

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE RIOTS AT
SOWETO AND OTHER PLACES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

AF

MORNING SESSION:

23rd SEPTEMBER, 1976.

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THE COURT RESUMES AT 10 A.M. ON THE 23rd SEPTEMBER, 1976.

VUSAMAZULU CREDO PUMELELO MUTWA: still under oath:

DR YUTAR: We reached the stage yesterday where we completed the memorandum you submitted to the secretary, covering in detail the events of Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, three days of the rioting. Now you know of course that it stopped for a while, there was an uneasy calm in Soweto, followed by further outbreaks during July. Did you witness those further outbreaks? What did you see? Can you tell us very briefly?
-- No, I did not witness from close-up, except I do (10)
remember one extremely ugly incident when we picked up four of our fellow workmen who had been savagely stabbed from a house and I could see that one of these men was dying. And I had also, because the van in which we were travelling was covered with blood on the floor, that one of the men who had been picked up before, had had both his legs hacked off. This man was - it was at the time when the Black Power people were fighting against the hostel people and yet these men, although they were municipality workers, were not Zulus. It was just senseless criminal destruction of human life. (20)

By the Blacks upon the Blacks. -- Yes, by our own people shedding their own people's blood and it is hard not to be emotional about this, I fight hard to remain calm, but I have lost several friends; children whom I had known have died. One of them was killed in his own father's yard by police for some unknown reason. One of them was killed by a ricocheting bullet, which struck the street and then killed him as he stood at the gate of his home. These tragedies make the terrible sum total of what we have to face, but if it pleases the Court, before I go on, I wish to say something. May I do so? (30)

CHAIRMAN: Yes. -- Thank you. When I came here for the first time/...

time and when I came here again today, I passed a very impressive structure, the Voortrekker Monument. I looked at this monument and I wondered if the old Voortrekkers to whom this monument is dedicated, were to see our country today, what would they think. When there is so much violence unquelled, rampaging through our land, what would Andries Pretorius think, what would Louis Trichardt think and what would Paul Kruger think? It seems as if the sea of destiny is now the master over the ship which is our country and yet it is the ship that should control the sea. I would appeal in all humility (10) because news has just reached us now that at this moment there is violence in Eloff Street in Johannesburg; that Bantu children by the score are coming into Johannesburg in an act which I think will lead to many more lives being lost. Why doesn't somebody do something quickly? What is the duty of a government if it is not to protect its people regardless of race, colour or creed? Why doesn't somebody stop this useless violence? More than that I cannot say. All I can say is our ancestors look upon us with shame.

DR YUTAR: Referring to the further outbreak in Eloff (20) Street today and again in Soweto, you have made the suggestion that the authorities should seriously consider using the Defence Force. -- I have done so. But many people, when they hear the words 'Defence Force' they immediately think of machine guns singing and jet fighters shooting, but that is not necessary. The only thing that our country should do at this moment to stop this thing so that whatever talks there are should be in an atmosphere of peace, is that our country should show its strength to whoever is behind this thing to assure the loyal people that the State is still able to protect (30) themselves. Bantu people, my people, and I speak as one of them/...

them, always tend to gravitate towards the one who is stronger whenever two forces contend. And at this moment the Black Power Movement seems to be the strongest in Soweto.

You made mention earlier in my office that this movement leading to the further trouble today, has been so well organised that you are certain that there are certain White people behind it. -- I have made this observation over many days of watching this thing extremely closely. I know how the mind of our people works, but there have been things that have happened during these riots which have made (10) absolutely no sense to me. There has been illogical behaviour - illogical from the Bantu sense - behaviour on the part of the rioters and just who is teaching our children to manufacture such sophisticated fire bombs? Who is teaching our children to obey commands? Who is this master mind that is behind all these things? I say and I say again that the real leaders of this movement have not yet been caught.

And you feel among them are White people? -- In fact I would say I am positive this thing is too well planned, too well master-minded, too well orchestrated to be just a (20) chance behaviour by misguided school children looking for matadors.

Who do you think are these White people behind this? -- Unfortunately, though I throw the bones of destination, I would not know who they are, but I definitely am sure that there is a group in South Africa at this moment which is out to discredit our government, to destroy our homelands and to destroy our people.

Subsequent to these June riots, some time in July and August there were attacks made or fighting broke out (30) between your tribe, the Zulus, and other Black people in Soweto.

What/...

What was the cause of that? -- First of all the people of the Black Power Movement have got one thing that I resent very, very much and which many of my people resent very, very much. They try to regiment people, to make each group of people bow to become their image, so to speak, and what happened was that Black Power people started attacking hostel Zulus, killing some of them and even setting one of them alight while he was still alive and this they did in an attempt to draw the hostel people to their side. The whole thing backfired upon them, but even then they were able to squirm out of the (10) mess by spreading the story around that it was the police who had hired these Zulus to fight the township residents.

And in your view that was completely false so to allege? -- It was a false thing and completely illogical. First of all how can - why should a man dedicated, instructed to quell a disturbance, himself create another disturbance on the side?

Well, we have police evidence that in fact when this warfare broke out between the two factions, the police interceded and tried to keep both factions apart. -- This I saw.

You saw that? -- Yes, this I saw. (20)

There is also evidence that the Zulus were led out of their hostel by a false allegation that some of their tribe were being attacked, injured and killed near the station, as a result of which the Zulus armed themselves and went to this particular spot but found that the information that had been given to them was false. Do you know anything about that? -- Yes, several Zulus told me the same story also, but they heard that some of their friends - first of all, previous to this, two or three Zulus had been killed in trains. One of them was thrown off the train from what I have heard, while the (30) train was moving. Because over the years there has been

hostility between the married township residents and the unmarried hostel dwellers. Now, when the news reached the Zulus that some of their friends were killed - had been killed, they were very angry and on this day then the rumour came that some of their people were being stopped from alighting from the train and the force of Zulus left Mzimhlope and tried to try and rescue their friends to prevent them from being killed as the others had been.

They found that the information was false? -- Yes, they found there had been no such a thing. (10)

There has also been evidence led of a Zulu who had been burned to death and that that angered the Zulus. Do you know about that incident? -- Yes, in fact this was the thing that made me feel extremely horrified, which shows the viciousness and the indecency of some of these people who call themselves the Black Power organisation. First of all everybody who observed our people, will notice that our people are extremely against cremation of dead bodies, because they believe that if you burn a dead body, you destroy that dead body's soul in the land of the gods. Now by setting this Zulu alight, (20) the Black Power people were destroying not only the Zulu's body, but also his soul and they were issuing an insult to the Zulus by committing this sacrilege, an insult which no Zulu can forgive. It was an act of cold-blooded criminality.

Having spoken of Black consciousness, I turn to this annexure to the document you sent to the Secretary of this Commission, the annexure which is entitled 'The Meaning of Black Consciousness'. -- Yes.

And I propose to follow, with His Lordship's approval, the procedure I followed yesterday of reading first paragraph (30) by paragraph. If you want to make any comment, just stop me

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and if I want to ask you any additional questions, I will do so.

-- Yes.

Exactly what is Black Consciousness? (you ask). Just exactly what is this strange new philosophy which has won so many thousands of converts amongst the Bantu people within only four years of its coming to South Africa? Black consciousness is really Black racialism of a most rabid and fanatical type; it is just as dangerous as Nazism was and was created by Black people in the United States of America as an answer to persistent White racialism. Just as White racist preach (10) the supremacy of the White man, so does Black consciousness preach Black supremacy, and Black consciousness feeds like a parasite upon White racism and cannot exist without it. Any comments you wish to offer? -- Yes, first I can add this, that this philosophy, when it arrived amongst our people, it arrived with a beautiful face like a false woman arriving at the kraal of the man she means to deceive. It arrived firstly amongst our talented people, the theatrical groups and so on and it is to our people's shame and anguish that there were and there still are groups of White people who actually welcomed Black (20) Power and Black consciousness with open arms and they sought to exploit it and to encourage it and in this I can name people in the University of the Witwatersrand. Theatrical groups who supposedly help Bantu Theatre but who were in fact riding the horse of Black consciousness.

You go on: Just as Nazism was capable of poisoning the minds of millions of German young people in the 1920's and 30's so is Black consciousness capable of capturing the minds of millions of young Bantu people in this day and age. Unlike the African National Congress and the PAC the Black (30) consciousness movement does not want to drive the Whites into

the sea, but it wants a permanent state of bitter confrontation and polarisation between Black and White. This movement needs the White man as an object of hatred, ridicule and fear.

Unlike the ANC and the PAC the Black Consciousness Movement is something much more than just a political philosophy; it is something much deeper and can control every aspect of the lives of those who follow it. Black consciousness is a way of life, a mode of attire, a set of gestures and a pattern of behaviour.

Its adherents live it, think it and even die because of it.

Black consciousness has got two sides, a good side and an (10) evil side and in the good side it teaches its followers pride in their Blackness; it teaches the Black man to stop trying to imitate the White man's way of life and to reject the White man and all he stands for; it teaches the Black man to prove himself in the eyes of the world by forcing himself to reach the highest peak of achievement in any field he chooses so as to show the White man especially that there is nothing that he can do which the Black cannot do just as well. It teaches its followers to study many things and to pursue knowledge in all its forms; to study music, medicine, religion and (20) other subjects thoroughly and well. Black consciousness rejects western dress and cosmetics and idolises Afro dress and cosmetics and very often this so-called Afro attire is modelled on West African Arab-influenced attire such as the "bubu" dress and the "dashiki" shirt which are not strictly African in origin. Would you like to make some comment on that? -- No, I think it is speaking for itself.

