

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

WHOLE SESSION:

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THE COMMISSION RESUMES ON THE 8th FEBRUARY, 1977.

AUBREY DUNDUBELE MOKOENA: sworn states:

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Can you give us information about the role played by the BPC and SASO during and after the riots? -- Ideologically BPC played a significant role in conscientising the Black people by preaching the philosophy of Black consciousness. Students accepted this philosophy readily and identified with it. In the BPC monthly meetings there used to attend some of the high school students. Here they imbibed the spirit of militancy. The other factor is that some (10) of the BPC members were teaching in some Soweto schools. Here they were obliged to conscientise the students although direct results thereof cannot be quantitatively measured. Nat Serache raised the issue of Afrikaans in March in the monthly meeting of the BPC Johannesburg Central Branch. It was subsequently agreed in that meeting that the principal of Thomas Mofolo Secondary School where the Afrikaans row was brewing at that stage, should be met and challenged to call a public parents meeting, which he was refusing to call, where the Afrikaans language enforcement issue was going to be discussed. (20) Jack Slubi, Makhapela and Thandisizwe Mazibuko borrowed my car for that purpose, but that meeting did not materialise. BPC and SASO Reef Branch are almost one, because of common membership. SASO and BPC .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: You say BPC and? -- BPC and SASO, that is the Reef Branch, are almost one because of common membership. SASO and BPC together with other Black organisations, on the 21st June merged to constitute the BPA. There is no other role that BPC and SASO played in and after the riots, as most of its members were detained for investigation. (30)

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Go on. -- One institution that played a major/...

major role in the riots is Morris Isaacson High School where Tsitsi Mashinini, president of SASM regional branch, as well as chairman of the Soweto Students Representative Council, and Murpheson Morobe, vice-chairman of the SSRC were attending school. Morris Isaacson where Mr L.M. Mathabathe is principal, became the nucleus of the unrest. Almost all the meetings of the SSRC were held here. This school has a .. (intervenes)

Was Mr Mathabathe involved in the unrest? -- I would not say he was involved in the unrest.

Go on. -- This school has a tradition of militancy (10) which was created at the time of Abram Tiro when he was teaching there. He had the opportunity of preaching Black consciousness while he was history master there and many students used to idolise him. Mr Mathabathe is an approachable man who, unlike most of the principals, is well disposed towards Black consciousness and makes himself easily available for service.

For what services? -- For community purposes. Whenever - he usually participates in many community organisations and he also, as I refer here further, he was approached by SASO to serve on the trusteeship of the project which SASO wanted (20) to start which was called Free University Service. And he availed himself without inhibition, as most other people usually are afraid because they are civil servants and they do not want to be involved too much in community work.

But what are the other officials afraid of? -- Well, they are afraid that the government might not like their participation in activities which have an aura of Black consciousness.

Can you name particular activities with an aura of Black consciousness? -- Well, I refer you to this particular one, the Free University Service which you have the specific (30) project championed by SASO.

Can/...

Can you name others that Mr Mathabathe partook in? -- No, there are not others that he partook in except just this one. He was once asked by SASO to serve as chairman of the trustee board for the Free University Scheme, which was a SASO project. This project went defunct as a result of lack of financial resources. An attempt was made to resuscitate it this year after Tom Manthata, Kenneth Rachidi, Jairus Kgokong, Thandisizwe Mazibuko and I met a touring group .. (intervenens)

Do you know Mr Kenneth Rachidi? -- Yes, I know Mr Kenneth Rachidi. (10)

Is he a friend of yours? -- Well, he is a comrade in Black consciousness circles.

Do you know him very well? -- I know him fairly well, I would not say very, but fairly well.

Is he a trustworthy person? -- Yes, I regard him as trustworthy because he is the BPC president.

Proceed. -- Thandisizwe Mazibuko and I met a touring group of academics from Amsterdam University. They offered to support free university if we provided them with a blueprint. This was, however, not continued as the other trustee (20) members, namely Mrs Kgwane and Attorney Tembeni, failed to attend a meeting which was scheduled to take place at my office in April, 1976.

CHAIRMAN: Can you remember when it was that you met these students from - these Dutch students? -- It was not students, it was academics.

Academics. -- It was I would say early in February, 1976.

And did they, you say, offered financial assistance? -- They offered not directly financial assistance, they said they would offer literary material. (30)

What would that mean? -- That would mean that they would have/...

have a student exchange programme in the form of literary material that is going to cover areas academic disciplines for this particular project, history, science, and so on. They should offer what material is available that side for the students this side to study, that is under the auspices of Amsterdam University.

They offered this. Who did they offer this to? -- They offered this to SASO because SASO was an organisation that had started this free university and this free university was attached to the University of South Africa, but then it (10) went defunct due to lack of financial support and other resources that students wanted, like library facilities. So now these academics would come in in that way. They did indicate however that if this project continues they would find some financial assistance, they would try and launch an appeal.

For this free university. -- For this free university, yes. The essence of the free university is that it would just be a university just for everybody who could just study at home and it would not offer a certificate that would be orthodox in a sense of any normal university, but it would just be (20) a university where you could study any discipline without any restrictive curriculum. You could enrol for science subjects as well as subjects in the field of commerce and art, unlike a normal university where there is a specific curriculum that you either choose this line and you may not choose subjects from many other unrelated fields.

Was it only students that belong to SASO? -- Yes, I do know.

I say, is it only students belonging to SASO? -- Not all students.

Were there other members of SASO too who were not (30) students? -- There were other members of SASO who later got discharged/...

discharged from the university or they got expelled but originally all the students were supposed to be members of SASO.

I am putting it to you the other way. Was everybody who was a member of SASO also a student? -- No.

Were people other than students allowed to become members of SASO? -- They become only associate members. It was qualified in the constitution that members other than students could become associate members.

What is a student, according to the definition of (10) SASO? -- A student is one who is in an academic pursuit in any field of study at an institution of higher learning.

Higher learning? -- Yes, that is post-matric.

Post-matric? -- Yes.

How many of the people that are called students would therefore not be students according to the constitution of SASO. -- Well, according to the constitution of SASO this associate membership would only be conferred to those people who apply at the discretion of the executive.

Mashinini was a scholar at Morris Isaacson School. (20) Is that right? -- That is correct.

Now what did you call him? A student or a scholar? -- Well, we called him a student. The word student was rather used loosely, except that in our constitution we specify that it is referred to those who are studying in post-matriculation courses.

So you say you have used the word 'student' loosely? -- Yes, even the newspapers use the word loosely and they do not make a difference, a strict difference between high school student and university student. (30)

Well, it is a high school scholar surely. -- Yes, arguably

so.

I do not understand why you say arguably so. It is so, isn't it? -- Well, I suppose the press media have influenced people to use the word 'student' commonly. If you read a newspaper they always talk of students have gone back to school, students are not going back to school and so on. They do not say scholars. Another sense in which the word 'scholar' is used is at the high university level where you say professor so and so is a scholar, he is an outstanding scholar in this discipline. (10)

No, no, you know that is not the scholar I am speaking of. Were you ever at a university? -- Yes, I was.

Where? -- At Turfloop.

There you were a student. -- Quite so.

When did you leave there? -- In 1972.

In 1972. -- Yes.

Now since then you were no longer a student because you were not at a university. -- No, but I was a student because I was studying with the University of South Africa.

Were you studying with the University of South Africa? (20)  
-- Quite so. By correspondence.

Were you still during 1976 a registered student of the University of South Africa? -- Definitely.

As such did that admit you to membership of SASO? -- Yes, that entitled me to membership of SASO.

People who were at the different schools, for example the Morris Isaacson School, they were strictly speaking scholars.  
-- Yes.

Loosely they were referred to as students. -- Yes, quite so.

They would be entitled, at the most, to associate membership of SASO. -- As a group, the constitution says that  
other/...

other organisations as a group can be accorded, shall be accorded associate membership status as a group. Which means for instance if a group, an association of ministers are interested, they could be accorded associate membership status and high school students movement as a movement can be accorded but not the individuals. They would come as observers at a meeting if they want to, but they would not be individually accorded membership. That is now at conferences, for instance we have observers from various organisations coming there to the conference. (10)

And the head office of SASO where is that? -- It is in Durban, 86 Beatrice Street.

Isn't it in King William's Town? -- No, it is not in King William's Town, it is just a branch in King William's Town.

King William's Town is just a branch? -- Yes. It is just like here in Johannesburg we have the Reef Branch which is called RESO.

What would be the position of people who studied at a teachers training college? Would they be ordinary members or would they be associate members? -- They would be ordinary (20) members because a teachers training college is regarded as an institution of higher learning, as opposed to an ordinary high school. The same would apply to students at theological seminaries.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Did Mashinini accompany you to the SASO conference in July, 1976? -- Yes, he did.

At Hammanskraal. -- Yes, he did.

In what capacity did he accompany you? -- He accompanied me as an observer for SASM.

Is SASM the organisation for the high school scholars? (30)  
-- Yes, high school students.

We/...



We are busy with roles of different organisations during and after the riots and with particular events. What would you say was the economic and social effects after the 16th June in Soweto? -- The economic effect?

Yes, of the riots or the social effects or the public effects. -- I would say that they were completely disrupted.

Why do you say so? -- Well, because violence broke out and there was looting and there was incineration of buildings and the whole situation was chaos.

Did you approve of this? -- No. (10)

Did you attempt, as a member of SASO, to improve the situation? -- Yes, an attempt was made under the auspices of the BFA, that is the various organisations, SASO is also an affiliate of the BFA, we called a public meeting and there a resolution was taken to dissuade the people from carrying on with this looting and burning of property.

What was the date of that meeting that you organised? -- It was the 1st August, Monday, 1st August. It was held at Regine Mundi in Rockville in the Catholic Church.

Did you perhaps approach Kenneth Rakhidi on the 18th (20) June and tell him to address a public meeting which was to be held at the A.M.E. Church, Orlando West, on the 20th June, 1976? -- Quite so.

What did you tell him? -- It was after Dr Matlhare, chairman of the Soweto Parents Association, had said that there would be need then to have other organisations within the community involved and attend a public meeting and that public meeting was aimed to take place on the 20th.

Who would be invited to that public meeting? -- To that public meeting were going to be invited the leaders of the (30) various organisations plus everybody in the community who would be/...

be in a position to attend.

What was the purpose of that meeting? -- The purpose of that meeting was to look into the question of organising a mass funeral as well as pool our resources together in trying to contain the situation of the riots.

CHAIRMAN: But didn't you think that a mass funeral might increase the intensity of the riots? -- Well, that was just a remark which was just made by one member in the meeting.

Did one member say that at the meeting? -- Yes.

And what did the meeting think? -- Well, the meeting (10) did not approve of that.

I am not saying approve, did they believe that it could or did they not? -- Well, the meeting did not discuss that particular issue as an issue particularly, because it did not come up under agenda.

If this was a meeting which contained, amongst other things, the riots as they were then, did they not think that by containing it, that by having a mass funeral you were not containing it, but you might in fact be accentuating it and making it more violent than it was before? -- Well, the meeting was (20) drawing reference to previous mass funerals which were organised by the community like in the case of the Langlaagte train disaster and the collapse of the Dube bridge. There were mass funerals organised and .. (intervenes)

Yes, but were they funerals which were organised when there was turmoil, when there was unrest like this, when there had been days of rioting? -- No, but then there was not .. (inaudible) .. of mass funerals where rioting would be accentuated. The BPA thought that if organisations were involved, there would be some form of .. (intervenes) (30)

Are you saying to me that at the organisation of the  
mass/...

mass funeral it was not thought that the unrest would be increased? -- No, it was not for that.

Don't you think that? -- That is why we harnessed the services of funeral undertakers and who had come forward and said that they would be prepared, as an association, to offer a certain number of coffins free of charge or at a reduced rate, but it would be difficult if these are not done at the same time and this offer was made in the past and also a Taxi Association said that if there can be one day set aside for the mass funeral, then they would offer their taxis, (10) pull them out of the ranking route and then they would take everybody to get there to minimise expenses.

And Winnie Mandela said that if it was on a week day, it would be better because then people would not go to work. -- Ja.

But that would be further disrupting the economy, wouldn't it? -- That is why it was rejected.

Well now, if that is so, how is it that you never thought that this might increase the unrest? -- That is why we rejected the suggestion and said that it should just take place on a Saturday afternoon. (20)

Did it take place on a Saturday afternoon? -- The mass funeral was banned and did not take place as such. Instead a symbolic funeral was held in just one church and at another church a memorial service was held.

So is it correct then that you did think that a mass funeral might increase the intensity of the unrest? -- We did not think that it would increase the intensity of the unrest and that is why we applied for permission to have it to take place. And it was the result of permission which was withheld that we decided to stop and not have it, but otherwise (30) we were intending to have a mass funeral like it has always been/...

been the case in the past.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: If you did not get permission to have the mass funeral, why was there still a need to arrange a symbolic funeral? -- Well, that idea was brought up in order to show sympathy with the other people who would not be buried in that way. In other words deep down in the hearts of the people we felt that it was a slap in the face for the authorities to refuse a mass funeral to be held and in order not to defy the authorities and at the same time to show sympathy with the rest of the other victims that we would not be able to (10) bury under one, say, umbrella, then we just had one corpse chosen.

So you said that it was the intention to sympathise with the relatives of the people who died? -- Quite so.

Now, why did you want to make a public affair of that act of showing sympathy? -- Well, if you want to show sympathy to the public, you cannot do it in a clandestine way, otherwise the public would not know that you have shown sympathy.

But why is the public so important? Why is the public such an important factor in this funeral? -- Well, it (20) is because this thing had affected the public.

In what way? -- In the sense that everybody was concerned about it. It affected the lives, the thinking of everybody in the community, because it took place there in their midst.

So am I correct when I say that your intention was to get the public involved in the situation after the 16th June? --Yes.

Involved in what? -- Involved in containing the situation and also in pooling our resources together to contribute a big fund which was going to serve as relief to the bereaved families.

But was it not possible to supply them with funds (30) or money without having a symbolic funeral? -- Then where would

the/...

the money come from?

No, I am asking you the question. -- I say that the symbolic funeral was just a token of sympathy, that is all it was.

