

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

MORNING SESSION:

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THE COMMISSION RESUMES ON THE 23rd FEBRUARY, 1977.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, we continue with Prof. Pollak this morning.

We start at the bottom of page 14.

DR POLLAK: The point is employment. Resultant upon technological changes within industry, there has been a constantly declining demand for unskilled labour and increasing mechanisation is likely to continue and not be arrested. To a lesser extent this also applies to clerical and administrative activities. Yet the broad mass of Coloured workers have low educational achievements and lack vocational training. (10)

Consequently they and particularly the early school leavers are relegated to the lower employment categories. I think this has very considerable implications for the future because all of the economists predict that the employment potential in the years that lie ahead, lie in the trained and skilled categories and not in the unskilled categories where mechanisation will take over. In South Africa the difference between the wages of skilled and semi- and unskilled labour is greater than in other industrial countries. The ratio roughly is 5 to 1 of skilled to unskilled wages and in some categories even (20) greater and this results in the uniformly low wages of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. These wages are unrelated to family needs and this constitutes the fundamental problem of these workers. I must just stress that that ratio, 5 to 1, is historically based; it came about as a result of the diamond development and the high rates that had to be paid for skilled artisans and despite the fact that we have had 100 years of development, the narrowing of the ratio between skilled and unskilled has not taken place. This is something really quite peculiar to the South African wage structure. Even those (30) who prolong their schooling to Std. 8 or higher are handicapped

because/

because of the absence or inadequacy of vocational and technical education at school level. At the same time, opportunities for in-service training are restricted, although some firms are developing training facilities. Apprenticeship is restricted by the lower levels of education of Coloured school leavers, traditional conservatism by some employers and, in some trades, by the opposition of White trade unions. It is only in the furniture and building industries that Coloured apprenticeship has expanded considerably and now exceeds that of Whites. I would like to point out that there have been (10) practically no new building apprenticeships this year in the Western Cape because of the tremendous recession of the building industry. Considerable progress has been made in the construction industry, but there are extremely few apprentices in the metal engineering and none in motor engineering. This is closed because of White trade union opposition. Training is, however, provided by the Department of Coloured Administration. With the exception of the Post Office and, to some extent, the S.A.R., the Public Service has been extremely tardy in providing training and apprenticeship opportunities (20) for its Coloured staff. Although it is popularly claimed that job reservation has had considerable restrictive influence, only a small number of Coloured workers have been detrimentally affected, because of the "blanket" and individual exemptions given in most industrial occupations in which it was laid down.

CHAIRMAN: Combined with that, presumably the fact that those in the Western Cape area are in a protected area. -- No, but despite of that job reservation has been laid down, for instance in the clothing industry which employs practically no Whites, the employers have a blanket exemption at the (30) present moment so that job reservation does not apply exclusivel

to Africans, it applies also .. (intervenes)

Yes, but it is on the general availability of work the position is somewhat different too. -- It is different, yes, because if a job is open, if the employment opportunity is there, it can be taken by them. .. (inaudible) .. although the Minister stated in 1974 that only 2,3% of the total labour force was affected by job reservation, there is of course the threat that should the economic position deteriorate and Whites lose jobs, it might be reimposed or exemptions withdrawn. The wider implication of job reservation is, however, (10) considerable. Many employers, though permitted to do so, are hesitant to use Coloured labour in jobs not included in legislative restrictions for two reasons. One is the resistance, and sometimes expressed opposition of White workers, and the other is that they fear official displeasure which might detrimentally affect their other activities, such as contracts, import permits, etc. There is a misprint, there is a word left out in the next line. Some of the fears might not be justified, but they nevertheless inhibit .. (intervenes)

Is the 'not' left out? -- The 'not' is left out. Some (20) of the fears might not be justified, but they nevertheless inhibit employers from expanding the employment of Coloured workers into new types of employment. Some employers have, however, made possible a very considerable degree of upward advancement of their Coloured labour. Equal pay for Equal work: Within commerce and industry, the practice is to pay the rate for the job. Differentiation on the basis of colour is expressly forbidden by the Wage Act, and the trade unionists have insisted that industrial agreements make no provision for payment of lower wages for those other than White, lest it (30) detrimentally affect the position of White workers. It has been/...

been estimated that about 10% of the artisan force is presently being paid more than the stipulated minimum rates laid down in wage determinations and industrial agreements. It is where wages above the minimum pertain that there is room for differentiation based on race, and that White workers may receive higher wages than do Coloured and Africans. The great differences in wages within the industrial sector are due to workers being employed on different categories of work, and not on work carrying identical qualifications, experience and responsibility. For instance, Coloured gross wages in (10) September 1973 in all private industrial establishments averaged 26% of those of Whites. In the construction industry and basic metals, Coloured workers averaged 37% of the White wages; 28% in the chemical industry (I quote others), but this difference is one based on differential skills and represents vertical differentiation and not differentiation based on similar skills. I would just like to mention one fact and that is that the employment structure in the Western Cape is very different from that on the Witwatersrand and the Coloured population is mainly employed in what in the industrial jargon is called (20) the soft industries - clothing, textile, leather, food processing. There are practically no engineering firms and activities, very, very little in metal engineering and so on and the wage structure in clothing textiles, food processing and so on is considerably lower than it is in the heavy industry and from that point of view they are all consumer based industries, they are all very susceptible to changes in consumer demand and consumer purchasing power and they carry, as I said, a lower wage structure than is found in the areas where chemicals, engineering, etc. prevails. In the (30) public service, discrimination of pay based on race does apply, there/...



there being three scales of remuneration: White, Coloured and Indian, and African. There is no such thing as the rate for the job. The discrimination applies throughout the service, affecting professional and administrative personnel as well as lower categories. The discriminatory rates vary in different Government Departments - in some, differentiation is greater than in others. The differentiation appears to follow the pattern that the fewer the persons affected, the less the discrimination. To my knowledge the only job where the same rate is paid irrespective of race, there are only two, (10) other than White incumbents in South Africa, and that is rectors of universities who receive the same White salary scale. Professors receive 88% of the salary scale; when you go down the ladder and you get to lecturers, it dwindles down to something in the 70's. The same applies in medical services. A chief specialist at a hospital, a Coloured would get 84,5% but when you get to an intern it is 79% and if you go through all the categories, a police sergeant with the same years of service, a Coloured gets 69% of the White rate. At present the average rate of pay for Coloured professional (20) personnel is roughly in the vicinity of 80% that of Whites. Unemployment.