It teaches that the uglier and Blacker the African is, the more proud he ought to be, because this shows that he is a true son of the earth; it teaches that the African is (30) really superior to the White man in many ways, one of these

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being the fact that Whites often die of diseases which are unknown amongst the Black people. It also stresses the fact that it was the White man who brought diseases like syphilis, gonorrhoea and tuberculosis amongst the Bantu, diseases which were until then unknown in Africa. Some really fanatical followers of the Black consciousness movement even go so far as to try re-writing parts of the Bible and one of the things that they say is that Adam was really a Black man and Eve a Black woman and that the Whites are descended from a union between Eve and the snake that tempted her; the so-called first (10) breach of the Immorality Act which is the subject of many ugly jokes in Soweto. Do you want to add anything to that? -- Yes, this, that with re-writing the Bible, they distort the Bible to such an extent that it is almost beyond recognition. The so-called Black theology, which is really a distortion which those who wrote the Bible would be ashamed of. I know very little about it, but it makes me sick.

Now here follows a brief revelation of the uglier side of the Black consciousness philosophy. This philosophy, as I have said before, thrives on cold and sustained hatred and (20) it actually encourages its followers to keep the fires of hatred of the White man alive in their hearts and it always depicts the White man as a merciless, ignorant exploiter who hates and fears the Bantu. And it was while I was in America that I saw what an ugly thing Black consciousness was and what tremendous damage it can do to Black-White relations. In America I was brought as a visitor to the homes of about six prominent Negroes and of these five were adherents of Black consciousness and they were not pleasant people to meet and talk to. They spoke a mouthful of cliches such as "Black struggle", (30) "Black liberation" and other similar rubbish and they had chips

on their shoulders twenty feet long. They were touchy, sullen and suspicious - just as Black consciousness fanatics in Soweto always are - and when the time came for us to eat, they either served "Afro" food such as yams and lamb stew and even "putu" or they served the type of food known as "coloured greens and grits" which was the sort of food that the Black slaves were given in the Southern States of America. Three kept impressive and blood-chilling collections of Slave-era relics in the form of slave collars, chains, whips and shackles as well as copies of advertisements from pre-Civil War (10) newspapers advertising slave auctions, and these ugly relics were not merely kept for show but for remembrance, to keep hatred of the White man alive by keeping the wounds of the past open; exactly as followers of Black consciousness do in South Africa. Race relations between Black and White are shamefully bad in the United States and race-riots are an almost monthly occurrence throughout that land and when I was there, fierce street battles were fought in two cities over a certain thing known as "bussing" which is a form whereby the United States Government tries to enforce school integration. Would (20) you like to add anything to that part? -- Yes, I would like to say two names, two names of two pathetic children whom I played with, Shanon, a girl, Casey, a boy. You see .. (intervenes)

Where was this? -- It was in America in Los Angeles. Now, in America, marriage between Black and White is allowed, but when the Black Power Movement came, all those who had married White wives were told to throw them away and they did. With the result that the offspring of these marriages was lost. Only God himself knows the suffering of these two children I saw, the children of a prominent American Negro and a (30) White woman. These children were lost. Victims of philosophy

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is beyond their understanding. More than this I cannot and will not say.

You go on: And unless the Black Consciousness Movement is destroyed in South Africa, race riots will become quite common and violence of the type we have just seen in Soweto, will be a monthly occurrence, because this movement thrives on bloodshed, violence and upheaval, which helps it to gain more recruits and to make it even stronger than ever. In Soweto the Black Consciousness Movement is making quite a nuisance of itself. It wants to control every field of (10) Bantu endeavour; it wants to control playwrights, writers, sportsmen and businessmen and it has become so powerful that it can kill any stage production it disapproves of and it forces playwrights to write plays showing the sufferings of Bantu people at the hands of the White men, plays of the "Sizwe Banzi is Dead" variety. Even Black artists are forced to toe the Black consciousness line which is why many of them paint tortured, ugly Black figures in all forms of suffering, sweating labourers and wasted-looking men in jail. Any further comment? -- Yes. God firstly, by making me a man whose (20) feet bestride several worlds, I am a writer and, well, a mediocre artist and a woodcarver and I am also a maker of plays and it was in the course of these professions, if I may call them such, that I came face to face with the whip of Black Power. First of all, in Soweto so powerful did the Black Power Movement become that it could destroy any play that it did not approve of; that if you did not toe their line, you were out, as I am out. This thing is as intolerant as any form of extreme racialism that you can find anywhere. Like Nazism it tries to regiment people into facelessness and this (30) is why I hate it. Not only that. The Black Power Movement wants/...

wants to destroy the Black man as we know him. It wants to destroy tribalism, it wants to destroy the chief system and yet no one on earth has ever studied these things of Africa properly. Why should they be destroyed? Why shouldn't there be Zulus, Sothos, Vendas and others? I am not saying that our people should go back to the bush, I am not saying that the days of Dingaan should come back and the days of Shaka, but I am against anybody who tries to destroy the things that I know.

It would seem that you approve of this separateness, (10) separate development. -- Yes, but much as I approve of it, I know one thing, that no form of human co-existence, be it separatist or integrationist, federalist or whatever, can ever succeed while there is still suspicion, ignorance and distrust between the different races.

You go on, page 3. You are referring to these people in America, the Black consciousness leaders, they were touchy, sullen and suspicious - just as Black consciousness fanatics in Soweto always are - no, I have read that. The bottom of page 3: Black consciousness teaches that the Black (20) man must never trust "Whitey", which is a contemptuous term it uses for the White man, and it teaches that the Black man has no friends and must fight his battles himself and that in his fight against the White man he stands to lose nothing and to gain a lot because the White man robbed him of his humanity centuries ago. Black consciousness preaches the virtue of militancy and it glorifies and glamourises martyrdom and it preaches that negotiation and compromise between Black and White is impossible and that the Black people and the White people can only settle their differences by fighting (30) each other. Black consciousness is pro-Arab and anti-Jewish;

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it teaches that the Jews are the worst exploiters of Black people; that they are the ones who take advantage of Apartheid to sell the Bantu people sub-standard goods in the townships and White-owned African shops. Black consciousness is pro-Arab because it regards the Arabs as a Black race just as it regards the Indians, Coloureds and other dark-skinned people as Black. In fact it strives for what it calls 'solidarity' of all Black people, meaning American Negroes, Bantu, Coloureds and Indians. Many followers of Black consciousness also become Mohammedans for they say that Islam is a Black religion which agrees with African people. Any comment? -- Yes, and with your leave I would like to comment at length and I wish that whoever records my words should take them as I speak them. Sir, nowadays there is a lot of talk and there has been for several years by many of our people, that the only way whereby Black people and White people can settle their differences in South Africa is through war. But for years I have studied war, I have studied why people fight and how people fight. I have been fascinated by human destruction and wondered why men, hating war, still destroy. And when I turned my thoughts to the prospect of conflict between White men and Black men in Africa, I came to this conclusion as far away as 1958 that in any war between Black and White in Africa, in South Africa, a full three-quarters of the Bantu population would be decimated. Our numerical superiority might enable us to survive such a war, but at what price? Many of our tribes, my people the Zulus included, would go; the Basutos would cease to exist, the Bechuanas would no longer be there. Is there anything on earth worth this dreadful price? Secondly, those who talk of war between Black and White forget one very wonderful thing which even the uneducated bush witchdoctor

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like myself can see this, that South Africa is not like Mozambique, nor is it like Angola, nor Kenya. There are no large forests in South Africa where Mau-Mau type renegades can hide. There are no large forests where so-called guerillas can lick their wounds and then try again. Our country is wide open, our people helpless and any person who entertains this idea is a criminal who should be treated as such. I cannot imagine a world without Zulus, I cannot imagine a world without the Basuto. Thank you.

Black consciousness is dedicated to the destruction (10) of tribalism and all tribal institutions and traditions in South Africa; it is anti-chieftainship, anti-witchdoctor and it seeks to abolish all tribal languages and dialects and to replace them with English or pidgin English such as is spoken in West Africa, and for this reason alone the Black Consciousness Movement is abhorrent to us and all tradition-minded Bantu people. This reason alone is the greatest weakness in this movement which can be used to destroy it. Anything to add to that? -- Yes. At this moment in our rural areas, in our homelands and in our urban areas, we have chiefs and other (20) leaders who are beginning to sing the Black Power tune. These men are playing with a mamba whose true length and viciousness of fangs they do not understand. That this movement does not care a damn about them as such, that it wants to put them aside, does not occur to them at all. We have leaders in the U.B.C. who are busy harping the Black Power tune, like Judas Iscariot playing with the Devil.

In consultation with me, you said that the Black Consciousness Movement use witchcraft, but here you say that it is anti-witchdoctor. Now, what is the position? -- (30) The Black Consciousness Movement, like all other subversive movements/...

movements, take full advantage of every fear and weakness that exists within the heart of the Black man and in this case it is not above dabbling in witchcraft, although it detests the witchdoctors. And there is proof of this. There is something very interesting that our very wide-awake newspapers missed in Soweto. People stoned and killed a police dog in Pfeni during the riots and that police dog they then cut its tongue out and its heart out. I was shown this police dog by some of my bosses and I decided to act against these people by playing their own game. I made something, some ceremony around (10) this dog and then a few days later a very strange thing happened. Whoever had killed the dog, brought back parts of it and the stone which they had used to kill it. There were witnesses to this very interesting thing and also, in Orlando East just after the June riots a strange thing happened which the police did not see the meaning of. Somebody killed several dogs in Orlando East and this whole thing was put down as the work of the maniacs, but it was not. These dogs were killed, their hearts slashed out and their right ears cut off. Now, when I saw this, I realised that somebody here was trying to (20) intimidate the residents, because the Mau-Mau also used tricks like that and the Black Power Movement is also using the same tricks.