I am asking you was it not possible to supply the relatives of the people who died with money without having a symbolic funeral? -- That is true, it was possible. So the symbolic funeral served a different purpose. It was not to get the money, we had already started with launching an appeal for funds. The symbolic funeral came much at a later stage (10) purely as a token of - or as a gesture of showing sympathy.

Did you possess a list of the people who died since the 16th June? -- Yes, we possessed a list although it was not a full list, but it was fairly comprehensive.

When you say 'we', who are you referring to? -- That is the Black Parents Association.

How many people according to that list, died since the 16th until the 18th? -- It was difficult to get the actual statistics, because we had to go to - some people had to come to us and inform us and we also appealed to various organisations (20) to find out, even the doctors in their various surgeries and even at the hospital, so it was difficult to have an exact figure. So the number kept on increasing until I was detained. I can only say that at the time when I was detained, it was 88, that is at that time when I was detained.

I appreciate your problem, but I asked you, you have said that you were in possession of a list. How many names were on that list? -- I say there were 88 at the time when I was detained.

No, but on the 18th. Because you said that you (30) decided on the 18th to arrange a mass funeral. -- Yes.

How many names were on that list on the 18th? -- There could have been between 10, say 20 or 18 roughly, and we were hoping that more were going to come, but the number that we had at that time approximately was 10 up to 18. I cannot be very precise on the figure.

Is it a very strange affair in Soweto that 10 people will die in the period of 2 days? -- Yes, it is strange if one overrules the fact that the circumstances of the deaths. That is in a normal situation usually when people die out of natural causes or accidents, cars, the figure is not so high. (10)

Are you aware of the number of deaths during a weekend in Soweto? -- No, I am not aware, except just from newspaper reports.

But if you are not aware of the exact figure, how can you say that it is strange that 10 people will die in a period of 2 days from the 16th to the 18th? -- It is strange in the sense that it is unusual because it was as a result of riots, but under normal circumstances that would not really be the case.

So was it also your intention to stress the situation in which those people died during the symbolic funeral? (20)  
-- No, it was not.

Was it then your intention to remind the people who would attend the funeral of the situation in which they died? -- The idea was to bury the dead and to show sympathy. That was the primary motive and this can also be seen in the text of the sermon which our president, Dr Manas Buthelezi, delivered at the symbolic funeral. I say that the spirit of the symbolic funeral was contained in the text of the sermon which our president, Dr Manas Buthelezi delivered at the symbolic funeral.

Did you approach Kenneth Rakhidi on the 18th and (30)  
tell him to speak about the economic and social effects of the  
riots/...

riots in Soweto on the 18th? -- Yes, I did.

And what was your intention? - - The intention was to show how disastrous and not .. (inaudible) .. the escalation of the riots was going to be.

Can you elaborate on that? -- Well, in the sense - what I had in mind there was the fact that it was not rewarding, it was hitting back at ourselves to have the situation as it was and in this way we could communicate better to the community not to carry on the looting of the shops as well as the destruction of the buildings. (10)

Did he accept your invitation? -- Well, what I said was to him but then it was still going to be confirmed in the meeting. I told him that the idea was then to bring people who were going to speak to a meeting of the SPM where all the aspects were going to be finalised; told that everything is not yet finalised, it was going to be decided and agreed upon in the meeting.

But did he accept your invitation? -- He accepted the invitation and he did attend the meeting.

Did he give that speech? -- Well, the meeting was (20) banned, so no speech was given. That public meeting was banned.

If I put evidence before the Commission that Kenneth Rachidi did not accept that invitation, what would you say to that? -- He accepted the invitation to come and speak but he said that it would be a limited scope to talk about, the economic effects only. He said that he as BFC president was obviously going to speak in a broader fashion in the capacity as BFC president.

But if I put evidence before the Commission that Kenneth Rachidi refused in your presence to address that meeting, (30) what would you say? -- He did not refuse to address the meeting.

He refused to limit his talk on the economic effects and social effects only and then said that he was going to speak in a broader capacity as BIC president and he was .. (inaudible)

But if I put evidence before the Commission that he himself is saying that he refused ... -- Well, I will be surprised.

CHAIRMAN: It would be a clash of evidence. This witness says he did not refuse .. -- I would be surprised.

You will be surprised if he said that?-- I would be surprised if he says so. He refused to limit himself to speak about the economic effects. He said that the (10) situation was more demanding and he as BIC president could not limit himself to the economic effects only. I remember he had quite an argument, but ultimately we agreed. It was at a meeting at Dr Matlhare's place on the 19<sup>th</sup>, that is Saturday, on the eve of the public meeting when we were going to finalise all the speakers who were going to speak on that day. We were going to have Dr Matlhare, Dean Tutu, Dr Manas Buthelezi, Mrs Mandela and he, Kenneth Rachidi.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: It seems that you at several times tried to arrange public meetings. Is that correct? -- That is correct.(20)

We know about the funeral and we know about this meeting planned for the 22nd June. -- The 20th June.

The 20th of June, which was banned. -- Right.

On how many other occasions did you try to arrange other meetings? -- One other meeting that we tried to arrange, the secretary of the BPA, was a public meeting of the 1st August, the purpose of which was to encourage the students to go back to school and we had leaflets distributed throughout the township to that effect.

That meeting which was planned for the 20th, was (30) banned? -- Yes, it was banned.



Why did you arrange that meeting then at an alternative place? -- That meeting was not arranged at an alternative place, but the chairman, Dr Matlhare, convened an emergency meeting of his executives and together with people who would be available and then we went and had a brief meeting at Dean Tutu's place, and the purpose of which was to say then that the public meeting was banned and what would we do now.

Who was present at Dean Tutu's place? -- It was Dr Matlhare, Dr Motlana, Mrs Mandela, myself, Mandla Matimba, Mashinini was there, Zweli was there, then we had Harry Mashabela (10) of The Star, he was also there.

Do you know anything about a pamphlet which Dr Matlhare read on the 22nd June at the meeting where the BIA was founded? -- The date is the 21st.

The 21st. -- Yes.

Do you know anything about that pamphlet? -- Yes, I do know about that pamphlet. It was drafted by Dr Motlana in the form of a motion which he read at that brief meeting we had at Dean Tutu's place and he said that this is a motion that he had prepared to read in the public meeting, but then because (20) the public meeting was banned then he was going to - he felt that the SPA could adopt it.

So it was not a public meeting? -- No, it was not a public meeting.

What was the contents of that pamphlet? -- That pamphlet was denouncing police brutality. It also criticised the government-created - that is the people whom it labeled as stooges who were operating on the government-created platforms. The idea there, when we asked him was that he was criticising those particular people who rushed to New Canada on (30) Friday - the riots broke out on the 16th, on that Friday there

was a meeting at New Canada, without any proper consultation with the community. It was saying that before they rushed over there they ought to have come together and discussed as the community and then have one .. (inaudible) .. opinion which they are going to present to the authorities instead of just rushing there and posing as the leaders, that is the UBC people.

CHAIRMAN: This was on Friday, the 18th? -- On Friday the 18th.

Where did the people rush to? The people went to a meeting which was called by the Administration? -- Yes, (10) and that meeting was at New Canada and its outcome was pathetic in the sense that the people who had gone there had not discussed among themselves and agreed on any specific issues, so when they got there they started arguing among themselves and the meeting ended in a deadlock because the authorities had so many viewpoints that were presented by individuals there and that is why that meeting was abortive.

Did you go to the meeting? -- No, I did not go to that meeting. I only learned about it later. I was not aware of it.

But it was a well advertised meeting. -- No, I did (20) not what-do-you-call-it.

If I remember correctly cars with loudspeakers went through Soweto and gave ... -- No, there were no loudspeakers in Soweto.

Am I correct or is this ... -- That I heard.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, to which date are you referring now?

CHAIRMAN: The meeting of the 18th.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Yes, that was Mr De Villiers partook in that meeting.

CHAIRMAN: That was the meeting which was advertised by (30) loudspeaker.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: That is correct, it was Mr De Villiers and a Black interpreter.

CHAIRMAN: That is right, on the vehicle. Do you know whether any of the other people who usually conferred with you, whether any of them attended the meeting? -- The people who attended the meeting were people like Mrs Habuletza, she attended the meeting and she was invited at a later stage to come to the BPA meeting, but she did not turn up unfortunately. I am not sure whether Mr Mathabathe attended.

Did Mrs Mandela attend? -- I do not know. (10)

Did you never ask her? -- No, I did not ask her.

But you had a number of meetings after that. Did you never discuss this particular thing when you had an organisation that wanted to contain the uprising and the riots and the violence, didn't you ever discuss at any of your meetings, the fact that there was another meeting which you say was abortive? Was that ever mentioned? -- That meeting was not discussed in the SP/ emergency meeting which was held after the riots. If it was mentioned, it could have been mentioned by other witnesses that it was discussed and it would have reached our notice. (20) If I remember well, it was an impromptu meeting which was just called and I only learned about it afterwards. That is why then we felt that we must invite some of the people who have been to that meeting to come and give us their point of view and then we can pool our resources together as a community. Because even the people who went to that meeting still complained and said that the meeting was futile because they had not met ... (intervenes).

So you did in fact discuss that meeting, otherwise how could you have decided to call these people to come and (30) give you their viewpoints? That was all I asked you. -- Yes.

Did/...

Did you at your meeting when you came together to try and contain the unrest, did you then discuss the meeting of the 18th which was abortive? -- No, that was on the 19th when these people had already been to that meeting.

I do not care on what date it was, but it was after the 18th. -- Quite so.

Right. Now when you got together, you and the other people who conferred with you, did you discuss the fact of the meeting of the 18th which was abortive? -- Yes.

That is what I asked you about five minutes ago and (10) you said no. -- Oh, no, I am sorry.

Please listen to questions when I ask them. -- Quite.

Because I do not ask them uselessly. -- Yes.

There is a purpose in the questions I ask. -- Quite so.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: I still want some more information about the contents of that pamphlet. Didn't it inter alia state that the police is to blame for the riots? -- Yes, it said so. That is what I said, it criticised police brutality.

Yes, but did it refer to the police as the cause of the riots? -- Yes, it did refer to the police as the cause of (20) the riots. It criticised the manner in which the police handled the situation.

Did you undertake to reproduce that pamphlet and see that it must be distributed by scholars in Soweto? -- Yes, it was reproduced after it was adopted, then it was given to Harry Mashabela to publish it in The Star on Monday and I took it and reproduced it and it was also read in the BPA meeting on that Monday when the BPA was formed.

Was that pamphlet eventually distributed? -- Yes, it was distributed. (30)

Now if a public meeting was banned, why did you go on

trying to reach the public with the contents of that pamphlet?  
-- Well, it is because the purpose then was to explain to the public that the Soweto Parents Association was and that pamphlet did not only contain the condemnation of police brutality, it went on to state that the SPA then, that is prior to the formation of the BPA, was going to organise a mass funeral and the other point was that the SPA was launching a fund appeal and requesting other people to pool their resources together and have a common coffer.

So this was another occasion where you tried to reach (10) the public and to get the public involved in the Soweto affair.  
-- Yes, it was a decision of the meeting that the pamphlet should be produced.

CHAIRMAN: Was this pamphlet ever produced to this Commission?

ADV. VAN GRAAN: As far as I know, not, but I will try to present one to the Commission. -- Well, I was mandated by the meeting to do it and I did it.

But my question was, was that another occasion where you tried to reach the public or to get the public involved in the Soweto riots? -- Definitely. (20)

Why did you want to get the public involved? -- We wanted to have the public involved in that we wanted to have common appeal and not have many people - because now I remember one point that was brought up was that some of the individual people in the BPC had launched a fund appeal that they were appealing to the people to bring money to them to their own homes and so on and we said that it was not going to be an organised and decent way. Rather let all interested people come together and we have a common coffer so that we can in that way as a community pool our resources together and avoid duplication (30) and mushrooming of many rival groups, each one trying to outdo the/...

the other.

But why was it necessary to have a common opinion in Soweto in regard to the police conduct on the 16th June? -- Not only the police conduct, but several other things. How to contain the situation and to make sure that it does not get out of control.

But do you want me to believe that you will contain the situation when you accentuate the fact that the police was to blame for the riots? -- The situation - that same intention was still carried out on the 1st August when we had a (10) public meeting at Regina Mundi.

No, but do you think that the public would react in a positive way when they read that pamphlet? -- Well, obviously they would not react in a positive way. They would feel well, but this is the opinion of the people.

But did you know that at that stage that they would not react in a positive way? -- The few that I met, although there were others who are not holding the same view.

Did you know it at that stage? When you accepted to reproduce the pamphlet, that the public will not react in (20) a positive way? -- Well, I knew in as far as .. (inaudible) .. opinion from the people who were in that meeting and who adopted that pamphlet, the aged(?) people.

But then you did not try to contain the situation in Soweto. -- Yes, we contained it. We contained it because we called a public meeting, the first one which was allowed, on the 1st August, where we positively tried to encourage the children to go back to school and we passed a resolution condemning openly the looting and burning of property and still reaffirmed the resolution which was passed by the principals body when (30) they met separately, to say that police should not patrol in

the/...

the street, because this had an effect of scaring the students. This was the principals body had said and this resolution was also reaffirmed at that public meeting.

But if you knew at that stage that the public will react in a negative way, why did you go on to distribute and to reproduce that pamphlet? -- The idea then was that through the press media then the police would refrain.

From what? -- From handling the situation.

I am not speaking about the police, I am speaking about the Soweto public. -- Yes. (10)

Why did you go on to reproduce that pamphlet if you knew that they would react in a negative way? -- Well, it was a way of scolding.

Of schooling? -- Scolding. Of scolding the police.

For what? -- For the manner in which the meeting felt was not prudent in handling the situation.

But now I really do not understand you. You have said earlier during your evidence that the demonstration on the 16th would be unlawful and that it was likely that the police will interfere. Isn't that legitimate conduct on the part of (20) the police? Why are they to be scolded? -- Well, the thing is this that the brutality is the one that the public felt was uncalled for; not that the police should not have stopped the students.

You knew on the night of the 15th that that demonstration was unlawful. -- Yes.

