

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

WHOLE SESSION:

11th NOVEMBER, 1976.

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kept secret.

CHAIRMAN: The order applies to this witness.

MR HLUNGWANI: You are a teacher at Moroka High School, Thaba Nchu? -- That is right.

What is the enrolment at your school? -- Plus-minus 670.

The school is divided into two sections. The academic section. -- That is right.

That is the high school from Form 2 to Form 5 and the other division is technical. -- That is right.

An industrial school. Could you sketch to the Commission what the attitude of the students was just after the Soweto riots of the 16th June? -- After the riots of the 16th June in Soweto the news of the incidents on the Reef were received by our students with mixed feelings. (10)

Now this news, where did they get this news? -- Many of them have got radios and of course they also buy newspapers.

Is it now the students - is it what the students are used now to buying newspapers? -- It is a normal thing to buy newspapers and to listen to the radio.

You could call it a fashion. -- It is something fashionable with them, that is right. (20)

And when you say they have received the news with mixed feelings, what do you mean by that? -- On the one hand there was a group of students that sort of revealed that the news of what had taken place in Soweto was something they had expected. They were filled with excitement and on the other hand there were students who were a bit worried, especially those who come from the Reef. Apparently worried because they were worried about the uncertainty of next of kin.

They were worried about the safety of the next of kin and the friends as a result of what was then happening. -- (30)

That/...

That is right.

Now, there was a stage where you had gone to Pretoria for a course and when you went to Pretoria for the course, what was the attitude then of the students? -- That was from the 2nd to the 6th August when I was attending a course in Pretoria. In the meantime these riots were erupting in different places and as the eruptions went on, the tension amongst our students was sort of building up.

And then it found expression on the 6th August. -- That is right. (10)

When they burnt down a classroom and some of the things at school. -- That is right.

Now I would like you to describe what actually happened then with regard to placards which would actually indicate to you what the grievances of the students were. -- The tension which had been building up sort of broke out on the 6th August and that was the day I was entraining in Pretoria and when I arrived in Thaba Nchu people there told me what had taken place the previous day. I arrived on the Saturday. But anyway, there were still some things which I saw which (20) were sort of, shall I say, sort of evidence of what had taken place. For example in our hall, that is our school hall, all over the - there are blackboards on the walls of our school hall and all over the blackboards there were written slogans and many of these came from the Form 4 history book.

You are a teacher of history in that school? -- Yes, I am a teacher, I teach Form 4 history.

Now these slogans, can you remember some of them? -- Yes, of course I have an idea. For example, there was one something like: 'Scattered Slavs let us be one united (30) whole and not mere fragments'. Now that is a quotation. It deals/...

deals with the Slavs, you know, in the Balkan States when the Russians were practising what they used to call pan-Slavism and you know, they were sort of making the people to have, shall I say, a national conscience.

So now did they think that was being applied to all of them? -- Apparently they were now comparing what they had read and studied in their history lesson with what was happening in South Africa at the time and the only interpretation I could give to the slogans as written on the board was that, well, the people of Soweto, let us be united and (10) be one whole and not mere fragments.

Now, at a certain stage you were called to your headoffice at Mafeking and the headoffice wanted to know what the trouble was and what caused the unrest in your school. You were one of the people who actually tried to give some of the reasons there. So could you just name those reasons to the Commission? -- Some of the things I mentioned were the question of separate amenities at our school. There was the question of extra-mural activities. Some of the teachers not taking a very active part in the school extra-mural activities. (20)

Now your staff is composed of Black and White. -- That is right.

What is the effect of separate amenities as you put it there to your government? -- I would like to make an illustration. You find that in the senior classes there are special classrooms say, a special geography class, a special mathematics class, a special biology class. Now it has come to the notice of the students that every time the class is given by a Black staff member then he is not given the chance to have a special classroom, he has to move from one classroom (30) to another and of course they have confronted us as teachers,

as/...

as Black teachers at the school with the question: but why is it that when there is a special classroom, the minute you have the class taken by a Black teacher then you find that you have got to move from one classroom to another instead of using the special classroom.

In short, a White teacher is to stay in one classroom and the pupils come to him and he has apparatus and things at hand and then a Black man has go to from class to class? -- That is the position, especially in the senior classes with specific subjects. (10)

And you mentioned something about the solving of the problems of the school ad a staff. What does separate amenities -- One of the things I could mention is that our staff is composed of both Europeans and Blacks and we have separate staffrooms. There is a staffroom for the Black teachers and there is a staffroom for the European teachers and I think one of the problems is that as teachers we experience difficulties in the classroom situation and then as colleagues we can always thresh out the problem in our staffroom but now in a case where you have separate (20) staffrooms, you will find that it is sometimes not possible for the teachers from the two groups to discuss common problems concerning the school.

You think if you had one staffroom you will be able to discuss these problems so that you would have a common ground or common way of tackling them? -- Definitely. Since we Blacks definitely have got a better understanding of the students, the Black students of the school, we know the customs of the people, we know the traditions of the people, we know the language the people speak and we think we could be of (30) great help to our European staff members.

You/...

You would like also to speak about what the effect of the dedication to duty amongst some of the staff, what effect it has. -- I would like to mention that amongst the Europeans I must say you will find dedicated men and women who are there to help us, but in a case of a European teacher who goes astray here or there, our Black students have got such a keen eye to see even the smallest mistake committed by these people and that sort of now creates some type of anti-White feeling amongst the students.

I am sure you have summarised really all the things (10) that you wanted to tell the Commission. -- I think something on the question of extra-mural activities. As I have already stated that we have Black staff members and European staff members. You find that quite a good number of the Europeans do not realise the importance of going out into the playgrounds with the children where one learns - gets an opportunity of knowing the student intimately, you know, in an informal situation outside the tense classroom situation and because now on the one hand you find the Black teachers play a very active role in this part, you will find that their relationship (20) with the students is very, very close while their colleagues on the other hand are sort of left out in the cold.

Do you still have something to add? -- I think that is all I have to say.

I have no further questions, M'Lord.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much for coming to give evidence and giving your views.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS FOR LUNCH.

THE COMMISSION RESUMES AT 2 P.M. ON THE 11th NOVEMBER, 1976.

DR YUTAR: The next witness is Mr H.L. Setlalentoa.

HOWARD LEIGHTON SETLALENTOA: sworn states:

DR YUTAR: You have been 35 years in the service of the Education Department. -- Quite correct.

You started off in the early 1930's as a teacher at one of the Bantu schools. -- That is right.

And over the years you have worked yourself up stately and gradually in every capacity: principal of various schools, inspector and now you are the circuit inspector of (10) the Bantu schools. -- In Thaba Nchu, quite correct.

You are stationed at Thaba Nchu. -- I am stationed at Thaba Nchu.

And you have therefore a varied and long experience in the field of Bantu education. -- Quite correct.

Now, in our consultation I asked you whether what your views were about the Bantu education, whether it is in any way inferior to general education. Can you tell His Lordship your views? -- Well, I would not say Bantu education is inferior to European education for instance, because I (20) do not know the syllabus of European education, but what I can say is Bantu education is better than the Provincial education.

In other words, ever since .. -- The inception of Bantu education.

Bantu education was taken out of provincial authorities .. -- That is right.

And you feel it is better. -- I feel it is better.

And if I understand you correctly, you feel that there is a gradual improvement in the education. -- Quite correct.

Now, we have heard evidence that some people object (30) or do not feel happy about the term Bantu education. How do you/...

you feel about it? With your experience. -- Well, there are quite a number of people who do not want the word 'Bantu', they would rather prefer if you just say 'education'.

CHAIRMAN: Would they prefer it to be called 'National education' or what is the word they want? -- Just education, national education possibly.

DR YUTAR: Without any differentiation. -- Without any differentiation.

You personally, I understand, have no objection to it. -- That is correct. (10)

As long as the education is good. -- Good.

Now, in all your experience have you received from the students complaints about the standard of education or the education in general? -- No, I have not received any complaints from the students.

