be bargaining with the White man in order to get those areas in your open society?

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--- I think also, M'lord, that on the other hand the government may decide no, this kind of venture really cannot work, then we cancel it.

Yes, if that happens before they get independence, but now the Transkei is getting independence in October?

--- Well I do not know as to ..(Court intervenes)

And then that bird has flown away? --- I do not know as to what extent the Transkei will be called an independent state will be important in future South African politics, because South Africa, White South Africa by and large retains control in the Transkei, so in a way..(Court intervenes)

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Well now, I do not know why you say that, she will have her own Constitution, she will be completely independent and as I understand the position, I don't profess to know all about it, as I understand the position South Africa will be responsible for their defence? --- No, I think that has got implications also, M'lord.

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Well think about it tonight and you tell me tomorrow morning, it is not an easy question? --- I will think about it tonight, M'lord.

MR. SOGGOT: Mr. Lekota, can we get back to some of the episodes in the case. You talked I think at the Semi-Con at Hammanskraal, what was that talk about? --- Well I spoke there generally on Black Consciousness.

Harry Singh was there? -- Harry Singh was there.

Now what I want you to deal with briefly is his allegation that on the way back there were discussions and amongst other things you said that - words to this effect - BPC spent so much time talking, they should do something else? --- Well first of all ..(Mr. Soggot intervenes)

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What do you say about Singh's evidence in that regard? --- Well, M'lord, without really using hard words I think that is absolutely fallacious, and well perhaps I understand it because I mean I have been in solitary confinement like him too..(Mr. Soggot intervenes)

Well do not worry about that, let us hear what your version is? --- The point is this is not true. In the first place, M'lord, as I have indicated already, I have never really held membership in the BPC, and I think Harry Singh suggests that I was saying of BPC that they are not doing anything, they are just having meetings talking and so on. The Semi-Con as it is was the first meeting of the BPC that I attended, and I cannot definitely talk about the progress of the BPC as an organisation, I have never been able to assess the Black People's Convention, so I would not have been able in the first place to say that they have just been holding meetings and so on and not doing nothing, (sic)

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because / ...

because I did not have any insight as to what in fact their work has been about, as to what in fact their programmes were precisely about, so I could not have said anything of that nature.

What sort of discussions did take place emanating in particular from Mayathula, the Reverend Mayathula, on this trip? --- Well what did happen, Il'lord, is that whilst we were - I think it was after Harrismith or Ladysmith I think, somewhere there because I had been asleep the whole night and I woke up about 9 o'clock, what did happen in the Combi is that whilst we were sitting around we seemed not to have anything to talk about. I began talking about the importance of the Black Consciousness movement closing its ranks especially against elements such as the ANC which was ultimately as you know from history influenced by communist infiltration and things like that. It was really, there was nothing to talk about and I just began talking about this kind of thing. Then the Reverend Mayathula talked about the BPC, and he talked in a very visionary kind of manner about how strong the BPC was and so on, and he talked specifically, he talked about the national tools-down. Now this is the kind of phrase I have heard from Castro myself before, and he was talking about the national tools-down and so on and he was saying that we are travelling in Natal around the graves of big men like Chaka and so on, that there will be a big national tools-down here in Natal, and it would start here and then there will be change and so on. Now Castro talks in this kind of manner, and nobody ever was worried about that kind of thing. And certainly however, there / ...

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there was no talk about people going to be sent for military training and things like that. And in fact Your Lordship will realise that what I had been talking about at the time was really an ideological discussion of BPC, of history in fact, of the BPC falling into the same trap that for instance the ANC fell into and so on, it was really just ordinary talk and so on, just the type of thing that people talk about, he certainly did not say anything about sending people for military training, and I never said anything about the BPC wasting time.

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The other proposition attributed to Castro by Singh on page 581 is that he spoke about three stages of BPC, one relating to the enlisting of membership, second conscientisation and the third violent confrontation, what do you say about that? --- M'lord, certainly not on the trip in which I was involved, not on the trip in which I was involved at least when I was going to Durban, I am almost certain that this would have - it struck me when Harry was giving his evidence here, it struck me as quite a unique thing, and I would have retained that kind of thing, but I am positive that Castro never said anything of that kind, absolutely not.

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Well, we have heard from various accused including Singh what sort of person Castro's like, had you had any contact with him before this day? --- Yes, I had met him I think on a number of occasions before that.

You had met him? --- Yes, that is right.

Had you heard him talk, making wild statements before that day? --- Well, I had heard him talk on a few occasions he is very fond of, the Black Messiah and so on.

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Had / ...

Had he ever before this day suggested anything indicating that he would like violent confrontation, however wild his statements, did that come up at all? --- Certainly not, M'lord, I have never been with Castro when he has talked about this, he is an elderly man, and surely - I have never heard him say anything of that nature in the first place, and I think it would strike me as very unique if he ever said it to me, because I have never really expected Castro could talk such things, he is a church minister in the first place, he is a very sincere kind of man, however erratic he may be, but I mean a thing like that, no one can actually throw that kind of thing at Castro's head. 10

One other feature, who were the other people in the Combi and which of them did you know prior to that trip? --- The people who would have been in the Combi would have been Harry Singh whom I had seen before but I had never had any discussions with him, I had seen him just socially.