But you knew that it was likely that the scholars will be stopped by the police. -- Yes, possibly.

Did you tell the scholars who were present in Mrs Mandela's house that if they will be stopped by the police, they (30) need not be afraid of the situation, because the police will

use/...

use rubber bullets? -- I did not say that.

If I put evidence before the Commission that you referred to Kenneth Rachidi as trustworthy, that he will confirm what I have said, what would you say to that? -- I will be surprised. When a person is trustworthy, but it does not mean that he is infallible. A person can be generally trustworthy, but it does not mean that he can be infallible and say the truth under all circumstances and at all times. Even me, I regard him as trustworthy.

Now, you have referred to yourself as a person who (10)  
played a prominent role in the Soweto riots. -- Yes.

May I ask you your opinion on the cause of the riots? -- Personally I feel the cause of the riots was the enforcement of Afrikaans by the authorities of the Department of Bantu Education.

Yes, can you elaborate on that? -- Well, in that this Afrikaans issue was enforced in the schools and it caused dissatisfaction and people were disgruntled about it.

Did you mention the possibility on the night of the 15th that a demonstration on the 16th is going to be a new (20)  
problem for the Department of Bantu Education? -- What I did mention?

That the demonstration is going to be a new problem. -- Yes.

What did you imply then was the old problem? -- I did not put the exact words but the sense is the same, that obviously when a demonstration was on, then the authorities would be presented with a new problem in the sense that it would be in the form of protest.

CHAIRMAN: And they would find that everybody is protesting (30)  
against it and does not want it. -- Quite so.



ADV. VAN GRAAN: But wouldn't the demonstration be an extension of the strikes during May? It would not be a new problem, it would only be an extension of the strikes during May. -- It would just add on various voices of protest.

Didn't you perhaps mean by referring to the demonstration as a new problem that the situation in Soweto would be more complicated for the authorities? -- Well, I did not really refer to it as a new problem verbally, but I feel now the sense of what you are saying is the same as thinking that obviously it would be a new manifestation of protest to (10) the already many protests that had already been there, caused by the dissatisfaction.

Would you then say that the demonstration would complicate the situation in Soweto? -- I would not really say that. Because I did not plan the demonstration, in fact I was not there when it was planned.

Did you say on that night that the demonstration or rather that a peaceful demonstration is not harmful for the scholars? -- I said it in the context that they had already planned it and the only way was just that one could hope that it would (20) remain peaceful.

But earlier during your evidence you said that you only asked questions that night and now it seems that you also made remarks during that night. -- Well, I asked the questions because it was when I came back I found that this thing was planned and I was out of curiosity I asked the questions.

But did you partake in the consultation on that night of the 15th? -- I did not participate deeply in the consultation.

But you have just admitted that you said that there was no harm in a peaceful demonstration. -- I said that one could (30) only hope that the demonstration could remain peaceful because

the students had already planned it and they are not consulting my opinion on that.

But then you did participate in the conversation. -- Yes, by asking that question, I did participate.

No, but you did not ask questions, you made a statement. -- The statement that I made was in the form of a question and I asked what they envisaged, did the students envisage police interception.

Was Mr Rachidi's statement that you have said that the police will use rubber bullets also in the form of a question? -- Mr Rachidi was not in that meeting. I am surprised that reference is made there to his presence. He was not there. I am surprised completely. (10)

Do you know Mr Matimba? -- Yes, I do know him.

Who is he? -- He is a teacher.

Was he present on the night of the 15th at Mrs Mandela's house? -- Yes.

Could it perhaps be that he heard you saying that the police will use rubber bullets? -- He did not say that the police would use rubber bullets, he said that - that was said by Motapanyane and he said that when the police usually use dogs like in the soccer match at the stadium and so on. (20)

Did you perhaps say that the scholars could retaliate against the police when the situation arises, that they will be met by the police? -- Did I say that?

Yes, I ask you. -- No.

Not even in the - you did not even imply by means of a question? -- No.

Can we go back to your statement that we discussed during consultation, paragraph 59. Can you read it please? -- 59? (30)

Yes. -- Another significant point to note is that BFC

and/...

and SASO had some of its members teaching in schools. The following are typical cases: Abram Tiro - Morris Isaacson; myself - Orlando North Secondary School; Lindelwe Mabandla - Orlando North Secondary School; Charles Mthombeni - Orlando North Secondary School; Thabile Kubheka - Orlando High School; Edward Kubhayi - Sekanontoane High School; Jake Selibi - Orlando West High School; Thomas Manthata - Sekanontoane High School; Cyril Ramaposha - Meadowlands High School; Lybon Mabaso - Meadowlands High School; Ribbon Moshodi - Thomas Mofolo Secondary School (where the Afrikaans row was sparked off). It was the duty of these people to conscientise students with regard to the struggle for liberation. (10)

What do you mean by struggle for liberation? -- Well, I mean in the context of Black consciousness which is an attempt to rid Black people of psychological and physical oppression by means of collective bargaining.

When the police was blamed in that pamphlet which was read by Dr Matlhare were they criticised in the context of the Black movement? -- No, it was not in the context of Black movement. (20)

Paragraph 60. -- Another incident to record is that on Sunday morning - I think it was on the 18th July, 1976 - I went to check on Dr Matlhare as he was unwell and delirious. On arriving at his house I found Mrs Mandela on the premises, in the house, who had been called earlier by Dr Matlhare's housekeeper. Mrs Mandela was in a rage after Dr Matlhare had told her he was invited by a certain White man called Serfontein to dinner, but he could not attend. Dr Matlhare was approached .. (intervenes)

Who is this Mr Serfontein? -- I do not know him. I just was hearing the name for the first time and as Dr Matlhare was/...

was not well, he was just delirious, when he said it. Dr Matlhare was approached by the Security Police who told him that Serfontein was an active ANC member and that Serfontein was also in love with Mrs Mandela. The police thereupon warned Matlhare to be careful of Mrs Mandela. Dr Matlhare then said he was going to resign from the BPA because he could not have its burden and largely due to his ill-health. Mrs Mandela and I persuaded him not to resign. Dr Matlhare did in fact later resign from the BPA following the press statement by him that he had made in the name of the BPA contrary to our (10) resolution that only Dr Manas Buthelezi would make press statements.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS FOR TEA. THE COMMISSION RESUMES.

AUBREY DUNDUBELE MOKOENA: still under oath:

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Paragraph 61. -- One other point to note is that with the inception of SASO in 1969 there were some White leftist who contributed towards the spirit of Black students to go it alone. There were Dr Basil Moore and Colin Collins, both of the UCM - which is the University Christian Movement - which was founded in 1967. (20)

CHAIRMAN: The names were? -- Basil Moore and Colin Collins. The churches that sponsored UCM in South Africa gradually withdrew their financial support because of the communistic ideas and the leftist stance which the UCM was adopting. In order to win the Black support Basil and Colin contrived the concept of Black theology which is a radical theological perspective that questions the status quo, in contrast to the divinity. In this way Black theology is a liberatory gospel of the Black man. Staunch members of the UCM at that time were Justice Moloto, Chris Mokoditsoa, Tom Manthata, Sabelo Ntwasa, (30) Kenny Rachidi, Bob Kgwane and others. UCM ultimately disbanded in/...

in 1972 and its assets were bequeathed to SASO at a General Students Council at Hammanskraal with the proviso that SASO would ensure the continuity of Black theology as a project. Basil Moore and Collins subsequently fled the country. With the banning of the first eight Black consciousness leaders in March, 1973, - Steve Biko, Barney Pityana, Drake Koka, Harry Nengwekhulu, Bokwe Mafuna, Strini Moodley, Gerry Modisane and Chris Mokoditsoa, there was a subsequent mass exodus of SASO and BPC members, fleeing the country to Botswana. In Botswana there existed conflict. Bokwe Mafuna led his (10) ultra-militant Maoist camp which was geared to military training with the object to overthrow the South African Government. On the other hand Harry Nengwekhulu had led his group of Black consciousness that is inclined more to academic pursuit. There is a big animosity between the two groups, however these camps act as the external wings of BPC and SASO. Harry Nengwekhulu raises funds for SASO. This money comes from the International University Exchange Fund, the World University Service based in Geneva. In 1973 Harrison Mogapi, who was living in Botswana with Abram Tiro, brought cash to the value of R2 800 to (20) SASO head office in Durban and handed it over to Henry Isaacs, who was then the president of SASO. Mogapi told me and Welile Nhlapo at Diakonia House that this money was organised by Nengwekhulu from ANC sources in Botswana. BPC and SASO employed the system of couriers. These were agents conveying messages, literature and funds to and from the refugees in Botswana. These were mostly nurses from Baragwanath Hospital, as they would be less suspect in the eyes of the Security Police. These were Maphiri Masikela, Thato Bereng, Nomsisi Kraai (now Khuzwayo) and Pumza Dyanti. Harrison Mogapi (30) was a courier as I have explained previously. Phokojoe told me/...

me that Horst Kleinschmidt was also used. Regarding leaving the country, I would like to state that I have never been outside the Republic of South Africa. However, I have been approached by Horst Kleinschmidt who asked me this year as to whether I did not want to leave the country for military training. I declined and pointed out that I was a breadwinner at home and have three dependant children. Mrs Mahlatsi of Diakonia House told me that her husband was an ANC member and had fled the country in the early sixties. She said that it was high time that young people like me considered (10) seriously to go for military training to relieve the like of her husband who had by now grown old. My response to her was an indifferent one, for reasons mentioned earlier and particularly that I did not trust her. I thought she was a police spy. This was shortly after my release from detention last year. In April this year Charles Mtombeni suggested to me that I should flee the country. He spoke of a certain Doctor Zwane in Swaziland. He said that this man provides for people who go for military training in Tanzania. He said Dr Zwane is taying in Manzini and is well known in that area. I (20) told him that I was not interested as it was dangerous to even talk about. I want to throw some light on the origin of SASM Junior. This organisation originated as the ASM - African Students Movement - in 1969. Some of the executive members at that time were the two Lenkwe Brothers, Peter and Basil. ASM later developed as it had more contact with the SASO element like Harry Nengwekhulu who became SASO permanent organiser in 1972. SASM was given more momentum in 1973 with the advent of the late Tiro when he taught at Morris Isaacson High School. I began to associate with SASM towards the (30) end of 1975, and played the role of consultant though not a member/...

member because it is basically a high school students organisation. My involvement became more pronounced this year as I have explained earlier, during Black Women's Federation. No, that is wrong, the Black Women's Federation is out of context here. In this way the Black - I think this is a typographical error, it was taken from another paragraph and inserted here, but I can just read it. In this way the Black women have boldly come up and identified in the struggle for liberation through Black consciousness. I was approached by Nimrod Mkhale, who is the director of the Institute of (10) Black Studies late in April, 1976, to serve on his committee and I agreed. I attended only one meeting during May at Dunwell House, Braamfontein, where we were discussing the constitution of IBS as well as the proposed inaugural conference which was to be held at Dube YWCA from the 13th to the 16th July, 1976. This conference was subsequently banned and the venue was shifted to Wilgespruit. This conference was not attended by me except on one evening when I arrived late with Dr Motlana after we were from the BFA meeting. After going through my statement I want to elaborate on the different (20) points already mentioned in my statement. Should I read that as well?

CHAIRMAN: Is all this relevant?

ADV. VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, that was the last page. We have some - M'Lord, I haven't introduced the witness at the beginning of his evidence. Do you want some facts about his academic training, etc. Can you read the first three paragraphs? -- I am an adult Bantu male, residing at 7652, Makhetha Street, P.O. Phirima, Phomolong, Orlando West, Soweto. I am employed by the Black Community Programmes as a programme assistant, (30) Methodist Youth Centre, White City, Jabavu. I studied through

UNISA and hold a B.A. Degree with Education and African languages as main subjects.

Paragraph 3. -- I am a member of the following organisations: SASO - South African Students Organisation; BPC - Black People's Convention; and BPA - Black Parents Association. I am also associated to SASM - South African Students Movement.

Do you know Ben Louw from the University of Western Cape?  
-- Yes, I do know him.

When did he visit Soweto? -- I am not aware when he visited Soweto. Do you mean this last year or earlier? (10)

Did he visit Soweto last year? -- I did not see him last year in Soweto, but what I do know that he has got relatives here at this Coloured township called Western - what used to be called Western Native Township.

Do you have information that he was here last year? -- No, I do not have information that he was here last year. In fact I was expecting him to attend the SASO conference which was held at Hammanskraal, but he did not attend.

Did you see him in Cape Town last year? -- Yes, I saw him in Cape Town last year. (20)

On what occasion? -- It was on the commemoration of SASO Day on the 10th May.

I have no further questions, M'Lord.

CHAIRMAN: Is there an organisation called the Students Councils in Soweto, the Students Representative Council or something of that nature? -- Yes.

What is it called? -- The Soweto Students Representative Council, the SSRC.

How was that formed? Who are the members of that organisation? -- Well; that organisation became the extension of (30) the Action Committee and that is to say .. (intervenes)

That/...



That is the Action Committee of which you have spoken?

-- Yes.

The Action Committee formed by the BPA? -- No, it was not formed by the BPA, it was formed on the 13th June at DOCC. Now the SSRC was formed, if I am not mistaken, it was formed on the eve - I think the 31st July, because Mashinini announced its formation at our public meeting at Regina Mundi - that is the BPA public meeting, that they had formed the SSRC and that they were going to meet the following day at Morris Isaacson School. (10)

Was this a representative organisation or what happened? How did they ..... -- It was in a sense that each time they met they had two representatives from various schools.

From each school? -- Yes, from each school.

And what were the functions of the SSRC? What did they do? -- Well, what they did, for instance, after they were formed then they planned the second demonstration on the 4th August and they also submitted and drew up a memorandum of the students minimum demands and this was submitted to the Black Parents Association which would in turn make representation on their behalf to the Minister. That is about all. (20)

Did you ever .... (intervenes - both speaking simultaneously) ... the BPA when you were going to be the organisation which would contain the unrest, did you approach them at any stage? Were you in touch with them? -- Yes, we were in touch with them at the time when they came and presented their grievances, we urged them that they should present their grievances so that we could speak on their behalf to the Minister. (30)

Well, speak on their behalf, if they were representative of/...

of the scholars of all the schools, wasn't it for them, for that organisation to try and stop the riots or the unrest? -- Yes, it was in their power to stop the unrest.