And you have personally taught and you are supervising the teaching of all the subjects in your own home language, English and Afrikaans. -- That is correct.

Would it be correct to suggest that in Thaba Nchu particularly, the children there speak Afrikaans more freely (20) than they do English? -- Well, yes, they speak Afrikaans freely.

Fluently. -- Fluently.

Now, we do know that there are objections and complaints in schools and particularly the boarding-houses. We have them in the European schools and boarding-houses as well. Now the complaints that you have received from time to time are they of a local nature or of a national nature? -- Just a local nature.

Local nature. -- Yes. (30)

For example? -- For example they are complaining about the/...

the meals and so on.

About the meals and all that. So one can say those complaints are of most students, irrespective of race, colour or creed. Now, you personally were not present at any of the schools in Thaba Nchu when certain incidents took place, at the Strydom Training College, Moroka School and other schools. -- No, I was not present unfortunately. In July when the schools closed, I was not present, I was in Pietersburg and also on the 6th August unfortunately I was not present in the circuit, I was in Pietersburg. (10)

But you made it your business as a circuit inspector to endeavour to ascertain the causes of these riotous incidents. -- That I did.

Will you be so kind as to tell His Lordship in your own words what your own views are as to the possible causes of these riots? -- Well, in Thaba Nchu, we have boarding-schools and then we get children from all over the country and then the cause of this unrest in Thaba Nchu I think is the influence from the Reef, from Soweto in particular.

The influence from the Reef and Soweto in particular. (20)
-- That is right. For instance on the 1st November when the students were supposed to write their examination early in the morning, pamphlets were distributed at Moroka in the campus and I have a copy here. "Soweto Students Representative Council. Students please don't jeopardise your lives by writing examination. Presently we are around."

That pamphlet, where did you find this? -- I was given this by the principal of the school. It was thrown in the school campus. Whoever did it we do not know up to now.

M'Lord, I hand this in as an exhibit, it will be (30)
EXHIBIT 138. Now who do you think - this was - you found this

That is correct.

And what is the relationship between the principals of the schools, the teachers on the one hand and on the other hand Black students? -- No, no, I think it is quite healthy.

And is there communication? -- There is.

And the relationship between the principals of the schools, inspectors like yourself on the one hand, and the parents on the other hand? -- Very healthy.

Now, we are pleased to note that in the Free State there has been a minimum amount of rioting and damage. What (10) would you put that down to? -- Well, because in the Free State it is only in the homeland like Thaba Nchu for instance and Witsieshoek where we have boarding facilities. Now generally in the Free State the local children who attend school, they do not have influence from the Reef.

They give no trouble. -- No trouble. It is only here and there, you know.

So who gives the trouble then? -- Pardon?

Who causes the trouble and who gives the trouble? -- Well, it is from Soweto. They say they sympathise with the (20) Soweto students.

Have you a large percentage of foreign students in Thaba Nchu? By foreign I mean from this country but from the Reef and Pretoria. -- There are quite a number. I think the principals can give the exact figures.

Yes, we got the figures before this, about 70 to 75%. Have you ever attempted to speak to these students from Soweto? -- No, I have not talked to the students from Soweto. I have just talked to the students as all students.

As a whole. -- Yes. (30)

And have you had any reaction from them in particular,
the/...

- this was handed to you. -- Early in the morning it was found on the campus.

Did the students of the school in Thaba Nchu react to this? -- They did not.

Where do you feel this emanated from? -- Well, I am not too certain about it, whether it was the students from Moroka or it was the people from Soweto, that I cannot say.

You do not know. -- Because previously, on the 29th October, I addressed the students, because they had threatened not to write the examination and I addressed the students (10) at Moroka, I talked to them and advised them to write the examination. That was on a Friday and then on Monday this thing was distributed, but they wrote their examination.

What did you say to the students? -- Well, I just asked the students if they knew what they were doing. I reminded them of the difficulties of their parents, I reminded them what the parents had done for them thus far and that they were spoiling their future if they did not write the examination. They listened and then on Monday they wrote the examination. Up to now they are still writing. (20)

And they are still writing examinations without any incident or difficulty. -- They are still writing.

Full attendance. -- That is right.

Will you tell His Lordship what in general is the relationship of, first of all, yourself, between yourself and the European headmasters and the European teachers who serve under you? -- The relationship between me and the European principals in my circuit is very, very healthy.

In the course of your consultation you referred to them as your friends. -- As my friends, yes. (30)

And they reciprocate and refer to you as their friend. --

That/...

the Soweto students? Any reaction from them? -- Well, unfortunately, you know, as an inspector of schools, when one addresses the students, you cannot say this student comes from Soweto because you do not know them.

Are there any other reasons you would care to advance for the riots that took place? You have mentioned two of them. -- No.

Is there anything else you would like to say? -- No.

Now, there is one more point I want to put to you and that is the excuse that has been advanced in some places, (10) that the students objected to being taught certain subjects in Afrikaans. Have you ever encountered that in all your experience? -- No, I have not, but now in Thaba Nchu for instance, the medium of instruction is Sotho, it is unlike in the urban areas - is English, I am sorry. No subjects are taught through the medium of Afrikaans. The government chose English as the medium of instruction in Bophuthatswana.

But Afrikaans is taught as a language. -- Afrikaans is taught as a language.

And it is also spoken. -- It is also spoken. (20)

Is there anything else you would like to tell His Lordship? I have exhausted my questions. -- No.

I have no further questions, N'Lord.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

MR HLUNGWANI: N'Lord, the next witness will be Mr Dan Meletsi.

CHAIRMAN: Mr Yutar, the order still stands about the witnesses?

DR YUTAR: If Your Lordship pleases.

CHAIRMAN: The order stands for the last witness who has just given evidence as well. In fact I think the application (30) was made on behalf of all the witnesses and one of them said

he/...

he did not require this, Mr Van Aswegen.

DAN MELETSI: sworn states:

MR HLUNGWANI: You are the chairman of the Urban Bantu Council?

-- Yes.

In Bloemfontein. -- Yes.

Could you perhaps tell the Commission if you had any trouble in the township? -- Actually in Bloemfontein we haven't got a lot of troubles except isolated cases here and there from the school children, not from the town as a whole.

You did not have any trouble from the non-scholars (10) joining up with the school children? -- Not as far as I know.

To what would you ascribe the little trouble that you had? What might have caused that? -- Well, after the riots I went round to the parents of the little students who were involved in the case and then one of the students was telling me that the cause is they are taught through the medium of Afrikaans and the teacher who is teaching them in Afrikaans is not well-versed in Afrikaans. Now they cannot explain - he cannot express himself freely in Afrikaans, so they prefer English and Afrikaans be taught as a subject. (20)
The other parents they would not agree that the children were in that trouble.

Now since the Afrikaans problem started - the Afrikaans question in fact started in Soweto, how did it then come to your area? -- Well, on the whole I think I will say these children are reading a lot in the press. They got all this information from the press because everything that - they became interested in reading the press since that time.

So you think the press might have influenced them? -- The press might be the influence to that. (30)

You also gathered information from the school board. You

went/...

went to ask the school board about the efficiency of the teachers in teaching Afrikaans. What did you find? -- I got from members of the school board that they have made that investigation and they got the same thing that teachers - the children were complaining about the Afrikaans taught in schools, but taught by teachers who do not know it.

In consultation you actually put up some other grievances of your people in the township as regards you people as members of the Urban Council. -- Yes, I can put some grievances that they level to us by the public that I mean that I (10) may say it is a lack of powers because everything, when they ask something from us, we cannot get it because we have to ask anything that we have to do or anything that we have to send to the people, we have to get the permission from the Administration Board.

You are called some names here. What names are you called? -- When we read in the press we find that we are called by the names: councillors are nothing but castrated bulls.

For example which newspaper - from which newspaper did you read that? -- We got that from The Friend and also from (20) the Rand Daily Mail.