Could we not summarise that? -- Yes, I do not want to add anything on unemployment because I haven't got any more recent figures, but I think Your Lordship will be aware of the worsening economic situation and the considerable number of retrenchments that have taken place, as well as the number of firms that are working short time or 2 and 3 days a week. The projections of labour demand are, I think, well known, but they indicate because of the employment structure, (30) Professor Sadie projects that by 1980 about 180 000 Coloured men/...

men will be involuntarily unemployed and under-employed and also some voluntarily unemployed. It is merely to stress that the outlook is not a felicitous one. Housing and community development: I shall endeavour to summarise. We start off by indicating that no single government measure has created greater Coloured resentment, sacrifice and sense of injustice than the promulgation and the implementation of the Group Areas Act. By the end of 1974 75 474 Coloured, 1 668 White families in the Republic were adversely affected. I worked this out on the government statistics of the number of (10) families of these various races and it works out that 1 out of 533 White families were disadvantageously affected, but 1 out of 4,8 Coloured families. I have more recent figures for group areas removals which were quoted in the House last week. I can hand them in. They show even a more disastrous situation. In greater Cape Town, except for a few small pockets of naturally segregated and densely settled Coloured communities, such as those at Walmer Estate, Wynberg and Ottery and part of Retreat, all Coloured persons have been declared disqualified from the central city areas, the inland areas (20) and the coastal suburbs. The declaration of District Six was considered not only by the Coloured community, but by the Cape Town City Council and very many White citizens as one of the greatest injustices. Some affected families in District Six lived in run-down areas in dilapidated housing, but their disadvantaged position could have been met by applying the Slums Act. The new housing schemes developed in remote, less favourable and often quite unsuitable areas. The Cape Flats are windswept in summer, cold and at times waterlogged in winter. Your Lordship went on a visit of inspection in (30) the summer when an unusual summer rain pertained, but in the winter/...

winter when you have 3, 4 months, sometimes 10 days' unbroken rain .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Well, it was as unpleasant there as it was in the middle of Cape Town of the city area. -- Yes, but I would just like to point that the Cape Flats area, some of the townships, the whole area is completely waterlogged. They sink in the mud to get there and the pictures every year of the flooding indicates that it is an area which from every point of view is far less favourable than where they had previously lived. With regard to the new housing which has been put (10) up in Cape Town, 50% of the new housing put up by the Cape Town City Council was reserved for families who were affected by the Group Areas. In other words, 50% of the new housing had to be reserved for persons who were already housed and this has obviously most detrimentally affected the growing numbers of persons without housing. Furthermore, the housing programmes were delayed by a number of policy and administrative complications. I think very probably you have had a lot of evidence on this and I will not go into this in detail. With regard, despite the fact that there has been a very (20) immense housing programme, nevertheless the housing needs at the present moment are still immense. It has been estimated by the Minister of Community Development on the 20th November, 1976, he stated that there was a backlog of 40 000 units, housing units in the greater metropolitan area of Cape Town. The Cape Town City Council estimates that in its area, the municipal area of Cape Town there is a backlog of 31 000 houses which will not be met until 1984. I can give additional figures, but I think you probably know those and I can hand in from Hansard the latest figures made available with (30) regard to the shortage of housing.



DR YUTAR: Could I have that please? -- The result of this immense shortage of housing and the fact that 30 000 to 40 000 people are on waiting lists, has led to the tremendous problem of squatting and the recent estimates of the number of squatters in the greater Cape Town metropolitan area vary between 200 000 and 250 000 persons. I cannot give a precise indication of what proportion of these are Coloureds because there obviously has not been a head count in these enormous squatter areas, but the estimates are that 65 000 to 70 000 of these are Coloured persons. The problem has escalated; (10) I draw your attention to the development within the last 2 weeks in which a squatter camp housing some 15 000 .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: This would hardly lead me to find something about the causes of the riots. -- Yes, well, I will not go into it, but I would like to say that this is not a new problem; it has been, I am afraid, an endemic problem. With regard to the housing that had been put up which the residents in their picturesque language call 'the matchboxes', there is a great deal of dissatisfaction about these. The complaints are (20) that the houses are too small for the numbers who have to occupy them; that the houses have no ceilings, no proper flooring, poor ventilation, damp interior and exterior walls. Many of these walls drip solidly on the interior throughout the winter. I stress that the housing shortage will be alleviated to a great extent by 1984, but it is a long time until then. The next point I would like to deal with briefly is the absence of amenities.

DR YUTAR: Before you go on, let me hand in these two exhibits. EXHIBIT 293, the latest figures on housing as listed from (30) Hansard and EXHIBIT 294, the effect of the group area removal and/...

and the questions asked in the House. Right, lack of amenities, I think that we can summarise very briefly. -- Yes, I thought I would summarise that briefly. The new housing schemes have been built without consideration to the simultaneous provision of the central amenities. The argument of the authorities being that as so many people are unhoused, it is impossible to make money available for amenities. So that people have been moved to these areas which have been provided with a series of houses, but in many areas there were not any schools, in some of them even after years, there are no (10) telephone communications, no post office services, no postal delivery, no creches, playgrounds laid out on paper but not developed and so on and so forth. But I would like to indicate that the one other factor which is tremendously important, is the difficulties of transport, the distances that have to be carried and the lack of transport facilities, the high cost of transport and the human wear and tear which has tremendous influence, both on the productivity of the worker and is destructive of family life. Most of the Coloured workers, men workers, are weekend fathers, because they leave 2 house (20) to 2,5 hours before work commences and they come back after dark because of the journey to work and they see their children over the weekends. I need hardly stress the significance of this from the point of view of family health and life and parental responsibility. I would like to stress and I think this is an important point, that the unrest was particularly marked in the newer townships which had been hit hardest by the many deleterious effects of resettlement and the lack of amenities. Bonteheuwel, Mannenberg, Heideveld. There was no unrest in Walmer Estate, Wynberg, Ottery, Lower Clare- (30) mont and Kenilworth where people are still living and have to be/...

