

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

AFTERNOON SESSION:

7th OCTOBER, 1976.

VOLUME 24

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THE COMMISSION RESUMES AT 2 P.M. ON THE 7th OCTOBER, 1976.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, the first witness this afternoon is Raymond Strike Moroane. The witness will give evidence with regard to the riots in Atteridgeville on the 21st June and on other relevant aspects.

CHAIRMAN: Is it correct that this witness and others are witnesses who were mentioned yesterday who are under arrest?

ADV. VAN GRAAN: That is correct.

CHAIRMAN: And they are to be charged. Have they been in court yet on certain allegations? (10)

ADV. VAN GRAAN: They have appeared in court and the case has been postponed.

CHAIRMAN: I would like to explain something to you and this goes for the other two as well. If you do not understand please just ask me. In a document which was placed before the Court yesterday, it appeared that you were prepared to give evidence about certain aspects of the unrest. The - I will not call it the difficulty, but the situation is that you are standing trial at the moment. Now it is for that reason that I had asked that contact should be made with your attorney (20) who represents you and I have also asked that he should be here today and he is here. He is here to protect your interests. As far as any questions that may be put to you or anything that you may say, I want you to understand the following facts: this is not a Court where anybody is charged. This is an investigation into what happened in these riots and it is also an investigation into the causes of these riots and at the end of the hearing of all the evidence I shall make a report, I shall not find anybody guilty or say anybody is innocent. It will be a report of what had happened and what the reason (30) for it was. Your trial comes on at another time and in another place/...

place. You are making a statement today under oath and therefore it is necessary that I should tell you that you need not answer any question put to you, particularly if you think that that question would incriminate you or would make the case against you worse. I think that your attorney, to whom I shall speak in a minute, will also be there to indicate that a question - the answer to a question may perhaps incriminate you and he will then draw the Court's attention to that. But I want to hear a witness who is willing to give his evidence and that you are, you are willing to give evidence, but (10) I do not want you to walk into a trap perhaps. Furthermore, although this will be published in the newspapers, I can assure you that as far as the Commission is concerned, whatever you say here will not be used in prosecution. Is there anything that you wish to ask which is not quite clear? Perhaps you had better wait until I have spoken to your attorney. You are representing these three men. Is that correct?

ATTORNEY: That is so, M'Lord.

CHAIRMAN: What is your name?

ATTORNEY: My initials are S.K.S. Makhambeni. (20)

CHAIRMAN: You have heard what I have explained to these men. Do you think that is sufficient or is there anything more you would like me to say to them?

MR MAKHAMBENI: I do not think there is anything more I would like M'Lord to add.

CHAIRMAN: Now if you would just draw Mr Van Graan's attention to any particular question he may ask which you think that the question may incriminate the witness in his trial which is to follow.

MR MAKHAMBENI: I shall do so. (30)

CHAIRMAN: Is there anything you wish to ask me? -- No.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, there is an exhibit in front of you. I want to show it to the witness and ask him if he knows anything about it. It is EXHIBIT 58.

RAYMOND STRIKE MOROANE: sworn states:

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Do you know anything about that document in front of you? -- Yes.

Can you tell us what you know about it? -- This document we wrote it to Lieutenant Uytendogaardt. For us to write it, it was a cloak for us to be released. Uytendogaardt was assaulting us. Our arrest was unlawful. He was assaulting (10) us that we must tell - we must write on the statement what he wants. Well, he told us that he is a member of the Commission of Inquiry. Then we wrote to him this in order to be released.

What do you say about the contents of that document? -- Well, the external grievances, they are the cause of the riots that had erupted in the townships.

And where you refer to the internal grievances what do you say about those statements that you made? -- Internal grievances are the grievances which can be solved in the school by our teachers. They have nothing to do with the riots. (20)

Did the lieutenant also tell you to write the internal grievances down? -- I beg your pardon?

Did the lieutenant tell you to write the internal grievances down on the paper? -- Yes.

Did you take part in a demonstration in Atteridgeville on the 21st June, 1976? -- Yes, I took part.

Can you explain how the demonstration started on the morning of the 21st June? -- Yes, on the morning of the 21st June the students of Hofmeyer High School started at 7 o'clock. They went out of the school and they went to other schools (30) to collect other students to demonstrate peacefully.

Can you name some of the other schools? -- Flavius Mareka, Flavius Mareka High School, Dr D.F. Nkomo Secondary School and the whole primaries of Atteridgeville and Saulsville.

Who went to the other schools, teachers or students? -- No, only students.

And what did they tell to the students of the other schools? -- Pardon?