Why do the people call you that? -- It is because they cannot get anything tangible from us, we are lacking powers so we haven't got powers say of telling them exactly what they want. If they want something, they cannot get anything from us, that is why they are calling us those names.

Because you do not have power to solve their problems. -- No.

I asked you specifically which problems they have and you mentioned something about electricity. What is the (30) actual thing about it? -- Electricity is one of them, housing is/...

is one of them, housing is the most important that people are lacking and then definitely that is the thing that causes the people to say that and they also claim that our roads are not worth while, our roads are not too good and also some other things that need attention.

And water? -- And the water also.

What is the position of water? -- They want it, the workers in their yards some of them and they want electricity in their houses, but we cannot get that because we have no power to do so. (10)

But have you ever spoken to the authority about these grievances? -- I think that ever since ... (inaudible) .. we have been trying all we could to get those things straightened up, but the answer is always lack of funds, that is always the answer.

What about the refuse system? -- The refuse system, it is not one of the best things because the trouble lies with the buckets. We are still using the bucket system.

You are still using the bucket system? -- The bucket system, yes, that is one of the most troublesome things (20) in our township.

So your people would like to get sewerage. -- They would prefer sewerage, but we have been promised that sewerage is coming, but up to now it has not yet been able to come.

Now, you have been telling me about these grievances, not as a cause of the present riots, but something that might at a later stage cause some friction. -- Yes. The thing that might cause future riots it is the very same thing that I have just mentioned, one of them, that is housing. That is going to cause a lot of trouble because people haven't got (30) the place and they are doing nothing else and, No. 2, they haven't/...

haven't got enough money, they haven't got enough, if they wanted to buy houses, they are not allowed to buy houses and secondly they - if they wanted to buy houses the deposit is so high that they could not reach it. Now they always compare these things why .. (background noise) ... is not like all other countries. Like in Johannesburg and all other towns, in Bloemfontein the deposit is so high, it is R771 deposit, which the house is R1 771. Now they say it is too high. All those things in my opinion I think they may cause some other trouble at a later stage. (10)

Do you say other towns and other areas do not pay such a deposit? Is there any difference? -- Exactly they say from Johannesburg people started paying R200 deposit in buying a house, they pay a deposit of R200 not as we do on this side. The charge is not uniform.

Is there anything you want to add? -- Actually no, I have nothing more to add in that I think that is all I could say up to the moment.

If you have something, one of your colleagues will add it. -- Quite so. (20)

I have no further questions, M'Lord.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

MR HLUNGWANI: Next I will call Mr Stephen Tsatsinyana.

STEPHEN TSATSINYANA: sworn states:

MR HLUNGWANI: You are also a civic leader in that you are a member of a school board. -- Correct.

You heard what your colleague testified? -- Correct.

Do you confirm that? -- I want to confirm that.

Do you have something to add on what he said or to elaborate on some of the things he said? -- I am afraid (30)

I may be making an ordinary unnecessary repetition in that

really/...

really he has, as far as schools are concerned, covered the most important issue, that is now the question of Afrikaans in that the children are complaining, we feel the same in that teachers fail to stress the fact that they are capable of teaching in Afrikaans and that is the position.

I felt that you might have something to add on housing, I mean to elaborate a bit more on housing, as I think all of you actually raised it as grievance No. 1. -- When we get to housing I think Mr Meletsi who is now the chairman of our U.B.C. Council, I think has tried to put up this issue (10) in that it is the common cry, lack of accommodation, that is the common cry, lack of accommodation.

As a man connected with the Administration, what is the water problem like? -- The question of water is that it is now I cannot fetch from outside in the streets instead of it being supplied in every yard. I think that is just a problem that may be there, that we get water from the street instead of getting water from every yard. In this we feel, well it may be not safe because we have to send daughters to the particular street with the present position, with our (20) young boys being out of control it is absolutely unsafe.

Yes, I would also like you to comment on the housing where you said, actually all of you said that there were some specific areas where a person is allowed to buy a house and there are some others where actually it is not allowed to buy a house. -- In explaining that issue, at the moment I think there is a big problem as far as that question is concerned in that the councillors were interested to see that everybody who has a chance to buy the house he does occupy that belongs to the Board of Administration. But it appears on some (30) technicalities it has been a bit impossible. I think that is just/...

just a question where now there is some confusion, there seems to be no uniformity in the whole thing in that then they get to papers and read that in our areas this is the position. It is just that the people are not quite settled and not satisfied very well.

The Department of Bantu Administration has now issued - they said something to the effect that a few people in the township are allowed to buy houses. Now what is the difference in there? -- That is what the councillor, Mr Meletsi, the chairman, that there seems to be no uniformity. It is (10) the man who legislates and then comes the man who administers and there seems to be that problem that they feel what they get from papers seem not to be the same. They get what happens in Johannesburg, they get what happens in other places, finally they get what they are having in Bloemfontein, they do not actually agree.

Will I be right to say that there is difference of interpretation? -- As I said the question, there is a man who legislates and a man who does administer, that may be the problem. (20)

Is the Bantu Administration Board aware of these problems? -- If I am not wrong in that I am not attending their meetings, but what has been said by Mr Meletsi I think they are aware of that.

You do not have anything to add to that?-- Nothing more.

Thank you, M'Lord, I do not have further questions.

CHAIRMAN: On the school board have you discussed this question of the language medium? -- This has actually to come forward and discussed by the board after the board had finally demanded that every school, the staff has to justify and say (30) exactly what is our opinion as far as medium of instruction is/...

is concerned, but what you are finding is absolutely all the schools have suggested medium of instruction English, Afrikaans be taken as an ordinary subject.

Is that what was the general feeling of all the schools?
-- That is the general meaning of all the schools.

Were there then schools at that stage complaining about wanting this to be the policy and they still had to teach certain subjects through Afrikaans medium? -- In fact they had to continue until the end of this year.

Yes, well, I suppose that is so, that they do not (10)
change in the middle of the year. -- That is the position.

But the problem has been solved for next year? -- With all the hope that our Bantu Education Department may consider the request made by the various school boards.

Have you ever heard this complaint that the education which the Black children are getting is inferior? -- Not very. Actually to my mind I think people are only worried by the term that we are all usually using 'Bantu' education.

The name? -- Just the name I think personally. Otherwise I do not see the .. (inaudible) of the whole thing. (20)

Yes, thank you very much.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

MR HLUNGWANI: N'Lord, I will call Mr Matshumi as the next witness.

KOKO P. MATSUMI: sworn states:

MR HLUNGWANI: You are one of the members of the Urban Bantu Council? -- I am.

Mr Dan Meletsi is your chairman? -- He is.

Do you confirm everything he said? -- I do.

Do you have anything to add to what he said? -- I (30)
do not have anything to add. I think he has covered everything.

You/...

You do not feel you have to elaborate on any point he mentioned? -- No, unless there are questions which may lead me to it.

I have no questions to put to this witness.

CHAIRMAN: There is trouble about the - or rather discontent about the owning of houses. Is that correct? -- It is correct.

And can your council help the people when they for example want to buy houses? -- Well, the way in which they help them is by giving explanations of conditions under which they can buy. For instance, they know that there are (10) houses for a certain amount, with a deposit of so much and an instalment of so much, but the complaint arises that the deposit is too high and of course some of them say we cannot afford such a deposit, our wages are low.

Have you ever heard the children, that is the school children say that the boards are not really useful at all? -- Not the school children, I have not heard them at all say so.

Do you think that the discipline of the children in your area is good? -- Comparatively it is good. In my opinion just outside influence gained through perhaps reading news- (20) papers or mixing with some visitors who come from outside. In my opinion I want to say that the Bloemfontein public is well-behaved.

You do not think the children of today are worse than the children in your days? -- Well, I will say the adult public the children are giving a lot of trouble. It appears it is the trend these days with children to be wayward.

Why do you think that is? You have given an explanation that they get this sort of thing in the news. -- Yes.

They read it. -- Yes, I said so. They read these (30) things and I believe we do have visitors coming from these

big centres into Bloemfontein and they do get into touch with our children and our children get into touch with them when they go out visiting other schools.