be removed; not even in District Six where you still have a large number of persons awaiting removal and I think it is a point that might well be looked into of the correlation between the areas in which the unrest was most marked and the areas of new settlements lacking the whole concept of community life and community development. Community life I shall skip over very briefly, but I would like to stress that a community is a living vibrant organism which is made up of human relationship, contact, common loyalties, common activities and if people were moved from neighbourhoods in which these (10) communal ties had been built over generations in which they had built their churches, their schools, their mosques, their welfare organisations and the whole policy of resettlement was one which was carried out in the negation of all sociological dictates, it was indiscriminate. Neighbours were not resettled together and a mass of strangers were placed cheek by jowl. Now in spite of this I would like to stress and commend and pay a tribute to the Coloured community who over the years have laboriously endeavoured to build up many new community amenities, but in spite of that stupendous (20) effort, they are still entirely unrelated to the significant needs, particularly in, say, the field of child care organisations and youth activities. The next, social and individual security, I shall not go into. I merely stress that there is a very marked discrimination in the rate of social pensions and social benefits. With regard to the present rates of pension, the present rate of Coloured pension is 57% of the White race. They have been increased last October. I would like to stress that they still have not reached the scale of 60% which was the disparity when pensions were first (30) introduced for the White and the Coloured persons. The same

discriminations/...

discriminations apply to all social welfare grants and this I will not go into. The question of personal insecurity is one which I think is very, very important because common to all Western industrialised societies which have been faced with an increasing crime rate, this has been found to be a marked characteristic among the Coloured population and the criminal offences are mainly connected with liquor, drugs, violence and theft. The Theron Commission noted the evidence of many witnesses who pointed out the contributory socio-economic causes of the factors, but irrespective of what the factors and the causative factors are, the fact is that there is a very large lawless element in the Coloured townships and that there is a total inadequacy of police protection. There are no longer any foot patrols. Police vans do cruise, but the lawless elements more or less know the times when they are cruising and the moment they have passed, they come out in full force. (10)

CHAIRMAN: It is of considerable interest to me that when the police do go in to do their work, the complaint is that they are there. -- No, it is ... (intervenes) (20)

When they are not there, all sorts of things happen because they are not there. -- I think that the - this has been brought to the attention of the authorities many a time that there is inadequate police protection in these areas.

Yes, but during the riots the usual complaint has been that the police were there and they should not have been there. -- Well, this is the complaint that during normal times the law-abiding citizens are seized upon by the skollie element and Friday night is really a night of agony for most mothers because they are just terrified that their menfolk are going to be attacked when they get off the bus centres. (30)

Many/...



Many of the men get into cloakrooms before they come home and take off their shoes and socks and put the wage packet under their socks so that they should not have anything on them. I would merely like to say that this is an important element and it played a very significant part in the unrest too in that the deviate groups took advantage, the lawless elements, and used the unrest for their own purposes and this brought about a very considerable escalation. I think you have heard evidence on that and I do not want to go into this.

DR YUTAR: There is just one point apropos to what his Lordship just said about the police. When you were dealing with the lack of amenities one of the things you mentioned that was lacking in these new Coloured areas, was police stations. -- Yes, there is only one at Manenberg and it is very interesting to note that that was built by the Cape Town Municipality because the police said they had nothing on the vote for years available for new police stations in the Coloured areas. The next point I will deal with extremely briefly, but it is terribly important and that is the lack of essential amenities in White areas. The employment is increasing . (10) - the employment of Coloured men and women in clerical, administrative and sales jobs in the central city areas of Cape Town is increasing and Coloured persons are forced to do most of their shopping, attend to matters relating to various government departments - the Coloured Labour Department, Justice, even Social Welfare is in a White Coloured area. No government offices are decentralised to cope with that. So that on all official business the residents have to come into White areas and in the White areas they are faced by an immense lack of essential amenities including such elementary things as toilets and cloakrooms and restrooms. (30)

Some/...

Some of the larger shops have made provision for Coloured toilets and restrooms, but many have not and one of the most serious matters is the fact that in terms of Proclamation 26 of the Group Areas Act, no person other than White in the central area of Cape Town is allowed to consume any refreshments while seated. They can buy a bottle of Coca-Cola, they can drink it while standing in the shop or they can go out onto the pavement, but they may not be seated in any place whatsoever. The City Council endeavoured to get The Gardens Restaurant declared an open area to all races, but this (10) was turned down by Community Development and it had hoped to put up a facility for Non-Whites and the Community Development refused to grant a permit for this to be utilised by both Coloured and Black; the result is that nothing has been done. To meet the shortfall, the Anglican Church has opened up a luncheon-room in the grounds of the Cathedral and St. Saviour's Church in Claremont, which is a very, very busy shopping area. This I think is a very serious disability from which thousands of persons suffer daily. I will not go into detail about the position that obtains with regard to domestic servants (20) in White areas, because that is well known, but every effort to provide facilities for those other than White, is blocked by the opposition of White Rate Payers' Associations or by Community Development and it is only in church premises that some endeavours have been made to meet some of these problems. The same applies - well, I will not go any further on this particular thing. The next point I will deal with very briefly, is the inadequacy of sport and recreational facilities. Practically all the sport facilities which the Coloured community had developed were in the areas that are now (30) White and they had to start from scratch wherever they be and

while/...

while some facilities have been made available by the local authorities, these are still very limited and throughout the Cape Flats areas there are no pavilions and most of these townships have not even got seating accommodation for any spectators. In greater Cape Town there is only one multi-purpose stadium for Coloured persons in Athlone and two others in White areas where sporting events are held at which Coloureds participate under permit. The point I want to make is that the overwhelming Coloured community participation is limited to what we call spectatoritis and many of them (10) are not actively participating in sport and this is particularly among the younger community. This is very, very fully outlined in the Theron Commission and I do not want to go into that in any detail. A point I want to make very briefly is access to beaches because the beaches which were frequented and used by Coloured communities in the past have been reserved for Whites now and the two large beaches for the Coloured community at Strandfontein and Soetwater are very badly served by transport. They are far from the Coloured areas, they require either a train journey and a bus (20) journey or sometimes a bus, a train, a bus. They are expensive. It would cost a family with 3 children, depending where they lived, from R1,75 to R2,50 just on transport to visit these beaches.

CHAIRMAN: And of course it suffers from the disability at least one of them, of having a name which must be unacceptable to anybody, if he wants to go to a recreational area. -- I think this is the point that on the whole Coloured beaches are too few, too small, too inaccessible, too dangerous.