What did they tell to the students of the other schools? -- Myself I was behind, I could not even get into the yard of the other schools. I just saw many of the students going (10) out of the yard and going to the other schools.

Did you perhaps see any placards at your high school? -- Yes.

Can you perhaps remember what was written on some of the placards? -- Some - on some of the placards were written - I still remember the one which was written "Why slaughter young Africa."

CHAIRMAN: What was written on it?

ADV. VAN GRAAN: "Why slaughter young Africa." Did that slogan refer to a particular event? -- Yes, it referred (20) to a Soweto event.

Were the pupils or the scholars aggressive when you gathered there at your high school? -- No, they were not aggressive.

What did they intend to do? -- They intended to march peacefully, but when the police interfered, they got angry and started destroying the government buildings.

But where did you intend to march to? -- Pardon?

Where did you want to march to? To a particular place or a particular school? -- Well, I do not know because (30) I was also following.

Who/...

Who were you following? -- Mostly it was the students of my high school where I attend.

Do you mean senior students? -- Well, I can say the whole students. I even asked one whether we are going to destroy the government buildings. He said no, this is not a violent demonstration, it is just a peaceful demonstration.

Now, where did you first meet the police on the morning of the 21st? -- Well, the police came whilst we were at the Flavius Mareka Secondary School.

How far is that school from your own high school? (10)
-- From Hofmeyer High School it is one kilometre away.

What happened when you met the police there? -- The students were all in the streets and the police vehicles came in a terrible speed. Some students shouted and those who were in the street, they got off the street and started throwing stones at the police vehicles.

Did the police shoot at you at that stage? -- No, at that stage the police did not shoot.

Is there perhaps any other reason why the scholars started throwing stones at the police? -- Well, I think that (20)
from one vehicle where the police started to get off the vehicle, the students were angry to see the police having batons, going on them. So they thought that the police would threaten them. So they resorted to force.

Did the police warn the students to disperse? -- No, the police did not warn the students to disperse.

What happened after that baton charge? -- After that the police went away and the other students marched to Atteridgeville - we were in Saulsville, they marched to Atteridgeville and myself too, I marched to Atteridgeville, where I (30)
saw the reinforcement of the hippo's and some of the police vehicles/...

vehicles, then I went to my home.

Did you perhaps see if a bottle store near that place where you had seen the police reinforcements, was looted? -- Yes, I saw it. There were some people or some loafers who incited students to stone the bottle store and set it on fire.

Why do you refer to them as loafers? -- Because they are not working. They are people who are staying at home, they do not go to work.

And were they students? -- No, they are not students.

Did the loafers loot the bottle store? -- Yes, (10) they looted it and it was already set on fire when the students started attempting extinguishing the fire.

In what manner did they try to extinguish the fire? -- The bottle store is not so far from the houses. So the students got buckets filled with water to extinguish the fire.

Did the students join the loafers to loot the bottle store? -- Only a few.

Do you know what the name of the bottle store is? -- The name of the bottle store is Vemba Bottle Store.

Can you tell what happened after that event? -- (20) Well, after this event, when I saw the reinforcements of the police, I went to my home because I feared that I would be shot.

Did you observe or did you perhaps take part in any other demonstrations at Atteridgeville? -- Yes.

When? -- It was on the 11th September.

Why did the students demonstrate on that date? -- On this date the students demonstrated in sympathy to the late Irene Phalatsi who was shot by the police.

When was she shot? -- She was shot on the 12th August in the school premises. (30)

Was that a peaceful demonstration? -- Well, it was not

a demonstration. It is the police who provoked it. It was at break we were eating at the Mareka shop. The White policemen came with batons and tried to call some of the bigger boys who attended school with us. Well, the boys whom the police called, did not want to go to the police, but they ran away. Then after that I went to my home, it was at break, and when I came back, I saw a hippo and some few police vehicles outside the school yard and the students were in the premises. I was away, but I could see, I could hear the shots fired by the police. The police fired until I saw a car which belonged (10) to a teacher, getting out of the gate of the school. There it was stopped by the police. Then I understood that one was shot.

Who is that one that you refer to? The teacher? -- No, not the teacher, a student. She was shot and she was taken to the hospital. She was admitted to the hospital until she died on the 13th.

Where was that child shot? -- She was Irene Phalatsi.

Yes, but where was she shot? -- The place or the point?

The place which she was shot. -- She was shot in (20) the school premises.

CHAIRMAN: Her own school? -- Yes, her own school.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Who carried that girl away? -- I do not know whose teacher took her, but I only saw a car which belonged to a teacher. I could not see the driver because I was a distance away from the spot.