Do you think that they give more trouble than you gave to your parents? -- Very much more.

You know, don't we always think that the children of today are not as good as the children of our days? -- I do not know what will change my mind from that. The children of today are no example as compared to those of our days.

Thank you very much. (10)

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

MR HLUNGWANI: M'Lord, my next witness will be Mr Lawrence Gxabuza.

LAWRENCE GXABUZA: sworn states:

MR HLUNGWANI: Just speak as if you are giving a lesson. -- Yes.

LAUGHTER

You are the principal of the lower primary school called Ikwezi. -- Yes.

In the Phamaneng Township. -- Yes.

Your school is adjacent to Ihobe Higher Primary School. -- Yes. (20)

Which also is a Xhosa school. -- Yes.

You have no problem with your school. -- So far I have no problem.

You have got good control of your children? -- Yes.

On the 20th August could you just tell us what you saw happening in the neighbouring school? -- On the 20th August at about roughly 17h45 to 18h00 in the afternoon, while I was in the street with my neighbour, we were discussing in general, I saw flames in one of the classrooms of the Ihobe Higher Primary School. (30)

The principal of that school will give full evidence on that, but I would particularly want you to tell the Commission what you noticed when you got there. You helped to extinguish the fire, but what did you notice in the classroom? -- Inside the classroom I noticed the following: that petrol was smeared over on top of the desks and the table next to the door, not behind the door, the other side of the door, was burning, it was in flames at the corner of the table. On the floor there were spots of petrol with flames. Those are the places we extinguished when we got inside there. (10)

On the blackboard what did you notice? -- On the blackboard there was a paragraph, from what I saw it was an extract from the Piet Retief Manifesto in history.

And what did it actually say more or less? -- The theme of this paragraph is concerning liberty and freedom.

As far as you could see would a pupil have written that? -- No, so far, no.

It appeared to have been an educated adult who wrote that? -- Yes, an adult.

CHAIRMAN: The handwriting, is this the handwriting (20) that you thought was not a pupil? -- The idea, the idea of the paragraph it was not, in my eyes .. (intervenes)

MR HLUNGWANI: The contents. -- The contents it was something above the children.

CHAIRMAN: And what could you say about the handwriting? Did it look like a pupil's handwriting? -- It was a fine handwriting, a clear handwriting, not a pupil's handwriting.

MR HLUNGWANI: As a teacher you know, you do blackboard work. Do you think it was done by somebody trained in that? -- Yes, it was in a straight line although there were no lines, (30) but it was straight .

As if a person has been trained in blackboard work. -- Yes.

M'Lord, I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN: Just before you go, is it not possible that a teacher might have written it for a class? -- Well, it might be a teacher, but it is not a child, that is impossible that it was a child who wrote that paragraph on the board.

Thank you very much.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Edele, die volgende getuie is mnr. Hendriks.

CHAIRMAN: Mr Hlungwani, the witnesses who have given (10) evidence, they all want to fall under the order I have made of no names or identity?

MR HLUNGWANI: Yes.

CHAIRMAN: What about Mr Hendriks?

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Ook so, Edele.

JACOBUS CHRISTOFFEL HENDRIKS: verklaar onder eed:

ADV. VAN GRAAN: U is skoolhoof van die Moroka Hoërskool en Ambagskool by Thaba Nchu. -- Dit is reg.

Voor 21 Julie was u bewus daarvan of daar enige ongerymdhede in die skole opmerkzaam was? -- Bedoel u 21 Julie? (20) Junie. -- Junie?

Ja. -- Nee, ek was nie bewus daarvan nie.

Op 19 Junie het daar nie 'n voorval by die skool plaasgevind nie? Het u nie 'n indruk van leerlinge gekry oor 'n sekere houding van hulle met betrekking tot die gebeure in Soweto nie? -- Daar was op die aand van 19 Junie was ek ontbied na die koshuisvader en die hoof van die koshuise en daar was 'n paar van die kapteins en prefekte met 'n versoek van die senior leerlinge, skynbaar meer van die seuns leerlinge om, alhoewel dit eksamen was, huis toe te gaan, omdat (30) hulle nie geweet het wat in Soweto met hulle mense gebeur nie.

Het/...

Het die skole toe inderdaad gesluit? -- Ons het die sekretaris van Onderwys die aand geskakel vanaf die "warden" se huis af en hy het nie self 'n telefoon nie, maar ons het toe met hom in kontak gekom. Hy het ons belowe dat hy ons die Maandag sou laat weet of ons moet sluit of nie. Gedurende die nag van - die Sondagnag het daar 'n brand ook in Bophuthatswana gebied te Hebron uitgebreek by die skool en ons, mnr. Visser en ek is verwittig op die Sondag dat ons die leerlinge onmiddellik moes huis toe stuur. Ons kon dit egter nie voor die Maandagmiddag die leerlinge wegstuur (10) nie.

Toe het u die skool op die 21ste gesluit? -- Ja.

Wanneer het die skole weer heropen? -- Die normale openingsdatum was 20 Julie, maar soos dit gaan kom leerlinge baie traag terug gedurende die maand.

Ek volg. Kan u sê watter volgende insident belangrik is tot die getuienis wat u wil lewer? Watter datum? -- Wel, 6 Augustus het daar eintlik, toe iets belangriks gebeur voor die tyd niks besonders nie, alhoewel ek moet eintlik noem die 21st Julie was daar 'n inbraak in die ambagskool en die (20) saak is verhoor. Die persoon wat daar tereg gestaan het is Kenana Nkuge van Welkom. Hy het apparaat daar beskadig en hy was aangekla gewees vir sabotasie.

VOORSITTER: Is dit weer die boor? -- Dit is die boor.

En die gassilinder? -- Ja.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Het u in daardie week voor 6 Augustus 'n laksheid onder die studente waargeneem? -- Ja.

En dan was u by die skool gewees toe die probleme op 6 Augustus plaasgevind het waarna u majoor Heunis ontbied het. -- Ek was by die skool. (30)

Edele, ek twyfel of dit nodig is dat die getuie weer
die/...

die gebeure van 6 Augustus moet herhaal, aangesien majoor Heunis dit volledig behandel het. Wat het op 14 September plaasgevind? -- Op 14 September het die koshuis owerhede die middag tydens .. (agtergrond geraas) ... 'n ultimatum aan leerlinge gerig om die ondernemingsvorms in te bring. Dit was baie duidelik dat die ondernemingsvorms om verskeie redes teruggehou was tot op daardie stadium. Gedurende daardie middag het ons ongeveer 120 ondernemingsvorms tussen 15h00 en 17h00 terug ontvang, wat 'n bewys was dat die leerlinge dit in hulle sakke gehad het en dit net nie wou inlewer nie. (10)

Was daar toe 'n verdere voorval op 15 September wat verband hou met die ondernemingsvorms? -- Op 15 September was daar nie juis 'n voorval nie. Dit was die middag waarop ons gereël het onder polisie beskerming dat leerlinge wat nie ondernemingsvorms of losiesgelde betaal het nie, moes huis toe gestuur word.

Wat het op 21 September plaasgevind? -- Op 21 September - ek dink ek moet by 20 September begin. 20 September, die middag, het die koshuisvader, hoof van die koshuise en ek 'n vergadering gehad met 'n groep studente van 16 wat (20) hulleself verteenwoordigers genoem het van 'Students Representative Council'. Hulle wou gehad het ons moet hulle konstitusie onderteken. Die konstitusie was 'n paar dae vantevore aan my getoon, maar nadat ek dit deurgelees het, het ek gevoel dat dit aan studente regte sou gee wat heeltemal ondermynend vir die gesag van die skool sou wees. Ek het die oggend van die 20ste met ons plaaslike inspekteur in teenwoordigheid van ds. Taylor gepraat oor die konstitusie en hy het ook gevoel dat ons nie die konstitusie moet onderteken nie. Die middag van die 20ste het ons toe nou vergadering gehad (30) met daardie studente en aan hulle verduidelik dat hulle wel

kan organiseer om die samewerking van ander studente te kry om weer erns aan hulle studies te wy en dat daar nie 'n konstitusie voor nodig is nie.