DR YUTAR: What is the name, M'Lord? -- Well, the two (30) big beaches are Strandfontein and Soetwater. The Soetwater beach/...

beach is in the vicinity, it is just at the foot of the Kommetjie Lighthouse. I would like to point out that this is a traditional thing of the Coloured community is camping at the beaches over Christmas and the New Year and the facilities for campers are totally inadequate to the needs of the community. I will not go into the rest of this. It refers to the decline in the number of cinema facilities and the great hardship on long distance travel where no meals can be had en route and overnight accommodation is very difficult. The next point on the indignities and humiliation of (10) petty apartheid, I do not think I need point out. I need only say that a good deal of this is being gradually eliminated such as the separate counters at post offices, but it is still very uneven and it is very embarrassing to the Coloured people because they do not know where they are. Sometimes a sign is up and sometimes it is not. May I conclude on this whole section in the words of a very eminent Coloured leader who has put it this way, and with your leave I would like to read it:

"No one who has not been classified (20) as a so-called "Coloured" person can even appreciate what effects this classification has on such a person's life. It transforms him into another sort of human being, a non-person; he is labelled as someone inferior, someone who will be slotted into things set aside for "Coloureds" be they group areas, housing, transport, education, training, political institutions, beaches, recreational facilities, etc. - from the (30) cradle to the grave.



A "Coloured" person is not a white person, neither is he a Bantu. All the different so-called "Coloured" people who all have different backgrounds and origin, are different South Africans and yet the State says they are all "Coloured" - a Coloured nation in embryo!

It suits the politicians to set these people aside, to treat them like "other" people - Coloured people. But these "separate" people have feelings and ideals - like the Whites of this country. They want to be South Africans, no more, no less, and by the State denying them their basic rights, the State must take its fair share of blame in the disturbances which have taken place, and which were the direct result of frustration and despair."

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I will leave out all but the last paragraph in conclusion and say, with respect, that the Cape Western Region of the Institute of Race Relations is deeply cognisant of its responsibility when it warns that spontaneous, sporadic outbreaks of mass action cannot be ruled out in the future. They will recur, possibly with greater frequency and wider participation than in the past, until such time as those discriminated against are assured of equality of rights and opportunities.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, I am going to hand in this document, CW.

10/76 as EXHIBIT 295 and then also the appendix to this document, EXHIBIT 296 under the heading 'Memorandum from

(30)

Bantu/...

Bantu Scholars Fund to Regional Director Bantu Education Department - Recommendations from the pupils of the Cape Town Bantu schools' and may I ask Your Lordship to direct that this the first five pages - no, six pages altogether, be typed into the record. The whole document, Appendix A.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, that will be done, it will be typed into the record.

DR YUTAR: The recommendations will then indicate clearly what the grievances are.

EXHIBIT 296

(10)

"APPENDIX A

MEMORANDUM FROM BANTU SCHOLARS FUND TO

REGIONAL DIRECTOR BANTU EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE PUPILS OF THE

CAPE TOWN BANTU SCHOOLS

INTRODUCTION

These recommendations are urgent. They represent only a beginning. A long-term comprehensive plan of overall improvement in Bantu Education demands the early attention of all concerned.

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THE IMMEDIATE AIM is to ensure that those who are capable and want to learn are given every possible help to complete full training so that they can contribute useful work to the community. A policy of priority education for these scholars will feed back properly trained teachers into the schools.

THE ULTIMATE AIM is parity with White education, i.e. free compulsory education for all.

(30)

Nothing less will satisfy the aspirations of the African people and will ensure peace in South Africa.

The implementation of these recommendations will help to prevent disturbances. If people have reason to believe that reform is being planned, if they can see it beginning and take part in the new developments, they will also be active in keeping the peace so that outbreaks of disorder will not long be sustained.

(10)

Reform must begin in the educational system from which the disturbances originated.

The cooperation of school Principals, teachers and senior scholars should be most earnestly sought because they hold positions which carry prestige sufficient to influence scholars, parents and the whole community.

Many people think that it is already too late for change; others say that if it is late now, it will be even later tomorrow, and that change should come immediately.

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It is understood that money is short at the present time. However the scholars consider that funds may be diverted from other projects in order to enable the recommendations here proposed.

These recommendations should receive top priority in terms of national need because they are positive measures constructive for peace.

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R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

A. CURRICULUM

1. Principals may introduce teaching in any language medium at any level of schooling even in the Primary standards.
2. Only TWO languages should be required for Junior and Senior Certificate examinations as is the case in White and Coloured schools. (10)
3. Scholars should be streamed according to aptitude into suitable courses.
4. A wider choice of subjects should be offered. For instance, there is no Physics course at local schools; the curriculum does not provide for those wishing to study Science or Medicine at University.

B. ADMISSION OF PUPILS

Principals may admit scholars according to their discretion with respect only to the usual requirements of zoning of schools and academic merit so that all scholars normally resident in the area are treated equally. Principals are not required to detect who is or who is not legally resident in the area. (20)

C. TEACHER QUALITY

Few qualified teachers staff the Cape Schools, partly because there are so few qualified teachers anyway, and partly because they are paid so poorly that they prefer posts (30)



in industry and commerce.

1. The appointment of teachers and visiting lecturers of merit, irrespective racial group, should be promoted either in temporary or permanent capacity. The widest possible scope of possible teachers should be encouraged in an attempt to complement the small numbers of fully qualified African teachers. (10)
  
2. Teachers' salaries should be up-graded. At present they are so low that there is actually a brain-drain from the Department. A P.T.C. trained teacher (2 years after J.C.) is paid only R86/month (woman) R92/month (man) as starting salary. The racial differences in salaries for the same qualifications should be eliminated; a fully qualified High School Principal at the top of his salary scale is paid approx. the same as a White woman Primary teacher with only College qualification at the bottom of her salary scale. If qualified teachers are to be attracted to the profession, students in training should be able to look forward to reasonable salaries. (20)
  
3. An administrative secretary with no teaching duties should be attached to every school of more than 300 scholars and paid by the Department; this would (30)

release teachers from administrative work for actual teaching.

4. Audio-visual aids should be supplied to all schools beyond the Primary stage not only for their commonly recognised advantage but also to complement teaching from unqualified staff.
5. Priority attention should be given to the best academic scholars in High Schools. If teachers and/or facilities (e.g. laboratories) are not available, co-ordination with High Schools and Universities of either the White or Coloured group should be sought with possible amalgamation of classes if necessary so that African scholars may also have the chance of adequate instruction.