It was in their power. -- It was in their power.

So there is no point in your representing them. Did you speak to them and try to persuade them to stop the unrest? -- Yes, we did, we did so and on the 4th notably when they came - some of their representatives came to our meeting of BPA, we urged them to publish a press statement calling off the riots and that the students should go back to school. (10)

Did they refuse to do that? -- They did that and it appeared in the press on the 5th August, whereupon we said that they should at the same token draft their grievances because the demonstrations are not paying any good, they are not being listened to. Rather that we should present their grievances and then we could send them to the Minister.

Who were the leaders of the SSRC? -- The chairman of the SSRC was Tsitsi Mashinini, but I did not attend their meetings, but I did get the impression that they were not having permanent membership, but that each time they met they would have (20) only a representative from each school could go to that particular meeting.

In other words just at random they would take representatives? -- Yes, that is the impression I got.

Do you think it would have been in their power to stop things? -- I think so, yes.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, before mentioning the next witness, may I address this application again to your Lordship that there be no disclosure in the press either of his name or anything (30) that will lead to his identification. Otherwise he is prepared/...

prepared to testify in open court before Your Lordship.

CHAIRMAN: Then that order is made that the next witness's name or occupation may not be disclosed, nor any fact which would indicate his occupation or his identity.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, I call Rodney Paul Rannekoa.

RODNEY PAUL RANNEKOA: sworn states:

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, this witness has asked me to read his statement of which he has a copy before him and with Your Lordship's leave, may I do so.

CHAIRMAN: You have got a written statement of your own. (10)

Is it your statement? -- Yes.

Now you have discussed that statement with Dr Yutar who is to lead your evidence. Is that correct? -- Yes.

Are you prepared to let him read the statement? -- Yes.

Is this statement correct? -- Yes.

You made it willingly? -- Yes.

Yes, you may continue.

DR YUTAR: Now we begin with paragraph 1 where you say: I am a scholar at the Naledi High School, Soweto, and am at present doing Form IV which is Standard 9. I belong to no Black (20) organisation and never have belonged to any such organisation. Before we go on, you are 21 years old, you will be 22 in October of this year. -- Yes.

You took various subjects at this school. What were your subjects? -- The three languages.

Namely? -- English, Afrikaans, Vernacular, Biology, Geography and Mathematics.

And through what medium were the five subjects taught, leaving Afrikaans alone? -- In English.

And Afrikaans was taught only as a subject? -- Yes. (30)

And that was the position throughout the whole school? --

Yes/...

Yes.

So as far as the Naledi High School was concerned, there was no question at any stage of Afrikaans being used as a medium of education. -- I beg your pardon? There was no instruction.

There was no instruction in Afrikaans. -- No.

Is that right? -- Yes.

And as far as the scholars in your school was concerned, they had no complaint as far as the language was concerned. -- No, they haven't. (10)

We go on now. Paragraph 2. On the 8th June, 1976, during the lunch break at school, a white Volkswagen with white and black Security policemen arrived at school. They were making enquiries about Enos Ngutshana, who is also a student at Naledi High School. Did you know this Enos? -- Yes.

Who was he? -- He was a student at our school.

And do you know whether he was connected with any political organisation? -- I do not know.

You did not know. Anyway, the police were making enquiries about him and the police car was parked behind the toilets. (20) As I was leaving the school grounds to take my books home, I saw Sydney and Motapanyane speaking to the police. On my return to the school I saw that the windows of the police Volkswagen were broken. The police were not at that stage near or at the vehicle. I later noticed that the police were in the office of the principal, a Mr Molope. While taking other books into my classroom, I saw that a student, David Kutumela, was being lifted by an unknown student behind the principal's office. I saw that David Kutumela cut the telephone wires with an Okapi pocket knife. I then went and stood behind (30) the toilets where I found Michael and his friend whose name is

unknown to me, and some other students. Is that right? -- Yes.

We go on. Whilst I was at the toilets, Charles Mogase came there. Charles enquired from us whether the car belonged to the Security Police. We answered yes. Charles Mogase then took some newspaper and lit it. He then put the burning newspaper in the engine of the Volkswagen of which the bonnet of the engine had already been opened. I also saw Bantu male student Lolo open the petrol tank of the car by taking the petrol cap off so that the car could burn better. -- Yes.

While a lot of the students were watching what was (10) happening at the car, one of our teachers, a Mr Shuba, approached at the toilets and asked us: "Why don't you burn this car?" What subject did this Mr Shuba teach? -- He was teaching mathematics but not in my class.

Not in your class. -- Yes.

We students then understood that we should burn the car as it was not yet alight from the burning newspaper in the engine. We, the following students, decided to go and overturn the car, that is: myself, Michael Moipolai, Charles Mogase, Julius Lebitsa, Lolo, Michael's friend whose name is (20) unknown to me, and other unknown students. I know where all these named students stay, except Lolo. After we had overturned the car, it burst into flames. We then moved away from the burning motor car and stood with other students who were standing a distance away from the big gate with piles of stones in front of them. Where did those stones come from? -- Just around the yard.

And who put them together in heaps? -- Students.

And for what purpose did they do that? -- Well, you could say for in case the police approached, came to our school (30) to come and rescue the other policemen who were still in  
the/...

the principal's office.

So those stones were intended for in case other policemen came to rescue those two policemen who were in the principal's office? -- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: When did they put them there? -- It was not long after they overturned the car.

DR YUTAR: And what was going to happen to these two policemen, the Black and the White policemen who were inside the school? -- That I do not know.

We know the wire was cut. -- Yes. (10)

We know their car was overturned and set alight. -- Yes.

We know the telephone wire was cut. -- Yes.

What was the intention to do with those two policemen who were inside the school? Do you know? -- I do not know. I do not know the idea.

You do not know. -- Yes.

You do not know what others had in mind. -- Yes.

But you do know that those stones were put over there to use against the police who may come to rescue those two inside. -- Yes, because after that they were used in the very same (20) manner.

After? -- The time the police came, they were used.

They were used. We come to that now in paragraph 5.

At that stage about five police vehicles arrived at the school with White and Black policemen who stood at the big entrance gate to the school. We students were then many in number and we shouted "Black Power". The police threw teargas at us, which caused us to run away. When I arrived home, I told my mother what had happened at school. She was very worried. Now we know there were five police vehicles. How many police- (30) men were there altogether? Do you know? -- No, I do not know.

And/...

And how many students were there altogether? -- Just a big number of them.

I beg yours? -- There were many.

Many? -- Yes.

A couple of hundred? -- I could say like that.

You could say that. Now, you were one of those who shouted Black Power. -- Yes.

What did you mean to convey by that? -- What did I mean about?

Yes, showing the fist as you have now shown in court (10) and shouting the words 'Black Power', what did you intend to convey? What did it mean? -- Well, I just went by the mob when reason deceased there.

You just followed the mob? -- Yes.

Who all raised their fists. -- Yes.

And shouting Black Power. -- Yes.

What did that mean? -- I do not know the Black Power sign what does it mean.

You do not know? -- Yes.

Paragraph 6. On the 9th June, 1976, while I was at (20) school during short break, three vehicles with White and Black uniformed police arrived. All the Naledi High School students rushed towards the police, shouting Black Power. The police got back into the vehicles and chased away. Just then the school bell also rang for us to return to our classes. Is that right? -- Yes.

That was the next day. On returning to our classes, the class registers were marked and we were dismissed by our teachers. I do not know why we were sent home. Now we come to the events of the 15th June, 1976, the day before the (30) riots. On the 15th June, 1976, about 9 a.m. to 10 a.m.

the following students called on all the classes: David Kutumela, Sidney Popo, Motapanyane, Bruce, Voice and Makhoala. They explained to us that a SASM meeting was held on Sunday, 13th June, 1976, at the DOCC Hall, Soweto, where it was decided at the meeting that all the Black schools were to have a protest march on 16.6.76 against Afrikaans as an instruction medium. We were told to carry placards with the words "Away with Afrikaans". The main speakers were Motapanyane, Voice, Sydney and David Kutumela.

CHAIRMAN: The date of the meeting is given as Sunday (10)  
the?

DR YUTAR: 13th.

CHAIRMAN: That would be the 12th. The 13th was a Monday.

DR YUTAR: Wednesday was the 16th - no, 13th, M'Lord.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, that is quite correct.

DR YUTAR: The main speakers were Motapanyane, Voice, Sydney and David Kutumela. They also told us that Dan Mashinini was the chairman at the meeting on the 13th June, 1976, and that he received his instructions from a White man whom I do not know. Now who is this Don Mashinini? -- He was a student (20)  
at Morris Isaacson High School.

And what are his full names? -- Tsitsi Mashinini.

Also known as Donald or Don. -- Yes.

And who was this White man from whom he received these instructions? -- I do not know.

Was he a local White man or a White man from overseas? --  
I do not know.

You do not know. -- I was just told.

They just told you he had received instructions from a  
White man. -- Yes. (30)

Right, paragraph 9. Later during the day, that is the 15th  
June/...



June, 1976, Sydney returned to our class and showed us some pictures how the White people ill-treat the Blacks. The one picture was of a White man in a car, bumping over a Black man and the other picture was of a Black man driving the Whites to the sea to go overseas. Sidney said that this was not wanted. Is that right? -- Yes.

On the 16th June, 1976, I went to school as normal. After assembly, Motapanyane and David Kutumela addressed the students, instructing us to start our march with the secondary schools, that is Naledi, Fladi, Moletsane and Molapo. We left school(10) and joined the aforementioned schools. All the students present started marching to Orlando West. We were also joined later by the Botswana Junior Secondary School.

CHAIRMAN: Have you any idea of what time you left your school?  
-- No, I haven't got any idea.

DR YUTAR: Now we come to paragraph 11. I want you to look at it carefully. On arriving at Orlando West, I noticed ...  
(intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Could I just ask something before that. Did you notice any difficulty during the march to Orlando High (20) School - Orlando West High School? -- No, I never noticed anything.

Wasn't there some difficulty with passing cars? -- No.

You saw nothing? -- No, I saw nothing.

DR YUTAR: Except for the incident which you are now going to describe. -- Yes.

On arriving at Orlando West, I noticed that many students of various Black schools in Soweto were gathered there, that is all the streets in that area were filled with students. Michael Moipolai, Hendrik Ramarumo and myself were (30) standing near Uncle Tom's Hall. I noticed a brown Galaxy -  
is/...

is that the name of the motor car? -- Yes, it is the colour.

With three White women in it, driving in the street from Phefeni Station. This car was vigorously stoned by the students. Why was that done? -- I do not know.

Were you one of the students who stoned the car? -- No.

How many students were there who stoned this car? -- I cannot tell there. There were many students.

There were many students. -- Yes.

I also noticed that Don Mashinini and other students started walking to Morris Isaacson school. The Ford (10) Galaxy did not stop when it was stoned, but continued travelling. The bakery at Orlando West was also looted by the students. I did not take part. After this the students then moved in the direction of Phefeni Station. We came across a West Rand Administration Board vehicle which was stoned. I also threw a stone at it. Why did you do that? -- I do not have ..(inaudible) I really do not know what the cause was. We were led by - the things were happening there, the throwing of many stones might be the one which caused me just to throw a stone. But I only threw one stone there. Then I (20) regretted that. Thereafter .. (inaudible)

And the others threw stones, so you just followed suit. -- Yes.

Who was in this vehicle belonging to the West Rand Administration Board? -- It was a White man.

By himself? -- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: Didn't he have a Black man with him? -- No, he was alone.

DR YUTAR: How soon or how long after the incident with the Ford Galaxy which the three White women were in? -- How (30) long?

Yes/...

Yes. -- Do you mean the distance or the time?

No, in time. -- It was not a long time.

A matter of minutes? -- It was not a .. (intervenues)

It was not a long time. -- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: What is the name of that street? It is the street that goes up to the Phefeni Station. -- I do not know the name of the street.

Is it Pela Street? This place where you stoned the car, is it near a clinic? -- The clinic is on the right-hand side.

Pardon? -- It is on the left-hand side when you go (10)  
down the Phefeni Road.

When you go to Phefeni it is on the? -- When you go up to Phefeni it is on the right.

On the right? -- Yes.

The place where you stoned the car or the clinic? -- I do not now really the clinic but there are some buildings somewhere this side, I do not know whether they are clinics or what.

You do not live near there do you? -- No, I do not live there. (20)

DR YUTAR: Do you know the P'homelong Clinic? -- I am not sure, I do not know it.

That is very near to the Phefeni Station. -- I think the buildings which are this side, next to the hall somewhere there.

CHAIRMAN: I do not know whether I have the name of the street correctly.

DR YUTAR: My Learned Colleague thinks the name of the street is Pela Street. I will check up, M'Lord. The vehicle was a panel-van and was driven by a White man. While this stone throwing was continuing, I realised that our protest had (30)  
got out of control. I also had the idea that the White man in  
the/...

the panel-van could be killed by all the stones that had been thrown. I therefore broke away from the students to go home.  
-- Yes.

In what way did this protest get out of control? Why do you say that? -- By the stoning of the cars and looting of the bakery and so on.

Stoning of the cars and? -- Looting of the bakery.

The looting of the vehicle? -- The bakery.

Oh, the bakery. -- Yes.

Paragraph 12. On my way .. (intervenes) (10)

CHAIRMAN: In that area did you hear any shooting? -- No.

Wasn't there shooting just outside the Orlando West High School? -- I beg your pardon?

Was there shooting outside the Orlando West High School? -- I do not know. I was just getting the news from the others .. (inaudible)

Were you ever there in front of the Orlando West High School? -- No, I just stood next to Uncle Tom's Hall. I was never at Orlando West High School.

In that street in which the panel-van was stoned, did (20) you see a police car drive up towards the station? -- Up to?

Did you see a car, a police car drive up that street? -- No, I never saw a police car.

DR YUTAR: Did you see the police there arrive on the scene?

-- Did I see the police?