Verskoon my dat ek u onderbreek. Het die studente enige feite aan u meegedeel waarvan u ontevredenheid van hulle kant af kon aflei? -- Wel, tydens die vergadering na end se kant toe gestaan het, het van die studente gesê: what about our grievances, what shall we tell our colleagues?

Wat was hulle 'grievances'? -- Waarskynlik die petisie wat aan die Sekretaris van Bantoe-Onderwys - Sekretaris (10) van die Bophuthatswana Onderwys oorhandig was.

Is die petisie op 6 Augustus aan die sekretaris oorhandig? -- Dit is reg.

Weet u wat die inhoud daarvan was? -- Die eerste punt het ek gelees.

En wat was dit gewees? -- Dit was 'n eis gewees van 'release our detainee' en dan die naam van die beskuldigde wat by die ambagskool ingebreek het. Daar was nog iets by, maar ek kan dit nie onthou nie.

U kan nie verder onthou wat die inhoud daarvan was (20) nie? -- Nee. Wat ek wel kan onthou dat die eis was dat dit om 12 namiddag moes wees.

Edele, ek het geen verdere vrae nie.

VOORSITTER: Het u nooit enige moeilikheid gehad met betrekking tot die taalmedium nie, medium van onderrig? -- Nee, soos reeds aan u meegedeel is dat ons onder Bophuthatswana Regering reeds voor die wetgewing alreeds oorgeskakel het na Engels medium vir alle vakke behalwe Afrikaans.

En daar was geen beswaar teen Afrikaans as sulks nie? -- Daar was nooit 'n beswaar teenoor my gerig nie, alhoewel (30) 'n opmerking op een van die swartborde tydens die dag van 6 Augustus/...

Augustus.geskryf is.

Wat was dit gewees? -- Ek kan nie die presiese woorde onthou nie, dit was net iets in verband met Afrikaans, maar dit was niks besonders nie. Dit is gefotografeer deur die Speurdiens.

GEEN VERDERE VRAE.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Edele, die volgende getuie is mnr. Simon Mgcina.

SIMON MGCINA: sworn states:

ADV. VAN GRAAN: You have been principal of the Ithobe Higher Primary and Secondary School. -- Yes. (10)

Where is that school situated? -- It is in Rocklands.

How many pupils do you have there? -- 907 pupils altogether.

Did you have any problems at your school before the 20th August, 1976? -- Before the 20th August, 1976, we had no problem in the school.

Did you have any trouble on the 20th August, 1976, at the secondary school? -- Yes, we had trouble on that date. An attempt was made to burn the school.

Did you perhaps observe a strike there by the students? Did they refuse to go into the classes? -- On the 20th they did not refuse to go into the classes, they were in the classes the whole day and their attempt to burn the school was only after school, late in the afternoon. (20)

Did you have a strike there on any other date? -- No. On Monday, the 23rd, the strike started.

Why did they strike? -- They were protesting against the taking of the students by the police for questioning on the 23rd.

The pupils that the police arrested, were they involved in the criminal charge of attempt of arson? -- They were/... (30)

were involved.

Did they take part in the attempt on the 20th August? --
Yes, they did take part.

What happened on the 26th August, 1976? -- On the 26th August the students broke the desks in the school and that case has still to come to court.

Is that at the secondary school? -- That is at the secondary school.

Did you receive any threats from inhabitants of your area? -- Yes, I did receive threats. (10)

From whom? -- One threat which came indirectly, it came through somebody else, a certain nursing sister at Tilonomi(?) Hospital said to a taximan who was conveying them, a parent of the convicted students that it was high time that they organised youngsters from Soweto to come and burn my house and destroy me with my family.

Did the parents of the detainees approach the school board in order to get rid of you as principal of the secondary school? -- Yes, they wrote a letter to the school committee which was read in the school committee in my presence and (20) also in the school board. The school board has not acted on the letter up to this present moment.

What is the cause of these unrests at your school? -- I think that the unrest at my school is due to agitation by some adults. I think they incite the pupils.

Do you have proof for that statement? -- I cannot substantiate it fully, but one parent came to tell me one day that one of my teachers came to collect the very leader of the students at 12 o'clock midnight. Incidentally the teacher got lost and got into the wrong house and that aroused (30) my suspicion.

What/...

What was the date when he paid a visit to that house, the teacher? Can you remember the date? -- The date I cannot remember, but it was before the riot.

At your school? -- Yes, before the riot at my school.

Before the 20th August. -- Yes.

Did you find any pamphlets at your school at any stage during the riots? -- Yes, on the 28th September I found the Black Power pamphlet in one of the classrooms and I sent a pamphlet of each one to the school committee, one to the school board and one to the circuit office and when I (10) came back I found the bulk of the pamphlets removed, they had just disappeared.

Were the pamphlets typed or in what manner were they written on the pamphlets? -- They were typed and apparently put through a roneo machine.

What was the contents of the pamphlet? -- They were on Black Power and it was actually the outside of the pamphlet was a picture of a monster and then the words written 'Black Power'. Inside the pamphlet on the inside part was written the manner in which to incite the pupils by way of showing (20) them their grievances and how they are ill-treated and then in future the one who controls them will be able to do anything with them.

Do you have a copy of that pamphlet? -- Unfortunately I do not have a copy. I had just gone to the Education Department and they told me that they passed the copy to the police.

What was the colour of that pamphlet? -- It was yellowish in colour.

CHAIRMAN: You will make investigations about the finding of that pamphlet? (30)

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Yes, I will do so, M'Lord. I am not so sure, but/...

but I think we came upon that pamphlet or a similar pamphlet in the Rustenburg area.

CHAIRMAN: If the police has been handed one, see whether we can get a copy which can be compared with the one that we have.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Do you know what the genuine - or rather what is one of the grievances that you are aware of amongst your pupils? -- One of the grievances of my people that I am aware of was the fact that the secondary school students wanted their own school building.

Are the pupils of both schools accommodated in one (10) complex? -- Yes, they are accommodated in one building.

CHAIRMAN: In other words, the senior students wanted to be away from the junior students? -- Yes.

What do you think of that, you as a principal? Do you think they ought to be separated? -- I think they ought to be separated.

Doesn't it make the organisation of teaching somewhat difficult when you have teach for the younger children, the primary children and the high school children? Do you use separate teachers for the one section and separate teachers (20) for the other? -- Yes. The secondary school teachers are separate and the primary school teachers are also separate teachers.

How many teachers are there? -- There are 8 in the secondary school department and 15 in the primary school sector

ADV. VAN GRAAN: The previous witness referred to a slogan that was observed on the blackboard in one of the classes. Did you also observe that slogan? -- I observed it.

Now, to which situation did that slogan refer to? -- It is actually an extract from the Manifesto of Piet Retief. (30)

Did you think at that time that the slogan was relevant

to/....

to the circumstances at your school? -- It was not relevant to the circumstances at my school although when I asked a teacher about it, he said he wrote it as he was teaching on the Great Trek.

Do you have any White teachers at your school? -- No, we are all Black.

Can you describe the relationship between the teachers and the pupils at your school? -- The relationship between the teachers and the pupils at my school is good. It has always been good with the exception perhaps of one teacher who (10) joined our staff in about June and incidentally the pupils happened to resent her and that I attribute to her incompetence.

Your school is a Xhosa school? -- It is a Xhosa school.

Do you have pupils from other areas? -- We have pupils from other areas.

Now, the ringleader of the lot at your school and the pupils who were convicted, are they local pupils or are they from other areas? -- They are all local pupils.

Did you have any particular trouble with pupils from other areas? -- I haven't had trouble with them, except one (20) who is to appear before court in the group that I have just mentioned that is still to come before court. That is one who happens to be an outsider.

What was the medium of instruction at your school during the year? -- It has always been a dual medium of instruction; we are teaching through English and Afrikaans.