You go on .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Were you ever informed that the Poqo used witchcraft too or threats of witchcraft? -- Yes, I had heard that from Pondo's in the Ciskei and also from people in Johannesburg. This was what worried me extremely because once the forces of evil start wearing the headdress of the witchdoctor, then it is very bad and I also know that the Frelimo people were (30) adept at the same thing; that they made use of witchdoctors and/...

and then afterwards destroyed them.

DR YUTAR: You go on: But there are white people in South Africa, one of whom I know, who are actively encouraging the Black Consciousness Movement, without realising just what a dangerous thing it is to them and all of us and it fills us with grief to observe that some of our homeland chiefs and elected leaders are beginning to sing the Black consciousness tune and to make fantastic and unrealistic demands upon the government, demands which they know can never be met, thereby obscuring our people's real grievances. You have dealt (10) with that already. -- Yes, I would like to deal with it more. Now, with regard to making unrealistic demands, these people say and I know this might make me very unpopular in many quarters, but for the sake of those who are going to die today and who have already died perhaps, the truth has got to be spoken. These people say that the government must release our detained leaders. They also say this, that the true leaders of our people are in jail, but wait a minute; what is a leader? Does a man simply by going to jail for a few minutes or a few days or a few hours, then qualify to become a leader? (20) Or is it just harping to the tune of the martyrdom complex where the first sufferer then becomes a saviour?

Who, in your view, are the true leaders? -- I do not know. We do not have leaders, only politicians, because people who do not speak the truth cannot be called the leaders. I would say that our chiefs and those men we elect, these are our leaders, because we elect them, they put themselves up for sale and give us a lot of promises and then afterwards they renege on those promises and hide under the bed when the Black Power is making a noise. We have no leaders, only politicians. (30)

Now we come to the last annexure to your letter to

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the Secretary and it is entitled "Some of the Grievances of Our People." You say there: For many decades our people have had bitter and legitimate complaints for which the present government of South Africa cannot in fairness be blamed, and the first of these grievances is crime. Our people live in constant fear in the townships and life is very cheap in our areas and the authorities do not seem to be able to protect the law-abiding Bantu. Of the many crimes that are committed weekly in Soweto, only a very small percentage ever gets reported and things such as assault, rape and theft are (10) daily occurrences in Diepkloof alone. Now, that you list as grievance No. 1: crime. -- Yes.

Do you want to add to it? -- Yes, please. It brings us back to what I said yesterday, that this has given in our people's souls rise to the belief that the police approve or rather the authorities approve of crime in our townships. This is why men like Sipho Sithole were able to kill 50 people in Soweto within 10 years' time, unmolested, until he was killed by bigger thugs than himself. And also, another thing, with regard to crimes against women, rape. Our police stations (20) are completely unequipped with means for women who have been victims of crime to report these crimes. In fact, rape is the commonest crime in Soweto and in fact women get seduced by so-called salesmen who get into our houses by false pretences as furniture salesmen, seduce the woman and then leave her. And how do we know about this? It is because we, the witch-doctors, are the first people to know of women who have been raped, because rather than go to a police station, a Black woman would rather go to a witchdoctor to be purified, sometimes without her husband's knowledge. This is why I know that (30) rape is common in Soweto. In one year alone, this was the
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year 1972, I purified close to 53 Black women in Diepkloof alone, which is terrible. Our people need to have facilities in the police stations where they can report crime confidentially to people they can trust. Thus a woman who has been raped, needs a female policeman to whom she can report and also the way rape cases are handled in Soweto, where the woman has to stand in the dock and literally suffer twice in front of the magistrate, going over her terrible experience, this discourages people from reporting these crimes. Murder too.

Before you leave the question of rape. Are not (10)
White women subject to the same unhappy experience of having in public to tell their sad story? -- Yes, it is to man's disgrace that she does not know how to handle a woman properly. He does not realise that a woman has got a soul more sensitive than that of the brutish male.

CHAIRMAN: The fact that the White woman has to go through the same ordeal, go through it twice, do you mean that she has a grievance, but that does not make the grievance of the Black woman less? Is that correct? -- It is quite correct. We must learn to handle our women better, whether they are (20)
Black, Blue, Green or White.

DR YUTAR: We come now to what you regard as the second grievance, what you listed as the second grievance and that is insecurity. In the townships people do not feel safe in the houses in which they live. They feel like visitors without a clear future; they feel trapped and cheated, living as they do in a place where they cannot put down roots, improve their homes and plan ahead for the security of their children. This feeling of insecurity creates irresponsibility and cold contempt for the authorities. For example, in Soweto many Bantu people (30)
do something which they do not do in their homelands. They dump
heaps/...

heaps of refuse and dead animals such as dogs in the street and even deliberately damage trees planted in the streets, because "Soweto is not our home, but White man's property." Too much unnecessary red tape kills loyalty to South Africa, destroys inter-racial goodwill and encourages the spread of things such as Black consciousness and even outright communism. Anything to add to that? -- Yes. Just before the riots a strange thing began to happen in Soweto which I observed most closely. I noticed that the people at Mofolo and the people at Naledi and the people at Meadowlands and Pfeni, which (10) are the hotbeds of discontent and rioting at the moment, started the habit of emptying their refuse deliberately onto the tar road. They emptied it, you can see heaps of refuse even clogging up the gutter of the tarred road, the tarred main road past which the authorities of the township pass and past which the tourists pass. This was a form of protest which, unfortunately no one observed in time. When I arrived in Johannesburg and until as recently as only a few years ago, our people had the habit of seremoniously burying their pets whenever these pets died. Some buried their dogs in deep (20) graves in their backyard and planted flowers and other greenery over them. Some buried their dead dogs in open veld, also with deep seremony, but all of a sudden I noticed that our people were beginning to allow dogs to lie in the street unburied and I knew that there was serious trouble coming in Soweto, although nobody would have believed me had I warned them of this.

CHAIRMAN: Just before you go on. On recent inspection in Soweto, I saw a great deal of refuse just lying on the sides of the streets or on empty spaces and it appeared that (30) it could not be removed because the vehicles of the Board, when they/...

they came in for that purpose, were attacked and damaged. Do you know anything about that? -- I know much. I know this, that the Black Power Movement wants to create maximum suffering, maximum death from various causes and maximum disruption in Soweto as possible. I know that at this moment they are clogging up sewers on purpose, they are putting pieces of scrap metal into main drains, thus blocking the sewers. They are even dumping ashes and other refuse into the sewers with the result that in Naledi sewerage is running all over the streets, they are even breaking lavatories to create as much (10) stench and as much disease as possible. And also their attack upon refuse-collecting vehicles is for the same reason, to create an ugliness and to create death. It is strange that people can be so cold-blooded, so scheming and so cunning.

DR YUTAR: And His Lordship reminds me with what he just said, that when we did an inspection of Soweto and other locations as well, we saw that trees planted, including fruit trees, planted in the grounds of the houses, these were well looked after and well cared for, but whereas trees that were planted by the authorities in the streets to beautify the (20) streets, these were cut down maliciously and used either as weapons or fuel for fire. -- Yes, and I wish to add more to this one if I may. There are some trees of which our people are very superstitious. Trees like the Seringa which is a poisonous tree which they definitely do not like in some places, and also one mistake that the municipality and the West Rand authorities have made repeatedly is that when the beautification of the streets is concerned, they send labour gangs to plant these trees and then after planting the trees, they are surprised why the trees have been deliberately (30) destroyed. This again shows the lack of understanding between

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Black and White. Because when you beautify a place in a Black community, you must not do for the people, but with the people. What they should do, is to call on all the residents in that street who are available to be present at the planting of these trees. In fact I tried to impress this advice upon my superior in the West Rand Board, that where the beautifying of the township is concerned, you must act with, not for the people. This is why our people break things with such ease, they do not feel that these things belong to them, they feel they belong to the White man and when the White man is (10) struck at, these objects also, his doing, should also be destroyed.

My Learned Colleague tells me that it is so that to the Black man some trees are tabu. -- That is quite correct. For instance, it will be an unfortunate day, much as I love it, to see Jacaranda trees planted in Soweto; they would cease to exist. Our people have a very strange superstition regarding them.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS FOR TEA. THE COMMISSION RESUMES.

VUSAMAZULU CREDO PUMELELO MUTWA: still under oath: (20)

DR YUTAR: Just to round off this question of trees, I believe from what my Learned Colleague tells me, that the Syringa tree is one about which the Blacks have so much fear that it often leads to divorce. -- That is quite correct. Some of our people, when they want to spoil a wedding, they will throw a Syringa branch in front of the bride and this is supposed to cause a miscarriage and to make her very, very frigid, unfortunately for the husband.

And you say the Black people do not like the Jacaranda trees and yet that is the tree that beautifies Pretoria (30) and attracts so many tourists to this town of ours. -- Yes, but

it/...

it certainly would not attract Zulu tourists.