Come there. -- No, the thing which I said I saw the police down there at the open space next to sort of a river.

CHAIRMAN: Right on the slope on the other side? -- Yes, right down the railway side at the railway line.

But you did not see police - well, yes, you were not (30) really there. you say, police vehicles and policemen just outside/...

outside the school itself. -- Not outside the school.

I know you saw them on the other side. -- Yes.

Did you not also see police next to the school or near the school? -- I was not next to the school, I was this side of the hall.

When you saw the police on the other side near the railway or on the railway side of that little river, was that before you saw the women in the motor car? -- Yes, it was before I saw the brown Galaxy stoned.

Before you saw? -- The brown Galaxy. (10)

DR YUTAR: Now, at this stage I want you just to look at the last page, 4, paragraph 18. It fits in at this stage and there you say: While we were marching to the Morris Isaacson School, we came across - I think we had better just leave that for the time, we will come back to it. Let us go to paragraph 12. On my way home I was accompanied by Levy Lechwiti. On arriving at Mafolo Park, I saw Don Mashinini addressing the students of Sekano Ntoana High School. I went closer to hear what he was saying. Don Mashinini was explaining to the students that the police had blocked their way and that (20) the last meeting will be held at the Morris Isaacson School. Mashinini told the students that while they are marching to Morris Isaacson School, they must stone any car which belongs to a White man that they should come across. All the students, including myself and Levy, then marched to the Morris Isaacson School. Is that right? -- Yes.

Now at this stage we can take paragraph 18. While we were marching to the Morris Isaacson School, we came across a light delivery van of the West Rand Administration Board, driven by a White man. This vehicle was stoned and over- (30) turned by the students. I do not know their names, however,

I/...

I did notice that Voice was standing near the vehicle. I also heard the students say that they killed the White man by sticking a garden fork into his stomach. However, I did not see the dead man. -- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: Did you see a dustbin there? -- No.

DR YUTAR: We go back now to paragraph 13. On arriving at the Morris Isaacson School, Don Mashinini instructed all the students to stay away from school on Thursday and Friday. And that on Monday further instructions would be given to the students by him and other ring leaders. He continued by (10) saying that they, the leaders, would see to it that no high schools had Afrikaans as an instruction medium. Don Mashinini then told us to disperse. Don also informed us that the police had killed two students and injured eleven others. I then left and went home. Is that right? -- Yes.

Since the outbreak of the riots on the 16th June, 1976, I have never since returned to school. I read in the papers that all our schools had been closed. The riots in Soweto continued on the 17th and 18th June, but I did not take part in it. On the 28th July, I was detained by the Security (20) Police for questioning. Now what I have read out, is that in accordance with your statement that you prepared and signed? -- Yes.

And is it correct? -- Yes.

In consultation with me I asked you did all the students know what they were doing? Did they have any real complaint or were they just urged on by the ring leaders? -- They did not have so complaints.

They did not have complaints. -- Yes.

And the ring leaders urged them on. -- Yes, they told (30) us everything which I have written here.

They/...

They told you what to do? -- Yes.

You yourself did you have any complaints? -- No.

And you also told me you would like to go back to school as soon as possible. -- Yes.

And you regret everything that has happened so far. -- Yes.

Is there anything else you would like to tell the Court? -- No.

I have no further questions.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

(10)

DR YUTAR: I now call Rudolf Mandla Matimba and with regard to him too, I address the same application to Your Lordship that neither his name be disclosed nor his occupation or anything which could lead to his identification.

CHAIRMAN: Here again the same order is made as in the previous cases. There must be no publication of this witness's name or of his occupation or of any fact which may identify him or from which he may be identified here.

RUDOLF MANDLA MATIMBA: sworn states:

DR YUTAR: You are a teacher by profession, aged 26 - (20) you will be 26 in August of this year. -- Yes.

You have prepared a statement and you have got it in front of you. Is that right? -- Yes.

And you made that statement willingly and you signed it. -- Yes.

And you even took the oath. -- Yes.

Now, we will not go into all the details, we will only select some of the paragraphs and I think we will start with paragraph 2. Will you read it out? -- I am sorry, I think there is a mistake here. The paragraph reads I did my (30) school training at several schools in Soweto, I think there is

a slight mistake.

What should it be? -- Oh, I see what it means now. I did my school training at several schools in Soweto. In 1966 I started with my high school education at Orlando West High School, where I finished matric in 1970. At Orlando West High I joined the African Students Movement, ASM. This organisation did not take part in any politics.

Next paragraph please. -- During February, 1971, I started to work at Schinler Lifts, Booysens, Johannesburg. I left this place in September, 1971, to complete my matriculation, (10) because of my failure in certain subjects the previous year at school. During February, 1972, I joined further educational training at Tshiya College, Witsieshoek, where I studied for my Junior Secondary Teacher's Certificate. I finished my studies at Witsieshoek at the end of 1973 and obtained the abovenamed certificate. Thereafter I returned to Soweto, where I started to teach at Thesele Secondary School, White City, Jabavu, until June, 1975. I left for Selelekela Secondary School because the first mentioned school was too far from my home and I had to travel by taxi every day. At present (20) I am still teaching at the latter school.

Now, what subject did you teach in? -- Where?

At the Selelekela School. -- At Selelekela I was teaching mathematics in Form 1; general science in Form 2; and agriculture in Form 3.

And what was the medium of instruction? In what language did you teach these subjects? -- I was teaching in English.

And in fact throughout the whole school, what was the medium of instruction? At the whole school what language was used to teach all the subjects? -- At high school? (30)

Yes. -- Well, the medium of instruction was English, although/...



although in social studies we did it in Afrikaans.

And the teacher who taught social studies in Afrikaans, was he qualified? -- Well, I would not know.

You do not know. Did you hear any difficulties expressed by teachers or the students about the use of Afrikaans as a medium language for social studies? -- Well, the problem was not from the part of the teachers, but from the students. Most of them did not like social studies. As such most of them failed it.

They did not like social studies? -- Yes. (10)

But did they have any objection to being taught in Afrikaans? -- Well, I think that was the reason why they did not have interest in the subject.

Now we go on to paragraph 4. -- During the end of 1972 I was elected as a member of the Student Representative Council at the teacher's training college where I was studying. I was chairman of the cultural committee. My functions were to organise concerts, film shows and other concerts and also to encourage students to write books in Sotho. To my knowledge there was no political involvement in any way at this (20) college. The only person whom I know is Zacharia Nteo. He studied at the same college and is teaching at Orlando North Secondary School at present.

Now for the next few pages you deal with your political involvement. You became involved politically. -- Yes.

Now I am not going to read all that. I am just going to pick out one or two points and you can follow me, so that we can get on to the next subject. At the bottom of page 1 you say: I knew Aubrey Mokoena well because he was my Sunday School teacher at the A.N.E. Church in Orlando West. What is the (30) A.N.E. Church? -- The African Methodist Episcopal Church.

I/...

I knew that Aubrey Mokoena was studying at Turfloop University and that he was expelled from it. You knew that?

-- Yes.

We leave out now paragraphs 6, 7 and we go to paragraph 8, the first four lines. During July, 1974, will you read out please? -- During July, 1974, I went to another SASO conference held at Wilgespruit, Roodepoort. This was the yearly conference of SASO. The meeting did not take place at Hammanskraal because the place was booked for something else. During this conference the following subjects were in discussion. (10)

Right now, we will not worry about the subjects. Can we say that it all had a political flavour? -- Yes.

We rule out pages 3 and 4, except for paragraph 14, which deals with 'other activities'. Would you be so kind as to read that? Let us put it this way: you became completely politically involved in SASO and other similar movements. -- Yes.

Right. Now we deal with your other activities, paragraph 14. -- At the end of 1975 I attended the first of three CORD meetings - that is 'Charge or Release Detainees'.

That is right. -- I was told by Aubrey Mokoena what (20) CORD actually was. He was the one to invite me to the CORD meeting. I remember Winnie Mandela and Rev. Tutu as speakers during this meeting. Winnie Mandela spoke about her detention, her solitary confinement and house arrest. These were not meetings for discussions but prayers. The second CORD meeting I attended was on the 25th December, 1975. The main speaker to this meeting was Reverend Tshenkeng. He spoke about the religion of the Black man. The third meeting which I attended was during May, 1976, at my church, the A.M.E. Church at Orlando West. The main speaker to this meeting was Dr (30) Manas Buthelezi. He spoke on the resurrection of Christ and brought/...

brought it into comparison with that of the Black man of today, namely the struggle of the Black man. The following people used to attend these meetings: Mr Aubrey Mokoena, Tom Manthata, Westa Smith, Jairus Kgokong, Baba Jordaan, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Reverend Tutu, Dr Manas Buthelezi, Tebello Motapanyane and others. These are the main people I know. I would like to say that it was mainly prayer meetings. I cannot recall anything of a political nature being said or done at these CORD meetings. I remember that the names of all the detainees were read out at the meeting. (10)

Right, paragraph 15, page 5. -- I attended a national day of prayer. It was held at Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Moroka. Approximately 300 people attended. Aubrey Mokoena was the master of ceremonies. The service was conducted by Reverend Tutu. Reverend Tutu was the main speaker. This I think took place during the middle of the first term of 1976.

Now this Reverend Tutu who is he? -- He was the dean of the Anglican Church in Johannesburg.

Finally, paragraph 16. -- This was the only activities that I took part in. Apart from what I have stated thus (20) far, I was also the secretary of the local A.M.E. Church at Orlando West from the beginning of 1976. I am a religious man and usually attend church on Sundays.

Now we come to your activities as a teacher, paragraph 17. -- My activities as a teacher. I never belonged to any teachers' organisation until August, 1976, when I joined the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association - abbreviated towards - I think there is a mistake there. This I did after I was encouraged by my school principal, Mr J. Maseko. It was a totally teachers' organisation. According to my knowledge (30) this teachers' organisation did not take part in politics. I attended/...

attended one of TUATA's meetings which was held at Milner Park Holiday Inn, during August, 1976. The following people attended this meeting: Mr Simelela who was the chairman. He is actually the district president. Mr Mehlaphe - vice-chairman.

Mr Simelela was chairman of the Meadowlands High School. Is that right? -- He is the principal.

Right. -- Mr Mehlaphe, the vice-chairman - the principal of Diepkloof High School; Mr Maseko was the finance chairman - Selelekela Secondary School; Mr Taunyane, the provin- (10)  
cial president; Mr Dlamlenze, the secretary of ATASA - this is the African Teachers Association; Mrs Makhene, a lady teacher at Selelekela Secondary School; Miss Lerutoane from Phonofelo Lower Primary School, etc. The main speakers were Mr Simelela, who gave the presidential address. He said that the riots were something in the past and that the teachers must not be discouraged about this, but they should go back and encourage the students to go back to school and continue their studies. Other main speakers were Professor Lekhele from Turfloop, who spoke on "Education for a Global Community." (20) He said that he did not believe in global education or universal education, as syllabuses will always differ according to the needs of every community. He said that he wished that the time will come when Black educationists will be given a chance to work on their own syllabus to suit themselves and not as prescribed by the Bantu Education. Another main speaker was Mr Pitje, an attorney. He spoke on the Afrikaans issue and said that it was wrong to force a language on people which they did not want. A white educationist whose name I cannot remember, also addressed the conference. There were several other (30)  
speakers. This conference lasted for two days. After

this/...

this conference there was a report back meeting, which I did not attend. According to my knowledge there was no further TUATA meetings until my detention. The main topic at the above mentioned conference was Global Education.

Now who was this white educationist, -- It is Mr Auerbach.

Now we come to the Afrikaans issue, paragraph 18. --

The Afrikaans issue: I started teaching in 1974 and since then there was this question on Afrikaans. I was teaching mathematics in Afrikaans. It was then already clear to me that the students did not like to be taught in Afrikaans, (10) although they accepted it and did nothing positively in opposing it. I taught for one and a half years at the first school, thereafter I left for Selelekela Secondary School and found that they were teaching only in English. There was no problem on the Afrikaans issue.

There was no problem on the Afrikaans issue. -- I lost contact with the Afrikaans problem when coming to this school. From the middle of 1975 until the first quarter of 1976 the issue of Afrikaans being enforced as a medium of instruction in Soweto schools never came to my mind. To my knowledge (20) there was nothing going on about this Afrikaans issue. Maybe because I was at that stage not directly involved in the Afrikaans issue.

Would you continue please? -- During April/May, 1976, I read in the newspapers that the students from certain schools in Soweto were boycotting classes, because Afrikaans was enforced as a medium of instruction. The boycotting of classes by school students came as a surprise to me. I knew of the Afrikaans issue and that the students disliked it, but I never thought that it would escalate into the boycotting of (30) classes. This issue was also discussed informally in

our/...

our staffroom at the school by the teachers. We took no steps regarding this issue. We as teachers at my school did not see the staying away from classes by the students as a real problem at that stage, but thought that the students would break down and again attend classes. To the contrary more and more students stayed away from classes. More schools got involved.

Now as far as your school was concerned, the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, was not an issue at your school. -- It was not.

And the first you heard about it, when you read of (10) it in the newspapers. -- Later, yes.

CHAIRMAN: When you read about it at other schools. -- Yes, I was reading in the newspaper about other schools.

And the people were having strikes at other schools because of this. -- Yes. No, the students were boycotting classes because of Afrikaans.

Yes, they were striking, they were boycotting. -- Yes.

Because of the language medium. -- Yes.

DR YUTAR: We now come to the Soweto riots and we read from paragraph 20. -- The Soweto riots: I saw the Afrikaans (20) issue as being quite a developing problem at that stage, because more and more students were staying away from classes. During the first week of June, 1976, I was told by Tebello Motapanyane, whom I knew, that SASM was to have a student meeting on Sunday, 13th June, 1976, at the DOCC Centre. He told me then that they were to discuss the Afrikaans issue, which also included the staying away from classes by students. I was not invited to this meeting.