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D. SCHOOL FACILITIES

(20)

1. More High Schools are needed in the Cape. 75% of scholars are said to attend schools in the Homelands because accommodation in Cape schools is so limited.

Hearsay reports that the Homelands schools will not accept scholars from Cape Town in 1977 because they are thought to introduce unrest in the Homelands schools. Cape scholars are usually considered to be leaders of disturbances

(30)

but/...

but no proof has been offered to substantiate this.

2. Adequate classroom accommodation is required. Classes are at present much too large. The usual size in High School is 50. There are only 14 classrooms for a High School with enrolment of 800 pupils. Langa High School has 4 classrooms which were condemned 20 years ago; the doors do not open, the roof sags, the windows do not function. (10)
3. Playing fields are urgently required.
4. Immediate provision is urgently required to eliminate double sessions (where the same teacher has to teach one session in the morning and one session in the afternoon). Where double sessions cannot immediately be eliminated the teachers who do the double work should be paid accordingly; the present rate of remuneration is pitifully low. (20)
5. Immediate provision is urgently required to accommodate and teach the present Form 1 (Std. 6) scholars in 1977. The present situation is that 1806 Form I's will have to fit into classrooms which are already overful with 982 Form II's. (2 litres of milk will not fit into a one litre bottle). (30)



6. Immediate provision is urgently required to accommodate and teach the present Form III (J.C.) scholars who will proceed to Form IV in 1977. Approximately 450 scholars are expected to require admission to Form IV next year and there is accommodation only for 272.
7. Standard classroom equipment (desks, blackboards, etc.) should be immediately supplied in full. At present 2 or even 3 High Schools scholars share desks, some of which are designed for Primary schools. All schools are short of necessary equipment. Laboratory equipment is almost non-existent in High Schools. (10)
8. Free books should be supplied as they were promised. This year they did not arrive. Scholars were told not to buy their own books because the free issue was promised. Eventually they had to buy their books anyway. By then it was late in the year and therefore scholars were unable to work properly for their June tests. (20)

E. BURSARIES

Many more bursaries and scholarships are required for High School and University because the cost of continuing education is not only prohibitive but also involves the loss of contribution/... (30)



contribution to family income possible from a young person old enough to work.

F. TECHNICAL/TRADE/VOCATIONAL TRAINING

1. Immediate provision is urgently required for Technical, Trade and Vocational training facilities in the Western Cape. There are few such schools in the country; in the Ciskei, the nearest Homeland, there are only 2 schools; scholars from Cape Town have great difficulty in gaining admission to schools elsewhere.

(10)

Approximately 200 scholars next year are expected to pass J.C. with results indicating that they are not suitable for an academic Senior Certificate course. These scholars, partially educated, unemployed, untrained, at a loose end and consequently frustrated, must inevitably sow the seeds of disorder and discontent. It is a growing and urgent need.

(20)

2. Night school facilities should be included in a scheme for technical training.
3. Nursery School Teacher training should be included for girls as part of the vocational training project.
4. Since the institution of a Technical College with full facilities is a long-term project, students should be

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permitted/...

permitted to attend the Cape Town Technical College for courses which are not offered in the townships.

G. UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

African student should be permitted to enrol at the University of their choice irrespective of racial group. For instance, African students domiciled in Cape Town should be allowed to enrol at the University of Cape Town and also to live within access of the University if they can find such lodging. It is logical that students should wish to attend the University of their home town.

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H. EDUCATION CONCESSIONS

1. Scholars train concessions should be re-introduced on the railways for those students and scholars who must go to boarding school or University outside Cape Town in order to do a course not provided in the Cape.
2. Scholars, students and teachers should be exempt from pass endorsement wherever they may work or study in the Republic. There should be no risk of loss of residence rights because work or study has kept the person away from home. For instance, many Primary teachers who are unable to find work locally would be welcome in some of the rural areas where teachers are in short supply, but

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they/...

they are discouraged from these posts because they may lose their rights to stay in Cape Town.

I. OPPORTUNITIES FOR SCHOOL-LEAVERS

Opportunities for African school-leavers in the Cape are virtually nil.

The widest possible choice is open to White school-leavers for their future careers; Coloured people enjoy the benefits of the Cape being a Coloured preferential area. African scholars tend to drop out of school early because further education, besides being expensive, does not improve their chances of employment. There is no point in passing J.C. or matric. to do a labourer's job.

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For the past 20 years or more the problems of African school-leavers have grown; employment except as a labourer is hard to find; State policy does not motivate them to seek the rare chances which do exist. At the end of this year another crop of approx. 200 school-leavers will have nothing to do; this will add to the present number of active young people who are becoming progressively more asocial, rebellious and ripe for trouble.

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It is urgently recommended that, in the Cape, job reservation according to race be immediately eliminated so that anyone may be employed provided that he is qualified for

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the/...



the job.

Once opportunities for school-leavers exist, there is a need for professionally qualified teachers in Vocational Guidance in the schools of the area.

J. SCHOLAR REPRESENTATION

There is lack of communication between White officials and the scholars who have no way to voice their opinions.

African scholars are older on the average than their White counterparts due to late school entrance (8 years) and frequent breaks in schooling for socio-economic reasons. The senior scholars are like White university students in age and need a medium of expression.

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Scholars are constantly afraid of informers and thus cannot speak their minds with security. Even when they are beaten at school they are afraid to complain.

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A representative body is needed to channel the difficulties and ideas of scholars and to negotiate between scholars and authorities.

5th September 1976."

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"FROM THE AFRICAN SCHOLARS OF CAPE TOWN

5th September 1976

"Once we return to our desks - the cause is lost!"

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Even if the natural scholar-leaders were to return/...



return to school now their friends would not agree. The leaders would be regarded as traitors to the whole school community and would be victimised.

It is the whole system of Bantu Education which is at issue - no less. The schools represent a rejected system which offers an education so poor as to be practically valueless.

Violence is likely to break out again and continue if nothing is done. In the Homelands many schools have already been burned down because authority would not listen. Schools in the Cape may not be spared in the future.

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State authorities are urged to listen to the voice of the scholars who cry out for a hearing.

"WE SHALL RETURN TO SCHOOL .. IF .."

