

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

AFTERNOON SESSION:

27th JANUARY, 1977.

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THE COMMISSION RESUMES AFTER THE TEA ADJOURNMENT ON THE
27th JANUARY, 1977.

ADV. JACOBS: M'Lord, the next witness is Mr Preston Mareka.

PRESTON MAREKA: sworn states:

ADV. JACOBS: You are a reporter attached to the staff of the Daily Despatch. Is that correct? -- Correct.

You were reporting on the first day of the riots in Mdantsane. -- Yes.

You could not supply the date, but in the meantime I ascertained that it was on the 13th August. Is that (10) correct? -- Yes.

Approximately 11h00. -- Yes.

Can you just tell the Commission what you observed on that date in the Mdantsane area? -- On that date I was on my way to town and I met Mr Wellington Sangotsha, also a reporter and he asked me to go with him to the Mdantsane Hotel and on our way to the hotel we saw a number of - a group of boys and we decided to watch what was going on.

That was about 11h00? -- Correct. We saw boys carrying placards and singing freedom songs and some showing Black (20) Power salutes.

On the placards were written "Soweto is our blood" and "Blood for Soweto" and "Soweto" ... -- "Soweto is our blood". And we tried to take some photographs of the rioters there at the technical high school.

How many of them were there at that stage more or less? -- Plus-minus 150 - 200.

What happened when you tried to take photographs? -- We tried to take some pictures, but they threw some stones at us and then we ran away. (30)

Were you in danger when they threw the stones at you? --

No/...

No, I was not.

Why did you run away? -- No, we just ran away and we went to Hlokoma Secondary School because they were heading for Hlokoma then.

But were you endangered by the throwing of the stones? -- No, no, I was not, then.

Yes. -- And then we took a car to Hlokoma Secondary School and then waited for the boys to come.

How did you know that they were going to the Hlokoma School? -- Because their direction was heading for Hlokoma. (10)

I see. Yes? -- And then we went to Hlokoma and we got a nice spot there outside the school and we waited for them. While they were about 50 to 45 metres away from us, when I took some pictures and they saw me taking some pictures and I tried to run away and they got me at the back with a stone.

Was it a big stone or not? -- Well, I cannot say it was big or small, but all I heard was just a hit on the back.

Were you in danger at that stage by the throwing of the stones? -- Yes, but I was not injured. Within less than 30 minutes anyway, police came with a fleet of cars, vans (20) and cars.

But did the mob then go into the ... -- Yes, they got into the school and then the police came just at that moment.

Yes? -- And they talked to the staff of the school.

The police? -- Yes. And the boys went off, the Hlokoma boys did not join them then.

Not one of them. According to the police evidence some of the Hlokoma children joined the crowd. Is that correct? -- Well, I am not sure.

You are not sure, it is possible. -- But some of (30) the boys went away and they said they would not join.

But/...

But it is possible that some of them did join them in fact. -- That might be the case.

Yes. -- Then they went away and then they took the main road of Zone 3. Then less than 150 metres from the shopping centre, police stopped their vehicles behind the boys and they charged on the boys and they beat them like hell.

According to the police evidence there were about 250 people in the crowd at that stage. Is that possible? -- I cannot dispute that. They beat the boys and some batons were broken through beating the boys and the boys were marching quietly. (10)

What do you mean by quietly? -- I mean there was no violence.

But they were singing freedom songs and giving the Black Power salute and so on, is that correct? -- Ja, sure.

It is correct that it was an illegal procession. -- Well.. Or don't you know? -- I do not know.

Any case, what happened then? -- And the boys were taken to vans and by then there were some members of the public who assisted the police. (20)

Black members? -- Ja, Black members. And they drove off.

The arrests made by the police met the approval of the Black people there? -- No, the arrests were made by the police with the assistance of the Black public.

Members of the public there. -- Yes. And then the crowds were scattered. Now they went towards Khayaletumba, that is now the police.

Did you see that the crowd threw stones at the private vehicles before the police charged at them? -- No.

Is it possible? Because that was the position according to the police evidence. -- No. (30)

That/...

That a private vehicle was thrown by some of the members of the crowd. -- Not at all.

Didn't you see that? -- No.

Yes. -- The police gathered near Khayaletumba and then we tried to take some pictures of the technical high school students who were going out of the school. Then we were instructed not to take pictures and we were reminded about the Peter Magubane affair, the one that broke his nose in Soweto while he was taking pictures of the rioters.

You describe the crowd as peaceful, there was no violence. Is that correct? -- No violence. (10)

What do you feel about the throwing of stones at you, hitting you on the back? Is that no violence? -- Well, they said I must not take pictures, and I insisted taking pictures.

You were an innocent member of the public at that stage. Is that correct? -- No, I was a pressman.

Yes, but aren't you a member of the public? -- Yes, sure.

And they threw stones at you. Is that correct? -- Yes.

Will you describe that as non-violent action? -- Well, they said I annoyed them because they did not want to be seen. (20)

Will you describe that as non-violent action? -- That was violent.

So it is just a little error there. You can proceed. -- I was told not to take pictures and the police officer warned us that should we take any pictures they would take the film off the camera. And then we went off. I went to the office. The following day the riots continued.

That was on the 17th August. Is that correct? The incident you are describing now. -- I am not sure of the date, but the incident took place at the main bus terminus. (30)

In/...

In Mdantsane. -- In Mdantsane. The police were from Wongalethu High School and then I saw police chasing the car on foot, trying to stop it and that was Mr Papa Mbatyotis's car and Mr Gwentshe was inside the car. They wanted to arrest Mr Gwentshe, but the car did not stop there. But ultimately it did stop and they took Mr Gwentshe out of the car and put him into a police car.

That was about 12 midday, is that correct? -- Yes. Again we were warned not to take pictures. Then members of the public came in to ask what was happening because Mr Gwentshe had nothing to do with these riots then. Then they said the police must stop taking him and the police insisted taking him and then there was chaos and when Mr Gwentshe .. (10)
(intervenenes)

What do you mean by chaos? -- I mean .. (intervenenes)

Do you mean throwing of stones? -- No, no, disorder.

What kind of disorder? -- Some few boys threw some stones. Not students anyway, these young makwatini(?). They threw some stones at the police and then the police wanted to arrest Mr Mbatyoti because Mr Gwentshe was gone by then. And (20)
they tried to search for him, they could not find him and they came back and arrested Mr Mbatyoti.

According to the police evidence the people there threw stones at the houses, at each other and at the police. Is that correct? As you described it as chaos. -- No, I do not mean that. What I mean is this that young boys threw stones at the police and the police were annoyed and then one of the sergeants instructed all those who had machine guns to take position.

Did they fire at the people or not? -- They fired (30)
teargas to disperse the crowd.

But/...

But not with machine guns? -- No.

But is it correct that according to the police evidence the people threw stones at each other, at the houses and at the police? -- No, not at all.

Isn't that correct? -- No, I mean everybody was watching the police who were searching for Mr Gwentshe in the nearby houses.

Now do you know what led up to this arrest of Mr Gwentshe? -- I do not.

Were you there from the beginning or not? -- Pardon? (10)

Were you there from the beginning of this incident or did you only arrive on the scene when the police was busy arresting him? -- I was only there when the police wanted to arrest him.

So you do not know what led up to this incident. -- No.

Because according to the police, the incident before this arrest, the people there threw stones at each other, at the houses and at the police. That is quite possible, because you were not on the scene at that stage. Is that correct? You cannot dispute that. -- No, I can dispute that because when I came to the bus terminus there was no violence, I mean (20) there was order, but when the police vans came from Wongalethu I was in a car then with Mr Owen Vamu and then we came first to the bus terminus.

You arrived on the scene when the police were busy arresting the person. Is that correct? -- No, no, before they arrested him. He was in a car and this police officer was running, hanging on the window, you know, trying to stop the car, but the car did not stop then.

So you do not know what happened before that. Is that correct? -- I do. (30)

Were you on the scene? -- Yes.

How/...

How long before the arrest? -- 10 minutes before.

What were you doing there? -- I was changing the film in my camera.

So you expected the police to come past there and arrest ... -- It is the main road - no, no, not to arrest, but to pass because they were taking rounds of the school.