Please continue. -- After the meeting held by SASM on the 13th June, 1976, I met Tebello Motapanyane at the church. (30) He used to attend the activities at the same church where I

did/...

did, namely the A.M.E. Church. Here he told me that they - that is SASM - had decided to have a demonstration on the 16th June, 1976. He further said that they had formed an action committee which comprised of two students from each secondary school and high school. He said that the demonstration was to express solidarity with those schools which were enforced to use Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. He also said that the demonstration will be in the form of a march in which all students will take part. The students had to march to Orlando West Secondary School. (10)

CHAIRMAN: At that stage - this was now on - what date was this? -- It could have been the 14th or the 13th, I cannot remember.

At that stage you knew that there was going to be a march in which a large number of students were going to take part.

-- Yes.

And they were going to join somewhere. -- Yes.

They were going to join up at the Orlando West High School.

-- Secondary school, yes.

DR YUTAR: Will you continue: The students had to march. (20)

-- The students had to march to Orlando West Secondary School. Morris Isaacson School and Naledi High School were to lead the demonstration. I asked him why the high school students were involved in this Afrikaans issue. He answered that they wanted to join the secondary schools to express solidarity with them. This is all that Tebello Motapanyane told me at that stage.

As far as you were concerned, did you see any reason why the high schools should be involved in this demonstration? -- I did not find any reason why the high schools should be involved, because they are not taught in the medium of Afrikaans. (30)

Right/...

Right, would you continue please. -- On the 15th June, 1976, at approximately 6 p.m. I went to the choir practice at the A.M.E. Church which was opposite my house. There were about 30 to 40 people at the choir practice. This practice lasted until about 7,30 p.m. Aubrey Nokoena also attended the choir practice on that night. After the choir practice was finished, Aubrey Nokoena took some children to their homes. I stayed at the church, because I am used to staying behind and then to go and speak to the minister at his home, which was situated on the church premises. Between 8,30 p.m. and (10) 9 p.m. Aubrey Nokoena came back and asked me to accompany him to Winnie Mandela's home because he only wanted to tell her about the demonstration which was to take place on the next day. He said that he will bring me back and that it was not going to be long. I told him that I have got assignments of UNISA to complete. I decided to go with him. We went to Mrs Mandela's home in Aubrey Nokoena's car. It was not a pre-arranged thing for me to go with Aubrey to Winnie's house. We arrived at Winnie's place round about 8,30 to 9 p.m. I am not quite sure about the exact time. Aubrey Nokoena used (20) to pick me up at my house to go with him, specially when he was travelling alone. Maybe that was the reason why he picked me up at my house or the church on the night of the 15th June, 1976. I and Aubrey were the only ones in his car travelling to Winnie's house.

Just carry on, I will stop you when it is needed. -- On arrival we only found Winnie at her house. We entered through the back door and sat in the kitchen. Winnie was in the kitchen. Aubrey Nokoena told her about the demonstration and at the same time asked her what she thought about it. (30) Winnie said that she already knew about it and that it was a



good thing for the students to demonstrate against the Afrikaans issue because the government has done nothing to solve it. Aubrey said that it was going to be a further problem for the Department of Bantu Education, because they did nothing to solve the problem on the Afrikaans issue. A new problem was now facing the Bantu Education. I said that it was very difficult to be a teacher under such circumstances, because even if one wanted to, it was impossible to solve the problem - that is the Afrikaans problem. Winnie Mandela also said in my presence that she was giving the students (10) every support that they needed. She also said that these students, in whatever they were doing, they needed a bigger brain like hers to help them in what they were doing. Aubrey also mentioned the parents who stayed out of this and remarked that it was not a good thing and that they should be involved as well. I reacted to Aubrey's statement and said that the parents usually leave everything to us as teachers and that they do not involve themselves in the welfare of their own children. I actually quoted two schools where the students stayed away from classes and that the parents did nothing (20) to this. After about 20 minutes the following students arrived at Mrs Mandela's house: Tsitsi Mashinini, Tebello Motapanyane, David Khutemela and Natheson Morobe. They arrived in Winnie's car. One of the four said that they were looking for the press reporters who had to be present the next day at the demonstration. One of the four students informed us about how the demonstration was organised. This student said that they were going to force the primary pupils out of their classes to join in the demonstration in order to make it bigger. He mentioned the different schools that had to (30) take a leading role in the marching.

which/...

Which of the four students said that? -- I cannot really say.

Who was the leader of the four students? -- Well, it was Tsitsi Mashinini and Matheson Morobe, but Tsitsi was the main leader.

He was the main leader. -- Yes.

Right, next page. -- I asked the students whether they knew that it was illegal to have a demonstration. Tsitsi Mashinini answered me by saying that they did not care whether the police arrived or not and that they were going to arm (10) themselves with stones, should the police arrive. Aubrey Mokoena said that there was no harm if the students made a peaceful demonstration and if they made placards, which would show the whole world that the students were against the enforcement of Afrikaans. I said that should there be a confrontation with the police then the students should not be afraid of the police dogs, but they must stone the dogs.

Why did you say that? -- Well, really, it was not the question of the discussion, you know, just discussing freely, and this is what usually happens at Orlando Stadium, this (20) is what people usually do, they just join the police and manage to go through.

Did you expect there would be a confrontation between the police and the students? -- No, I did not.

All right, paragraph 28. -- One of the students, I think it was Tebello Motapanyane, said that should they encounter with the police, they will do the same as what they did at Naledi, by stoning and burning their cars, that is to the police. He also said that they have told the other representatives of the action committee to inform the students (30) that they should be ready for anything. Tsitsi Mashinini  
said/...

said that if the demonstration was not a success because of police interference, then they will know what to do next - that was to burn the schools. Upon this I asked the students whether they informed all the school principals about the demonstration. David Khutemela replied that they did not tell all the principals as they fear that some of them are police informers. One of the students replied by saying that they wanted to take everybody by surprise and that nobody must know about the demonstration beforehand. There was referred to the police and some of the principals. There was also (10) said by the students that the other students were busy making placards at their respective schools on that same evening of the 15th June, 1976. Aubrey Mokoena said that the students should not fear because the police will only use rubber bullets to disperse them. This he said because it seemed as if the four students present feared police interference. Winnie Mandela said that the names of the action committee and those of the student leaders must not be made known, because they will be the first ones to be shot or arrested by the police. Winnie Mandela then addressed myself and Aubrey Mokoena (20) and said that she wanted to discuss with the students the demonstration of the next day. She was referring to the students who were present in her house at that moment. I got the impression that they had arranged to have a meeting there on that night. She said that she was going to talk to the students about the demonstration and teach them songs which they could sing during the demonstration. By then it was round about 10,30 p.m. I requested Aubrey Mokoena to take me back home, because I never intended to stay that long. Aubrey said that he had to return to Winnie Mandela's house (30) because the students had requested him to take them back to

their/...

their homes. Aubrey and I left Winnie's house and drove back to my place where he dropped me. I then went to bed.

Now we come to the morning of the riots, the 16th June, 1976. -- On the 16th June, 1976, at about 7,15 a.m. I went to school. Our school had the usual morning opening. All the students were present. Solomon and Johannes Molefe ...

(intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: What is the name of the school again? -- Selelekela Secondary School. All the students were present. Solomon and Johannes Molefe from our school approached our principal (10) and asked him whether the students could also join in the demonstration, which was already on by then. The students from Orlando North were already seen marching to Orlando West. The principal, Mr J. Maseko, refused this request and said that he did not want to be involved in the students' affairs. He also said that he did not know about the demonstration. The examinations that were to take place on that day were suspended till later, because the students were not sitting down in their classes. The students were not orderly on that day. Most of them were outside, viewing the other students marching. (20) away in the distance. Two students from Orlando High School, whom I knew by the names of Michael Mici Tsagae en David Mokoena passed by our school. They were walking in a group of about 3 people. I spoke to Mici and David and asked them what was going on. They said that they were going to join the demonstration and that their principal had expelled them, because they wanted other students from their school to join the demonstration. They left in the direction of Orlando West. At approximately 10,30 a.m. the principal asked the students to go home. The teachers stayed until 2 p.m. I also (30) left at 2 p.m. From our school's position we were unable to

see/...

see anything concerning the clashes between the police and the students. We heard from a passing school boy that the police had blocked the Orlando Bridge. At 2 p.m. I did not go to my home. I left for Mzimhlophe where I went to see my girlfriend, Sibongile Masinga. I found her at her house. She is a nurse at the Baragwanath Hospital. I stayed there until about 6,30 p.m. that day. On my way home I came across Tebello Motapanyane at the A.1 Dry Cleaners in Orlando West. At that stage I already noticed that there were disturbances in Soweto. The traffic was moving very slowly, being (10) stopped mostly by tsotsis and elderly people. There were also cars nearby burning. There was a group of about 100 people singing. I asked Tebello what happened during the day. He told me that the students had clashed with the police; that a lot of people had died during the day. He said that they were shot by the police. He said further that he was there when the bottle store was broken into. It is the Phefeni bottle store. We went nearer to the bottle store and noticed several people looting the place. He also told me how they took cooldrinks and bread from various trucks. I then joined (20) the group that was singing. I later decided to go home. On my way I saw several people pushing a Combi out of the road. It was blocking the traffic. I helped. We pushed the Combi onto the railway line site but not onto the tracks. It did not overturn. After this I went to my house which was about 600 metres from there.

Now at this stage I want you to tell His Lordship, did you notice any difference in the composition of the crowd? Who took part in the march in the morning, who took part in the burning of cars and the looting of shops in the (30) evening after 6,30 p.m. when you arrived there? -- Yes, from the/...

the time I got off from the train at Phefeni Station, there were already some people standing there, but I could not recognise any students which I know. Most of them were elderly people and mostly just tsotsis because they were wielding knives and kleries and stopping people, you know, saying that they must lift up their arms in the Black Power salute and you find that sometimes when people did that, they ripped off their watches from their hands and they stoned the cars. But I definitely did not see any students at that time.

And therefore your view is that it was the tsotsis (10) who took over and they were armed with knives and other dangerous weapons? -- Yes, this is what I observed.

And how they were molesting other Black adults over there and in some cases robbing them of their watches and other possessions. -- Yes.

We go on to paragraph 37. -- Later on the night of the 16th June, 1976, I went to church. Tebello Motapanyane was also at the minister's house. At about 8,30 p.m. Aubrey Mokoena also arrived there. He was looking for Tebello. Aubrey told me of a meeting which was to be held at Dr Matlhare's (20) surgery. I knew Dr Matlhare as a churchman and also knew his wife quite well. I have been to Dr Matlhare's house several times before that day. I drove with Aubrey in his Mazda van to Winnie Mandela's house first. We collected her and on driving off, Kenneth Rachidi appeared with his car. The two vehicles left for Dr Matlhare's surgery.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS FOR LUNCH. THE COMMISSION RESUMES.

RUDOLF HAPDLA MATINBA: still under oath:

DR YUTAR: We have reached now paragraph 38 where you arrived at the surgery of Dr Matlhare. -- On arrival Dr Matlhare (30) informed us that his committee, that is Soweto Parents Association/...

Association, SPA, members had left already. He sent for them. There were several students like Matheson Morobe, David Khutemela and Tebello Motopanyane. The students were telling us what happened during the day. After about 15 minutes the other SPA committee members arrived and Dr Matlhare started with the meeting. At first all the people at the meeting were introduced. He told the older people that he had invited us to help him in running the organisation, that is the SPA. He, Dr Matlhare, explained to us how the SPA was founded. Winnie Mandela said that they had corpses on their hands (10) that must be buried and that no time should be wasted in electing executive committee. Could I just explain here?

Yes, do. -- Dr Matlhare explained that they had had a meeting previously, but they never had a chance of electing an executive committee. So that they had postponed that aspect of the meeting and they had intended having a meeting later. So Mrs Mandela suggested that this should be called off and rather the question of burying the people should be looked into. Winnie further said that an urgent meeting must be held to discuss how these people must be buried. A meeting was (20) called for that coming Sunday, being the 20th June, 1976. Aubrey suggested that pamphlets must be distributed in order to invite all the people of Soweto and the press to be informed. The venue for this meeting was the Regina Mundi Catholic Church. On the 17th June, 1976, at about 7,50 a.m. I went to my school. There was no school on this day. There were no students at the school. I noticed over 1 000 students demonstrating in the main street in front of our school. Some of the students were carrying placards. They were also stopping the cars and if the people in the car gave the Black Power sign, they would (30) let them through. At about 9,30 to 10 a.m. the police appeared

on/...

on the scene of the demonstration, which took place in the street, which is also a main route into town. The police arrived in two trucks carrying policemen - it was white policemen. They dispersed the students. I heard several shots being fired, but saw no injured person. After this I left the school and went to my girlfriend's house. Later that afternoon I returned to my house. No further happenings to my knowledge took place on that day.

Now, you say there were over 1 000 students demonstrating.

-- Yes. (10)

They had placards and did you see them throwing stones?

-- No, they were not throwing stones.

They were not throwing stones. -- No.

They were stopping cars? -- Yes, they were stopping cars.

For what - where were the cars coming? -- Well, this is a two-way route which drives in and out of town.

The main road from Johannesburg to Soweto? -- Yes, to Orlando East.

And at what point were they stopping the cars? -- Just next to the Orlando Stadium, let me say. (20)

And the police arrived in two trucks? -- Yes.

Can you tell how many policemen there were altogether? -- Well, I really do not have an idea.

And you heard the shots fired? -- Yes, I heard the shots fired.

Do you know in what direction the shots were fired? Were they fired in the air, in the ground or where? -- Well, I do not know, but I think it was in the air because I saw the students running away and none of the students fell or were injured. (30)

What time did you leave the scene? -- It could have been

at/...



at about 10 o'clock.

In the morning? -- Yes, in the morning.

And you went home? -- Yes, I went to my girlfriend's home.

You do not know what happened thereafter? -- No, because the students had dispersed and I realised that it was just a dangerous area to be in.

You kept out of trouble. -- Yes.