When was the funeral of this Irene Phalatsi? -- The funeral of Irene Phalatsi was on the 11th September.

After the funeral, did you also meet the police? -- No, after the funeral the students marched from the graveyard (30) to the police station. When they reached there, I heard a shot

because/...

because I was not in front. I was at the back of the other students. I heard a shot and I went to my home and later on that evening I understood that the Administration Board was set on fire and the police station was stoned and the bus was set on fire too. And on the same Sunday in the morning, the police came to my home to fetch me. When I reached the police station, the police threatened me and said that I was taking part in setting the building on fire.

Why did the pupils march to the police station after the funeral? -- I think it was in sympathy to Irene and there (10) were placards raised by the students on which I saw "Liberty and Freedom for us all." The other one was written: "300 years is more than enough."

Now, what did they want to do at the police station? -- I think their aim was to stone it and set it on fire.

Why do you say so? -- Because they were stopped by the police to do it and where there were many police at the Bantu Administration Board, the place was gutted by fire.

I want to withdraw that last question. Mr Makhambeni informs me that he is not satisfied with that question. (20)

CHAIRMAN: All right, you need not answer that question.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Who is the principal of the school where the girl was shot? -- Pardon?

Who is the principal of the school where the girl was shot? -- The principal of the school is Mr Moseneke.

And who is the principal of your own school? -- The principal of my own school is Mr S.S. Maboia.

CHAIRMAN: There are just a few questions I want to ask you to get the picture. What is your age? -- My age is 19.

Before you went on this first march, remember the (30)
one you told us about on the 21st June, you had heard of the
unrest/...

unrest in Soweto? -- Yes, I heard about it.

And you had heard that they had demonstrations about language medium in school. -- Yes.

And that it resulted riots. -- Yes.

People were shot and other people were stoned and places were set on fire. -- Yes.

How many of you went from your school to the other schools? Have you got any idea? -- I think the students who marched from our school to the other school were about 500.

You say you were at the back? -- Yes, I was at the (10) back.

Could you see and hear everything that happened in front? -- No, I could not.

These batons were they withdrawn? Did the police hit with them or what happened? -- I beg your pardon?

The batons that the police had, did they use them? You know the batons, the sticks that the police had. -- The batons?

Ja. -- No, they did not use them.

They did not use them? -- Yes. But they intended to use them. (20)

But they intended to use them? -- Yes, they were stopped by the students when the students threw stones to them.

The students thought they wanted to use them. Did I hear you correctly that you say that loafers incited the students to stone the beerhall? -- Yes.

Did you have trouble with these loafers? Is that what we call a tsotsi sometimes or is it not? -- I do not know what a tsotsi is.

These loafers that you say, these who do not work and they do not go to school, have you had trouble with them (30) before? -- No, we did not have any.

Had/...

Had they at any time said to pupils who were on their way to school, said to them: you must not go to school? -- No, they did not. I think that these loafers read newspapers and they read from the newspapers what had happened in Soweto. So they thought that the students wanted to do the same, looting the bottle stores and all that.

Did you see them drink when they had stolen the liquor from the bottle store? -- Yes, I saw them drink.

You say some but not many students did the same. -- Yes.

Yes, thank you very much for coming to give evidence. (10)
-- Not to mention.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, there are two other witnesses and they will be led by my colleague, Mr Hlungwani.

MR HLUNGWANI: M'Lord, my first witness will be Naphtali Kgati Mabusha Sathekge.

NAPHTALI KGATI MABUSHA SATHEKGE: sworn states:

MR HLUNGWANI: You are a student at Hofmeyer High School? -- Yes, I am.

Atteridgeville. -- Yes. (20)

How old are you? -- 17.

Do you know when you were born? -- I was born on the 1st July, 1959.

You are in standard? -- Standard 9.

Could you perhaps start from the 21st what you still remember what happened on the 21st June? Your school was to hold a demonstration. -- On the 21st June the students started to demonstrate from the school premises.

When you say demonstrate, you mean they started marching? -- Yes, they started marching from the school yard. (30)

In which direction? -- They went out of the small gate, that/...

that is on ... (intervenes)

In the direction of the next school. -- Yes. They went to Mboweni Higher Primary School.

And when you got there, was your group then joined by the pupils of this next school, Mboweni High School? -- Yes.

And then after that the procession proceeded to which school? -- The procession proceeded to the Mangena Mokone Higher Primary School.