No further questions, M'Lord.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

MNR. HLUNGWANI: Die volgende getuie sal wees luitenant-kolonel J.H. de Beer, distrikskommandant, Queenstown. (10)

JOHANNES HERMANUS DE BEER: verklaar onder eed:

MNR. HLUNGWANI: Hier gaan u getuig oor insidente wat in u distrik plaasgevind het. U het 'n oorkoepelende memorandum opgestel wat u sal lees vanaf paragraaf 2(1) of u kan miskien ter inleiding die insident - die twee insidente net noem wat voorafgegaan het. -- 1(1) Op 17.8.76 by Bolotwa, in die polisie-wyk van Bolotwa is daar brandstigting gepleeg by die Lingethle Sekondêre Bantoe Skool. Omstreeks 07h00 is ontdek dat 14 ruite by die skool gebreek is. Petrol in die skoolhoof se kantoor asook in 'n klaskamer gegooi en aan die (20) brand gestee is. 1(2) Venstergordyne, telefoondraad en 'n stoel in die skoolhoof se kantoor is deur vuur beskadig en die skade beloop ongeveer R100. Geen arrestasies of verdagtes. Geen motief kon vasgestel word by die geval nie.

Voordat u u memorandum lees, om net die Kommissie 'n idee te gee van die twee skole, naamlik Fremantle Sekondêre Skool en Mount Athur, sal u eerstens 'n foto inhandig waar die skool verskyn en u sal daarna ook verwys in u getuienis. Dit sal wees BEWYSSTUK 244(a). Ons het besluit om die foto's in een bewysstuk in te handig. -- Korrek. Dit is 'n reeks (30) foto's. Foto (a): hier by punt A toon dit waar 'n oproerige klomp/...

klomp skoolseuns aankom. Hulle het 'n plakkaat gedra. Dit is nadat 'n polisie offisier hulle daar ontmoet het en toegesprek het en hier by - hulle het agter om hierdie geboue beweeg en by C is 'n telefoondraad geknip en toe is hulle later in die saal in hier by punt F gemerk op die foto waar hulle die saal bemors en later deur 'n offisier van die Transkeise Polisie toegesprek is.

Hierdie Freemantle Skool, sal u kan sê min of meer hoeveel leerlinge is daar? -- Die Freemantle Skool beskik ongeveer oor 300 leerlinge. (10)

En dit is die hoërskool vir seuns? -- Dit is 'n hoërskool vir seuns.

En hoe is die leerkragte opgemaak? Ek meen ten opsigte van rassekleur? -- By daardie geleentheid was daar ongeveer 4 Wit leerkragte en die res was Swart leerkragte.

En die hoof van die skool is hy Wit of Swart? -- Die hoof van die skool was 'n Wit skoolhoof gewees.

En die Meisiesskool Mt. Athur, wat is die getal daarso leerlinge min of meer? -- Ongeveer 200 leerlinge.

En die leerkragte? -- Ongeveer 2 Wit leerkragte en die res Swart leerkragte. (20)

Sal u dan nou begin verder lees? -- 2(1) Op 19.8.76: Freemantle Skool naby Lady Frere: 2(2) Op die aand van 18.8.76 was daar 'n geheime vergadering deur senior seuns van die Freemantle Skool in 'n klaskamer gehou waar hulle 'n skoolstaking vir die volgende dag beplan het.

Edele, daar het hier 'n fout ingesluip. Ek het net vlugtig die volgende nommer gekyk, maar toe het ek die volgende Bewysstuk genoem as 244.

VOORSITTER: Moet hy 243 wees? (30)

MNR. HLUNGWANI: Hy moet 243 wees, Edede. Dit sal wees al die foto's/...

foto's, dit is nou 243(a) tot (k). Gaan aan. -- Die vergadering het besluit om die volgende oggend na ontbyt 'n vergadering vir alle skoliere op die skool rugbyveld te hou. Die skool rugbyveld is na aan die geboue geleë. Op die oggend van 19.8.76 is 'n vergadering op die rugbyveld gehou, waarvan daan die skoliere in die rigting van die Freemantle Skool beweeg het. Op pad na die skool is 'n motorvenster gebreek. By die skool is telefoondrade gesny en 'n staatsmotorvoertuig aan die brand gestee. Ek handig in hier BEWYSSTUK 243(b). Vandaar het die studente na Mt. Athur Bantoe Meisiesskool (10) beweeg. By die Mt. Athur Meisiesskool het die skoliere die meisies gedwing om hulle te vergesel in hulle optog na Lady Frere waar hulle volgens inligting 'n drankwinkel sou gaan afbrand het. 2(3) Die volgende skade is deur die oproeriges aangebring: 2(3)(A) By die Mt. Athur Bantoe Meisiesskool: een ruit met klip stukkend gegooi, deurslot van snoepwinkel uitgeruk, diefwering afgebreek, lekkergoed en beskuit gesteel, telefoondraad afgesny, een voertuig, die eiendom van die Transkeise Regering omgerol en beskadig. Hier toon ek foto (c) van dieselfde groep. Die waarde beloop ongeveer R1 000 (20) wat die skade betref. 2(3)(B) Freemantle Bantoe Seunsskool, die skade daar: Telefoondraad is afgesny, voedsel gemors en vertrekke bemors, voertuig van Transkeise Regering omgekeer, met petrol besprinkel en aan die brand gestee. Skade daar beloop ongeveer R2 000. 2(4) Majoor J.J. Muller, met 9 lede van die Mag het na die toneel gehaas en jeugdige deur middel van 'n tolk onderweg na Lady Frere toegesprek. 2(5) Hulle het geëis om deur die Sekretaris van Onderwys en 'n Swart polisie offisier en 'n Minister van die Transkei toegesprek te word. 2(6) Die Sekretaris van Onderwys, mnr. (30) Scheepers, en die Hoof van die Transkei se Swart Polisiemag, majoor/...

majoor Cwele (nou brigadier) is vanaf Umtata ontbied en het hulle sonder welslae toegesprek. 2(7) Die Bantoe dogters het hulle op versoek gedistansieer en 266 Bantoe seuns is gearresteer en aangekla. 2(8) Op 23.8.76 is 265 van die seuns skuldig bevind aan bovermelde oortreding en is as volg gevonniss. Die oortreding was Wet 17 van 1956 Artikel 2(6)(a)(i) - onwettige byeenkoms te Freemantle Skool op 19.8.76, gelees met Goewermentskennisgewing 1374 gedateer 5 Augustus 1976. 57 - 6 maande gevangenisstraf; 178 tot 8 houe en 30 tot 6 houe elk. Die Prokureur-generaal van die Transkeise (10) Regering het om tegniese redes geweier om sommige van die beskuldigdes op 'n verdere aanklag van openbare geweld te vervolg. 2(9) Geen geweld is gebruik in hierdie geval nie. Geen persone is gedood of beseer nie. Om geweld te voorkom is skoliere nie gekonfronteer nie, maar is daar met hulle onderhandel. Hulle het geen vaste patroon gevolg nie en het moontlik die Swart Mag as motief gehad en was gekant teen die onafhanklikheidswording van die Transkei, soos van die slagspreuke van die plakkaat afgelei kan word. Hier het ons foto (d), 2(10) die slagspreuk lees daar: "Soweto is our Blood. We (20) want freedom not independence." By hierdie skool is daar ook 4 petrolbomme gevind, twee elk in afsonderlike klaskamers. Die inhoud van hierdie bomme het bestaan uit petrol, olie en sand. 2(11) Drank het hier geen rol gespeel nie. Daar is ook sekere dokumente gevind.

Dit sal die volgende bewysstuk wees, BEWYSSTUK 244. -- 244(a), ek lees dit uit, dit begin met die woord: "The Pons".

Weet u wat daardie woord beteken 'Pons'? -- Ongelukkig weet ek nie.

Dit is 'n soort van 'n titel van die nota.. -- (30) Dit is moontlik 'n titel van die geskrif.

Sal/...

Sal u dit verder lees asseblief? -- Getuie lees:

"I was born Black as Mr Sowasi's son.
I would not be swayed by any decision
given by a White man which I can see
that they are of great disadvantage
to me. The principal himself is
trying to destroy our future. Oh,
Lord, why Lord, why pick on us? What
did the Black man do? We are suffer-
ing and we are still going to suffer.
Why this misery each day, oh, Lord.
We will gain freedom when the Black
and White blood runs through the
streets. Blood, blood. I see it,
I smell it, I taste it. It is
salt. It runs red upon the ground.
It rains down from the sky. Ha,
Ha, Ha, there will be much blood
shed in future."

(10)

Dan is dit geteken deur Sowasi.

(20)

Op die keersy is ook sommer iets soos dit geskryf is
asof die mense nou klagtes het oor die skool regulasies. -- Ja,
agterop is geskryf:

"We leave this school under certain
regulations and we as accused as not
complying with the Freemantle unruly
regulations."

Ek handig dit in.

Sal u ook BEWYSSTUK - die twee bewysstukke ook - dit is
nou, u het nou al (a) ingehandig. (b) en (c) sal u dit (30)
sommer inhandig, want dit is - hulle is op dieselfde trant. --

Ja/...