Are you going to use only English as a medium next year? -- The school board decided that (of course I was present) to avoid possible trouble in future, English be used as the medium of instruction, with Afrikaans getting the more (30) periods as a subject.

Who/...

Who is chairman of the school board who took this decision? -- The chairman of the school board at the present day is Mr Madolo and it is his board that took that decision; Mr Frans Madolo.

Who was the previous chairman of that school board? -- Previously the chairman was Mr Kayo, he followed Mr Ngalo.

Was - did Mr Ngalo retire or how come that he is not the chairman of the board any more? -- He was dismissed by the Department of Bantu Education.

Why was he dismissed? -- He was not following the (10) regulations as stipulated by the Department.

What did he do? -- There were many irregularities that he made. One that I can mention, a certain teacher, Mr Khula, was appointed by him and one member of the board. Well, in actual fact teachers are to be appointed by a fully-fledged board.

That teacher that you referred to, what is his name? -- Masiko Khula.

Was he dismissed in 1971? -- He was dismissed in 1971 by Mr Kayo's school board. (20)

Why was he dismissed? -- Mr Khula was involved in several troubles in the school and the community. He was causing a turmoil and misunderstanding.

Amongst the teachers? -- Amongst the teachers and amongst the school board and so on.

No further questions, M'Lord.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

ADV. JACOBS: M'Lord, the next witness will be Mr Lebona Motsoeneng.

LEBONA MOTSOENENG: sworn states: (30)

ADV. JACOBS: M'Lord, the witness has no objection to his name being/...

being published.

CHAIRMAN: Well, up to now the names and identities may not be - were not allowed to be published. In the case of this witness it may be published.

ADV. JACOBS: You are at present holding the following offices: secretary of the Manaung Chamber of Commerce, that is the Bloemfontein Chamber of Commerce. -- Correct.

You are a school committee member and you have 5 years' experience, as you said, of the pleasures and displeasures of being a member of the school committee. Is that (10) correct? -- Correct.

And then you are also a parent with children attending school at primary and at high school level. -- Correct.

Thus you have also experience of the pleasures and displeasures of fatherhood. -- Very much so.

You did not have any riots within the normal sense of the word, but you did have problems in Bloemfontein. Is that correct? -- Correct.

What is the possible reason for the trouble in Bloemfontein, according to your views? -- With regard to schools? (20)

The language issue in the first place. -- As far as I know and can remember the language problem has not been a thorny issue in Bloemfontein, except that African students find Afrikaans a difficult language.

Why so? -- For reasons I am not able to explain, but they feel English is an easier subject and language, they can learn better in English, they are better able to express themselves in English and one other reason why students in general do not favour Afrikaans as a medium of instruction is because there are very few Black teachers who are as proficient in (30) English as they are in Afrikaans and when they have to give instruction/...

instruction in Afrikaans, students find themselves in problems during examination time because their standard of Afrikaans is always disappointing.

Are they opposing Afrikaans as such or only as a medium of instruction? -- According to my information, most Black students would like to study Afrikaans as a subject, not as a medium of instruction.

How do you feel about Afrikaans as a language and not as a medium of instruction? -- I feel whether a student studies courses through the medium of Afrikaans or not, if he (10) studies Afrikaans as a subject, he does literature, he does drama in Afrikaans, more so in the Free State we speak to European friends and you do business through the medium of Afrikaans whenever we come into touch with the European community and as such I do not find any difficulty in any person either learning Afrikaans or expressing himself in Afrikaans.

You yourself speak Afrikaans fluently. -- I do, though not to the same extent as I am in English.

Now you can proceed. The reaction of the Minister of Bantu Administration to the violence. -- As a member (20) of a school committee for a number of years and my thorough communication with Black intellectuals, the reaction of the Honourable Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to allow Blacks to decide the language of instruction at all Black schools was welcome and received with the greatest enthusiasm.

So there is no problem about the language issue any more. Is that correct? -- No problem whatsoever.

And then the political aspects of the grievances amongst your people, are there any? -- There are too many of them (30) to mention. The causes of Black frustrations are numerous.

I am one of the men deeply involved in the plight and frustrations which Blacks suffer at the hands of White controlled institutions. In the interests of this Commission of Inquiry I will discuss one well-known organisation to substantiate my allegation, namely Blacks suffer frustrations at the hands of White controlled institutions. I will take the U.B.C.

How is the U.B.C. generally known in your community in Bloemfontein, the Black community? -- I am treating it as an example of what I think is the main cause of complaints (10) and grievances of the Black community.

But how is the U.B.C. called? -- There are so many names coined to ridicule the U.B.C. by virtue of the fact that it is not an effective body of representatives. They call it - well, somebody called it this, but I know the name which is usually used, it is called a 'Ja Baas Group', meaning that they agree with the White man whatever he does to a Black community. To expound, Parliament has passed an act in 1961 in terms of which the Urban Bantu Council is by law a status body vested with executive powers. Now, the question is, why are (20) these executive powers not given the Urban Bantu Council to exercise for the benefit of the Black community? Are there any other authority other than Parliament which has jurisdiction to withhold the right of authority which Parliament has granted the Urban Bantu Council to exercise in the interests of the community which the U.B.C. has been elected to represent effectively? Further, the Black man suffers the inhuman decentralisation of power and administration. Take the Administration Boards which are so unpopular with the Black communities. Excuse me, I do not refer to a (30) specific Bantu Administration Board, I am generalising, but I do/...

do have grievances about the personal treatment which my people and myself receive at the hands of the Bantu Administration Board locally. I do not express my opinion, I am stating facts and the truth.

Are you referring to the treatment by senior officials or the junior officials? -- We come into contact daily with the most junior and whatever dissatisfaction one receives, one takes it up to the higher authorities or to the higher office, but it is sometimes surprising when you are told by a higher office that the higher office is not aware of what is (10) happening at the lower levels. You request on bended knee that the grievances which had not been taken into consideration by the lower office should be handled effectively by the higher office, but still in numerous cases you still find no help. We have superintendents, we have managers who deal with us daily and the highest offices are those of the directors. Time does not allow me to expound further. In conclusion I may say one of the offices which Black people mingle day by day for help, pleading for humanitarian treatment and consideration is the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's Office. Old (20) people, sick people. I cannot very much complain of having been ill-treated, I am not here to express personal views or objective considerations.

If you have any personal grievances, you may mention it. -- Thank you. I am merely expounding on what is happening to my people in general and I am also a victim of promises which have never been fulfilled for a number of 10 full years, these given promises.

Can you just mention one or two of these promises? -- I personally applied in 1964 for for a business site in (30) the township and to this day all I have been receiving are promises/...

promises. The day will come when I will be given a final say as to go on with the business. I mentioned in my last application that I will have financial means to finance the project which I have been requesting in many applications which I am not even able to count - ten years is a stretch of time - and I have just been told to wait. In conclusion I would like to say the difference between a law-abiding and a non-law-abiding Black does not exist.

Can you elaborate on that? -- A Black medical practitioner or a Black law practitioner, a Black grave-digger, into (10) the eyes of the White man, just a Black man - no difference.

So what you want to say is that the White people think of the Black people just as a group? -- Correct.

I want to say this attitude has forced Blacks, although very reluctantly, to regard a White man as an enemy of the Black man. The future of mutual race relations in this country depends on the treatment of Blacks, particularly by the Bantu Administration Board. Black leaders met the Prime Minister, the Honourable Mr Vorster in Pretoria and they also expressed the same view that Blacks suffer at the (20) hands of the official of the Bantu Affairs Administration. Thank you very much, Your Lordship.

One last question. What do you think of the policy of apartheid? You discussed that also. -- The best policy is apartheid if all the aspects thereof are applied without reservations and the worst policy is the policy of discrimination. If apartheid can be exercised in a manner that a Black man in the urban area should be given the right to run his own affairs, I think there will be quiet and peace in this country in the urban areas. And that is apartheid. (30)

No further questions, M'Lord.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

MR VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, the next witness is Fred Ranana Ngalo.