From there? -- From there proceeded to the Dr W.F. Nkomo Secondary School. (10)

And then from there? -- From there it proceeded to the Batugeng Higher Primary School.

Did you find these pupils in their respective schools as you go? I mean all the schools? -- We found the students at Mboweni Higher Primary School, at Mangena Mokone and at W.F. Nkomo.

Now, as you were marching from your school, that is now Hofmeyer High School, up to the last school where you had gone to, what were you doing on the way? Were you singing or marching in silence or what? -- We sang our national anthem. (20)

We have got the national anthem in Zulu and we have the other - we sing it also in Sotho - Nkosi Sikalele in Zulu or Morena Vuluka? -- We sang Nkosi Sikalele and Morena Vluka.

I see. Now just tell me, did you have some discussions before you left your school premises? -- (inaudible)

Did you have any discussions amongst yourselves before you left the premises of your school? -- I do not want to mention that.

You do not want to mention that. Anyway, you then (30) marched, as you said, along that route. Now where did the police/...

police get you? Or where did they join you? -- They got us at the Flavius Mareka Secondary School.

Did you find the students of this school joining you at that place? -- We found that the students of the Flavius Mareka Secondary School had already got out of their classes and they were waiting.

Waiting for the procession. -- Yes.

Now, were you in front, in the middle or right behind the other students as you marched? -- Sometimes I was in front, sometimes in the middle and sometimes at the back. (10)

And when the police came, what happened? -- When the police came, the students of the Flavius Mareka Secondary School were standing on the other side of the road and we were standing on this side of the road. And then the police came at a very high speed and then passed through the procession and then they nearly - the police cars nearly hit some of the students and that made the students angry.

Were there some students in the street? -- Yes, students were milling about in the street.

Now, you think the only reason why the students (20) threw stones was the high speed of the police or some other reason? -- No, that is not the only reason.

Now let us get it straight. The first one is they threw stones because the police were in a high speed and they merely collided with some students. The second one? -- The second one is that the police were interfering in a peaceful demonstration.

Did you think it was - do you believe it was peaceful? -- Yes, I believe so.

CHAIRMAN: Your question was: did you believe that?

MR HLUNGWANI: That the demonstration was peaceful. (30)

CHAIRMAN: And you say it was a peaceful demonstration and the police/...

police interfered? -- Yes.

MR HLUNGWANI: Now did the police retaliate? Did they do anything to the students when they were thrown at with the stones? -- They did not see anything.

They did not do anything? -- I do not say they did not do anything, I did not see anything.

You did not see them do anything. -- Yes.

Thereafter did the police leave or did you leave, you students? -- We left.

As you were then proceeding, what happened on the way? (10)
-- The students marched towards a bottle store. Before that, after they stoned the police cars, there was a bottle store .. (indistinguishable) near the Flavius Mareka Secondary School and then .. (intervenes)

Just wait there a bit. As you were marching, the previous witness spoke about loafers which His Lordship asked whether it was tsotsis, the non-school going men or young people. Now where were they in relation to your group? Were they in between amongst you or were they apart from you? -- They were in between.

Just in between. -- Yes. (20)

They were also members of the procession? -- Yes, they were members of the procession.

Now, when you reached - you said just next to Flavius Mareka Secondary School there is a bottle store. What happened to this bottle store? -- The students stoned the bottle store. I cannot say it is the students, but the loafers stoned the bottle store.

Only the loafers or did the students also throw stones? -- The students were against violence.

The students were against violence. -- Yes. (30)

And thus did they not throw stones? -- Yes, they

reprimanded/...

reprimanded the loafers when they stoned the bottle store and then left to Ramakupa Street.

Before you proceeded on, did anything happen to the bottle store after it had been stoned? -- No, nothing happened.

The loafers did not loot it? -- No.

And then you proceeded to the next -- you say you went over to Ramakupa. -- Yes, we went over to Ramakupa and then to .. (intervenes)

Ramakupa Street or Ramakupa what? -- Ramakupa Street and then to another bottle store. (10)

Yes? -- And then.

When you reached, when you arrived at this bottle store? -- The loafers started to loot the bottle store, stone it and burn it.

What started first? Was it the burning or the looting? -- It was first the stoning, the burning and then the looting.

And then who took part in the looting? -- The loafers.

Any of the students? -- I do not think so. If there were any, they were not in uniform. I recognise students because of their uniform. But the people who looted the bottle store were not in uniform. So I take it they were not students. (20)

Now the schools you mentioned who joined the procession, were all in uniform? -- Yes, they were all in uniform.

Is it compulsory for you to be in uniform when you get to school? -- Yes, it is compulsory.