Ja, (b) is 'n fotostaat van 'n geskrif wat in een van die tikmasjiene gevind is. Ek lees dit:

"The time for talking is over White pigs. The White bastards. Mandela the only Black leader. Away with Matanzima and his independence."

En dan die volgende een. -- En dan (c) is 'n geskrif voorkant en dan die agterkant is as't ware 'n kollekte-lys. Ek lees dit ook aan die Hof voor. Dit kom van die Freemantle Skool:

(10)

"Brothers and sisters. I think everybody has witnessed all that was happening to our Black brothers and sisters. They were solely fighting for their rights, but unfortunately some of the families in Soweto had to part with their relatives, friends and the nation as a whole lost its brothers and sisters. Blood and tears were shed and some even collapsed. They were compelled by the spirit of patriotism. We also have been crying, but what about those who have lost their close relatives. I think it will be difficult for them to cope up. Money is a difficult task to the Black people. If you believe that you are Black, you have the spirit of patriotists. You have the Black consciousness. Why don't you

(20)

(30)

sympathise/...

sympathise with them and contribute whatever you have? Aim: To try and help those who have parted with their close relatives. Financially you as to impure their hearts to wipe off the tears in their eyes to soothe them showing our last tribute to our brothers and sisters that one day we will be together in heaven."

Dan volg daar 'n naamlys en onder staan:

(10)

"Power and solidarity."

Agterop is die kollekte-lys.

Wat volg is somer insidente wat plaasgevind het en dit was somer gewone brand, al het dit verband gehou met hierdie. Sal u nou begin lees by 5(1) waar dit nou oorgaan na die Kleurlinge toe? -- Ja, hier is net ook 'n foto wat daar geneem is waarvan die letterink van die afrolmasjien geneem is en op die grond, op die vloer geskryf is "White Pigs". Dan op 5 September 1976 by die Mt. Athur Bantoe Heisiesskool, Lady Frere is daar brandstigting gepleeg om 14h00 op 5.9.76 (20) was gevind dat 'n poging aangewend is om 'n klaskamer van bovermelde skool aan die brand te steek. Papiere is op 'n tafel geplaas, met benzine besprinkel en aan die brand gestee, waar daar skade van ongeveer R100 aan swartborde aangerig is. Geen arrestasies is uitgevoer of geen verdagtes is bekend nie. Die moontlike motief is medelye met die Freemantle seuns wat gearresteer is en deur studente van Fort Hare Universiteit aangestig is.

Hoekom sê u dit? -- Volgens die dogters wat daar deur my ondervra is, het melding gemaak daarvan dat Fort Hare (30) se studente dwang op hulle uitoefen en dat hulle bang is vir

die/...

die studente van Fort Hare.

Is dit nou die dogters van die ander skool? -- Van die Mt. Athur Meisiesskool. Dan 4(1) Op 15.9.76 by die Mzimkulu Sekondêre Skool, dit is in die Glen Grey gebied naby Lady Frere: Omstreeks 05h00 is 5 klaskamers van hierdie skool aan die brand gestek, waarvan slegs 2 klaskamers beskadig is. 4(2) 'n Boekkas en die plafon in een klaskamer, asook boeke en die plafon van 'n tweede klaskamer is beskadig. 4(3) Petrol was op die boekkas en boeke gespreinkel en aan die brand gestek. 4(4) 4 Bantoe skoliere is betrokke, waarvan 3 alreeds (10) gearresteer is. 4(5) Die skade beloop ongeveer R200 en geen beserings is betrokke nie. 4(6) Geen motief kon vasgestel word nie. Geen geweld was gebruik nie en geen oproer was betrokke nie. 5(1) Op 26.8.76 by die Maria Louw Kleurling-skool, die sekondêre skool, Nuwerus Woonbuurt by Queenstown: Opsetlike saakbeskadiging. Om 07h30 is daar 58 vensterruite van die agterste voorafvervaardigde reeks klaskamers stukkend geslaan waarvan die skade ongeveer R120 beloop. 5(2) Die vermoede is dat van die skool se kinders betrokke is. 5(3) Geen arrestasies is uitgevoer of geweld gebruik nie. (20) Drank speel geen rol nie. Die klaarblyklike motief is simpatie met eerwaarde Hendrickse se arrestasie.

Weer eens daarso hoekom sê u so? -- Tydens 'n besoek van my aan die skool het ek die skoolhoof gespreek en die skoolhoof het aan my vertel dat die kinders sleg voel oor sy arrestasie aangesien hulle altyd so graag na sy toesprake geluister het.

Gaan aan. -- 6(1) Op 10.9.76 by die Maria Louw Sekondêre Kleurling Skool (dieselfde skool): Om 08h30 het ongeveer 300 Kleurling leerlinge met slagspreuke opgevorm om na bewering 'n vreedsame optog na die Blanke gebied (30) te onderneem. 6(2) Eksel en ander offisiere het na die toneel/...

toneel gehaas en die optog in die kiem gesmoor. Ek handig hier foto's in.

Die foto's is (f), (g), (h) en (i) van BEWYSSTUK 243. -- Asook (j). Geen geweld was gebruik nie.

VOORSITTER: Ek wonder, kan u net daardie deel uitlees, want al die plakkate se slagspreuke is nie duidelik nie. Daar in 6(3). -- 6(3) Die slagspreuke het soos volg gelees: "Detention - but why kill them", "So where to now", "Apartheid the monster against black power", "Away with this discrimination in this S.A.", "Vorster - Kissinger (10) talks eye blind", "We don't want a Moron to rule us", "We shall fight if we must", "We want freedom".

MNR. HLUNGWANI: Weet u wat 'moron' beteken? -- Imbicile, a moron is more or less the same as imbicile.

Wou u miskien iets te sê gehad het oor hierdie slagspreuke? -- 6(4) Die moontlike motief is simpatie met die Kleurlinge in die Kaap en elders. 6(5) Geen geweld was gebruik of arrestasies uitgevoer nie, asook geen persone aangekla nie. Drank het geen rol gespeel nie, ook was geen besondere patroon gevolg nie. 7(1) Op 15.9.76 was daar by 'n rekordkamer (20) by die venster van die betrokke skool, die Maria Louw Skool, ingebreek en 'n brandslang deur gestoot en dokumente natgespuit. Dit is foto (j) wat reeds deur my ingehandig.

VOORSITTER: Daardie insident wat u nou van praat? -- Is paragraaf 7(2).

Mnr. HLUNGWANI: U wou nou net begin praat van wat die vorige aand gebeur het. -- Wat die vorige aand gebeur het, ja.

Voor die 15de. -- 7(1) Gedurende die aand van 15/16.9.76 by Maria Louw Kleurling Sekondêre Skool: Omstreeks 22h15 is 'n reeks klaskamers in die vorm van 'n vooraf- (30) vervaardigde gebou deur 'n vuur in puin gelê. 7(3) Die skade/...

skade in hierdie geval beloop ongeveer R17 000. 7(4) Ses leerlinge van die skool is in hierdie verband gearresteer waarvan 5 op 'n klagte van opsetlike saakbeskadiging skuldig bevind is. 7(5) Geen geweld was gebruik of persone beseer nie. Geen vaste patroon was gevolg nie. Geen motief kon gevind word behalwe dat hulle moontlik nie wou eksamen skryf nie en polities geïnspireerd is weens die feit dat een van die leerlinge se familie in die Kaap doodgeskiet is. Dan gaan ons oor na 20 en 21 September 1976. Dit is 8(1) Mhlonthlo Bantoe Sekondêre Skool ook by Lady Frere. Opsetlike saak- (10) beskadiging. Gedurende die nag van 20/21.9.76 is 112 ruite waarvan die skade ongeveer R175 beloop, gebreek. 8(2) Daar was 14 leerlinge van die skool gearresteer, maar die saak is teruggetrek weens gebrek aan getuienis. 8(3) Geen geweld was gebruik of persone beseer nie. Geen motief kon vasgestel word nie, asook geen vaste patroon was gevolg nie. 9(1) Wrywing tussen skoliere en onderwysers het oor hierdie periode van die onrus ook voorgekom by die Daliwe Bantoe Skool te Cathcart, Nckwanca Bantoe Sekondêre Skool by Queenstown en die Sautiya Sekondêre Bantoe Skool te Kleinbulhoek. (20)

U het ook gepraat van plaaslike griewe wat hier betrokke was in hierdie skool. -- Dit was die oorsaak wat aangevoer of die redes wat hier aangevoer was is byvoorbeeld sommer klagtes van geringe aard wat deur die leerlinge teen die onderwysers gemaak is, bewerings dat daar van hulle skoolgelde gesteel is en ook dat die sportgelde nie gebruik word vir die doel waarvoor dit gefinansier is nie.