Now we go on: The third grievance is communication. There is very little meaningful communication between the Bantu denizens of Soweto and the authorities. Too many of the White men on the spot in Soweto, such as superintendents and others, make absolutely no effort to keep their fingers on the Bantu pulse. Too many of them are old, fat and tired men who rarely or never leave their offices to drive around in the township and be seen and known by the people, and there is nothing that a Bantu distrusts more than a ruler who (10) never shows his face in public, who never gives fatherly advice or rebuke to those that he is the ruler of. Another thing, far too many officials in our police stations, superintendents' offices and pass offices are rude, insulting and off-hand with law-abiding Bantu people who come to them for help and yet even the cruelest Bantu king in history respected law-abiding subjects for he knew that they were his shield against the spears of subversion and anarchy. Even in Shaka's time a law-abiding person was regarded as sacred, but in Soweto it is a brutal fact of life that law-abiding and loyal Bantu (20) suffer more than criminals do. Do you want to add to that? -- Yes, please. And I beg to add it at length. I am going to try and collect my English to make this as clear as possible. On the field of communication I wish to say again, as I said yesterday, that there is no true and meaningful communication between Black people and White people and I can defend this saying in the highest court on earth. First of all, when two people are talking, they must be fully frank with each other. They should not talk through masks, hiding their true selves behind a veil of pretence which is exactly what happens (30) today between Black and White in our country. I have said and I repeat/...

repeat again that our leaders in the townships and in the homelands only tell the White people what they feel the White man should know; they never tell him the truth and they also only tell him those things that they think would make sense to the White man. Also one of the strangest things in modern times is that we no longer have direct government of people, but indirect government of people. Now, I know that my words sound very strange, but what I am trying to say is this, that from the earliest times of human history, in the days when our forefathers still lived in caves, the ruler spoke (10) directly to his people and never through - indirectly. He gathered them around, those unwashed men of the caves and he told them and he laid down the law and until fairly recently this was also the way in our country. I remember clearly the late Dr Verwoerd, how he used to communicate with our people. He was not above gathering an indaba of people and addressing them straight and direct as a father does his children and thus we not only heard the ruler's words, but we felt his spirit and we understood them. But today our leaders, the White government, and our leaders of the homelands (20) and the urban areas have got a very strange habit of doing what I call speaking away from the people, that is, if he has got to address himself to people, as we expected recently the Honourable the Prime Minister to address himself to us, he will not talk to us, he will not direct his words to us, but he will speak to a group of people at some party rally. How does he expect us to respect his words? And our leaders have also got into this strange modern habit which is completely un-South African and completely mischievous. If you talk to people, talk to them straight, tell them where they get off the (30) train and tell them what you want them to do and not to do and

if/...

if they do not like it, tell them where to go straight. The Zulus respect and the Bantu people throughout Africa respect straight talk, direct talk man to man. But this thing is getting non-existent in our country, with the result that subversion is breeding. We are practically handing our country on a platter over to the terrorists. Why? A ruler does not lose any dignity by talking directly to his people. Even the mayor of a township like Soweto does not lose any dignity by talking directly to us. Communication, this is the problem of these times and I just do not know how (10) I can stress this enough. We must hear our rulers, we must feel them and smell them, respect them. How can we respect a man seated behind, in some obscure office, a man who rarely shows his face in the open, as some of our superintendents do in Soweto? For instance, I do not know my superintendent, my new superintendent in Zone 2. I do not even know who he is. How can I respect such a man, a shadow behind a glass door? And this is happening and in these days when the forces of subversion have become so sophisticated and cunning, contact between the ruler and the ruled, the king and the (20) subjects, is of the uttermost essentiality. But I do not know what has come over the world and I beg to remind the respected Commission this, that when civilisations are about to fall, they lose their humanity. The human touch is lost and the monster's touch shows itself.

CHAIRMAN: Although this is not the task of this Commission to investigate the particular sort of aspect which I am going to mention to you now, nevertheless there is some interest, there is a great deal of interest in it. It is realised that communication, that is communication in every country (30) which has become a large country, is a difficult matter, particularly/...

particularly the communication between those who form the government I shall say, in the general sense, and those who are the governed in the general sense. Now, according to you, it exists because there is a lack of understanding by the White man of the Black. But how is he to understand the Black if it is correct what you say, that the Black will not inform him of the true position, but only informs him of as much as he, the Black, thinks that the White ought to know? -- This is what fills my soul with sorrow, because it is one of the ugliest phenomena of our time that people should hide (10) their true self and yet at the same time expect justice, and yet as every man of the law knows very well that justice cannot be founded upon the lies and if I tell people the lies I will only reap the lies. Not only must the White people understand the Black people, must also the Black people understand the White man. Also nobody should ever call upon anybody else to sacrifice his principles any more than he expects - I have got some principles I try to live by and so has my neighbour. Now I must not call upon my neighbour to sacrifice his principles because even within the sphere of the most rigid principles (20) there is still room for mercy and for manoeuvre. This is what people do not understand and one thing which bothers me very, very greatly, it is the shameful obsession of South African people of all colours with politics. People have lost sight of what is a human problem and what is a political one. For instance, co-existence between races is not a political problem because this problem existed long before the first politician was born, stood on a rock and spoke through his fair-lined skin head. This is a human problem which needs to be tackled from the heart. Without it being so, political solutions of (30) any form or other will fail. Separate development will fail if/...

if it is not based on understanding. Even the integrationist policies of the Progressive Party or whatever party calls itself, will fail without proper communication and proper understanding and proper give and take on both sides. This is what is destroying great civilisations like America. Lack of communication between people and people, even men and wives who sleep on the same bed cannot, do not understand each other. It is too incredible.

Now I want to ask you to take the matter further. You have spoken about the governing person who should speak (10) to the governed person because that would bring about communication. But you know, times have changed. There is today a minister, be it the prime minister or any other minister, if he had to undertake to address only all the Black people of this country, he would start in the north and he would not reach the south until it was time for him to be re-elected to parliament after 5 years. How would you get past that difficulty? -- With respect, the Zulus have got one proverb that says: it is not necessary for the hunter to see the lion in order to wet his loin-skin with fear, he must just (20) hear him. I do not need to have to see the one who governs me in order to respect his words, I must hear him through Radio Bantu speaking directly from his office straight to us, not to some officials in some party rally.

And how many listen in when he speaks? The State President speaks once a year to all the people and separately to some; the Prime Minister does. How often do you hear on the wireless, if you listen, to the words of ministers or high-ranking officials coming through? Wouldn't that particular proverb of yours also apply if Mr Manie Mulder should get up at (30) a meeting and explain to you what the position is? Would that

be/...

be sufficient? -- No, no, it would not be sufficient. He must take time off to sit in his office and talk to us, not to other people who are not of us.

How do you get past that difficulty? Because must he speak from his office only to Zulus or only to the Zulus in Soweto or must he speak to the Zulus and the Basutos at a particular time or what must he do? -- The day has got 24 hours and, with respect, any politician who cannot spare an hour to address himself to either the urban Bantu or the rural Bantu, he just must hand in his pay ticket. (10)

And how does he - does he now in that hour which he has, you know, a man must sleep too. In that hour that he has set aside for this, must he then speak to individuals who come to see him in his office or must he speak to them by addressing a meeting in a particular area in which they live? And then, you see, he must select a time when the majority of the people are not working, which makes it even more difficult, doesn't it? -- That is so, that is why I will never be a politician or a ruler. They have got a hard job.

Be a humanitarian then. How would you then improve (20) the human aspect between say Whites and Blacks? -- I would start this thing from the lowest possible level and encourage what we used to have when I was young. I came to the Transvaal in the year 1935 and I worked with my father for an old Afrikaans gentleman who was called an 'oud-stryder'. He spoke the old Afrikaans which was called High Dutch and whenever we had a problem, we told Baas Derek. And I remember one time when a gang of cattle stealers came to steal some cattle on our farm and they caught Baas Derek alone, we all came out to defend him because he was our father. How shall we say? People (30) must contact each other more, whether they lead lives of separation/...

separation or whatever, they must remember they are people first and employers and employees afterwards. It is easy, it costs nothing and it pays much dividends. It is one bank where you bank nothing and you gain a lot of millions.

This is the next point I was coming to. When a man in Diepkloof goes to pay his rent, he comes to the offices just behind your house. Is that right? -- That is quite so.

And he stands in a queue and eventually when he comes to the window where he pays, who does he deal with on the other side? -- He deals with a very impossible chap behind the (10) grille and it is the Bantu clerk.

Is it a Bantu clerk? -- Yes.

Why does that make it more difficult for him than if he should there deal with a White one? -- I beg your Lordship's pardon?

Is it more difficult for him to deal with that Black clerk than it would be for him if it were a White clerk there? -- I think so because Bantu clerks have a habit of being utterly nasty for no reason whatsoever.

Is this part of - I think you have said before that (20) when you clothe a Black man and you give him a uniform, he takes up a certain attitude towards his fellow men. Is that right? -- That is quite correct.

Now, how does one then get over this difficulty? Because if you just have a machine there, should you just have a machine there, must you pay through a machine? I know you cannot talk to a machine, you cannot consult with a machine. -- This is true. What I feel is this, that the men above should kick the men below who must in return kick the backsides of the men below them, all along the line and make them behave more (30) decent. You see, what happens in places like offices of this,

that/...

that the superior takes it for granted that his men under him will work properly and he sits there in his office and never once does he lecture these subordinates of his about good behaviour towards their fellow people. Thus a man seated behind a desk, will see himself as an unchallengeable god, he will be abusive, he will even cause death. For instance, in Baragwanath I wish to tell this Commission an incident which has got impartial witnesses in the form of two doctors, one of them a surgeon. In 1967 I got very badly ill and my illness led to an attack of appendicitis and the doctor who was treating (10) me at that time advised me to be operated immediately and when he booked me a place at general hospital, he told me to report to general hospital on such and such a day and at such and such a time, not later, not earlier. I came to the general hospital, I told the Bantu clerk who was sitting with his head leaning against the wall with his feet on the table and with his hands behind the back of his head. I told him what I had come for and that this doctor had sent me and the clerk said, after rifling through a few papers in front of him: we have no records of you here, come back tomorrow. But the (20) records were in the cubicle immediately above his head and I went home, my illness grew worse, until I had to be taken by car on the following day to my doctor. My doctor was shocked. He said: why didn't you report to the general hospital as I told you? I told him that the clerk had not found my papers and the doctor took me to the general hospital and the papers were found directly in the cubicle above this man. This thing happens hundreds of times in hospitals and it is known to many people that the clerks at the counter in the hospitals are the masters of life and death over the helpless sick people. (30) This is abuse of power worse than any and yet because our people/...

people are afraid of speaking out and choose rather to hold their resentment within their hearts, nobody knows about this and yet it is a fact known to many. People have died on benches in Baragwanath because the clerks were indifferent to putting them in in time and the same occurs in office after office. Here in this book I have got something that I wrote, on two days in which I stood in an office in Meadowlands waiting for my permit stamp for the new reference book I had. I wrote the following words: A large majority of our people are the worst abusers of any power they get and no (10) amount of whitewashing will ever change this fact. Give a Black man a little power over fellow Blacks and you will see how evil he gets, how cruel and savage towards his own flesh and skin. Until this evil tendency is destroyed from the soul of the African human being, I see no hope whatsoever for my race. My Lord, our people need to be guided in all fields and at all times, not only by the White people over them, but also by the Black people over them. In Africa you must adopt a parent-child attitude towards your employees and not let them run loose and do damage to yourself and to themselves (20) and the people they are supposed to serve, but nobody pays attention to this thing.