What happened then after the breaking and the burning and the looting? -- The students were angry at the loafers for looting the bottle store and then they strongly reprimanded them and the bottle store was extinguished, the fire was extinguished and the students left. (30)

By whom? Extinguished by whom? -- By the students.

By/...

By the students. -- Yes.

Both male and female. -- Yes, both male and female.

And thereafter what happened? -- And then the students marched towards the police station.

We are still on the 21st, isn't it? -- Yes, it is the 21st.

Proceed. -- At the police station we found the police waiting with their automatic rifles.

Waiting for you, for the procession? -- Yes, they were waiting for the procession and then reinforcements came.

Yes? -- And then the students ran away. That was (10)
the breaking of the march, of the demonstration.

You say when the reinforcements came - the police arrived the students broke and ran away? -- Yes.

What did the police do? -- Well, I do not know what the police did, but the students were very afraid of the police, they are much afraid of the police.

But there was no casualty, nobody got injured there. -- I did not see any.

Or did you not hear about that later on? -- Well, I heard about casualties but there were no student casualties. (20)

But casualties of some other people who were not school-going? -- Yes.

Now these casualties were they of the people who demonstrated or was it during the riots? -- It was during the riots.

And as a result of the riots? -- Yes, as a result of the riots.

You do not know anything that happened thereafter, after you all ran away on the 21st. -- No, I do not know anything.

Now just tell us what happened. Before I ask you (30)
the next question, when were you arrested, you personally? --

I/...

I was arrested on - at 11,50 in the evening of the 15th September.

Of the 15th September. -- Yes.

The 15th September did anything happen in the township? -- No, nothing happened on the 15th.

Now tell us what happened on the 11th August. -- On the 11th August after Irene Phalatsi had been buried, the students were very much moved about what they had seen.

Just speak up please, the lady does not hear which means the machine does not hear. -- After the funeral of Irene (10) Phalatsi the students were very much moved about what they had seen. Many of them had fallen unconscious and then that made the students angry and they decided to demonstrate and march towards the police station.

Do you now speak about the 11th? -- Yes, the 11th September.

What caused that demonstration? -- The demonstration was because they were burying Irene Phalatsi who had been shot by the police for no apparent reason.

This Irene was shot on the 13th August. -- Yes.

And the funeral was then on the 11th September. -- Yes. (20)

Now what made you to demonstrate because of the burial of this girl? -- It was because she had been shot for no apparent reason.

Just proceed to tell us what happened then on the demonstration day, the 11th September. -- The students marched towards the police station.

And then? -- And then having gathered at the police station, the police started shooting. Then the students disperse

Before the students did anything? -- Excuse me?

Did they shoot before students did anything to them? (30)

-- Well, I did not see anything.

There/...

There is evidence that - you say you were just marching when the police just attacked you? -- No, they did not attack. It was the police at the police station when they saw students coming towards the police station, they started shooting.

Was anybody shot then? -- No, nobody was shot. The students all ran away.

Let us deviate a bit - as far as you know about the factual things, the things that happened or did you have another demonstration later on? -- No.

Do you want to tell the Commission generally about (10) the behaviour of the police? -- Yes, I do. Firstly I want to talk about this memorandum that we presented to Lieutenant B.J. Uytendogaardt who is stationed at Sunnyside Police Station. The lieutenant promised us that if we wrote this memorandum he would release us, we would not have to stand trial. We wrote this memorandum on the night of the 16th September and then he told us he was a member of the Cillie Commission which investigated the causes of the riots and then he told us that the memorandum would be presented to Judge Cillie and on Sunday, the 19th, he told us that the memorandum was at (20) the moment with Judge Cillie.

Did you believe that a policeman becomes a member of the Commission? -- I do not know. I take it he was a member of the Commission because he is a policeman and this is - the Commission is part of the system of South Africa.

Yesterday at the Sunnyside Police Station you had discussions with myself and my colleague, Adv. Van Graan. -- Yes, we had.

During the discussions you spoke something about the authorities having agreed to let you choose the medium of (30) instruction at school and what did you say about it? -- I do

not/...

not understand your question.

You cannot remember? -- I cannot understand your question.

You cannot understand the question. We were asking you about what you think caused the demonstration and what intensified the demonstration and then you said the demonstration took place against the use of Afrikaans, the authorities changed their ruling on Afrikaans, students concluded that the only language the government is prepared to listen to was violence. -- Yes, I said so.

You said that? -- Yes. (10)

Perhaps would you like to add more to that? -- I would not.