Gaan voort asseblief. -- 9(2) Hierdie knelpunte was minderwaardig van aard en soortgelyk aan die besware by Soweto en is na samesprekings tussen die polisie, ouers (30) en onderwysers uitgestryk. 10(1) Gedurende Februarie 1976

was/...

was daar reeds probleme ondervind by die Freemantle Skool waar die leerlinge die skoolhoof, ene mnr. Cronje, weens godsdienstige redes verwerp het. 10(2) Hierdie verwerping was moontlik deur die voorsitter van die Students Christian Movement aangestig. Sowasi is die betrokke se naam.

U praat van hierdie moeilikheid teen die prinsipaal van die skool oor godsdienstige redes. Sal u asseblief 'n bietjie daar uitbrei? -- Die kinders was nie tevrede - wou die skoolhoof nie aanvaar nie en om die saak reg te stel, was die skoolhoof daar verplaas as voorsorgmaatregel sou ek sê (10) om verdere probleme te voorkom.

En hoe het dit gegaan met sy opvolger? -- Ja, nadat hy verplaas is, het die moeilikheid toe by die betrokke skool ontstaan, het die optog toe 'n aanvang geneem en voortgegaan.

Dit was toe na die verplasing van die vorige man? -- Dit is korrek.

Gaan aan. -- 10(3) Die voorval was onder die aandag van die Sekretaris van Bantoe Onderwys te Umtata, mnr. Scheepers, gebring wat die skoolhoof laat verplaas het. 11. Skole was gedurende die tydperk van onrus deur die polisie besoek en (20) in samewerking met die publiek bewaak. Samesprekings was ook deurgaans met skoolhoofde en die betrokkenes ter voorkoming van onrus en ter beskerming van eiendom gevoer.

U het in konsultasie ook gepraat van die houding wat die onderwysers ingeneem het met hierdie oproerighede.

VOORSITTER: Die onderwysers in die algemeen?

MNR. HLUNGWANI: By sekere skole. -- Die dag toe ek die optog wat hulle begin het by die Maria Louw Skool, besoek het en toe dit in die kiem gesmoor is, het ek gemerk dat die onderwys personeel heeltemal passief staan, hulle was (30) eenkant en hulle het nie die kinders beheer of probeer beheer nie/...

nie.

Edele, ons sal hierso inhandig die verklarings wat oorkoepel word in daardie verklaring, dit is die verklaring deur kaptein Stander, 245; en majoor Muller, 246; en brigadier Cwele van Transkei, 247. I have no further questions to the witness, M'Lord.

GEEN VERDERE VRAE.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, I now call Mr M.M. Mvalo.

MOLLYNEAUX MAKHUNGA MVALO: sworn states:

DR YUTAR: You have come forward to give your personal (10) views on the school disturbances that took place at Mdantsane during 1976. -- That is so.

And you are in position to do so as a result of an instruction which you received from your Minister of Education in the Ciskeian Government to attend and observe the disturbances that took place in your various townships and to do all in your power to have the situation restricted, contained and to see what you can do to restore peace and order and harmony. -- That is right.

And of course you received that instruction from (20) your Minister in your capacity as the Cultural Officer in the Department of Education. -- Yes.

It is over that signature and position of yours that you have prepared this document which is now before His Lordship and I would ask you to read it out paragraph by paragraph and as I said to you in consultation, I may ask you a few supplementary questions and would you please elaborate when you feel it is necessary. -- Yes.

First paragraph. -- No. 1?

Yes.

(30)

CHAIRMAN: I think you had better - oh, you have dealt with the/...

the first part.

DR YUTAR: Yes. You are the organiser of Culture for the Ciskei with an office at Zwelitsha. -- That is right.

Paragraph 1. -- 1. I engaged myself in a number of meetings and interviews with students, teachers, parents, local authorities and the police.

Now it is a fact that the first signs of riots in this area only took place late in July. -- That is right.

Whereas the riots in Soweto began on the 16th June, 1976. -- So I read in the papers. (10)

But in your district conditions were calm and peaceful. Is that right? -- That is right.

There was no sign of any trouble brewing. -- Nothing.

Now what was the purpose of your meetings with the teachers, the students, the local authorities and the police? What was the purpose of those meetings? -- It was when this trouble started here and we tried, as I was instructed by the Minister to have this situation restricted and contained, we tried to meet the parents about this position of the students causing these - making these protests and marches and (20) not coming to school. Trying to convince, to talk to them about the value of education and the dangers involved in the marches they were making.

Now in your interviews, let us take each one in turn. In your interviews with the teachers, did you get their co-operation or what was their reaction? -- Well, with the teachers, I think I have got something about the teachers noted down here.

Yes. -- Yes, I did meet the teachers, but nothing constructive to help in containing the situation I got (30) from them. Their attitude was a bit indifferent for some reasons/...

reasons I suppose I mention further down.

You come to that where you deal with their attitude later. And insofar as your meeting with the students are concerned? -- The students, when I met them personally, they were quite courteous to me, they were not violent towards me, but I just could not get the reasons, the debated reasons for what they were doing, the real cause of what they were doing, directly from them. They were very evasive and one could not just get the real truth. One could see that there was something, but they would not come out with it. (10)

And as you point out later, we will come to it, some of the students had no reason at all, but just went along with the rest. -- Yes.

Now in your interviews with the local authorities and by that you mean? -- The members of the Township Council, the police.

Did you get their support? -- I got the support of the police. I got the support of the members of the Council.

And they were helpful in every way possible? -- Very much so. (20)

And then finally your meeting with the parents of the children. What was their attitude? -- The parents meetings - most of the parents, the majority of them let me say, are people who are not literate, that is the trouble. They just could not understand the whole thing, they just did not know what was happening. As I mention further down here, some of them are not at home, they do not know that their children, for instance are not going to school. They are surprised to learn that their children are not going to school. Because when they come to school they ask the child: have you been to school, the child will say: I have been to school, whereas/... (30)

whereas the child did not go to school.

Those are the parents of course who leave early for work in the morning and come back late at night. -- Yes.

All right, we go on then to the second point that you make. -- 2. The original clear call by the students was the release of detained Soweto students.

Would you like to elaborate on that? -- Yes, I think this was their first call that they started these marches. Because in the placards they had, they had this "Soweto Blood" or "Release the detained Soweto students", that was the first sign here of the unrest. (10)

Well, it would appear then they started these marches as a protest against and in sympathy with the Soweto troubles. -- Yes.

Now we come to point No. 3. -- 3. As the press spread the news of the unrest there was a call for Soweto blood and Black consciousness by those involved.

Did you find here as we have found in other parts of the country, that some of the reporting produced - of the unrest produced a political climate in which agitators and organisers flourished in their work; were sort of incited to do even more? -- I will agree with you there very much because what I notice is that the students were very much interested in reading papers in a way I have never seen before. They were very much interested in buying a paper as you will find out when you go to the shops who sell papers, the papers are finished. I suppose they were interested in reading what was going on in other parts in connection with this type of unrest in the country. (20)

And therefore encouraged by what they had read. -- They read definitely they were encouraged by that. (30)

Now/...

Now you make point No. 4 that the marches of protest that were organised, they were peaceful but illegal. -- Yes.

Would you like to say anything about that? -- Those that I witnessed, the marches I witnessed, they were peaceful. The boys just marched in groups and they did nothing to the police as it were, or the public. They just marched towards their destination. I say illegal because I knew then that there was proclamation of an act already passed by the - either parliament or the officials that be, that marches at that time were illegal. And I say it was illegal. (10)

But beyond that although illegal, they were peaceful. -- Beyond that, those I witnessed were peaceful.

And those you witnessed, the police did not interfere with those marches? They did not take any action? -- They did in one instance.

We will come to that. -- Yes, we will come to that.

Now No. 6. -- 6. Things got .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: No, I think No. 5.

DR YUTAR: I beg your pardon, yes. -- 5. I found out that a few were aware of what they were doing, but the majority (20) acted on influence, fear and half-truths.

Well, I am interested now to know exactly what you mean when you say the majority acted on influence. Influence by whom or by what? -- Influenced by the press, influenced by those I thought were militant, they were in the thing, they knew exactly what was happening, because what you would find is that at a school, the morning assembly was on and then the boys will not go to their - after assembly they will not go to classes, they will go outside and assemble outside the school, either in the playgrounds or in the fields. Then you will (30) see one figure coming from outside the school, going towards the/...

the boys that are assembled there and addressing them. Then after that you are sure that something will still happen.

And the one figure that came forward and addressed them, could we regard him as sort of the ringleader? -- I would say as an influence I would say.

And would he be one of the students or would he be a complete outsider? -- As I noticed, it is usually somebody from outside, but a student.

When you say from outside, you mean from beyond your district? -- No, locally. (10)

Locally but outside the school. -- Not from the school.