I am asking you these questions because some of the complaints which you have of the treatment - I am talking generally now - of the treatment by officials, are very much the same as the complaints that Whites have of treatment meted out to them by officials. It is a human frailty that people clothed with authority who cannot take that authority, abuse it when they deal with their fellow men. You say it is somewhat different in this respect in that you are not (30) only dealt with in an incompetent and insolent manner, but also

in/...

in a degrading manner. Is that correct? -- That is quite correct. Sometimes a clerk will insult a Bantu woman for no reason and - or he will insult, like for instance I am wearing glasses. He will say: What is your name, Four Eyes? Now, there is no need for that and the sum total of this thing happening to thousands of Bantu people is this, that in the end our people blame the White man, the White government for things that are really not the fault of the government at all; for things that can be put right without any change in government and this thing must be handled firmly and with (10) resolution. It is really poisoning our country. Such a thing can be tolerated and recognised in a land with only one race, but in a multi-racial land it causes untold damage.

And that is because the action which breaks down the desire to communicate? -- Yes.

Is the action not necessarily of the White man, but it may also be that of the - of a Black man put in a position of authority and unless he is watched, then his attitude is an attitude which is ascribed to the White man. -- That is so.

Have I made my point clear? -- That is quite correct. (20) And if I may be so bold, with your permission, I wish to reveal something here that is completely new and which may surprise many people and which forms a stumbling block to the success of our government policy of separate development. May I?

You may. -- Thank you. First of all, many people wonder why it is that the majority of our people do not want to go to the homelands. Now, one reason or the other has been cited and pointed out, but there is one reason that many have avoided pointing out. Something that the government, as the father of our country, should take up with our homeland chiefs. (30) It is this, that there is a terrible suspicion amounting almost

to/...

to a hatred between the rural Bantu people and the urban Bantu people. There again we are still on the subject of communication. The people, say in Zululand, regard people from Soweto as troublemakers and agitators and although in theory and on paper everybody is welcome to come to any homeland he chooses, and settle there, in harsh brutal fact the rural local people do their best to keep the city dweller at arm's length and even if he does come and settle amongst them, they will subject him to all kinds of pressure until he runs back wence he came. This is a fact known by many. In fact it is just as hard (10) to go and settle in a homeland for a city Black man to go and settle in a homeland as it is for a rural Black man to come and settle in a city. For the last 18 years I have been trying to found a business in any homeland and I have failed. On one occasion out of sheer desperation, I wrote to the Honourable the Minister of Bantu Affairs. I have his letter still. He directed me to the B.I.C. who made a fool out of me. There is so much red tape that stands in our way, about which the government knows nothing. For instance, it is a fact known to many that in Kwa-Zulu today if I visit my relatives in (20) Zululand, the moment I set foot in my village, somebody has got to report my coming to the local chief. This thing is against African tradition, it is unnatural. A visitor is not a criminal. And until our people are made welcome in the homelands, the homeland policy will not be able to draw our people to the homelands from the city. This is a fact. In Bophutatswana they have a very uncomplimentary name for city dwellers who try to settle in Bophutatswana, they call them 'matula tsaratsha' that is the fence crawlers, strangers who jump over a fence and try and make themselves some of us. (30)

Still on this question of communication. What then is

the/...

the attitude of the rural community towards the man who works for a time in the city and then goes back? That is for example the man in the hostel. -- This man is looked upon as a hero, as one of the gang so to speak; he is of the people. He is not rejected as a man born and bred in a city would be rejected if he suddenly appeared amongst these rural people.

Is that because he comes from the rural area and he goes to work in the city and he comes back? -- That is quite so. He is one of us, so to speak.

So with him there would be communication. -- Yes, (10)
very much so.

He then would be in a little more - in a more difficult position to communicate with his fellows in the city. -- That is right. Because the truth of this is borne out by the recent disturbances between the hostel people and the residents of the township. There has always been hatred between these two groups, hatred which has over several years erupted into violence. In the 1950's there was a fight between the Dube Hostel inmates and some of the township residents. It has gone so on over a long period of time. (20)

If I understand your evidence correctly that you have given before, you say that this particular attitude of the residents and the hostel occupiers has been exploited by others such as the Black Power people? -- That is quite correct.

DR YUTAR: In fact the discussion between yourself and His Lordship takes charge of the next paragraph which I shall read therefore very quickly: Yet another grievance of long standing is one that there is too much unnecessary cruelty by clerks and nurses to patients in Soweto's clinics and in Baragwanath Hospital, and this ugly surprising fact is (30)
known to thousands of voiceless Bantu, and is directly behind

the/...

the burning of clinics and the attempted storming of Baragwanath Hospital by mobs in the recent riots. In the clinics in Soweto the reception clerk is the virtual master of life and death over patients who must of necessity pass before him and the same is true in Baragwanath, a hospital whose name smells in Bantu eyes. In the clinics and in this hospital our people are subjected to the same brutal bureaucracy that they are subjected to in prisons and in the pass offices and the Bantu clerks in these clinics and in Baragwanath are known far and wide for their arrogance, foul language and pettiness to the sick (10) and the helpless. And never once have I heard of any of these men who are doing incalculable harm to our country and upon whose shoulders the burning of the clinics squarely rests, having been reprimanded by his superiors. Another thing, it may surprise those who read these lines to learn that nurses take second place next to the police as the best hated people in our townships because a shocking majority of them use obscene language, are rude and savagely cruel to the sick and the helpless in their hands. This may sound a grossly libellous accusation to make, but I have evidence that can stand (20) in any court to back it up and I call on anyone who refuses to believe me, to send for me so that I may place this evidence in his hands, I beg for this in South Africa's name. I have unimpeachable White witnesses to an incident that nearly cost me my life, because of the laziness of a hospital clerk in the General Hospital in 1967, and I have two White officials of the West Rand Board as witnesses to a more recent incident in the Diepkloof Clinic where I was taken, hurt and bleeding only in May of last year. I also call upon anyone who refuses to believe me to conduct an independent survey amongst (30) Bantu people and he shall find what I say about clerks and nurses/...

nurses confirmed. There have been ugly things going on in Soweto for a long time about which the outside world knows nothing; things which are not due to government policy, but to Black man's inhumanity to fellow Black; things which the authorities could have stopped but which they never did.

There have been dangerous rumours flying about in Soweto for years which the authorities had never seen fit to squash and which contributed to the recent riots. And one of the rumours was that the White people had put a chemical that makes Bantu men impotent in the municipal Bantu beer which is brewed (10) by the City Council and sold in cardboard cartons. This story is known and believed by scores of Bantu in Soweto and shebeen queens use it to scare their clients off municipality beer.

And if you rule people in Africa, you must make all efforts to squash inflammatory tales such as these the moment you hear them and this is a truth that the White people in South Africa have never learned. You go on now to the PUTCO buses: Now, why did our people burn so many PUTCO buses? The answer is simple: the Putco Bus Company is thoroughly detested by our people because of the way it raises its fares ever so (20) often and also because of the evil treatment that some of its Black employees give to passengers. PUTCO bus drivers are not above assaulting passengers for very little or no provocation. PUTCO bus drivers are not above leaving passengers, anxious to get to work on time, standing simply because they, the drivers, have no small change. PUTCO bus drivers are reckless and dangerous drivers, especially at night when driving people to and from Soweto. Some PUTCO bus drivers are dishonest; they short-change passengers, assault them if they protest, especially on weekends and this has been going on for (30) years with nothing being done to stop it. Some PUTCO bus

drivers/...

drivers rob the very company that employs them; they give tickets to the passengers when the latter board the buses and then demand them back once more when the passengers alight and woe betide any passenger who refuses to hand the ticket back, then they re-sell these tickets to the next load of passengers and pocket the money. They do this especially after the rush-period has ended, when the inspectors are no longer there, and they do it often in the early evening on buses bound for the city from Soweto. PUTCO raises its fares ever so often, but does not improve its service. It is quite common to (10) find that some of the seats inside a PUTCO bus are broken and a danger to any person trying to sit on them. The interiors and exteriors of PUTCO buses are often filthy dirty and sometimes on weekends it is not uncommon to find vomit from some drunkard on the floor of the bus or upon one of the seats, and there is a belief in Soweto that one of the members of the PUTCO Bus Company is a member of parliament. PUTCO buses are rarely on time anywhere. I have stood in queues for hours on end without a bus coming to certain bus stops in Diagonal Street alone. Do you have anything to add to that? -- (20) No, nothing. I think it speaks for itself and this thing about the PUTCO buses is known to thousands of people throughout the Transvaal where this company operates.