Right, paragraph 40 please. -- The meeting of the 20th June, 1976, which had to take place at the Regine Mundi Church and later at the A.M.E. Church was banned by the Johannesburg Magistrate. The meeting was however held at the house of Reverend Tutu on the same day. Present at this meeting was myself, Aubrey Hokoena, Winnie Mandela, Dr Motlana, Dr Matlhare, Harry Mashabela, Tebello Motapanyane, Tsitsi Mashinini, David Hokoena - a student from Orlando High - Michael Tsagae, David Kutemela and other people. Dr Motlana had the following resolutions: that Afrikaans should not be enforced as a medium of instruction; (1) that the police should not have shot at the students but rather have used rubber bullets or water; that the UEC members should resign, because they could not solve the Afrikaans issue; that a new body should be formed in the place of the SPA. He was against the term of 'Soweto' in the SPA. Winnie Mandela said that the people of Soweto should find a way to bury all the people who had died during the riots. Aubrey Hokoena suggested that all the organisations should be invited to a meeting the following day, as the meeting at the church did not take place. The venue was the Methodist Youth Centre, White City, Jabavu. (10)

We come now to the meeting on the 21st June, 1976. -- The meeting on the 21st June, 1976, at the Methodist Youth Centre/... (20)

Centre, was chaired by Dr Matlhare. Other people present were: myself, Dr Matlhare, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Kenneth Rachidi, Jackie Selebe, Mr Mkhale, Mr Ngakane, Aubrey Mokoena, Dr Manas Buth dezi, Jairus Kgokong, Tebello Motapanyane, Tsisti Mashinini, Zweli Sizani, Mr Mathabathe, Mr Mteso, Dr Motlana, Mr Khumalo and other people. There were about 80 people. At first the resolutions of Dr Motlana of the meeting on the 20th June, were discussed. One of these resolutions was the formation of a new body. A new body was elected during this meeting and the executive was as follows: Chairman - Dr Manas (10) Buthelezi; Vice-chairman - Dr Matlhare; Secretary: Aubrey Mokoena; Assistant secretary: Mr Nteso; Trustees: Dr Buthelezi, Dr Motlana and Dr Matlhare. Committee members: Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Kenneth Rachidi. These are the only ones I can remember. The new name to the body was the Black Parents Association, BPA, which would cover the whole of South Africa and not only Soweto as the SPA. I would like to make it clear at this stage that it was Mrs Winnie Mandela who came with the idea of a mass funeral. She suggested this already at the meeting of the 16th June, 1976. She raised it again on (20) the 20th June, 1976, at Reverend Tutu's house. She said that all the people should bury their dead at the same time, meaning the same day. The 3rd July, 1976 was the day for the mass funeral. Various organisations like SASM, SASO and BPC donated money for the burial of the dead. Three sub-committees were formed to do the final arrangements for the funeral.

Now what was the idea of transforming the Soweto Parents Association to the Black Parents Association? What was the idea behind that? -- Well, according to the explanation which was given it was .. (intervenes) (30)

By? -- Well, it was Dr Motlana, that the Soweto Parents Association/...

Association was just a body which is concerned with the parents of Soweto and his objective was mainly concerning the death of the Naledi students which were involved in an accident in Mozambique. That is I think in 1974. Dr Motlana said that we should form a parents organisation to cover the whole country and to take the interest of the parents and to discuss issues that concerned the parents.

Affecting the Black parents throughout the country? --  
Yes, especially on educational matters.

Now, were there any members on the committee of the (10)  
Black Parents Association who were not parents of schoolgoing children? -- Who had no children?

Yes. -- Yes. I was one of them.

You were one of them? -- Yes.

Who else? -- And Aubrey Mokoena.

Were there others as well as far as you know? -- No.

What about Dr Matlhare. -- Oh, you mean as having children?

As having no children. -- No, children, yes, well, Dr Matlhare doesn't have any children.

Now what was the idea of a man like Aubrey Mokoena (20)  
being on this committee, seeing that he was not a parent? --  
Well, I do not know. I just personally imagine the organisation was not to see if a parent is having a child particularly, but you know, a way in which you could get involved as young people and to be able to uplift our people. And as a teacher I just felt obliged to join an organisation of that nature. I did not see it as being parents having children.

Wasn't the name then a little misleading? You know, to call it a Parent Association when it was in fact not confined to parents? -- Well, I do not think so. (30)

And what was the purpose of arranging or attempting to,  
arrange/...

arrange a mass funeral of all those who had unfortunately died during the riots? What was the idea behind it? -- Well, I think the idea was just to bury the people at the same time as it is traditionally done. For instance we had the same case of the very students which died in Mozambique. They were buried in a mass funeral. And I remember also there was the Dube disaster, train disaster where the bridge fell and several people died. These were buried also in the form of a mass funeral. So I do not know, but it was just an idea which came up on its own. (10)

The Lourenco Marques tragedy that was where a bus collided, it was an accident, a bus accident, wasn't it? -- Yes, it was.

The Dube disaster was also an accident. -- Yes.

But the death in this case resulted from riots. Now, we have had evidence that the whole idea was to whip up enthusiasm and / <sup>the</sup> feelings of the Black people. Do you understand me? -- Yes, I understand.

Is that true or not? -- I do not know. Personally maybe I was just too innocently involved in the whole thing. I just treated it as a way we could assist our people and that is (20) why we invited donations immediately that this would form part of the relief and also committees were formed to buy coffins. So that these could be donated to the people to ease them of this, because this was just an unfortunate incident which was not expected.

And who formed the funds? -- Well, the trustees had to handle the funds, but it was from that very meeting of the 21st June.

And what was the name of that fund? -- Well, it had to be - the funds had to be handled by the Black Parents Association. (30)

Did/...

Did it not have a name? -- No, it was just the fund of the organisation.

Right, paragraph 42. -- The mass funeral as planned for the 3rd July, 1976, was banned and never took place. The money which was collected for the mass funeral was now distributed amongst the families of all the people who died. Since this first meeting of BPA on the 21st June, 1976, I attended nearly all the meetings thereafter. I was also later adopted as the third secretary of the Black Parents Association. During a BPA meeting in August, 1976, which was held at (10) the Regina Mundi Catholic Church, two students of which one was Tsitsi Mashinini spoke in the meeting. They urged the parents to stay away from work on the 4th August, 1976. They wanted the parents to assist them (the students) in their struggle. Many people stayed away from work on the 4th August, 1976. There were also pamphlets distributed to this effect. I was detained on the 15th December, 1976.

Is there anything else you would like to say? -- No, I do not think there is anything.

Apart from the statement you have made. -- No. (20)

I have no further questions, N'Lord.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

DR YUTAR: The last witness for the day is Mr Mazibuko.

THANDISIZWE MPHIWA NAZIBUKO: sworn states:

DR YUTAR: By way of interest, I understand your first name means 'love the nation'. -- Yes, that is quite right.

Is that why you became general secretary of the Black Parents Convention? -- I would not say that is why.

One of the reasons. First of all you do not want your name published and you also do not want any details published (30) which would lead to your identification. Is that correct? --

Well/...

Well, that is all right.

You prefer it that way? As you like. -- It is all right.

What is all right? -- To not disclose my identity.

Not to disclose your identity. -- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: There will be an order in regard to this witness as well as in the other cases.

DR YUTAR: I have here a statement which you made and which you said you made voluntarily and in your sound and sober senses, you signed it and you took the oath that it was the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Is that (10) correct? -- That is correct.

Is this the statement? Is that right? -- Yes.

It is a very long statement, but I think in view of all the evidence we have led, we can curtail it tremendously. I just want to get these few details on record. You were born in 1949, that makes you 28 years of age. -- 27.

You will be 28 in August. -- Yes.

And you were born in Natal, but you presently stay at the Soweto Township and you are the general secretary of the BPC, namely the Black People's Convention, with office at (20) Downing Mansions, 114 Eloff Street, Johannesburg. -- That is correct.

You received your schooling at the St Chad's Primary School in Ladysmith from 1956 to 1963. -- That is correct.

Your father was a teacher there. And then you went to St Francis College near Durban to continue your studies, particularly in science. -- That is correct.

And finally you were admitted to the University of Natal Medical School for pre-medical courses. -- Correct.

And it is there that you first heard about SASO - (30)  
the South African Students Organisation - and it was as a result

of/...

of that that you became interested in politics. -- Correct.

Now, I think we can skip pages 1, 2 completely. There you outline, speaking generally, your political association with various organisations from the year 1970 onwards. -- Yes.

Is it correct to say that you were politically motivated?  
-- Politically motivated to do what?

To work for the cause of your people. -- Correct.

Paragraph 17 we could perhaps read out. Would you do that? Let me say, you could not continue your medical studies because you failed certain subjects and they would not re- (10) admit you. -- Yes.

You then sought private employment. -- Yes.

Will you now read paragraph 17 please. -- Paragraph 17?

17 on page 3. -- In November, 1974, I was fired from my work because I could not agree with the management that the BPC T-shirt I was wearing was causing friction in the factory. I then decided to go to Johannesburg to stay with my brother Sizo Mazibuko, residing at 1242, Senoane Location, Johannesburg, and is practising as a medical practitioner.

Now that was the first time you came to Johannesburg, (20) to settle permanently. -- Yes.

And you were advertising your association with the BPC - the Black People's Convention - even to the extent of wearing a T-shirt with the name thereon. -- What happened in that factory was that I was wearing the T-shirt under my shirt and it so happened that because I was working in the laboratory, I had a lab. coat on, so I took my shirt off and was left with the T-shirt on, as I have just now, and had a lab. coat on. So the lab. coat could reveal the BPC T-shirt, what was written on the T-shirt. Not that I was doing that purposely to (30) publicise BPC in the factory.

And/...

And that caused friction amongst the workers, some of them did not like it? -- No, .. (inaudible) .. an allegation on their part.

I beg yours? -- I think it was an allegation on the management part that this could be the case. But I had worn this T-shirt I think for about 3 days.

Now we come to what you have termed the 'Afrikaans issue'. Would you be so kind as to read paragraph 29 on page 6? Have you got it? -- Yes, I have got it.

Will you read it please? -- Some time in February, (10) 1976, I and Thomas Mantatha attended a parents meeting which was called by the Tswana School Board and was held at a certain school in Zone 3, Meadowlands. In this meeting, the chairman, whose name I do not remember, explained that the school board had called the meeting because of the quarrel they had between the school board and the Department of Bantu Education which had resulted in the resignation of that school board and the quarrel was due to the fact that although the Bophuthatswana Government had legislated that the Tswana schools should teach through the medium of English, the Department of Bantu (20) Education was forcing the schools to teach through the medium of Afrikaans on a 50-50 basis. The chairman went on to say it was up to the parents to decide whether they wanted their children to be taught through the medium of Afrikaans. The parents decided that they could not allow their children to be forced to learn through Afrikaans. The parents said if the children were forced to learn in Afrikaans, they would withdraw their children from the school. The school board was instructed by the parents not to allow Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Should I carry on? (30)

Would you please? -- In the beginning of March, 1976, I,

Kenneth/...



Kenneth Rachidi, Thomas Mantatha and Aubrey Mokoena went to see Mrs Winnie Mandela. The purpose of the visit was to discuss with her the statement that Kenneth Rachidi as president of BPC wanted to issue to the press, concerning the release of Nelson Mandela from prison as the Minister of Justice had said that he would consider Mandela's release if the Chief Minister of Transkei, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, who had previously made a plea for his release would guarantee Mr Mandela's behaviour, but however the Minister rejected the plea. Kenneth Rachidi believed that the rejection of the plea by the Minister was due to the fact that Mr Mandela had refused to serve in the Transkei so that Chief Matanzima could be a guarantee. We therefore went to Mrs Mandela to find out if she agreed with this point of view. Mrs Mandela said that she had no objection to the statement. Thomas Mantatha then requested Mrs Mandela to join BPC because she was articulate and influential and because BPC needed elderly leadership. Mrs Mandela said that she would not be able to join BPC because of her involvement with the Black Women's Federation. However, she commended BPC and SASO in their efforts in conscientising people through Black consciousness and their efforts to liberate the Black people from oppression. Mrs Mandela went on to say that BPC and SASO were filling the vacuum that was left by the banned ANC and PAC but however, people must not forget where the struggle started; the struggle had been there for a long time and ANC and PAC were the forerunners of the Black struggle for liberation.

(10)

(20)

You were the general secretary of the Black People's Convention. -- Yes.

What were the aims and the objects of the Black People's Convention? -- The aims of the Black People's Convention/...

(30)

Convention is to deliver the people from oppression basically.

I do not know whether you want me to elaborate on it.

Would you please? -- I would say the aim is to conscientise the Black people about their liberation and to further show them that it is .. (inaudible) .. that they can achieve this liberation and further liberate them from oppression. Psychologically and physically.

And you of course know that the ANC and the PAC had both been banned. -- Yes.

And it is suggested over here that the BPC must now (10) take over the work of both those banned organisations. -- That is not true. It must not be seen that it is taking over the work of the banned ANC and PAC, but that BPC as a political movement is filling a vacuum which was left by the banning of the ANC and PAC, which then were sort of articulating the Black experience. Now the banning of ANC left a vacuum in a political movement. So BPC as a political movement was therefore filling this vacuum which was left by ANC and PAC. Not that BPC is just carrying the role of ANC and PAC.

In what way did the aims and objects of the BPC (20) differ from the aims and objects of the ANC and the PAC? -- I cannot say about that because I do not know the aims of the ANC or the PAC.

You do not? -- I do not.

And then you spoke about the aim and object of the BPC was to liberate the Black people physically and psychologically. -- Yes.

I can understand psychologically. What do you mean by physically? -- The fact is that the Black man hasn't got a vote in the country first of all. So this is what we mean that (30) a Black man needs a vote and we want to have a vote in the country/...

country. So this is one of the things we mean by physical oppression. To get what he does not have.

Perhaps you mean psychologically and politically. -- Ja.

However, we go on to page 7, paragraph 32. -- Thomas Mantatha explained to Mrs Winnie Mandela that in the conference in December, 1975, in King William's Town, BPC recognised the historical existence of ANC and PAC but because they were outlawed, BPC did not maintain any relationship with those organisations. Mrs Mandela further said that many people had accepted Black consciousness and BPC, SASO and SASM and (10) other Black organisations must go on conscientising people. Mrs Mandela then asked Kenneth Rachidi what BPC was doing about the issue of Afrikaans since some students had started boycotting classes. Kenneth Rachidi replied that there was nothing BPC was doing since it considered the issue of Afrikaans to be falling under SASM. Mrs Mandela said that she was going to take up the issue of Afrikaans and use it to conscientise and sensitise people through the Soweto Parents Association. She then issued a challenge to BPC and SASO to use this issue of Afrikaans to conscientise people. Kenneth Rachidi, Thomas (20) Mantatha, Aubrey Mokoena and myself agreed that people must be conscientised by taking up this issue of Afrikaans. However, we did not discuss how to go about conscientising people because Mrs Mandela also said she did not trust her house because it might be bugged.