Not from the school. And you speak of some acted on fear. What do you mean by that? -- Later we found out that some students, when we interviewed them, they feared to go to school because there were threats that they will be beaten up on their way to school. So they just joined.

And finally half-truths, I am interested in that. -- Well, half-truths, well, many things were said by the people in the location that this and this is going to happen. For instance, I met one little girl shaking, going on her way to school because she was told that now look, the uniform you are wearing, the books you are having, next year those things you will not buy you will get them free. So do not go to school, go back and wait for next year. That is an example of these half-truths I am talking about. (20)

Right, No. 6. -- 6. Things got bad when some students were arrested and when examination time was nearing.

By that you mean? -- By that I mean after the arrest of some students then those who were left behind seemed to be more in sympathy now with those that were arrested and they sort of now joined the movement as it were in, for example, not/... (30)

not attending the school in being annoyed by the presence of the police, that sort of thing.

We led evidence that there was a tendency on the part of some students who took advantage of the riots because they were afraid to write the examinations, knowing that they would fail their examinations and therefore they wanted to disorganise things at the school as much as possible. Did that happen here too? -- Yes, that is true. Because from July tuition was not constant. Many of the students did not go to school and the classes were empty and naturally they (10) were busy going up and down, doing nothing, not studying and not getting tuition and naturally they were sure that they were going to fail.

Of course that suited some of the students. -- Definitely.

Right now paragraph 7. -- 7. The appearance of police patrols seemed to annoy the students. Photographers were resented.

Would you elaborate on that please. -- The police did patrol, they were asked by the Ciskeian Government, they were asked by the local authorities to patrol to see that there (20) is no trouble going on in the township, but whenever they came near a school, they will be jeered at, howled at by the students, you know, a thing that one does not expect when things are normal.

You make the point later that the police acted with very great restraint. -- Yes.

And they did not allow their feelings to run away with them when they were jeered at and taunted. -- Yes.

Now we come to No. 8. -- 8. Parents found it difficult to convince the militants of the value of education, (30) however meagre. The answer: "I am scared, I do not know, others/...

others are in it", were a puzzle to the parents and teachers. Very few parents encouraged their children to carry on with the 'struggle', the unrest of the riots as it were.

Would you like to comment further on that? -- This is one thing that gave us in our meetings with the parents and the students a headache in getting to the real truth, I mean the real cause of the whole thing. In trying to influence these young people to go back to school, they would just say: well, I am scared. When one got home, you were asked by the parents or by us, the officials, would say: I am scared, (10) I am not interfering, I am scared, I am just scared of the others. You go to the next one, he says: I am scared. The other one says: I do not know, therefore I am just following others, I cannot do a thing alone when others are doing this.

That is what you meant when you said earlier a lot of them acted out of fear. -- Yes.

For their personal safety. -- Yes.

Right, No. 9. -- 9. Departmental officials worked day and night in trying to convince the parents and students of the wisdom of remaining in school. (20)

Were they successful? -- We held meetings with the major schools that were affected by this, we had parents' meetings, I think we had about 12 meetings of parents, asking the parents to help because the children, the pupils at schools did not want the police to be near their schools. So we asked the parents to go and guard the schools, because these militants were causing trouble by throwing stones at the schools, trying to drive the others and stop others from going to school and we asked the parents to do the job of the police if the students did not want the police because the (30) parents must protect their schools. Well, we met with very

little/...

little success. Because the parents, most of them are working that is the main thing.

I understood from you when we had the consultation, that the police were prepared to stay away. -- Definitely.

And they only came onto the scene when they were called. -- Yes.

It puts them in a very difficult position, doesn't it? -- Quite so.

Now No. 11 - No. 10. -- 10. Students were respectful and courteous to departmental officials. I am trying to (10) confirm now their attitude towards the police and us, the departmental officials. When we went to them, there was no trouble at all. We just talked to them, there was no jeering, there was no howling at all, but when police came then you would get some trouble. But now the main thing is that we just did not convince them, we just did not persuade them to stop what they were doing, as it were, but they were courteous.

To you and your colleagues. -- And my colleagues, yes.

No. 11. -- 11. Allegations that the non-school going youth took part in the disturbances are unfounded. This (20) was solely a students' affair. By non-school going students I mean now what is usually termed what I do not like, the tsotsi. The non-school going youth, the unfortunate child who perhaps has no money to send him to school or the parents, people who do not care as it were, and these people, these young people who do not go to school, I know some of them very well. I stay in this location, I grew up here, they were against what the students were doing. They were against what the students were doing, as it were, and they never - I never witnessed - let me put it that way - I never witnessed (30) them helping or encouraging the students in what they were doing/...

doing.

Right, now No. 12. -- 12. Students seemed to be geared into action by trial dates.

What do you mean by that? -- By that I mean after some students were arrested, now whenever there was a postponement a day or so before the date of the trial, one was sure to get trouble. I do not know why, hence I say they were sort of influenced by trial dates.

Were there any marches on the courts, towards the courts? -- No, no, not at the courts, in the township there. (10)

Just in the township. -- Yes. Either the throwing of stones at the schools or burning of schools at night or disturbances in the school, that type of thing.

We come to No. 13. -- 13. Serious threatening notes by the Leopards to teachers made the teachers unhappy.

Who are the Leopards? The only Leopards I know is the rugby team. -- Yes, quite so. We found later on, one morning when we were going round to the schools, principals having notes that they found pushed under the doors, you know, telling them that if they continued to come to school, (20) then they would be in trouble. They, the teachers, their families and their homes and these notes were signed 'Leopards', just Leopards at the bottom.

You do not know who they are? -- Well, I cannot say, but we handed the notes to the police. I suppose investigations are being made by the police.

So this is a case now where the teachers were threatened with their personal safety and their personal belongings. -- Yes.

That is a very serious state of affairs. -- Definitely. (30)

We come now to No. 14. -- 14. The police acted with great/...

great restraint. The students who were eager to write appreciated the protection of the police.

Would you elaborate on that please? -- Well, as I said earlier, when these patrols went by past the schools, the police were jeered at and some insults thrown at them, but the police just ignored those and whenever you went to the police to ask for help, you just got that immediate attention from the police. They were very much concerned with the situation in the township and their help was later realised by the students when examination time came. We went to the police (10) and this gave them more work, they were overworked, asking them to post a few policemen in each of the schools where the examinations were being written and the police were very helpful in this and I think we should be grateful to them for that.

It is nice to hear that compliment to the police coming from so senior an official as your good self. Of course we have heard evidence this morning that they did not use their firearms at all and nobody, fortunately, was either killed or wounded. -- Yes.

No. 15. -- 15. The police were ever willing to (20) help and the extra work they did is commendable, except one incident I witnessed when students made their second mass protest march and were dispersed by a baton charge where even the innocent suffered.

Would you just describe to His Lordship the one incident where you felt that the police had not acted with that customary restraint which you had experienced up till then? -- It was a march now, it was mentioned some time by one official here, of the Wongaletu students to the training school. When I got there, I arrived at the gate, but when I got there, (30) the students were being faced by police using batons. These students/...

students were from a little way outside the training school and they ran into the training school, fell in the fence, some in the gardens and they wanted to mix with the students of the training school. Now the police in that situation they could not differentiate who was who and they just hit everybody in front of them as it were.

And that is why you say that some of the innocent people also suffered. -- Yes. That is the only incident when one would say is unpleasant on the part of the police I can mention. (10)

Was anybody seriously injured?-- No.

Because we had evidence this morning from the police that it was only on very few occasions that they resorted to baton charges, in most part they resorted to the use of teargas. -- True, yes.

No. 16. -- 16. The whole community condemns the acts of violence e.g. burning of schools and petrol bomb attacks. One of our - one of my colleagues, a circuit inspector, he stays with the principal of a school and his house was attacked one night with petrol bombs. Fortunately nobody (20) was seriously injured. I suppose the aim was to get at this official, not the principal of the school, the circuit inspector. But the public now condemns that type of action.

When you speak of the public, I take it you also include the parents. -- Yes, the parents.

No. 17 please. -- 17. The complaints of the students were more local than national.

What in fact were their complaints as far as you could gather them? -- When I interviewed the students, in some schools they did give me their complaints and I could find (30) nothing connected with Soweto or Cape Town or Pretoria, but

I find complaints now which are complaints about the administration, for example the school that was being punished without reason, that they were being punished in the presence of girls; that we are not being taught properly; that the teachers come to school drunk; that type of thing. That is why I say they were local, not national.

We heard also complaints voiced by one of the police officers that he had heard from some of the children that they had paid their principal money for the use of a bus to attend a football match and the principal did not make the necessary arrangements. -- Yes, that type of complaint, yes, it was there. (10)

And that he had classified too as a local complaint. -- As a local complaint, yes.