FRED RANANA NGALO: sworn states:

ADV. VAN GRAAN: The terms of reference reads as follows:

"To inquire into the riots of Soweto and other areas during June and thereafter and also to determine the causes."

Do you have any information about the local riots? -- Except that which I adduced from the press.

M'Lord, I can indicate to you that the law team that presents the evidence possess clippings from the press (10) reports. So I do not think it is necessary for Mr Ngalo to refer to these reports that are published in the press. Do you have any evidence on the riots in Soweto? -- With regard to Soweto as well, I have nothing experience, but I am relying on that which I read in the press.

Yes, what I have said, M'Lord, I think applies to this remark too. Do you have any evidence on the causes of the riots? -- My personal opinion as I read the paper, the main cause which sparked the whole trouble which is still going on even today in all the country, is the question of (20) education.

Do you have personal experience of that phenomenon that you are referring to? -- I would not say experience, I would say from what I heard in the papers I think the question of low(?) medium of instruction has contributed a lot.

CHAIRMAN: Were you a teacher at one stage? -- No, I was a policeman all the time.

A policeman all the time? -- Yes.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Do you have any personal knowledge about the riots? -- I have no personal knowledge about the riots. (30) I have heard about the riots.

And/...

And of the causes? -- And I have heard about the causes.

CHAIRMAN: You have told me that the main cause is education and that it is the medium of instruction. Is that correct?

-- That is correct.

Now what do you still want to say about the medium of instruction? -- I want to say that had there been no restriction that the Bantu educationists in Bantu schools been allowed to use the English medium of instruction, there would have been no trouble up to now.

There would have been no trouble, you say? -- There (10) would have been no trouble. I want to emphasise that the trouble was sparked by the fact that the medium of instruction in English was refused.

Are you correct? Was it refused or was it only refused in certain subjects? -- It was refused that English should be the only instruction to be used as a medium of imparting knowledge.

Yes, what else do you say about the medium of instruction? -- I say if the Bantu education authorities agreed to the educationists that Afrikaans be used only as a subject (20) to be taught in the classroom, there would have been no trouble.

Yes, anything more about that? -- I would expostulate further and say that after the conference between the Minister of Bantu Education and the U.B.C. officials and sundry villagers in Johannesburg, the Minister agreed or conceded to the fact that any community has the right to choose the language to be used for the education of its children, but made a confession to the fact that this committee should go to the Bantu Education authorities because they are the people (30) that .. (inaudible) .. to correct that with him and to my

utter/...

utter surprise the Regional Director refused flatly and said education has to be administered by us and you live it as it is.

Now look, you are way back now. You say the trouble started because of the medium of instruction. -- That is correct.

All right, now it has started. What was the next step? -- The next step was that it just fled and fled.

That? That it just? -- The next thing was that the police had to go and arrest a child at a school, during (10) playtime. While the police were trying to effect an arrest, the children attacked the police and the police ran away and locked themselves in the principal's office and in the meantime the children went to the government vehicle and set it alight and since that time then there was trouble, there were demonstrations.

Are you referring to an incident at which school? -- I am referring to an incident in the schools in Soweto.

Schools or one school? -- The question of the arrest at a place was only one school and from there the children (20) went around organising themselves into a demonstration. The number of schools in Soweto which I do not know.

It was Naledi School that you possibly refer to. Yes, and then? -- And from there it was these riots which went as far as Cape Town, came to Bloemfontein and came to Natal and all over.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: I have no further questions, M'Lord.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, anything further you wish to say? -- Yes, I would like, as a man of my age, before the Honourable Commission to point out some things which they have been there (30) but just started by that question of the education.

Yes/...

Yes? -- Your country is as good as your mother is to you or to any person or any living thing. I mean that the Black people do, as the White people of this country, regard this country as their mother, their lives are like the same. The love and respect of the laws of a country should be a pride of all its subjects, particularly in a democratic country. I mentioned that before that the Black man of this country, as far as I can see, hasn't got the necessary love and respect of the laws of the country as a White man do. The reason being that from the onset, when these laws (10) are made he is not there, not concerned. He only starts to know the laws or to hear about the laws of the country when they bring him to trial. Then he knows that I have contravened the laws, then he goes to jail. No. 3: the failure and the success of the ruling the government of any country depends entirely on the efficiency of its incumbents and the officers thereof, that these discharge their duties with responsibility and discipline ... (inaudible).. Now, I have experienced from this very riot school question. The trouble was started by the fact that the incumbents did not have the (20) respect of their law, there was no discipline. After the Minister had said that the Black people had the right to ..(inaudible) .. education, why had the Regional Director to say we are the last to say above the Minister? What made them believe that these incumbents are given so wide powers that they can do as they like to the detriment of the country? Not very much with the laws of the country, but it is the person himself who has got to administer these laws, it is where the trouble starts and even now it started with an ordinary servant of the government, the Regional Director. (30) And I remember the children said we have noted now that we have/...

have got no government and we have got no parents to help us, we are the only ones who are suffering under the teachers who are teaching us in a language we cannot control. We are going to see to things. That was in the papers we all read and indeed I felt something should have been done and nothing was done until trouble came. Our people - I am trying to bring the Honourable Commission, things that build up grievances which must one day come to a break and they will injure us all, we will all fall in .. (inaudible) .. all of us, not only White or Black. Power to rule by nature every person (10) has a strong will to rule and in this country only the White man takes that to himself and the Black man must not rule, he must just be a follower. Those things I think create grievances amongst the Black people. Power to own: God has made us all to envy, made again a strong will to own. This is my jacket; anybody cannot have it without my permission, but very little if any, has a Black man in this country a substantial possession. Here I am not even talking about owning houses in locations, we cannot own them and then we have got ... (inaudible) .. a mansion like this only that .. (20) (intervenes)

How do you bring this into the riots? -- I am bringing this, if I may, to show that we cannot go and attribute all this that has happened to the question of education alone. I believe your Commission will attribute this to many other things which are happening and which must be corrected for good of the country. And power to decide the franchise(?) right. That right which .. (intervenes)

Look, I must limit you now to the things that I am investigating and that is the events, and you tell me (30) that the events you have read in the newspapers about. Now then/...

then there is only one thing left to you and that is the cause of the riots. Now you have given me one which is education, the medium of instruction. That you have given me. And that I can see is in direct relation to the riots itself. Now give me the next point that you say is a cause of the unrest, the riots. -- Thank you very much, M'Lord. This also has to do with education. Clause 71, terms of office regulations, under this clause .. (intervenes)

Which regulations are you speaking about? -- The Bantu Education Regulations. (10)

Yes. -- Under these terms the office of the regional director is given very wide powers which he sometimes can use or uses maliciously to the detriment of the nation and of the laws that have been made themselves.

Is your point now that the people who have power, exceeds this power and they are using it wrongly? -- It was mentioned in your Commission that I was once the chairman of a school board and I was chased out on reason that I was doing wrong things and that was not correct. Because if that was the case, I would have been told that I have done that (20) wrong and the other thing. I was chased out because I disagreed with a certain inspector who was wanting to play in the ground or in the powers which are vested in a school board, which had nothing to do with the said inspector and I refused that flatly and I showed the law and the efficiency of my doing the work.

You were a member of a school board. Is that correct? -- I was a member of a school board.

You were removed. -- I was removed.

You say you were removed wrongly or rightly? -- I (30) was removed wrongly, maliciously.

How/...

How does that affect or the principle of your removal affect the question of the riots? -- In .. (inaudible) .. with now that which happened in Johannesburg where a regional director refused to carry a straight forward instruction - a request from the community which the Minister agrees to and I am connecting it with the regional director who here was elected by the people with the franchise which is given the people by the laws of the country that I was elected into the board by the people and he just chases me out as he pleases.

Did he have the right to dismiss you? -- He did (10)
not have the right as far as I am concerned.

I am not talking about whether he did it correctly or not, but did he have the right to dismiss you or to remove you? -- He did not have the right.