You go on by way of conclusion: But what is the use? Of what is the use of cataloguing the grievances of my people if nothing ever gets done about them? So I shall stop now, it is late at night, and go to sleep. Our people have complained and complained, but their complaints fall on deaf ears, and even as I write these lines the rioting continues in Witbank, Middelburg and elsewhere. I ask again, of what use is it? (30) Now, you have there given some of the causes for the grievances, some/...

some of the grievances of your people and there have been suggestions in the press and elsewhere that the government policy of apartheid is one of the causes that have led to the riots. What have you to say on that? -- Unfortunately I cannot agree. I know this will not find favour in certain quarters, but I cannot agree. First of all, as I have said before, some of these grievances are not due to the policy of our government, they are due to carelessness on the part of both White people and Black and some of these problems have been in existence even before our government came to power and anybody with (10) a little knowledge of recent history can check this out for himself.

Now, I do not propose to ask you to explain further, but may I with the leave of the Court just read two little passages from your book, 'Africa is my Witness', first passage on page 318 and you can confirm it: There is a word that the world has grown to hate, and this is the Afrikaans word 'Apartheid'. This word in its proper Afrikaans sense really means the ability to tell different things apart, to recognise their apartness, the phenomenon of being able to distinguish between big (20) and small; blue and red; men and women; Mohammedan and Christian; or Friesland and Jersey cows. The reason why the world has come around to hate this word is because it has failed to grasp its true meaning. It is untranslatable into any of the languages I know. Even the English have no equivalent. 'Apartness' is what the dictionary lists, but it is not quite the same meaning. 'Distinctiveness' comes closer. But unfortunately the whole world has decided to translate it into discrimination, which is actually closer to being an antonym rather than a synonym of 'Apartheid'. Discrimina- (30) tion is to distinguish and decide which is best; Apartheid is to/...

to distinguish without deciding which is best. And then finally on page 319 you say this: Apartheid is what all the Bantu want, from the Transkei up to Nigeria and Ghana; no African State has yet declared itself willing to integrate wholeheartedly with its White settlers. Apartheid is what we want - but we do not want discrimination. This is what you wrote in 1966. -- Yes.

Do you still stand by it? -- I am standing by it. It threw me out from the writers' circles, I was thrown out into the cold, but you can say I am still standing by my (10) previous convictions.

Now just to round off, in consultation you made the following points and I will just read them and you only add to it if you want to, but briefly. There are seven in all.

(1) In need of recognition by our people of the many good things that have been done for them by our government in the form of slum clearance, health services, business and employment opportunities and homeland development; to compare the native reserves in the year 1935 with the homelands of today and the locations of 1936 with the townships of today. You do (20) not want to add to that, do you? -- If I may. First of all, our people have got a proverb which goes that although you may not approve of a visiting baboon's big nostril, you must be man enough to give him a handful of snuff to stuff up those nostrils. In other words, it says that although you may criticise you must never criticise destructively. Now, many of our people today have lost sight of some of the good things that the government has done for us under its policy and they have lost sight of the fact that only yesterday, as recently as the 1930's the reserves of Zululand and elsewhere (30) were worn with soil erosion, people were starting, there were

no factories nearby there. People had to go for miles and days to Johannesburg to look for jobs which they often did not find, but today we have got factories near Babelegi and Newcastle and elsewhere. Very often out of hatred people overlook the good that they have been done for them and yet if we are to call ourselves just and fair men, we must not overlook this. Another thing, I came to Johannesburg and the only beautiful township at that time was Orlando; it was new, it was beautiful, it was fairly clean as townships go, but we lived at Pimville. Now there was a dirty place. I would not (10) like to go into details, but it was just some of the houses were so flimsy, built of such old corrugated iron that in times of rain the mud from the streets flooded into the house, into the floors of the houses. But today we have got better housing.

CHAIRMAN: Are these points all in relation to why he - are they similar points to these?

DR YUTAR: They are in support thereof.

CHAIRMAN: I did go a bit off the track in dealing with communication, but does this add to these points which he does not believe that the difficulties which there are, are (20) difficulties which deal with legislation as such or with the policy of the government?

DR YUTAR: In fact they are just in support of them. Perhaps I could hand it in as an exhibit by way of an addendum, because they speak for themselves.

CHAIRMAN: Is there anything you wish to add to these particular points? Not that I do not want you to deal with them. If there is anything you wish to deal with there. But I would like to know whether there is anything you wish to add to them. You have given these 7 points. -- Yes, it is this that to (30) stress again that our people must think twice before setting

our/...

our country in flames. They must think of what has been done for them and they must also think of what they will lose. They must think of the sufferings that they will suffer. They have burned the clinics at this moment and pneumonia is rife in Soweto. Just now I have got two of my children very badly ill. Where are they going to go to? The clinics have been destroyed. Now it is so easy to destroy and so difficult to create. This I think our people ought to bear this in mind. Even before a criminal is executed, justice must be there. Even when a country must be destroyed, it must be destroyed from the (10) basis of justice, not just out of blind senseless vandalism and rage, which afterwards brings about the destruction of the destroyers. The vandals gained nothing from destroying roles(?), except a lot of hangovers and indigestion.

DR YUTAR: I propose to hand this in and then finally, you wrote to the Minister of Justice and sent him a memorandum of 17 pages. That memorandum covers what you wrote to the Secretary of this Commission. -- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: Which you have read from?

DR YUTAR: Yes, and therefore I just hand this in (20) together with the notes and this will be EXHIBIT 27.

CHAIRMAN: From what I have seen of that particular memo, it covers virtually the same field.

DR YUTAR: That is so. We have gone through it. There may be passages here and there which give us greater detail, but it covers the same subject. That then concludes my examination of this witness.

CHAIRMAN: Is there anything that you wish to add to what has been said and what you have been asked about? I should perhaps indicate that I do not intend asking you any more (30) questions at this stage, but if I should feel in the future that there/...

there is something more that I want to hear about anything that you appear to know about, I hope that you will be ready to talk to me about them; if I find that there is something which you can explain or may have some evidence of, would you be prepared to speak to me again? -- If people spoke to each other more, there would be no wars. I will be available whenever Your Lordship calls upon me. My last words would only be an appeal which I know nobody will heed, an appeal I will direct to our government, an appeal that goes over and above this present inquiry, please do something, stop this (10) senseless destruction of human life, stop it in the name of Christ and all that you believe in; stop it, not only for our sakes but for the sake of your forefathers and for the sake of those who in future years would sit on the throne of history and judge you by what you did and what you failed to do. More than this I cannot say. Thank you, M'Lord, thank you, doctor, thank you, sir.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, I think we should remind this witness that we have not insulted him today, we have not asked him to take the oath before he gave his evidence, but I am sure he (20) is prepared to swear that what he said is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

CHAIRMAN: Are you prepared to swear to that? -- I have spoken every word I have spoken, has been the truth as I have known it and those who wore this thing I am wearing, has heard me. I may not have earned the approval of men, I may have earned myself the grave, but there comes a time when the truth must be spoken, even if you have got to offend your own brother, your own father's child.

THE COURT ADJOURNS FOR LUNCH.

(30)

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE RIOTS AT
SOWETO AND OTHER PLACES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

AFTERNOON SESSION:

23rd SEPTEMBER, 1976.

VOLUME 13

(Pages 511 - 528)

THE COMMISSION RESUMES AT 2 P.M. ON THE 23rd SEPTEMBER, 1976.

MR VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, I intend to call Mr Langa Daniel Skosana, a reporter from 'The Star'.

LANGA DANIEL SKOSANA: sworn states:

MR VAN GRAAN: You are a reporter from 'The Star'. -- That is correct.

Do you live in Soweto? -- That is right.

On the 16th June, 1976, shortly after 9 a.m., you accompanied a White female reporter to Pfeni Junior Secondary School. Is that correct? -- That is correct. (10)

What was the purpose of your assignment? -- The purpose of our assignment was to go and interview some of the pupils at Pfeni Junior Secondary School.

At what time more or less did you arrive at Pfeni School? -- We got there more or less at 9,30 in the morning.

CHAIRMAN: On what date was that? -- On the 16th.

MR VAN GRAAN: What did you find on your arrival there? -- When we arrived there we found pupils of Pfeni Secondary School standing outside the school yard. The White lady I was with, Miss Lucy Goughberger, wanted to speak to some of them (20) and as we were standing outside, a teacher from the school came to us and told us to move away, because there was a crowd of children from Naledi High approaching from the western side of Vilakazi Street.

Sorry to interrupt you. Can you perhaps tell the Chairman of the Commission, what did you discuss with the teacher? -- We did not discuss much with the teacher. The people who wanted to speak to the students at the school, he came to us when he saw us talking to the students.

And you said that there was a crowd approaching the (30) Pfeni School? -- That is correct. It was approaching from the western/...

western side of Vilakazi Street and we moved towards this crowd, but, you know, the teacher told us to move away. So we decided to go into the school yard at Orlando West High which is adjacent to Pfeni Junior Secondary School. We got into the school yard, the crowd of students got closer to the school. The woman reporter started photographing the students as they were marching down.

I am sorry to interrupt you again, but can you perhaps at this stage describe that crowd? In other words, can you tell us, were they mainly adults or school children? -- It was (10) mainly school children who were carrying placards and singing the national anthem, 'Nkosi Sikalele Afrika'. They came down marching and as she was taking photographs of the crowd, some of them got near the fence of the school and shouted at her to stop taking pictures. Some got into the school yard and they were quite happy, you know, and singing. As they approached our car, some of the pupils, mostly boys, told her to get out. She told them that she is a reporter on an assignment from The Star . They said they do not want White people there, they want a Black reporter to cover the demonstration. At that (20) moment I got into the principal's office of Orlando West High. There I tried to - you see, the trouble was I was kind of in a difficulty. I wanted to phone the police, I did not know whether to phone the office to tell them what was happening. I got out again from the school, because when I tried to dial to Orlando, there was no reply from the exchange. I got out of the principal's office, to find the group still surrounding her and telling her to get out of the school yard. I tried to speak to some of the students to say no, this is a reporter, I am a reporter, do not bother her, she has come to speak (30) to some of the students. Then the mood more or less turned,
you/...

you know, to that of anger, but there were a number of school kids, mostly women school kids who were laughing and giggling. She got into the car and they told her to get out of the school yard so she drove off. In the meantime I got out of the school yard because there were so many of these students about, I could estimate them at something like 10 000 or about 12 000 at that moment near Orlando West High. They had congregated there and they had been joined by people from Pfeni Junior Secondary School and some other schools there who had marched on to Pfeni. I went out of the school yard and I was more (10) or less 5 yards outside the school yard among the pupils. Then I noticed police cars, about 5 of them on the western side of Vilakazi Street. They were parked, I think there were about 3 police cars, a van and these small police vans. There were a number of pupils who were standing at a koppie from Orlando West High away from where the police were.