Now we come to No. 18. -- 18. The influence of the press was great. Unfortunately some of the statements were very incorrect.

I would like you to elaborate on that. -- As I said earlier. the pupils got interested in reading newspapers and they just read what the newspapers - what they read in the newspapers, (20 I will say. Now I say some of the statements were incorrect. For instance in one paper I was quoted as having gone to one school and address the students and told them to leave the school if they do not want to go to the classes. Yet that was not the case. I went to the students, the boys there were assembled outside, addressed them, persuaded them to go back to the classrooms and that is what they did. I did not say they must go home or away from school, because that would be now sort of seeming as if I was influencing them to stay away from school. For instance now our circuit inspector (30 is reported as having said that during the examination time they must/...

must bring books so that they can copy junior examination, a thing he never said. And I say some of the statements were incorrect.

And some of them might have been, as you said earlier, half-truths. -- Half-truths.

And as I said before His Lordship at another place, sometimes a half-truth is worse than a downright lie. -- Very right.

No. 19. -- 19. False rumours were easy to spread and this caused a lot of confusion. (10)

I would like you to elaborate on that. -- Rumours like say that this year there are going to be no examinations; next year we will be promoted to the next class. I mean nobody ever said that. The Department - I mean the Examination Board sets examinations and you cannot set examinations for another year again. Such rumours now were believed by some of the students and they did not prepare themselves for the examinations.

And therefore either did not write, or they wrote and they failed. -- Well, I am not yet sure of that - but some wrote. (20)

Yes, some wrote. -- Yes, I am not yet sure of the results.

Right, No. 20. -- 20. The appeal by the Ciskeian Government for non-use of firearms by the police was honoured and I strongly feel that this saved Mdantsane from a very ugly situation.

Would you like to add to that? -- The police, yes. We read in the papers about the terrible things that were happening in Soweto, whether true or not, but we read in the papers about that, the terrible things happening in Soweto and we feared that if the police came to the extent of using
firearms/...

firearms then things would be bad here, but our police here never used firearms and we really appreciate that very, very much.

On their behalf, thank you very much. We come now to 21. -- 21. Outside influence nearly succeeded in worsening the situation here. We are a homeland and there is freedom of movement here.

When you speak of outside influence, what have you in mind? -- By outside influence, during this time of this unrest there were quite a lot of foreign cars in the township, a thing that was not usual. You will see a lot of TJ cars, ND cars, CCV cars, during certain weekends, especially busy weekends when there is some sports or some activity of some kind and you will just find the cars disappearing all of a sudden and one was a bit suspicious that these were the people that were starting some influence in the township. I must not be misinterpreted by trying to say that I want influx control at Ndantsane. As I say, Ndantsane is a homeland, it is free, you just enter there and nobody asks you anything, there is no question of asking you your pass, the police do not do that at Ndantsane. There is freedom of movement as I say. (10) (20)

When for the first time did you notice the presence of these cars from outside areas? Transvaal, Cape, Natal? -- It was - I am not very sure of the date, but now ..(intervenes)

More or less. -- After that - more or less mid-September, somewhere there.

Mid-September. -- Yes, mid-September.

That is about the time when the riots were sort of getting into stride. -- Yes. (30)

And have you seen these foreign cars - if I may use that/...

that term now - lately? Have you seen them? -- No, not now.

And of course things are quiet now. -- They are now.

Did you by any chance notice the make of some of these cars? What cars they were? The make, the models? -- Models, Valiant, a popular car, the Valiant.

You have no idea how I have been teased about the Valiants from my colleagues, because I have one. (LAUGHTER). Valiants and others? -- The Datsun.

Did you see any Combis by any chance? -- Combis, yes, HiAce and Toyota. (10)

I'll tell you why I ask you these questions, because we have had evidence already that so-called foreign cars, Valiants and Combis were seen with strangers in it in other parts of the country and they had arrived to incite the local inhabitants. -- Yes.

And that is the deduction you make from these foreign cars here. -- That is so.

We come to 22. -- 22. Inexperience, the new syllabi, the record book and the low salaries made the majority of teachers to take an attitude of indifference. (20)

I would like you to explain that. -- I am trying to say that there is - I hope I am not talking politics, I am a Civil Servant. (LAUGHTER)

No, you are under oath in any case. -- Teachers have got a lot of complaints, especially in the question of that is now the question of salaries there. Now the low salaries and the introduction of the new syllabus last year where what you call the new structure that was introduced last year and the teachers are not quite clear about the whole thing. It is sort of puzzling to them and the record book, a book (30) that the teachers hate very much. They have to prepare every lesson/...

lesson every day for the next day and if the inspector comes and that book is not done then you are on hot bricks. Now I am trying to say that the teachers' complaints, they have some complaints, made them to be sort of indifferent more or less to the whole situation.

I would like to ask you about the new syllabi. Do you find any difference in the standard of education when the Provincial Administration was in charge of it and now Bantu Administration? Do you find any difference in the standard of education? -- Yes. (10)

A change for the better or for the worse? -- Well, I do not know whether to put it in that way, a change for the better or for the worse. But now since Bantu Education started now, the sort of teacher or pupil we produce today, is no more the same as the student of the older Cape system as it were. We wrote the same type of examination with the Coloureds, the Indians and the Europeans in the Cape here, the same type of education and when they introduced for example Khoza; I mean the use of Khoza as a medium of instruction, then there was a lot of difficulty there and you find that now pupils who (20) pass Std. 6 hardly can read now an English newspaper, whereas a Std. 6 pupil of those days easily reads a newspaper with understanding. I do not know whether it is because of the use of the mother tongue and who are in the other language. Unfortunately with us down here we did not have Afrikaans those days. Afrikaans was introduced, which as far as I am concerned, as a subject it was a good thing so that we can - I mean if you know many languages it is a good thing for you.

Surely. -- As a subject, but not as a medium of instruction. (30)

Is there any objection amongst your colleagues and the students/...

students to the use of the term Bantu Education? -- Well, the teacher, the old teacher has accepted it, but the new teacher is opposed to it definitely. They are opposed to the name Bantu education.

They are opposed to the name. Would they be happy if it was just referred to as National Education? -- I suppose something like National Education.

Without any sort of differentiation. -- Differentiation, that is the main thing, yes.

This record book that you speak of, is that something (10) introduced by your Department in order to keep the teacher on his toes and up to date to see that he prepares himself properly to be able to teach the class the next day?-- That is right.

Well, from your point of view of course it is a good thing. -- It is, but now it is something onerous, it gives one extra work to do.

Yes, but at least it ensures that the teacher prepares himself and gives of his best when he teaches the children. -- Quite so. (20)

So from your point of view, that is the official point of view, and the children's point of view, it is a good thing. -- It is a good thing.

But as far as the teacher is concerned, he does not want to work so hard. -- It is a burden, yes.

All right. No. 23. -- 23. Not unless drastic measures are taken to reinstate mutual understanding between teacher and student we shall have no discipline in our schools and without it education is doomed.

What do you suggest should be done? -- During this (30) unrest what I found is that now the pupils just do not care

for/...

for the teachers, they do not care for the principal, they do not care for the teachers, they will not listen to them, they just do what they like. And discipline has gone down terribly.

What do you suggest should be done to remedy that situation? -- I do not have a ready answer for that. I am sorry, I do not have a ready answer for that.

Let us hope it comes about. -- Yes.

And 24, something you have referred to already. -- 24. The working parent has no control over the daily activities of the child. (10)

You have dealt with that already. That is the working parent. -- Yes.

And finally. -- 25. Loyal citizens holding responsible positions in the community must be armed.

You recommend that for what reason? -- I recommend that for things like this unrest where people's shops were burnt, where homes were thrown with petrol bombs. I understand in the Transkei, if it is true, that licences for firearms are freely given, but with us here it is a bit difficult to get licences for firearms. (20)

And you feel that at least the responsible parent should be permitted to own firearms in order to defend their person and their property. -- And their property.

Is there anything else you would like to tell His Lordship, apart from what you have written down here? -- I do not think I would like to say anything at random, I think this is all.

H'Lord, I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very muchⁿ for coming to give evidence, (30) and the Commission also thanks your Government for having deputised/...

deputised you to give evidence because you appear to have had a deep insight into the trouble that arose and you were connected with it all the time. -- Thank you, H'Lord.

Thank you very much for coming and thank you for your assistance.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS FOR LUNCH. THE COMMISSION RESUMES AT 14h00.

DR YUTAR: H'Lord, I propose to call Dr Sachs.

SOHAR BORIS SACHS: sworn states: (10)

DR YUTAR: You are a practising psychiatrist at East London, being so for the last 10 years. -- No, I have been in East London for 5 years.

But practising psychiatrist for the last 10 years. -- Yes.