You do not want to add any more. You even made mention of your generation, that you are now made to hate the Whites and we asked you the reasons why. Do you still remember the reasons you gave us yesterday? -- I do not remember.

Did you say there is a lack of contact between your age group or people of your own class at school between White and Black? -- Yes, there is lack of contact between Whites of our age and Blacks - between our age group and White children of our age group. (20)

Do you still want to add something to that? -- I do not think so.

You said something like Blacks speak about the Whites and do not speak with him or in his presence. -- Excuse me?

You said the Blacks always decide for the Blacks. -- Yes.

The Whites always decide for the Whites and they do not take part in the decision. -- That is true. The government always wants to think for the Black man, they want to say what is right for the Black man and what is wrong for the Black man, like a case in Soweto. It was published by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, they wrote in the press I do not know (30)

what/...

what was the amount, but they said that a Black man could live on such an amount every month but now it was not the Black man who compiled those things, it was a White man. How could a White man know whether a Black man was satisfied with such a thing or not.

Do you mean that for example they could say such a scale in salary is good for the Black? -- Yes, that is what I mean.

Without the Black being consulted. -- Yes, the government is monopolising.

Monopolising what? -- The government is monopolising. (10)

Monopolising? -- They play the game alone. They are playing the game alone, they want to think for the Black man.

Now, you spoke about some removal of people. -- Yes, people are being moved from one place to another without having been consulted before. They are just giving notices that they have to be moved from this place and go and move - and go and live at another place. Take the example of Lady Selbourne. In Lady Selbourne the people there were moved from Lady Selbourne to Atteridgeville without having been consulted. In another case at the Tembisa Cemetery. That means a (20) Black man is never free. Even if the Black man is dead, he is never free. Take the case at the Tembisa Cemetery. There are many open graves waiting for the remains of Black men who have to be buried in those graves because their place where they were buried has been declared a White area and therefore their bones or their remains have to be removed from the place of rest to another cemetery.

You mean that you have no right to the preservation of your dead? -- Yes, we have no right, we are just being pushed around. (30)

Now, you even told us that you are against some of the Whites/...

Whites who force you to address them as 'baas' and you gave us some examples and then we said you would tell His Lordship of these examples, we did not have time to hear them all. -- Yes, Lieutenant Uytendogaardt told us that we have to address every white man as 'baas' and then he called us children of Kaunda. He then said we are 'kaffers' and then said 'you are also kak'.

You said something about your township. -- Yes, our townships are .. (inaudible) .. they look like slums. I can say they are slums. (10)

With which places of residence are you comparing? -- I can compare our townships say Alexandra Township with Sunnyside. The places in Sunnyside are very beautiful while the places at Alexandra are filthy.

Could you perhaps tell the Commission what these reasons you have now given, what bearing have they to the riots? -- The reasons I have given are some of the causes of the riots, but this had been an explosive point for a long time and the Afrikaans issue made the thing to explode.

Did you have the problem of Afrikaans in your school? (20) -- Yes, we have it. Many of the teachers in our school are not proficient to teach in Afrikaans. Say a subject like mathematics, we did mathematics in Form 2 in English and then we could not master mathematics so well in English and then .. (indistinguishable) .. your brother had to learn (indistinguishable) in English and he had to learn it in Afrikaans.

Didn't you do mathematics in Afrikaans in Form 1? -- No, I did not.

Did you do it in English? -- Yes, I did it in English. (30)

And/...

And then in Form 2 you had to do it ... -- I never did mathematics in Afrikaans.

When were you then forced to do mathematics in Afrikaans? -- I was never forced. It was the children who were at the lower classes than I am who were forced to do mathematics in Afrikaans.

There were some pupils in your school who were doing mathematics in Afrikaans? -- Yes.

And in what subjects did they get their tuition in Afrikaans? -- They got their tuition in Afrikaans in mathematics and social studies. (10)

And were they to continue with Afrikaans from the higher primary up to matric? -- I think they were going to continue up to matric. If the situation had been left as it is, Afrikaans would have been used up to matric and then it would be forced up to the universities.

You did not like that. -- Yes, I did not like that.

Now, were the children who got tuition in Afrikaans satisfied with it? -- They were not satisfied. It was the duty of the senior students to show them the light. (20)

It was the duty of the senior students to show them the light. -- Yes.

What do you mean by the light? -- You must show them the correct thing.

What to do about a grievance? -- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: At these demonstrations that you were at, did you see anybody give the Black Power sign? -- Yes, I saw many people giving the Black Power sign; I also did.

Why was that? -- That is our salute.