1. DETAINED SCHOLARS ARE RELEASED. Parole prior to standing trial is acceptable. The body of scholars stand together with those who have been detained; they regard them as brothers and sisters; they feel very strongly that they cannot meekly accept detention without trial. This would be implicit if they returned to school now. Some of those detained also have to write important exams at the end of this year. Their future is in jeopardy as well.

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2. POLICE MAY NOT ENTER SCHOOL unless at the Principal's request. The presence and ungoverned behaviour of the police has been a major factor in the instigation of violence. Police were in school premises before disturbances began and are considered to be a cause of trouble.
3. COMMUNICATION BETWEEN SCHOLARS AND AUTHORITIES OF THE STATE is established so that reason may prevail. (10)  
The security of representative scholars must be guaranteed before any communication can begin:
- (i) They fear that the State will arrest them without trial if not immediately, then at a later date.
  - (ii) They fear that the parents and families will be similarly intimidated by the State. (20)
  - (iii) They fear that other scholars, and even teachers, will accuse them of collaboration and being traitors to the cause, that they will suffer attacks from other scholars.
4. REAL CHANGES IN THE WHOLE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM along the lines indicated in the attached memorandum must be promised in such a way that the scholars are assured that their recommendations are considered seriously. (30)

5. ADJUSTMENT TO END OF YEAR EXAMINATIONS should be sought so that the interruption of schooling may be compensated for at least in part. Extra help in teaching should be sought from other racial groups. Without such assistance the scholars see no point in returning to school to write exams which they know they will not pass." (10)

DR YUTAR: We come now to CW 8. -- I shall leave out most of this because of the pressure of time. I would be very grateful if it were possible to include in the record the last two paragraphs of page 2 in which in 1970 a very respected social scientist, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer in a paper examining 'Political Policy and Social Change in South Africa' argued - and I will not read it, I ask that that be included in the record. It is significant in that a good part of his prognostication has already been borne out and we think that that is an important aspect. (20)

In other words you want from this document CW.8 on page 2, the last two paragraphs, beginning with "The mass protests that have taken place..." up to the end of the paragraph on page 3 and not merely the manifestation of the unrest itself. -- Yes.

"The mass protests that have taken place illustrate that efforts to curb the expression of discontent can hardly succeed until the root causes of the discontents themselves are addressed seriously. In 1970 at the Fortieth Annual Council of our/... (30)

our Institute a respected sociologist, Professor L. Schlemmer, in a paper examining 'Political Policy and Social Change in South Africa', argued that:

"The spectre of police power, the seeming invincibility of Whites and the difficulties placed in the way of political organisation will probably effectively prevent the growth of politically inspired activist movements for a long time to come. I do think it probable that the increasing unrest will find outlet in limited spontaneous action triggered by specific grievances. A few current events are, I think, examples of occurrences which will be more frequent in future; and here I think of the strike of 2000 dockworkers in Durban which seemingly occurred without organised leadership, the violent reaction of Africans at the Effingham rail disaster, and the recent mass protest of pupils at a school in the Transkei. I am fairly convinced that various forms of extensive mass violence in the townships is a future inevitability, but even before this stage is reached, limited sporadic occurrences will have the same effect of polarising White attitudes as Sharpeville and earlier incidents had."

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This/...



This prediction made in 1970, that various forms of mass violence in the townships triggered by specific grievances are almost inevitable, has already been partly validated. Such a prediction underlines the urgency of examining the underlying grievances behind unrest, and not merely the manifestation of the unrest itself."

DR YUTAR: Right. -- Precipitating factors of unrest in the Western Cape. On the African side I have already dealt (10) with those, the two main being the Coloured labour preference area and the exclusion of Africans from home ownership, the Transkei citizenship. I will not repeat that. I would now turn to the Coloured community and try to summarise it very, very briefly and say that in the opinion of the Institute the factor which has been one of precipitating influence on the whole situation has been the handling of the Theron Commission Report. The report itself came out in Afrikaans a very voluminous document, the price at R34,95 a copy, which made it impossible for the mass of people to read obviously. (20) But they were aware, very well aware of its contents by the magnificent job of press reportage and a summary which was undertaken by the three dailies in the Cape area. So that they were very well familiar with the contents of the document. The document was tabled in Parliament on the 20th September and within a matter of 3 days a White Paper was tabled which virtually rejected what was believed to be the very heart of the report and that was the question of constitutional changes bringing about representation and changes in the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act and so on. It is very (30) important indeed to point out that on the 10th September, 1976, the/...

the Minister of Coloured Relations announced in the opening of the CRC that the government had accepted 158 of the 178 recommendations of the Theron Commission and that despite the fact that some 3,5 months had elapsed since then, there has not been one single voluntary word as to which recommendations are accepted and which not. Now even those Coloured people who had some illusions and hope left, had expected at the opening of this parliamentary session in January that the much waited for memorandum and White Paper on the Theron Commission would be tabled and their disillusionment is abject and (10) despairing. That the president should have been given and time spent on debating Sunday cinemas to this when apparently 3 months ago the Minister knew which recommendations were accepted. I draw attention to the improvements that have been brought about by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development both in education and in family housing, but I must stress that today nothing comparable has come from the Minister of Coloured Relations and the only thing that I know of is one of the 178 recommendations and that is that from this year the post-J.C. teachers' training is extended to (20) 3 years; valuable in itself but picayune in relation to the whole thing. This item is very important. I have intended to read to you from a new book of Professor Erica Theron, something which is very, very relevant of how it has come to the attention of Professor Erica Theron that the Theron Commission is blamed for the violence because of the disregard of it by the government. I have only read this in the 'plane coming up.

CHAIRMAN: When did the Theron Commission's Report, was it first published? -- On the 20th June, 1976. (30)

And the .. -- White Paper?

No/...

No, the unrest in the Western Cape started ... -- I would have to look ... (intervenes)

DR YUTAR: In August, M'Lord. -- In August, yes.

CHAIRMAN: And it is said that the rejection of what is called the heart of the Theron Report was a cause? -- No, I cannot say a direct cause. It was something which caused frustration, hopelessness, despair and in a mood like that it is very easy that the mass grievances cumulatively create a frame of mind which expresses itself in manifestations against the authorities. May I, with your leave, have this photostated and (10) send it in?