You hold the degrees of M.A., Wits University? -- Trinity, Dublin.

And M.B. Ch.B. eventually the M.D., doctor of medicine, and a D.Ph. degree, also at Dublin? -- That is quite correct.

You came to submit to His Lordship your views on this problem which we are now facing, the problem of violence. (20)
-- Yes.

In fact you have published an article in the local newspaper, the Daily Dispatch, on the 28th September, 1976.

-- That is correct.

And you offer this memorandum which you have prepared, as a background to violence in general. -- That is quite correct.

It contains not only your own views, but the views of certain authors that you quote in extract. -- That is quite correct. (30)

His Lordship has a copy of the memorandum, you have a copy/...

copy, I am going to do without one, but would you start reading it slowly so that I can absorb it as you go along.

-- Yes. Shall I begin?

Would you please. -- The cause of the recent riots will be discussed in many quarters and the Commission of Inquiry will investigate many factors pertinent to the present disturbances. However, there are certain common denominators present in all riot and chaos situations. Furthermore, it has all happened before, that is, the patterns of the French and Russian revolutions, the insurrection in Northern Ireland and the Black Power riots in America all have similar psychological symptoms. On a lesser scale, one might include the Charles Manson killings - a microcosm of mob violence. (10)

Now you go back as far as the Russian Revolution. I do not know whether you know that even in the days of Plato we had students rioting in the streets. -- I am aware of that, yes.

Right. -- Konrad Lorenz in his book 'On Aggression' explains the root causes of violence. He states that contemporary man is a being of culture and his innate activities and reactions are complimented by cultural tradition. The urge to become a member of a group has been programmed in the pre-human history of man. Without traditional rites and customs representing a common property valued and defended by all members of the group, human beings would be quite unable to form large social units. It is obvious that the Black residents in the townships have lost their cultural traditions. The role of the chief, the social status of men and women were so ritualised as to be almost a biological law. It was impossible to transgress the rules of the tribe without becoming an outcast. Within half a century the whole social/... (20) (30)

social structure was swept away in the urban areas. With it went the family unit. The father had lost his status when the women went out to work and became emancipated and given certain independence due to their own earnings. The subservient role of women was a thing of the past. The effect on the children was disastrous. With both parents working, they were left in the care of an old grandmother or an elder sibling. In fact they were developing in an undisciplined manner in a nursery for future aggression. The Blacks have no property to defend. They have no material stake, nothing objective (10) that is worthwhile to defend. One will notice that arson has occurred in institutions - schools, beer halls, administrative buildings, etc., which belong to an alien culture. In places like Evaton where the Blacks own their houses, there has been no unrest. It is interesting to find out why there have been certain areas. You probably only get the evidence of the areas of violence. It might be interesting to find out the areas of non-violence and why these areas have not erupted.

Well, you mention Evaton. That is the location in the Transvaal. -- Near Vereeniging, yes. Now, first of all, (20) I must say I am not sure of my facts here, there might have been riots there. I only go from what I know from the papers.

Yes. -- Why have or have there not been riots in Evaton. They have an institute called the Wilberforce Institute which has been run by Blacks for generations. Has there been violence or has there not been violence in this institution. If not, why not.

Well, the one point you make there about working parents leaving their children behind in the care of an aged grandmother is one of the reasons given by a Ciskeian educational (30) official this morning, that leads of course to a lot of

trouble/...

trouble eventually, because during the absence of the parents the child is left to his own devices. He pretends to go to school and does not. -- I think that is a very potent social factor. Something else has happened which this does not illustrate, rather contradictory, and that is they burnt down their own shebeens, which shows a different tendency altogether. I have said here these things still belong to an alien culture, but here they have burnt down their own shebeens which belong to their own culture. It is rather different.

Well, shebeens I can understand. Can you proffer (10)
any reason why, on the one hand they should claim the government does not provide them with textbooks and the next day they are burning down libraries with books and all. Can you as a psychiatrist offer any reason for that? -- Yes, this is purely a hysterical non-rational action. You get a state of hysteria where they will do anything. It is non-rational, it cannot really be explained, except in a case of hysteria they will burn down anything.

But you say in Evaton where they own their own houses, there has been no trouble. I can tell you that we have (20)
led in evidence schools and locations, where there is discipline exercised by parents over children, no trouble in the schools, no trouble in the location. -- That would agree with what I said that in the urban areas where parental discipline has disappeared, the social structure has broken down into a chaos situation.

Continue please. -- Lorenz goes on to remark: "Today one has plenty of opportunity to observe the consequences which even a partial deficiency of cultural tradition has on social behaviour. The human beings thus affected range from (30)
young people advocating necessary if dangerous abrogations of
customs/...

customs which have become obsolete, to angry young men and rebellious gangs of juveniles, and finally to the appearance of a certain well defined type of juvenile delinquent which is the same all over the world. Blind to all values, these unfortunates are the victims of infinite boredom. One can draw a close parallel between the youth in the townships and those in Northern Ireland. In the latter case, after leaving school at the age of sixteen, they go on the dole and face a life of hopelessness, frustration and boredom. Is this condition any different to that of the township Blacks? (10)

I think it is necessary at this stage to say that in making that observation you are not relying on newspaper reports, but you are speaking from practical experience because you took your degree in Dublin. -- Yes, I know what the situation is.

So you know the conditions there. -- Yes.

Right. There is a close relationship between boredom and bloodshed. Militant enthusiasm engenders a feeling of intense satisfaction. An excellent illustration was the world wide reaction to the Israeli raid on the Uganda (20) airport. Did we not all identify with the militant heroes? Suddenly, out of a drab world, the innate hero image came to the fore and we derived intense satisfaction from an act which, at least from the Ugandan point of view, would be classed as terrorism. A movement must have heroes and leaders. In the beginning this leadership is faceless or it would soon be liquidated.

CHAIRMAN: Well, isn't it - can't you say that the siding on the part, on that particular part as far as the Entebbe action is concerned, may very well be because people (30) felt that there was justice really happening. -- Yes, I am sure/...

sure of that. But nevertheless it was a .. (intervenes)

And the hero part may not have been so important really as the fact that people felt inherently here the correct and just thing has happened. -- Yes, I am sure of that, I am sure of that, but I think deeper down there is this question in this day and age of wanting heroes. This is an anti-hero age and we are looking for heroes. And an act like the Entebbe one highlighted the intense satisfaction of having heroes, militant heroes. Chairman Mao, De Valera and Kenyatta all started out being no better than ruthless (10) bandits who mellowed into respectable citizens once the primary objective of power was attained. It is strange that the Whites have no knowledge of these underground men in the Black areas who have evaded capture. We talk to the leaders of the community because they fit into our own cultural norms of order, not realising that they have been discredited by the youth who have chosen a chaos situation. Lorenz gives four postulates which trigger off a state of rebellion. 1. The social unit must be threatened or appear to be threatened by some danger from the outside. 2. Release mechanism for (20) intense military enthusiasm is the presence of a hateful enemy. 3. Inspiring leadership. 4. Many other individuals all agitated by the same emotion. The mass enthusiasm grows in geometrical proportion. Is the situation in the Republic not a symptom of a world malaise? There are prophets of doom everywhere and those who predict Armageddon. This is not a new universal feeling by any means. The Armageddon phobia was prevalent throughout Europe at the end of the 9th century when, for some unaccountable reason, there was general belief that the world would come to an endⁿ at 1 000 A.D. There were (30) portents and vague readings which compared the situation at that

time/...

time to the pre-flood era. Today there is no enemy to hate, only nebulous evils in an unsettled world. The erosion of currencies, inflation, unemployment and injustices often far removed from our scene but made ever present by the rapid communication media. On a less remote scale are the stresses and tensions of modern life; the materialism which is meaningless and the erosion of spiritual values. All these factors lead to local outbursts of violence: family friction, battered babies, hooligans at soccer matches. But there is no hateful enemy. In 1939 in Britain there was no feeling (10) of doom, although literally the world was coming to an end. All energies were expended in the coming fight against a common evil enemy which threatened the established way of life. In a chapter entitled "The Dawn of Chaos" in Alex de Jonge's book on Dostoevsky this revealing observation is made: "When a sufficient number of persons at any time opt out for chaos situations, the fabric of their society simply falls apart. One instance of such a collapse is the disintegration of the ancient regime in 1789. It was a revolution that occurred without revolutionaries. What began as a refusal (20) of the Estates General to disperse at the royal command turned into a rising tide of mob violence which became a revolution. The old order simply collapsed when its fabric came under strain."