Your salute? -- Yes. (30)

Who were you saluting? -- Saluting our leaders.

Who/...

Who is your leader? -- Wilson Mandela.

But he was not there. -- Yes, he was not there, but he is in Robben Island because of us, because of his love for us.

Is that why you gave the Black Power sign when you were asked to swear that you would speak the truth? -- Yes. I do not think that is the case. That is not - I gave this sign because everybody is entitled - they just said I had to raise my hand, that is why I had to raise my hand the way I wanted to. I was not told how to raise my hand.

Are you quite sure of that answer? -- Yes, I am (10)
quite sure.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

MR HLUNGWANI: The following witness would be Stanley Mahlangu

STANLEY MAHLANGU: sworn states:

MR HLUNGWANI: Did you hear what the two previous witnesses said with regard to the happenings between the 21st June and the 11th September? -- Yes.

Is it a correct version of what happened? -- Yes.

I would like you now to tell the Commission what you think the causes of your demonstrations were. -- Well, (20)
between the first demonstration and the second demonstration there was another demonstration. It was caused by the continual arrest of students. Students were arrested from their homes by the police.

Could you perhaps give some dates where possible? -- The day when Irene was shot by the police on the school premises.

That was the 13th August. -- Yes.

Will you perhaps describe that incident? The shooting of Irene.

CHAIRMAN: Was he present? (30)

MR HLUNGWANI: I wonder.

CHAIRMAN/...

CHAIRMAN: Were you present when she was shot? -- No, I was not present.

MR HLUNGWANI: You can proceed then to tell us something about the arrests, unlawful arrests as you call them, of the students. -- Students were arrested from their homes early in the morning or late in the evening when they were still asleep and the students were angered by this. They decided to march to the police station.

CHAIRMAN: Was this on the day of the funeral of Irene? -- No, before that. That was the day when Irene was shot. (10)

MR HLUNGWANI: Were they arrested after she was shot or before she was shot? -- Before she was shot.

That same day? -- Yes.

Now let us get it straight. You say now that same day before the shooting there were some students who were arrested in their homes. -- Yes.

As a result of that, there was a demonstration. -- Yes.

And during the demonstration Irene was shot? -- No, the students of Dr Nkomo School came to our school and ... (inaudible) but they refused. Later the police were called. (20) I do not know who called the police and the police - when the police arrived, all the students of Dr. Nkomo and Hofmeyer were in the school premises of Hofmeyer high school and the police went into the school premises and started shooting in the school premises, but fortunately no one was shot or injured. Two students were arrested. One was from Hofmeyer and the other was from the Dr Nkomo. So the students thought the arrest was illegal because the students were in the school premises, so they decided to march to the police station to demand the students. (30)

Now these school premises where the students were arrested, which/...

which school is that? -- That is Hofmeyer.

Hofmeyer. -- Yes.

You said the other one is Dr Nkomo. -- Yes.

Now the students decided to march to the police station.

-- Yes.

What did they intend doing at the police station? -- They demanded - to demand - to make the police release the students who were arrested at Hofmeyer High School.

Then what happened? -- The demonstration flopped.

When you say it flopped, it did not succeed. -- Did (10) not succeed. Another cause is this, in most African schools, the students when they reach matric, they are mature. They know what is right and what is wrong, whereas our fellow white students, when they reach matric they are 15, 16, they are not matured. So the students by rioting or by demonstrating, they wanted to get certain things right that affected them and also the abolishing of Afrikaans in Soweto showed the students that the only language the government understands is violence and so the students decided to resort to violence in order to have certain things that affect their lives to be changed. (20) Let us take the reference books. It is a burden for a Black man. I remember one of my school mates was arrested for 3 days and his mother was in hospital, was admitted, she was sick. The mother had to get permission from the doctor to look for her son and the police did not even inform the parents where the son was, they only arrested him and he was released after 3 days, and mind you the mother was sick and was in hospital, she was admitted. And we hate the pass books because you know to which homeland the Black man belongs. I do not know my homeland, I was brought up, I was born and brought up (30) in Atteridgeville and I have never been in a homeland. So by

having/...

having a pass book, Vorster knows to which homeland he can send you any time there and you cannot argue.

You are sent to a homeland of any language you are able to speak, isn't it? -- Yes.

So it does not satisfy you. -- It does not satisfy us.

You have no relatives in the homelands? -- I do not know any. I only know my relatives who are in Johannesburg and Atteridgeville.

You say your relatives are all in the urban areas? -- I do not know there, but I do not know of any who are in (10) the homelands.