Did you know that he was a member of BPC? --- By that time I knew he was a member of the BPC. 20

The Reverend Hayathula, who else? --- Then there was Yugan Naidoo, whom I had known already as a member of SASO back to 1972, there was Costal(?), Viv Pillay, Richard Naidoo.

Well those are three people, what do you say about them? --- I had never met these guys, I had never known them before.

All right, well that is enough, thank you.

COURT: Did you know Bawa? --- I met him on that trip for the first time, M'lord. 30

Mr. / ...

MR. SOGGOT: Then perhaps this would be an appropriate moment to start dealing with the rally and your participation in it. What was your first insight into the plans to have the Durban rally? --- I got to know about the rally first, I think, the week preceding the 25th.

Now Mr. Lekota, at this stage you were still the SASO permanent organiser, is that right? --- Correct.

Where were you stationed? Where were you living? --- I was living in Claremont, the township, and I was working at the SASO head office. 10

Is that a township outside Durban? --- Yes.

And you were working at the SASO office? --- That is right.

Very well, carry on, then, when did you hear about the rally? --- I heard about the rally, if my memory serves me well, from Accused No. 2, who had been to the SASO Executive meeting on Sunday, the 15th. Unfortunately I was not at the meeting. So he told me that.....(Mr. Soggot intervenes)

MR. SOGGOT: Were you supposed to have been at this meeting? 20

--- Oh yes. He told me that they had decided at that meeting to hold a rally on the 25th in solidarity with the people of Mozambique on their attainment of independence. He indicated of course that our regional secretaries and so on would also organise similar rallies and so on, or at least I took that for granted. Then on Friday the 20th at about 12 lunchtime or so, he asked me to accompany him down to the BAWU office, because he had been mandated to handle the arrangements on behalf of SASO down there. Then we went over to the BAWU office where we met Colin Jeffrey, 30

who / ...

who was the vice-president of the BPC at the time, Accused No.5 who was the national organiser of BPC at the time, there was Menze Mbayo one of the BAWU men there and Lindelwe Mabandhla also of BAWU; then there was also Accused No.1 - there may have been one or two other people now but I cannot recollect them specifically. What happened there now was that the BPC, as Accused No.2 told me before we got there, the BPC was interested in this venture, so when we got there it was a question of really just formalising the fact that they would also participate in this rally. So the first thing I think that we decided upon was that we should book the Curries Fountain under BAWU, in view of the fact that just a few months back we had organised a heroes day in Durban..(Court intervenes)

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COURT: Who is we? --- I mean SASO, and that heroes day had been banned. Now there was feeling that they may well ban this other meeting because if they start banning the heroes day then they would probably ban all our public meetings.

Now, didn't heroes day coincide with Sharpeville day? --- Heroes day is actually Sharpeville day, M'lord.

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That was in March then? --- This is the point I am making ..(Court intervenes)

Oh you did say a few months before, that is right? --- Yes. So then Colin Jeffrey went over to book the stadium, and he booked it under BAWU, because the BAWU fellows were interested parties, and our thinking at the time was that in the event of the rally - I mean SASO and BPC getting banned, then the Black Allied Workers Union fellows would take over the project. That was now that Friday. Then we decided I think that Accused Nos. 2 and 5

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would / ...

would handle the publicity for this kind of thing.

That was about all really centring around that meeting on that day. So the next thing is that I left there and when I got to the SASO office I received a message that my father-in-law had just passed away, so I had to take my wife over to Zululand for the funeral, and I then left. I came back again on Monday ..(Mr. Soggot intervenes)

MR. SOGGOT: Now I think Harry Singh - a very small point - says you were there on Saturday? --- I am positive that it is either he made a mistake or he just wanted to put me there. 10

All right, so you went off for the weekend so to speak and you came back? --- I was off for the weekend and I came back on Monday. By the time I came back on Monday I heard that Accused No.5, Harry Singh and some other guy - well I had not met this guy, Harran Aziz, they had been sent over to Mozambique to try and get some representatives from Frelimo to come and grace the occasion. Well, the publicity generally had been planned by this time, I mean, pamphlets had been made and they had been distributed and so on and so on. 20

What did you understand was the purpose of this rally? --- Well my understanding was that it was to declare solidarity with the peoples of Mozambique.

Who at that stage as far as you understood it would address the crowd? --- There were no speakers at the time.

No speakers had been decided upon? --- That is right. 30

And / ...

And what did you imagine the Prelimo speakers would talk about when they came along? --- Well I thought they would probably talk about their own happiness at achieving their independence, they would have probably talked about, let me say ..(Court intervenes)

COURT: Are you guessing now, or did you consider it at the time? --- I am trying to think back, M'lord, really I don't think I really sat down to think about it, but I am trying to think back whether if I did think anything I would have thought something about it!

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COURT ADJOURNS

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