Where is that koppie situated? -- Next to Orlando West High just next to Orlando West High, about 2 or 3 yards from the school.

So at that stage how far were you from the police (20) vehicles? -- I would say something like 20 yards.

The front line of the crowd, what was the distance between them and the policemen? -- Something like 10 yards.

Proceed. -- As I was standing, talking to some of the students, I was not too near where the police were. I heard a shot and then I saw students starting to scatter around and, you know, in the confusion I started running too. I did not know what was happening. Just at that instant pupils started picking up stones and throwing them at the police.

Can I interrupt you at this stage please? Is it (30) possible for you to describe the conduct of the police at that moment/...

moment? After the first shot or just before the first shot. -- Before the first shot, you see, it is difficult for me to do so because I was about 20 yards from them and there was a group of children around me, but then I could see some of them got out of the police vans and they were standing there.

Did you hear if the police warned the crowd to disperse? -- No.

Did you hear any other noises? -- The students were just talking and that was the noise.

If they did warn the students, would it be possible (10) for you to hear them? -- Definitely I would have heard them.

Could you perhaps see if one of the policemen was in possession of a loudspeaker? -- I did not see any loudspeaker.

So you cannot tell us if they did use it. -- No, they did not use a loudspeaker, I would have heard it.

You may proceed. -- Just after the first shot I saw students starting to throw stones at the police and the police started firing directly at the students and there was just pandemonium. Students running around and scattering and I jumped over the church wall fence because the police were (20) firing directly at us.

I know you have said that you did not have a clear view, and I know it is going to be perhaps difficult to answer this question, but can you perhaps tell the Chairman was there some stone throwing before the first shot? -- I did not see any because I did not have a clear view. I did not see any.

Is it possible that there was stone throwing? -- Well, yes, it is quite possible.

Did you perhaps see a baton charge before the first shot? -- Definitely not. (30)

Did you perhaps see if any police made use of teargas? --

No, definitely not, I did not see that.

You may proceed. -- As we started scattering, the police now moved there from their position from the west side of Vilakazi Street into another adjacent street. They were moving and firing at the students who were jumping fences into yards and I sheltered myself behind this wall fence and watched from the side. The police moved away to a distance of about I could say 70 yards from where the main body of demonstrators was, and then they returned again still firing and at that moment I jumped over the fence into the street, as the police (10) were passing and I ran behind the police line and the students continued throwing stones at the police. At that time I was behind the police line and one of the stones hit me. Now I was caught between the police fire and the stones from the students, you know, I was just in the middle. Then the only thing I could do was to jump over the church fence again and watch from there. They returned again towards the same point where they had gone to, that was Pfeni, towards Uncle Tom's Hall in Pfeni where they had parked again. More stones were thrown at the police at that point, but I was watching (20) from a point about 50 to 70 yards from where they were.

How far is that point where they parked about? -- As I say 70 yards from the point where I was standing before the first shot was fired.

But how far was that point where they parked from the Orlando West High School? -- It is about 70 yards.

You may proceed. -- From there, you know there was this running battle between the students and the police. Most of the windscreens of the police cars were damaged. I must say at this stage that as the police were firing I did not (30) see any student fall down or being hit by a police bullet and I started/...

started running up and down to see if there is anybody who is injured or some such thing, because I did not have a car at the time, my car had gone away with the other woman reporter. So I kept running up and down the area.

You did not see anybody who got wounded? -- Wounded who was shot down by the police. The thing is this, there was a man who was in a Valiant motor car, who claimed that he was carrying three students to hospital with bullet wounds on the legs. That is what he claimed. I did not examine whether the people really had been shot or not. (10)

Did you perhaps have an interview with the pupils of the Orlando West High School before - or other schools, before the date of these ... -- The whole trouble started on the 17th May this year and on the 18th I went to the school to interview some of the students as to the reason why they are boycotting classes and I spoke to them and I was told that, you know, it was just a spontaneous boycott because they are being forced to read mathematics and social studies in Afrikaans which subjects they find difficult to understand in Afrikaans. And thereafter I went to speak to the Chairman of the School Board to ask why is Afrikaans enforced in this particular school, that is Pfeni Junior Secondary School and he told me that it is a departmental ruling that this school must carry on its lessons in mathematics and social studies in Afrikaans.

CHAIRMAN: Do you know from when this had started? -- From the 17th May.

No, when did the teaching in Afrikaans have to start? -- The teaching in Afrikaans started in January.

January of this year? -- The beginning of the academic year.

MR VAN GRAAN: With this background of boycotting in mind, would you say that the clash in front of the Orlando West (30)

High School could be seen as a bickering(?) incident of the events in Soweto? -- That is correct.

Can you perhaps give the Chairman some information about the role that thugs played during the events? -- The thugs, the tsotsi element I could say took over on the afternoon of June the 16th when a number of bottle stores had been broken into and liquor looted. There was general drunkenness in the streets and the motive of the tsotsis were to rob and to loot. They were not connected whatsoever with the demonstration by the students. This was clearly shown the following day (10) because most of the students had not gathered at school. Now it was the tsotsi element that had gone on the rampage.

Did you see any children who had taken part in the looting of the bottle stores and the beer halls? -- Mostly it was the adults that were taking part. I would say one or two children, one or two.

I have nothing further to ask Mr Skosana. I do not know if he wants to elaborate on some specific aspects.

CHAIRMAN: The placards, whether he saw anything on the placards. Now the placards, can you remember anything (20) that you saw written on the placards? -- I cannot recall precisely what was written on the placards, but what I understand, they were to do with the enforcement of Afrikaans.

With the language trouble. -- That is right.

A matter about which I have had some evidence. Did you see at any stage the Black Power sign being given? -- Yes, I did.

Can you remember when did you first see that? -- That was after the first shots were fired. You know, after the confusion, when there was this running battle between students and the police. Even in the afternoon taxis who were passing (30) through had to give the Black Power salute.

Taxis/...

Taxis - persons in motor cars? -- Persons in motor cars had to give the Black Power salute to be given a way to pass through.

Is there anything further you wish to bring to my attention?

MR VAN GRAAN: No, M'Lord. -- I would like to make a further addition. This concerns the role played by the police at the time, that is before the demonstration.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, what do you want to tell me? -- The police can be criticised here because I think they could have (10) contained the students at .. (intervenes)

Where was this? At the Orlando West School? -- No, at the schools from where they had marched from, instead of letting them to congregate in large numbers at a particular school.

Letting them march to other schools and join up? -- No, not leaving them to march but to restrain them from marching and let them remain demonstrating in their particular schools.

In their particular area at their particular schools? -- That is right. I say this because this would have (20) avoided a lot of bloodshed. There is also this nagging feeling, I also have this nagging feeling that if it were White children that congregated in such large numbers there would not have been so much shooting taking place.

CHAIRMAN: Why do you say that? Did anything happen in particular ... -- What I think is that the police should have used sophisticated methods of controlling the crowds, you know. Like I have seen methods being used overseas like, in cases like Japan where they covered themselves in armour and, you know, it is like, in cases like, I have seen photographs (30) of the rioters in Ulster and I think such methods should have

been employed.

I was more concerned with your, when I asked the question, with your statement that if they were White, there would not have been so much shooting. Do you think other methods would have been employed if there had been ... -- That is correct, that is my feeling.

When you went there that morning, did you know that there was going to be demonstrations or marches? -- I had heard the previous day from the office that there was going to be a demonstration, a march. (10)

And that the marchers would congregate at a certain place? -- That is correct.

Did you know whether they had obtained permission for these marches or not? -- I do not know about that.

You did not know at that stage. -- At that stage whether permission had been granted for the march.

Do you have any idea how far some of these groups of children had marched? -- Like from?

Yes, from some of ^{the} schools, how far some of them had come? -- I would say Naledi High is about 3 miles from Pfeni (20) Junior Secondary and Morris Isaacson is about 2 miles from their congregating point.

Did you know that the congregation point was going to be there where you arrived? -- When I arrived?

No, did you know beforehand that they were going to congregate there at that particular place where you went to? -- That is correct.

Did you suspect that there would be any violence? Had you heard about this? -- I did not suspect any violence. That is the reason why I even went with a White woman reporter. (30)

The reason why? -- I say that is the reason why I even went/...

went with a White woman reporter.

I am not concerned about why you went there, but from what you knew, you did not expect violence. -- I did not expect any violence.

Not even when you saw the meeting there, when you saw the crowds coming on there? -- No violence whatsoever.

Now, one further matter. When you come to the sophisticated methods, you have seen pictures, you say, of these other -- the shields that were used. Do you know whether the police are equipped with that sort of thing here? -- I am not (10) aware.

But you did not see any teargas because you were busy. -- Yes.

Or a baton charge.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, I want to call the second witness, Mr Fanyana Lawrence Shiburi.

FANYANA LAWRENCE SHIBURI: sworn states:

ADV. VAN GRAAN: You are a reporter from The Star? -- That is correct. (20)

You were assigned by the News Editor to cover the events taking place on the 16th June, 1976, in Soweto. Is that correct? -- Yes.