Do you actually know some instances where people were sent to the homelands? -- It is easy for the government to send you to the homelands as long as the government knows to which homeland you belong. It is easy because your reference book denotes it.

I mean do you know of some instances? I do not want you to name the names, but do you know some instances of people born and bred in the urban areas who were sent to the homelands? -- No, I do not know it, but the government is capable (20) of doing this.

Do you want to add something? Go on. -- Another cause is the Bantu education system. Bantu education system is the education that limits the knowledge of a Black child. It is an education that makes a child feel inferior to the Whites, because the Whites get a better education. The education, that is the education of the Whites is better than ours, which makes them superior to us.

Why do you say that? -- Well, because it is an education which is given to us by White men. The White men do not (30) want to share every wealth of South Africa equally with the Black/...

Black man. So the education must be poor compared to the education of the White man.

Do you just deduce from that that anything that is given to the Black man is of a lower standard and so the education must be in a lower standard? -- Yes.

In what standard are you? -- Standard 9.

After completion of your standard 10, would you perhaps like to go to say perhaps the University of Wits or would you prefer to go to the University of Zululand or Turfloop? -- I will go to the university that offers better education. (10)

So you do not know whether Turfloop or Zululand offers better education? -- Even Wits if you are allowed, I will go there.

How old are you? -- I am 18.

At standard 9. -- Yes.

You would like to tell us something you students think? -- The government is not fair to the Black man. When the Black men start to demonstrate, they shoot at the students. Where the Whites demonstrate, they do not shoot at them. The H.N.P., I do not know what it stands for, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, something like that, not a single shot was fired, but if it were Blacks I am afraid many would have been killed or injured, but because they are Whites, no shot was fired. And another thing is the action of the police. When the students are demonstrating, they do not go to the students and ask for grievances, they shoot at the students and after that they want grievances. Suppose you kill all the students, who are you going to get grievances from? You do not have to shoot. You must arrest them and ask for grievances. (20) (30)

You have not been asked for grievances after arrest? -- No,

I/...

I was taken at my home.

And after you had been arrested, they did not ask you grievances? -- No, they told us what we had done and they forced us to write it and sign it. That is the statements we have made and signed, we made them under duress and signed them under duress.

I withdraw that question, M'Lord. Do you still have some ... -- Yes, another thing is the influx control.

Tell us about that. -- Suppose in Cape Town there is a firm that offers a job and a salary R600 a month. A Black (10) man who lives in Johannesburg or Pretoria cannot get that job, he has to apply for a permission to be in Cape Town whereas the White man goes there freely, without getting any permission. I cannot marry a girl of my choice. I cannot go to Johannesburg and marry a girl there. If I marry a girl in Johannesburg where am I going to get a home? They do not allow us to do that. That is my choice .. (indistinguishable) .. of choosing a girl of my choice and our movement is also limited. I am only allowed to be in Atteridgeville. If I go to Johannesburg and visit my relatives I have to get permission from the (20) Administration Board of Johannesburg to be in Johannesburg for that certain period I want to spend with my relatives.

Do you know perhaps that there is a system of Bantu Administration Boards which actually has a number of towns where a person is free to move? -- No.

You cannot move to any town in the Republic, but I mean there are a few towns where you are allowed to move up and down. -- What I want to know is why we are not allowed to move through South Africa.

You want to have freedom to move -- We want (30) freedom to move but our freedom is restricted. We have that right/...

right to move, but they are stopping us from using that right.

Yes, just continue with some of the reasons which you still have. -- Another thing is that while we have visitors, suppose we have visitors from Johannesburg, he comes to visit me, he has not reported at the Bantu Administration Board, the police of the Administration Board usually comes during the night to knock - to disturb us when we are asleep and they detain and then arrest and they will release you the following morning and they charge you for that.

Even when a person comes at 2 o'clock in the morning? (10)
-- No, suppose that I have a friend who wants to visit me, wants to spend two nights at my home and if the police of the Bantu Administration Board knows about it, they come to my home during the night to arrest us for having a visitor.

These reasons you have just given, these grievances you have been giving the Commission, have they any bearing on the riots? -- Of course they have.

In which way? -- You see, the Soweto riots, we think that if we keep on rioting the government will listen to us. We have been waiting for a time like this all the time, (20)
but they did not have the guts to act.

And when the question of Afrikaans came then you thought it was now the correct time to explode. -- Of course.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

CHAIRMAN: I did not ask you whether you had any questions to ask the witnesses. Perhaps I should have done that.

MR MAKHAMBENI: I do not have any questions.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS.