He did not have the right. -- He took it upon himself.

Did you take any action when he did this wrong thing to you? -- I did not.

Why not? -- Because I knew it would not help me.

I am sorry? -- I did not do anything except that I wrote to the Minister, I gave him a copy and up to now it has (20) never been answered. I make a mistake to say I did not do anything further, I did something. I wrote a letter reporting my complaints, to the Minister of Bantu Education and I sent him a full copy which is lying in his office and .. (intervenes)

Did the Minister reply to you? -- He never replied to me.

Nobody replied to you? -- Nobody replied to me.

How many letters did you write? -- I wrote one letter which I delivered straight to the Minister and I gave the copy to the director. When I did not get the reply, I wrote another letter which was directed to the Chief Minister (30) of the Ciskeian Government and a copy thereof I sent to
the/...

the regional director here and to the Minister again and never got a reply.

They did not even say that they had received your letter? -- They never even said they received my letter.

The first one was sent to two people to reply to, the first one, and three to the second and of those five ... (intervenes) .. did not reply. -- They did not reply.

Not one of them? -- Not one of them replied. And another one I wrote again in connection with the school again. These things are running around Bantu education. I wrote (10) another report. This I sent to the Commissioner of Police in Bloemfontein to the effect that our school is not making the legal reports according to regulations to the parents for almost 5 years and we do not know what is happening about our finances and in the meantime there have been reports about the falsification(?) of funds and .. (inaudible).

Did he ever reply to you? -- He replied to me.

What did he reply? -- He said he went to the prosecutor and the prosecutor is declining to prosecute.

So you did get a reply to that, and they did not (20) want to prosecute. -- I got a reply to that .. (inaudible) but I am sure that if I had investigated that case, there was a case to form. Somebody did not want to investigate the case. That is our .. (inaudible).. You go to a person, a man of the law to help you, he does not want to help you ... (inaudible).

Yes, what else have you to say with relation to the riots? -- I would say it is very necessary that that we be given a platform where we could say our grievances.

Well, you seem to use a lot of platforms. You wrote letters, you have said things, you were a member of the (30) school board. -- I would ask Your Lordship to give a

platform/...

platform where I can be listened to as I am listened to now. Not where I write a letter and it disappears there and I am talking about the matters of the people. .

You wrote one. Well, why can't you do anything if you want to talk about that? Have you ever stood for the Urban Bantu Council? Can't you make a speech? Can't you go there and become a member, make a speech there? I am just asking you. You do not give me particulars of what you want to do. -- I want to be given a platform where I can say my grievances and talk to another man as I would not talk to any man. (10)

Who do you want to talk to? Do you want to talk to a whole gathering or to one person? -- I want to talk to the one who is responsible for that particular department.

Have you ever tried going to him and asking to speak to him? Yes, is there anything further you would like to say? --(No reply.)

I do not want to cut you short because if you can help me I shall be very grateful. -- I shall be very pleased if you do not cut me short. Do not cut me short. We can show each other, show this Commission things that has gotten me down and (20) those that are not getting down.

This Commission you can only show things why things went wrong. It deals only with the riots. -- We are agreed that the contributory factors are so many. --- Fear and the words 'fear' and 'hatred' was used here by a European gentleman, I think he was a teacher. He was correct. The Black man has so feared the White man that from that fear hatred has developed and we can all agree that whoever you fear ultimately you must hate that person and no country can stand with people hating and fearing each other and ought to appeal to the (30) country through this Honourable Commission that we should substantiate/...

substantiate - substitute the words 'hatred' with 'love' and 'fear' with 'respect'. We shall get those two, take those two, plant them, water them and grow them in this country. Then no such things as Commissions sitting because our own children are burning our own country, are burning us. They do not only burn buildings, they burn us too, they set us alight and really we should be ashamed to come to any country or in front of Almighty God if we find our children as though we have made burning us. We must ask ourselves genuine and true questions without beating about the truth. (10)

Yes? -- Let us not fear and hate .. (intervenes)

Yes, you have dealt with that point. -- Let us love....
(intervenes)

Go onto your next point. -- Thank you very much, M'Lord. In general all people are good and very good sometimes. You hear some people say Europeans are bad and some say Bantu people are bad. There is no such a case. At a stage I am bad and at a stage I am good, and all human minds are like that, there is no forms of saying other people are bad - but as far as the Black man is concerned, the White man is bad.(20) It is one of those things that we must come together and plead. I am saying so because I include the Police Force. When I joined the Police Force about 40 years back, the Police Force was a ..(inaudible) .. amongst people. I went out to say there is nothing as good as a police in a country, but the mistake is the man who administers the law and I corrected that and we can go and correct this issue too provided we are Christians and willing to do that. But remember God has made everyone in image of his own.

Yes, all right, go on to the next point, because (30)
you are a bit away from riots at the moment. -- The laws
have/...

have moderated us so that even the biggest man, the powerful man can live moderately with the lowest man, that is the good made by the laws in the country if they are administered properly and fairly. So that each and everyone has to respect that legislation. The condition in this country is such that in every key position is a White person. This alone is enough to aggravate and to make the Black man hate Whites. Wherever you go you get an instruction, the White man tells you what and what not. No man is willing to .. (inaudible) we can also ... (inaudible) .. those things so that (10) sometimes you have, instead of .. (inaudible) ... have their own people which will happen tomorrow .. (inaudible). Malicious application of the law is what I call that ... (inaudible - witness speaks very indistinctly). We have got another very common word here in our country, segregation. Segregation and discrimination. .. (inaudible) .. there was nothing like that. The meaning here is very good one, but it is again .. (inaudible) .. and enforced by application of the law and it is where this ... (inaudible) .. is felt and resented. Most people feel they are segregated against (20) and that they are discriminated against and there is no such thing except that it is the law that is made that you must not enter that gate, you must enter that one. Otherwise by nature we are willing to stay by ourselves and the White people are willing to stay by themselves in their group. So is nature. Even animals there was no need to make the law, but just ... (inaudible) ... we are segregated against. Laws are made against us to suppress us, laws are made for us only not for the country, but only for the Black people. Those are the things which we should, I think, the Commission should (30) look at very carefully and go to the authorities to see that they/...

they are corrected immediately for the good of the country. Starvation, starvation. So this one is starved, he must take - turn to be a lion, turn to be a dog, and go and steal and go and do things that he should not do, but this starvation. The Black man is starved in this country. That is another thing that must be corrected. If you will go into town, a Black man will buy anything expensively, he will pay that R40 here, he gets R20 a week.

Is that what you got when you were a policeman? --
(inaudible) .. R20 a week he goes to buy furniture for (10) R600, promises to pay R10 per month, where is he going to get from. He is only trying to obtain that commodity in a fraudulent manner because after 2, 3, 5 months it is taken back by the business, it is not his, it is disowned that. And I believe those are the things. Take the question again of Prison Department and the arrests. The person arrests a man in the street for failing to produce a reference book. He goes to jail. When he gets there he meets with terrible seasoned prisoners and he commits the worst crime right in the ... (intervenes) (20)

How does all that affect the riots? -- I am showing you that all the nation that has .. (inaudible) .. turns best out is to something else, turns to do anything which ... (inaudible) to do. ... (inaudible) .. where 14 people here were sentenced to life sentence for having committed brutal murder right in the cells.

Yes, yes, I know all that, I know all that, but how does that affect the investigation of this Commission? -- It affects it in that as it is now there is no European going about burning or committing these riots except those (30) Europeans who are instigating the Blacks. They are done by the/...

the Blacks, they are used easily because there is fertile ground for growing communism and ill-feeling and crime. Any nation that is starved is a good ground for growing ... (intervenes)

You have dealt with starving. -- I have explained that further.

Well, you can take it that I understand it. -- The .. (inaudible) is anybody that is not white, any unclean body you are bound to find a life in that body. So any (inaudible) .. you are bound to find crime in abundance. (10) Thank you, M'Lord.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS.