Did you have to join some of your colleagues in Soweto on that day? -- Yes, Langa Skosana and Harry Mashabela were already in Soweto when I joined them.

When did you actually join them? -- It was approximately it was shortly after 10,30 a.m. when I arrived at the scene.

Can you just make this clear: did you join them later during the afternoon or as soon as you arrived there? -- (30) I met them in the afternoon, later that is shortly after 1,15

in the afternoon. I did not meet them at the spot of these disturbances when I arrived.

When did you arrive in the Orlando area? At what time? -- I arrived there, as I say, shortly after 10. I left the office at about 10.

Can you explain which route you followed to the Orlando area? -- I was advised by my news editor that I should not take the Baragwanath or the New Canada road because apparently there were some disturbances there, so I went along the Soweto road past Mzimhlope Hostel towards the Meadowlands - in (10) fact I went past the Meadowlands Police Station into Mapetla(?) Garage.

So in other words, you approached the Orlando area from the east-western side? -- That is correct.

Can you perhaps tell the Chairman of the Commission what did you observe when you arrived in the Orlando area? -- When I arrived at the Mapetla Garage, this is a garage opposite Maponya Store, I observed the students' activities there. There were a lot of students coming from the road opposite my direction which was, I was facing the west and they were (20) coming from the west and from the south, chanting slogans and most of them were in cars, in taxis and Combis and they had the Black Power sign.

Did you observe anybody carrying placards? -- Not at that stage.

Can you proceed? -- I then parked my car just below the robot next to Mapetla Garage and walked down the road towards Pfeni Station.

I am sorry to interrupt you. M'Lord, there is a sketch attached to this report by Mr Shiburi. This sketch (30) was explained by him to me and I want to hand it in as

EXHIBIT 28. You may refer to this sketch that is also attached to your report when you give further evidence. -- I walked from Mapetla Garage towards the Pfeni Station.

CHAIRMAN: Just one moment. Is that garage on the - I see here is a Maponya Garage - Maponya Shop. You haven't marked the garage - oh, yes, I see it. Mapetla Garage. Did you park your car there? -- That is right.

And then you walked? -- I walked towards the Pfeni Station.

Did you go along that road which is marked here or not? --
I went along that road. (10)

Along that road. Yes? -- Before I reached the station, I met some people, I think they were students, although they were in private clothes. They told me to return because police were coming from the same direction towards which I was going, that is they were coming from Uncle Tom's Hall up towards the station. Well, I did not do that and then proceeded down towards Pfeni Station. I went past Pfeni Station and there was still a lot of student activity there, that is they were marching, they were coming from Pfeni, around Pfeni area where apparently they had clashed with the police and then (20) they were coming, some of them were running and others were in the cars as I have said before. And then when I reached the Pomelong Clinic I stopped there, I could not go any further, because there were a lot of students around that area. I decided to wait there to see what was going on and to watch if the police were coming.

You were expecting the police now from Uncle Tom's Hall?
-- That is right, from that direction.

Yes? -- The purpose of my standing there was to run for cover at the clinic in case the police come and there (30) are any clashes in that area. As I waited, I saw a West Rand

Board vehicle driven by a White man. I cannot say exactly where it came from because when it reached that point, there were a lot of students milling around there and they started stoning the car and before then .. (intervenes)

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Was that point that you are speaking about opposite that clinic? -- That is right, it was opposite the clinic.

CHAIRMAN: There is a street coming in opposite the clinic? -- That is correct.

Yes? -- And then the vehicles apparently trying to (10) avoid knocking down any of the children because there were many of them, bumped onto the pavement shown on the drawing here and then it skidded over there and before it could perhaps swing back into the road, I saw the front windscreen being shattered by a huge stone which was thrown by a student coming from the direction of that road as shown on the diagram and the car stopped and apparently it stalled, I do not know, I am not sure, because I was about 20 yards from the scene.

You were on the other side of the street. -- On the other side of the street. And as it stalled, the students - (20) I mean many students started throwing stones at the car and I saw at least 10 of them dragging the official, the White man out of that car and then assaulting him. A lot of stone throwing was done over that area and it must have lasted for 3 minutes. Afterwards they left him and he appeared to me from that position to be dead.

Was he lying on the ground then? -- That is right, he was lying on the ground and I saw three students carrying a dustbin from the nearby houses, because the car was parked right in front of a house on the road. I saw students carrying (30) this dustbin and pouring ash over the body and then from there I had/...

had to run away from the scene because police - in fact, as I stood there, police went past, but I do not think they were aware of this incident because they went past that area without stopping.

They did not see the body lying there? -- Yes, I do not think they saw the body because there were a lot of students obscuring that place at that stage. And then from there I went back along the same road which I came, towards the Mapetla Garage where my car was parked and when I reached that point there were still a lot of student activity in that (10) area.

Now this was behind the police. The police had passed now ahead of you? -- That is correct.

Yes? -- Then I decided to take my car away from opposite Mapetla Garage and park it in front of Maponya Store and after parking my car, I observed another brown Valiant driven by a White man, coming from the direction of Dube, as shown on the diagram.

From the Dube Hostel side? -- From the Dube Township. And I think the driver must have realised that he would not (20) be able to pass through that crowd of students and instead of going down the road which I had used earlier, he turned at the robot, he turned left at the robot and he apparently was not aware that there were other mobs on the opposite side of the garage, that is across the railway bridge. And then at that point they stoned his car.

So did he go over the bridge? -- He went over the bridge and as he went over the bridge, his car was stoned and it appeared to me the people who stoned his car, they were not students because they were in private clothes and most of (30) them were dirty, were in dirty clothes. His front windscreen

was shattered and the rear windscreen was also shattered, but he did not stop, he drove on past the crowd towards the direction of Meadowlands Police Station.

Meadowlands would be to the top of this drawing. -- That is right. Towards that direction. I do not know then what happened to him.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Did you see people trying to put some buildings or cars on fire? -- No, most of the buildings I saw, in fact I found been on fire and it was alleged that they were burned by students. I did not observe any buildings (10) being burned in my presence.

So after that, what happened after that third event where they - second event where they tried to stone the white motorist? -- I will ask Your Lordship to repeat that question.

CHAIRMAN: What happened after they stoned the Valiant that was driven off? -- The students came towards Maponya Store and I then tried to contact - in fact before then I had tried to get in touch with the office through the car radio, the two-way radio we use in our car, to tell them about this incident where a White man had been killed by the students and then (20) I moved away from Maponya Store to Klipspruit where I phoned them again to tell them what happened.

How did you get out? You are now at Maponya Store and your car was it facing towards the robot? -- No, it was facing away from the robot.

And you used that street to get out? -- Yes, I used that street towards the north. I drove towards Dube Township.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: When and where did you meet Harry Mashabela? -- I did not meet Harry Mashabela on that day, in fact I met him at the office. I met Langa Skosana shortly after (30) 1,15 at the Orlando Post Office where he had been in touch with

the office and told them that he needed a car.

CHAIRMAN: What time do you think it was more or less when - now let me take the centre incident of all these incidents, it was probably when you were standing outside the clinic, what time was that about? -- I think it must have been about 10,55.

Just before 11? -- That is right.

Well, perhaps you can take it from the time you got to - was it from Diepsloot that you phoned? -- I phoned from Klipspruit. (10)

From Klipspruit, I am sorry. -- That is right.

Can you remember what time you got there? -- I got there about 12,50.

That would depend how long it took you through the crowds of course. -- I did not in fact drive away from Naponya Store to Klipspruit because I had to wait and see if there were any more activities in that areas. I do not know how long I waited there, but I remember well that I started phoning the office at 12,50.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: At what time did the looting and the (20) burning of buildings start? -- The burning of buildings apparently started shortly after two, but the looting we observed, that was myself and Langa, took place after four and this looting was done not by the students but by the tsotsi element who were now sort of I can say, exploiting the situation. They had taken over from the students and they were now running up and down the streets with bottles of liquor in their hands and I remember one of them even offered us liquor, but we did not take it.

CHAIRMAN: During the morning incidents, you know that (30) is the incident at Pfeni Station and at the clinic and at the

shop at Maponya Store, did you see any drunkenness or what you could say was drunkenness by anybody in the streets? -- I did not see any at that stage. I am of the opinion that it was still early and the looting of bottle stores had not started at that stage.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Did anything occur on the 17th, the following day? -- Yes, on the 17th we observed a lot of activity in Diepkloof where students at Madibani High School had apparently marched to Orlando, to the Orlando area where they were to meet students from Orlando High and proceed in their (10) march which was apparently started the previous day and we observed a lot of looting in Diepkloof and we also observed the burning of the Orlando East Office. We found it in flames; there were police on guard at that office. And we also observed looting in Tladi, Jabulani, Chiawelo and Mapetla Township and these were bottle stores.

Did you see any students taking part in the looting on the 17th? -- Most of the people who were looting the bottle stores were others. There were very few young people among them, there could have been about 3 to 4 amongst those (20) we saw.

Did you perhaps see so-called leaders motivating the people on the 16th or on the 17th? -- Not at all.

M'Lord, I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN: Did you see any placards being waved by people, by the students who were marching? -- On which day?

On any of the two days. -- Not at all.

Did you see anybody give a sign, the Black Power sign? -- Yes, in fact I would say it was a passport to pass through the mobs which were milling around the streets. The (30) drivers, particularly those of taxis, had to raise their fists

in/...

in the Black Power sign to pass through the crowd and those who did not show the sign, had their cars damaged.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

DR YUTAR: There is a third witness, but it has been considered advisable to call him at a later stage because he deals with the riots on the East Rand and to maintain some order, we prefer not to call him this afternoon, if it suits Your Lordship.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS.