Now, in other words, they were going to make this Afrikaans an issue, although in some schools Afrikaans was not even the medium of instruction. -- I would not say - here I must give what Mrs Mandela said was that when you look up the history of the Afrikaans issue, was that in the beginning of the (30) medium of instruction in Afrikaans, was that the government, had/...

had legislated that - or rather issued a circular to the fact that the schools must use both English and Afrikaans as medium of instruction, but where Afrikaans is the dominant language in the school, English must be given a preferable lesson which is a subject and then something must happen to Afrikaans classes. However, in the West Rand when the Board even started .. (inaudible) .. the Soweto School Board that the <sup>of</sup> medium/instruction must be used on a 50-50 basis, which then contacted the - I think the Teachers Association, ATASA, to reject this on the grounds that there were few children (10) proficient in Afrikaans and this again led to the Tswana School Board then picking up the issue and rejecting this because the teachers proficient in Afrikaans and secondly because the Bophuthatswana Government had legislated about the issue. So that then this issue which I think was really on with the Tswana people in the early end of 1975, was an issue that was troubling people. So that when Mrs Mandela issued the fact that we must do something about Afrikaans, it was like to say we are going to pick this Afrikaans issue to use for anything rather as BPC is a political movement (20) that is working towards liberation of Black people and that now that prominent certain Black people did not have to do something about it as ... (inaudible) .. proposals to be a political movement and therefore BPC had to do something about the Afrikaans issue which a problem facing Black people and not only facing Tswana people, it was facing all the Black people, though at the time it was only taken up by the Tswana School Board.

Did you know that there were many schools, particularly high schools, where Afrikaans was not used as a medium (30) at all? -- I do not know any. I know .. (inaudible) ...

And/...

And do you also know, we have led the evidence to this effect, that there are schools where Afrikaans was the medium and where the results obtained through that medium were better than the results obtained through the English medium? Did you know that? -- I do not know that either.

You might go into it again. Now we skip paragraphs 36 to 44 and I would like you just to read out the two short paragraphs, 45 and 46 please. -- On the 11th June, 1976, I, Jackie Selebe and Kingdom Khutsoane were joined by Kenneth Rachidi and his wife and we all drove to King William's Town at 21h00 in a Volkswagen Beetle we had hired. (10)

And what was the purpose of that visit to King William's Town? -- Going to a Zimela Trust Fund meeting there.

Yes? -- But the initial aim was .. (inaudible) .. that is myself and Kenneth to go and meet the editors of newspapers on the issue of publicity on the side of BPC.

To get publicity for the BPC? -- Yes.

And the Zimela Trust Fund, that is spelt Z-i-m-e-l-a. All right now we can go on to paragraph 46. -- On Saturday, 12th June, 1976, I, Kenneth Rachidi and Nxolisi Mvovo met Mr Donald Woods who is the editor of Daily Dispatch and we discussed the problems faced by BPC in issuing statements and that the statements were more often rejected by the press. Mr Woods promised to get the publicity needed by BPC. (20)

Did you get that publicity from the Daily Dispatch of East London? -- I could not say because nothing had been .. (inaudible) .. until I was detained.

All right, we go over now to paragraphs 50 and 51. -- On the 15th June, 1976, I flew from East London to Durban with Diliza Nji who was then the president of SASO, where I met Mr Wiley, the editor of the Sunday Tribune and he also promised

to/...

to help BPC public its statements through his newspaper. In the afternoon of the 16th June, 1976, Kingdom Khutsoane joined me in Durban and the two of us then drove to Johannesburg. When I reached Johannesburg, I learned from Jairus Kgokong that the students had staged a march and the march had become riotous when the police opened fire and the students had started looting and burning buildings.

Did you have any prior knowledge of these riots? -- None at all.

Any prior knowledge of demonstrations or marches? -- (10) None at all.

Any prior knowledge of boycott of classes? -- Boycott of classes, I mean the boycott of classes had started as early as April and it was continued there.

Followed by marches to demonstrate. -- Well, I do not know .. (inaudible) .. demonstrations much about that.

CHAIRMAN: When was the first time that you learned about them? -- I learned when I was in Durban on the Wednesday afternoon when I was just preparing to drive up to Johannesburg.

What date was that? -- On the 16th June. (20)

DR YUTAR: Right, now we skip the intervening paragraphs, we turn to page 11, we do the three paragraphs 55, 56 and 57. -- I then drove with Jairus Kgokong to the BPC office in town and while we were there Shun Chetty arrived and I do not know who had invited him there and Thomas Mantatha and Kenneth Rachidi also joined us. Shun Chetty suggested that BPC, SASO, BAWU and SASM should form a research project whereby the families of the riot victims would get financial and legal aid. He further offered his services as a legal adviser and we all accepted his proposal. (30)

Now who is this Shun Chetty? -- He is a lawyer who acted in/...

in the BPC/SASO trial in Pretoria.

In Pretoria. -- Yes.

And were you at one stage asked to assist in the defence of the accused at that trial? -- Yes, I was.

And did you in fact assist them? -- No, I did not. I was just interviewed about that.

You were interviewed? -- Yes.

But you did no more than that? -- No, I did not do anything about that.

Right. Paragraph 57. -- In the evening of the 19th (10) June, 1976, I and Jairus Kgokong drove to Mrs Mandela's house, where we wanted to know where the meeting of SPA was going to be held, which was going to discuss final arrangements for the meeting of the 20th June, where the mass funeral of riot victims would be discussed. Mrs Mandela told us that the meeting was at Dr Matlhare's surgery and that Thomas Mantatha and Kenneth Rakhidi were already gone. We decided not to go because Thomas and Kenneth were already there. I then asked Mrs Mandela about a statement which had appeared in a certain Afrikaans newspaper where she had said that the action of (20) the students was not only against Afrikaans, but against the whole system. I told her that in my opinion that statement was irresponsible. She reacted very angrily and said that she had been misquoted by the press. I did not believe her and we both had a quarrel and I decided that I, Jairus Kgokong and Kingdom Khutsoane should leave.

What part of her statement did you regard as irresponsible? -- The fact that she said that at that time the students' action was against the whole system rather than against the Afrikaans issue, because I viewed that what she was saying was (30) rather too premature because she did not - I took it that she did/...

did not know what the students actually wanted, because it was only about 3 days after the beginning of the riots. So I was against her saying that the students' action was not only directed against Afrikaans, but against the whole system in the country.

Against the whole system in the country. -- Yes.

All right, now we can skip over. We go to paragraph 60. Oh, by the way, had you up to that stage met Tsitsi Mashinini? -- No.

Did you meet him thereafter? -- I only met him at the (10) conference, the SASO conference at Hammanskraal.

When was that? -- It was - I do not know the particular date, but the conference started on the 3rd July.

And where was this conference held again? -- Hammanskraal.

And he represented the South African Students Movement? -- Yes, initially I think he was in it because Zweli was supposed to represent them and he had not arrived, so he took - he became the representative for them.

What part did he play at that meeting? -- He played no part .. (inaudible - aeroplane noise in the background) (20)

What part did he play? -- No, he did not play any part, he was just representing SASM.

Is that the only time you met him? -- Yes.

You do not know of his association with Mrs Winnie Mandela? -- No, I do not know.

No idea. -- No idea.

Although you were closely connected with Mrs Mandela and you sought her assistance for the Black People's Convention.

-- I would not say I was close with her, I had been with Mrs Mandela three times I think. I do not even know her. (30)

Paragraph 60 please. -- Mrs Mandela then suggested that  
the/...



the mass burial should be held during the week so that all Blacks should mourn and not go to work and this was found to be impracticable to organise people not to go to work to attend these mass burials because of the riots that were taking place. It was finally decided that the mass burials should be held on the 3rd July, 1976. Mrs Mandela then proposed that the SPA be made national and be called the Black Parents Association so that funds could be centralised in BPA throughout the country. This proposal was seconded by Dr Motlana. Mrs Mandela further said that BPA must form branches in other (10) areas like Pretoria and Alexandra and her proposal was accepted.

Before you go on, what was the purpose of having this mass burial of those who had unfortunately died during the riots? -- The purpose was to highlight the Black man's suffering in this country, that so many people have died in this country, struggling for Black liberation. So the purpose of this just to .. (inaudible) .. and highlight the struggle for liberation.

Did you and your organisation believe that those who were to be buried en mass had all been killed by the police? -- Yes, that is what we believed. (20)

You believed that? -- Yes.

And that of course is the publicity you had sent out. -- I would not know, after I was detained, there was no publicity about the riots that was issued by BPC.

Did you know that in fact a large number of those who were killed, were not killed as a result of police action? Did you know that? -- No, I do not know.

You do not know that. -- No, I do not know.

And were these branches of the BPA formed in Pretoria and Alexandra? -- I do not know, I cannot say, because I (30) was not in the executive of BPA.

And/...

And do you know whether funds were in fact received? -- No, I do not know. All I do know was that the funds that had come for SACC and .. (intervenes)

Funds from? -- South African Council of Churches were supposed to be directed to BPA were later not directed to BPA.

As far as you knew funds had been sent to the South African Council of Churches who in turn had to divert it to the BPA? -- No, what we heard was that Mr Ngakane said that the fund that was started by the South African Council of Churches for the same purpose as BPA had done. Then they (10) thought this was a duplication of efforts, rather they must have one thing and it seems to be it was the Black Parents Association it was more representative than SACC so that they said they must have a delegation to meet Mr John Rees to discuss this issue of redirecting funds to BPA.

And who is Mr John Rees? -- The general secretary of SACC. Of the South African Council of Churches. -- Yes.

Do you know whether in fact the SACC had received funds? -- No, I do not know.

You are not aware of that. -- No, I am not aware of (20) that.

Do you know who paid for the defence of the SASO trial in Pretoria that you attended? -- No, I do not know where the funds were coming from.

No idea? -- No idea.

Would you please read then paragraph 61 to 64, they are four short paragraphs. -- Mr Mathabathe, the principal of Morris Isaacson High School announced that in the principals' meeting which was held the same day at a venue he did not mention, it was decided that collections for the funerals (30) would be made in all schools on Thursday, the 24th. Mr

William/...

William Ngakane suggested that BPA should approach Mr John Rees, the general secretary of South African Council of Churches, as the SACC had launched an appeal for funds from overseas.

You did not know that before? -- Well, I knew that the funds were from overseas.

Do you know what amount had been received from overseas?  
-- No idea.

All right, we will lead that evidence later. Right. -- Mrs Mandela said that the BPA must organise and sensitise (10) the parents about the affair of mass funerals. She further said that the idea of mass funerals was to sensitise the people and to make them aware of their oppression. She went on to say BPA must work with grassroots by working with the ordinary person in the street and people must use BPA to bargain on any other issue in the future.

What is meant by 'grassroots'; she went on to say that BPA must work with grassroots? -- What I understood here was that as BPA was a Black Parents Association and we in fact knew that it is the only(?) organisation for parents, (20) therefore she was saying that it might expand outside the parents' sphere and go to the ordinary person who may not be a parent.

And finally paragraph 64. -- Mrs Mandela further announced that she had received a telephone call from London, she did not mention from whom, that there was money available for the mass funeral and would come as soon as BPA had opened a bank account.

Did the BPA open a banking account? -- I have no idea about that.

That is the final paragraph on that page. There are (30) just two others I would like you to read. Page 13, paragraph 70.

-- From the 3rd July, 1976, to the 9th July, 1976, I attended the annual conference of SASO which was held at Hammanskraal. The highlight of the meeting was the symposium address by Dr Asvat whom I know has a surgery in Soweto, on the role of a professional man in a liberatory struggle and Mrs Mandela on the history of women in the struggle. Another guest speaker was Professor Mohammed from the University of the Western Cape who addressed the conference on the history of the struggle in South Africa. Although I attended the conference I cannot specifically quote the exact words (10) used by the abovementioned speakers, but papers on the speeches were available in my office after the conference.

Was that the conference at which Tsitsi Mashinini attended as a representative of the South African Student Movement? -- That is correct.

Did he participate? -- He was a representative of SASM.

Did he speak? -- I cannot particularly say whether he spoke, because if you are not a delegate you are ..(intervenes)

You cannot do that. -- No, you cannot.

And now the last paragraph, paragraph 72. -- On (20) Tuesday, 20th July, 1976, I drove with Jack Selebe to Durban and then we passed to King William's Town to attend a meeting of all Black organisations called by the Zimele Trust Fund which was to be held on the 24th July, 1976. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss central fund raising of all Black organisations. Unfortunately this meeting was banned on the 23rd July, 1976, and on the same day I was arrested at Zanempilo Health Centre at Zinyoka, King William's Town.

Now this Zimele Trust Fund, who formed it? -- I do not know the history of the Zimele Trust Fund. (30)

You have no idea who formed it? -- No, it was actually, the/...

the first time I came into contact with Zimele was in June, the 15th, when there was this meeting.

And then there is another trust fund, Azingeni. Do you know about that fund? -- What?

The Azingeni, I think it is called. Formed by the fund created by the South African Council of Churches or under the auspices of the South African Council of Churches. Do you know about that fund? -- I do not know. .. (inaudible) .. the fund?

I haven't got it with me unfortunately, the document. (10) -- What I mean is there is a fund under SACC beginning with the .. (inaudible) .. the relatives of the detainees and .. (inaudible) .. I do not know what the name of that is.

It is an African name meaning 'come out'. Azingeni. -- No, I do not know anything about it.

You do not know of that. -- No.

M'Lord, I have curtailed the evidence of this witness in order to avoid repetition. Had I led him in detail we would have carried on quite comfortably until 3,30 but I covered all that I wanted and I have no further questions. (20)

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS.

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