DR YUTAR: If you will do that I will hand that in as an exhibit. -- Yes, it will only come to you in 2 or 3 days. I will only speak for about another 2 minutes on this document. From pages 6 onwards, our report draws particular attention to the role of the riot police in the unrest in Western Cape and we quote at length from various press reports and have appended the editorial from the Cape Times which we consider tremendously important and which we would support fully and if this could be included in the record, it would be (20) appreciated.

In fact I am handing it in as an EXHIBIT, APPENDIX B, "THE CAPE TIMES" report of Thursday, 7th October, 1976, under the Latin title "QUIS CUSTODIET IPSOS CUSTODES?", EXHIBIT 297. -- I need only say that we have made the case that there were many allegations and that at the time of our submitting this, no such report had yet been tested in a court. To my knowledge two have been tested in a court and in both cases the person was found not guilty, but it is imperative that the behaviour of the riot police be investigated to determine whether (30) they have been subjected to a smear campaign or whether there

is some substance to the allegations made against them. I know that this has been done in your Cape Town hearings to the unrest which occurred prior to your being there and I would like to refer to this same point in the last document which I feel I would like to get on to because that I think is the most important.

Now we hand in also a document entitled "Proposals for Action" as EXHIBIT 298. Then follows CW. 9/76 and that is also "Chronology of events in Cape Town in the unrest following the Soweto riots". I would like to hand that (10) in as an exhibit, it speaks for itself; EXHIBIT 299. M'Lord, this is on the same basis as the memo, a chronological account of events. -- It goes up to October the 20th only.

And then EXHIBIT 300 will then be "Additional memorandum submitted to the Commission of Inquiry into the riots at Soweto" and it seems to have 8 names of people who have been supposed to have died as a result of the riots and whose names do not appear on the official list issued by the police. Is that right? -- Yes.

Well, this I told you we would undertake. We come (20) now to your last document and you have .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: This EXHIBIT 300, I will have evidence from the police on that?

DR YUTAR: Yes, I propose to have this investigated. We come to the last document and we will have to try ... -- Yes, I will do my best. The last document relates to violence in Nyanga Township over the Christmas week-end 1976. No member of the Cape Western Regional Committee of the South African Institute of Race Relations was an eye-witness to the conflict between the Amabhaca migrant workers and the residents of Nyanga (30) on the night of Sunday 26th and Monday 27th. Our information

is/...



is consequently drawn entirely from press reports. On Tuesday, 28th December - I must point out that there were no papers on the 27th - the Cape Times reported that 186 houses of residents had been burnt, 106 persons wounded and by the 27th December 24 persons confirmed dead. The report also carried several statements of the permanently settled Nyanga residents, not only alleging lack of police protection by the riot police, but deliberate police violence directed against them. Further similar allegations by Nyanga residents, who had fled the township, were published in the Cape Times on the 29th (10) December. These press reports are enclosed as Annexures A and B. On the 29th December the Cape Times reported the call by Professor Nic Olivier, M.P. for Edenvale, for a separate judicial commission to investigate the fighting in Nyanga. He said the 26 deaths, injuries and destruction, coupled with the flight of hundreds of families, as well as the suffering of many innocent persons, were matters of the gravest concern. I shall leave out the rest because I have appended the full statement of Professor Nic Olivier's address. I would, with respect, point out that he indicated that the Cillié (20) Commission was already committed with its sittings in other areas and it was imperative that this be investigated while the incidents were still fresh in the minds of the persons.

CHAIRMAN: Did he know that this Commission heard the evidence from Cape Town within ..... -- We have seen a press report which you held on 10th January.

Pardon? -- We saw a press report that you held on the 10th January.

That is right, I think it happened ... -- But Prof. Olivier - I have got that in as an appendix, as an annexure. (30) Professor Olivier appealed on the 29th.

29th of? -- 29th December. Two days after the violence.  
Page 2, 3.1: On the morning of the 31st December the chairman of the Cape Western Regional Committee of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr Robert Tobias, and I, heard an allegation from a person we considered to be responsible and reliable that riot police were inciting migrant workers in Langa to prepare for further violence over the week-end, to arm themselves on an attack on the township residents and also that pamphlets had been distributed by the riot police to migrants in the bachelor quarters purporting to contain (10) similar incitement. These allegations were subsequently also made by other persons. Because of the gravity of these allegations and the danger of a possible recurrence of violence over the New Year week-end, an interview with Brigadier Bischoff was immediately sought. He was requested to receive a small deputation of Mr Tobias, myself, community leaders in intimate contact with Nyanga residents and refugees. The other community leaders were the Reverend Theo Kotze, Bishop Patrick Matolengwe, Bishop Suffragan of Cape Town and resident priest at Nyanga, Mr Lucas Phillips, the chairman of the African Traders (20) Association. Brigadier Bischoff was not available, but an appointment with Brigadier P.A. Cerff was arranged for 2,30 that afternoon. The object of the interview was to bring to his attention the allegations of incitement made against the riot police and to request emergency action to ensure that no further violence ensued that week-end. The deputation was most courteously received by Brigadier Cerff and given the opportunity of raising several additional matters of grave concern. We spent about an hour with Brigadier Cerff. It is understood that following upon this interview with Brigadier Cerff (30) a police enquiry was instituted but, to the best of the knowledge/...

knowledge of the Institute, the report of this has not yet been released. A report on this enquiry appeared in the Argus of the 22nd January, 1976, under the caption "RIOT POLICE ROLE IN LANGA PROBE"; it is included as Annexure D. The Cape Times of the 24th January reported that Brigadier Bischoff confirmed that such an enquiry was being undertaken. As we believe that it is imperative that your Commission have all available information relating to the unrest, it is submitted with respect, that this police enquiry report be made available to the Commission on its completion. We consider it will (10) be highly desirable that it also be released by the police as an official report to the press. The Ministers' Fraternal of Langa, Guguletu, Nyanga, Cape Town (constituted of representatives of seven church denominations) - what we call the Mission Churches, not the African Independent Churches - at the New Year issued a three page "MESSAGE FOR 1977 - TO THOSE IN AUTHORITY AND TO WHITE SOUTH AFRICA". The leaflet appealed for the dismantling of racial discrimination and listed eight areas for priority consideration. It was widely distributed, including the Prime Minister, all members of Parliament, (20) newspaper editors, church leaders, etc. Later in January the Ministers' Fraternal released a four page document, "ROLE OF THE RIOT POLICE IN THE BURNINGS AND KILLINGS NYANGA, CHRISTMAS 1976". The information contained therein is based on eye-witness accounts and serious assertions were made against the riot police. It also gave reasons why people, having made statements, are unwilling to come forward and make similar signed affidavits to the police. Because the Cape Western Region considers the Ministers' Fraternal to be a highly responsible organisation (in our opinion representing the (30) more conservative regular church-going members of the townships/...

townships) it had been our intention to submit both documents, as annexures, for the consideration of the Commission. We are well aware that the allegations have not been tested by legal process, but the important fact is that they are believed to be true by the Ministers' Fraternal and the township dwellers. In the Cape Times of the 11th February (Annexure E) it was reported that the two publications of the Ministers' Fraternal had been banned, having been found to be "undesirable" within the meaning of Section 47(2) of the Publications Act 1974.