Is this the French situation? -- The French Revolution, yes. De Jonge mentions a similar situation in Russia. "There can be no question in ascribing the events that began with a few disturbances in the streets of Petrograd to end with the overthrow of the autocracy to a hard core of purposive plotting Bolsheviki. The revolutionaries were utterly unprepared (30) for their revolution. Above all one is struck by the remarkably/...

remarkably widespread tendency to choose chaos situations. This was not confined to any particular class or group. Virtually the whole of Russia, educated and proletarian, had as its political premise the profound conviction that the absolute monarchy must end ... Only mediocrities or sheer madmen professed any support for the status quo." It would be fallacious to apply historical situations to the present conditions. The spread of a riot is dependent on whether the so-called enemy meets the demands of the protesters. If sustained inspiring leadership does not eventually emerge, (10) the riot will abort once the initial militant enthusiasm has been satisfied.

In other words, it is not a position, you say, in which chaos is created and then the leader turns up and makes something of the chaotic conditions that he finds? -- No, I do say that.

That is when he must come, when there is - need he be there before there is chaos? -- I think there must be a planning over a long period, a planning over a long period and then suddenly some trivial incident or some trivial (20) excuse can suddenly trigger it off and its leader who has perhaps been an organisational man, will suddenly come out as a militant and lead the revolt. And if he is liquidated, if there are not others to carry on, the whole thing will gradually subside. I think that is probably what is happening now. The growth of an insurrection in geometrical proportion depends on whether it has the general support .. (intervenes)

Is that contained in that sentence of yours: If sustained inspiring leadership does not eventually emerge, the (30) riot will abort once the initial militant enthusiasm has been/...

been satisfied? -- Yes.

That is the crowd's militant enthusiasm. -- Hysterical crowds, and there are plenty of these, in soccer matches, in pop festivals and these things, they can always be diverted to destruction if there is leadership or a general crowd hysterical feeling can engender these things. But for it to be sustained or to go on, most of these things abort, they are just the one incident. They usually abort. But if the leadership is sustained, they will go on and there will be more and more outbreaks. (10)

DR YUTAR: It was a boxing tournament at Fort Elizabeth that set off the riots in Fort Elizabeth. -- Yes, but that is quite - psychologically it is so sound that once violence, they can see violence and there is a whole crowd together, the smallest thing can settle for an insurrection. The growth of an insurrection in geometrical proportion depends on whether it has the general support of the affected population or only a particular group. I think that is important again. In

Russia the general population once it had started, joined everyone, but as far as I gather, here it is a very (20) selective group of the population who are involved. I do not know, but from my reading of the situation, it is a selective group and not a general group. The riots of the sixties were organised by the students. The appeal was not a general one and did not receive the support from the vast number of conservative, middle-aged members of society. After a period of summer madness, violence subsided, but the power of youth movements remained as a fixture of the present day social scene.

In other words, you are also saying that the causes (30) of the riots in this country, real or imaginary, are unique to/...

you be so kind as to read out what you wrote? -- Among the many causes of Black unrest in South Africa and which have received little or no attention, officially, the following may be cited, viz.: That whereas the historical background of the Black in South Africa may be said to be partly pastoral, partly hunting, partly marauding, with minimal agricultural tendencies, the land allotted to the Black during the period of British control came under such pressure through the population explosion among the Blacks during the 20th century, that they were no longer able to indulge their philosophy (10) of life of "leisure and pleasure"; and gradually there developed in the mind of the Black the sense of frustration. That whereas in earlier times the life of the Black was satisfied by a small herd of cattle and goats, to provide ploughing power and milk for the family calabash, money from the herd increase and meat from the herd and/or herd deaths, hunting and poaching, and a minimal amount of ploughing for maize for food and beer, the pressure of the land through population increase no longer allowed for the herds and agricultural land for each and every family, which, coupled to the traditional (20) way of life, led to the Black losing all respect for others' property; and stealing became rampant in order to augment the diminishing wherewithall to live. The fact that the thieves were often caught and punished led to a feeling that they were being discriminated against.

Would you like me to read it for you? -- No, I don't know. I am getting along all right I think.

Good. -- The overall effect of this population increase was that the Black unbeknown to him, was being drawn into the vortex of world economics which compelled him to work (30) for a living, the while he lost his traditional way of life.

Not/...

Not understanding these pressures and naturally resenting their effects, there arose in him a feeling of frustration; and in that he was employed in an unskilled capacity in the majority of cases, he consequently occupied the lower rungs of the industrial ladder and obviously the lower wage rungs. This in due course led to imagined discrimination against the Black, wherefrom led bad blood. May I ask Dr Yutar to read it for me.

Now, excellent education has been available to the Black for upwards of a hundred years and this at unbelievably (10) low cost. Up to and after the Great War (First), Lovedale furnished education plus board and lodging at the figures of £12, £15 and £20 per annum. The gradation cost being decided by the table at which the scholar would eat in the general diningroom. Likewise agricultural schools such as Teko, Butterworth, were available to the Blacks, but, since few of the diploma students continued in agriculture after qualifying, Teko was finally closed around about the time of the outbreak of the Second World War. Whilst many of the better educated Blacks realise the importance of education, (20) the average Black considers that a standard three or four is ample education. Since the majority reach this stage during the period of puberty, they thereafter branch out into the ranks of the unskilled. The discipline required from them of school and learning require too much effort and they fall easy prey to the agitator, the communist, or the disgruntled parent or even the teacher at school. From the above inefficiencies springs frustrations and what is alleged to be discrimination against the Blacks. Much play has been made of alleged discrimination against the Blacks in South (30) Africa preventing their advancement, but it is nevertheless true/...

true that during the past generation many states in Africa have been handed over to the Blacks after development by the Whites without aid, there would seem to have been little or no meritorious advancement in those countries under the Blacks notwithstanding considerable aid programmes from the European world. Against this cry of discrimination, the political leaders of our Western world seem to reel back guilt-bound, retortless and drunk, exemplifying all the weakness inherent in democracy. Whether it be from lack of moral fibre or from lack of intellectual conception is (10) not clear. What is clear is that our Western world has not defended discrimination which is the very cornerstone upon which all civilisations have been built; whether sectarian politico-economic or religious. Discrimination is and has been the binding force in all religions, as also the binding force in sectarianism within the various religions. Again in the sphere of the races, discrimination is the binding force pertaining to all races, nations and tribes through communities down to the family units. In economics, discrimination flourishes within the professions such as law, accountancy, (20) teaching, the various trades, as also through medicine, sciences, nursing, leaving out nothing whatever in our economic life. How then does the Black maintain that discrimination against his inefficiency is something obnoxious? Discrimination exists between White and White; is it then wrong that it should exist between Black and White? Surely the foregoing indicates that whereas discrimination has constituted a laudable attribute contributing to the advancement of mankind, recently, by some strange alchemy of permissive thought, the old, old strategy of 'trumpeting around the walls of (30) discrimination' this same once laudable attribute of

"discrimination"/...

"discrimination" has become a most reprehensible indulgence. Surely it is time that this outlook is scotched and this Commission has an ideal opportunity to squash this hydra-headed monster. I have no further questions, M'Lord.

CHAIRMAN: Do you wish to add anything to your memorandum? --
Not really. If you would like a little on the increase in population. When I was a boy, for instance, at school we were taught that the South African estimated population was in the vicinity of 6,5 million of which roughly 2,5 million were Whites and approximately 4 million Non-Whites. (10)

Today I understand that the population has increased to approximately 4 million Whites, notwithstanding all the immigration that we have had, it has only increased by about 50% - 50 to 60%, whereas the Black population has increased from approximately 4 million to round about 20 million. So 5 times. There has been an unbelievable increase in their population and it is natural that the ground that they occupied then is insufficient today, notwithstanding that our government, I understand, is in terms of the 1936 Act, has taken the responsibility of adding 7,25 million morgen which would (20) equal about approximately 25,5 million square miles, which, with all these greater than both Holland and Belgium put together. Holland and Belgium are approximately 11 and 12 million square miles each. So the two together are only 23 million and when one has contributed all this, so we have done a tremendous amount. And I fail to understand why, in regard to discrimination, why we should regard discrimination as something derogatory. After all said and done, ethnically we are different. The great creation in terms of the old Greeks .. (inaudible) ... created the ethnic (30) differences and we must just accept that. There is nothing/...

nothing derogatory about acknowledging discrimination. We discriminate among ourselves, as I have said; why should we not discriminate in regard to our ethnic differences.

DR YUTAR: Anything else you would like to say? -- No, nothing.

CHAIRMAN: Do you think it may be a solution of the problem

-- I definitely think it would be a solution.

If you give free reign to discrimination? -- Well, I would not say free reign, you know, indiscriminate discrimination, but controlled discrimination. Reasonable discrimination, I would put it, reasonable discrimination. (10)

Anything further you would like to add? -- I would like to ask this Commission to please handle this matter.

Thank you very much.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

VENTER/...