Under these circumstances the publications cannot now (10) be submitted to the Commission. I contacted two barristers to find out if I would be competent to have them photostated so that in the event that you be prepared to accept them, I have them with me and I was advised by both that it would be inadvisable for me to photostat banned documents, so I have no photostats should you require them. The next paragraph says that I shall be appearing before the Commission on the 22nd February and with the leave of the Commission, would like to refer to these documents in my oral evidence. Before these documents were banned, there was a very long article, a (20) leader by Mr Gerald Shaw in which reference was made to the appeal of Professor Olivier to the Ministers' Fraternal document on the riot police and in this he printed the 7 eye-witness accounts given in the banned document. It was not yet a banned document when this was published. I had wanted to photostat it with the statement from the Ministers' Fraternal blacked out like this, but the firm that did the photostating did not do it that way and said to me afterwards it did not look nice and so they simply chipped off the lower part and added it on and Annexure F is therefore not really (30) correct because it chopped up this article and it does not

indicate/...



indicate which - where the section is that has been blacked out, so I would rather hand it in ... (intervenes)

DR YUTAR: I will put that in with - because I am putting this document as an exhibit in due course. -- The Ministers' Fraternal document also indicated in great detail why people were not prepared to sign affidavits. In the Cape Times on February the 11th - that is in as Annexure E - it is stated that ministers of some church denominations in Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga have been subpoenaed to give details to the police of allegations made in the pamphlet of the Ministers' Fraternal. I do not think I am going to hand it in. This is it here, the last paragraph. This police enquiry is proceeding. (10)

CHAIRMAN: Is that the evidence of the police enquiry or is it the ordinary evidence .... (intervenes) .. -- I do not know if this is ... (intervenes)

If they have been subpoenaed to give evidence, that is to give evidence ... -- Of the allegations made in that document.

That is right. -- Some of the ministers have made affidavits and given the names of the eye-witnesses. This has happened subsequent to my preparing this. One of the ministers gave some names, but withheld three because he said they were given to him as a minister in the strictest confidence. He felt that he could not divulge their names because he felt there was some risk of these persons being retaliated against and he has been given a prison sentence against which he has appealed for - I am sorry, I do not know if it is a prison sentence or a fine, I can just look it up. (20)

As having refused under the Act to divulge the information which the Attorney-General said he had. Yes, well, it does not matter what the sentence was. -- He found there were no valid reasons for it, but he is appealing against his conviction/ (30)

conviction. The point I would like to make is 6.1. The Cape Western Region of the Institute, with respect, urges that the Commission ensure that whatever affidavits be obtained by the police from the Ministers' Fraternal be examined by it. We consider this to be particularly important, because the only evidence to the Commission so far published in the press relating to the Christmas violence was that given by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner of the Western Cape, Mr F.H. Botha, and that of Major C. Mouton of the police. The latter is reported to have rejected allegations that the police had (10) sided with the contract workers during their clashes with residents.

That is correct, yes. -- And I hand that in.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, that evidence was given on Wednesday, 12th January.

CHAIRMAN: Will you please make investigations as to the statements that had been made and whether any prosecutions are to follow as a result of the information because I assume that it was done under the Section which makes it possible for the Attorney-General to have people appear before a magistrate (20) and give the evidence which they are supposed to have.

DR YUTAR: I will do that, M'Lord. All right, we come now to the last paragraph. -- In conclusion the Cape Western Region of the Institute is gravely concerned that no official list of names of those killed and wounded in the unrest between the 4th December and the Christmas week-end has, to our knowledge, been released for publication by the police authorities. The only official report we know of, is that contained in Annexure F in which Major Mouton is reported to have stated that "36 Blacks died in the riots of December the 6th and the (30) Christmas week-end. Of those 13 were shot by the police and 23

died/...

died when Blacks fought each other." WBut there is no list of names nor what type of injuries, whether they were from the front, from the back.

CHAIRMAN: Well, I do not think that was available at the time that Major Mouton appeared before the Commission, because this all happens by way of inquest and this was within 2 weeks of the last ... -- In one of the earlier documents which I did not read, we drew attention to the fact that police information on casualties was withheld and that the Cape Times performed - voluntarily endeavoured to find a list (10) of those children injured because it .. (intervenes)

Was that of the first lot? -- That was the first lot.

But we have been through all that. -- I know, but I am indicating now that this happened on December the 25th and the 26th, that it could not be published immediately is apparent because a lot of the bodies were not identified, but it is 2 months - it is close on 2 months and there still has been no list of the names of those killed; even if the names of those injured could not be given, but there has not been any list issued for publication of those who were killed (20) and I conclude by saying that we believe that the failure to give full names of those who died and were injured, once their identities had been established, is wrong in principle.

DR YUTAR: In that last paragraph where you have got Annexure F, it should be Annexure G. -- I beg your pardon.

M'Lord, I hand in this document from which Professor Pollak has been reading as EXHIBIT 301, entitled "ADDITIONAL MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE RIOTS AT SOWETO AND OTHER PLACES IN THE REPUBLIC by the South African Institute of Race Relations (Cape Western Region)" (30) and I do so particularly for the Annexures A to G therein

contained/...

contained. M'Lord, that concludes my questioning of Professor Pollak.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much for coming to give evidence; thank you for coming up from Cape Town. We had originally anticipated that it would be better if you gave your evidence at the same time as the rest of the Institute of Race Relations gave the other evidence. It has now had the added advantage that you were able to give evidence about the later events after the Commission had left Cape Town. I am indebted to you for the evidence that you have given and the (10) trouble and the fact that you have come up here to give evidence. -- Thank you very much for the very patient hearing you have given the Institute.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS.

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