

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

AFTERNOON SESSION:

11th FEBRUARY, 1977.

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THE COMMISSION CONTINUES ON THE 11th FEBRUARY, 1977.

DR YUTAR: I now call Mrs Suzman.

HELEN SUZMAN: sworn states:

DR YUTAR: You were also kind enough to prepare a memorandum for submission to His Lordship and you have prepared a document a copy of which you now have before you. -- Yes.

May we, although we know you very well, might we just have a few personal details on record. -- I am the Member of Parliament for Houghton. I was elected in 1953 as the United Party Member for Houghton. I left the Party in 1959 and together with others formed the Progressive Party and (10) became the Progressive Party M.P. from 1961, was re-elected as a Progressive and served in that capacity until the Party was joined and merged with the Reform Party and I am now the Progressive Reform Party Member for Houghton, having been elected again in 1974.

And judging from press media, the accuracy of which I am not going to dispute in this regard, you have travelled very extensively? -- Yes, I have.

America, England. -- America, England, Israel, the Continent, Australia. (20)

You are able to bring to bear upon the problem we are now going to debate, a wealth of experience so gathered. -- Well, you said that, not me. I have, however, had a lot of experience in parliament, particularly dealing with Bantu Administration, because I have always spent a good deal of time on it and I have since the Progressive Party was formed, been a spokesman on Bantu Administration and have remained that in the Progressive Reform Party when it was formed.

You have also had contact both with the Ministers in charge of that Department as well as the officials. -- Yes, quite (30) frequently/...

frequently.

May I trouble you then to start reading from your memorandum?
-- As I was overseas from the 13th June until the 24th July, and I might add I came back in order to prepare this memorandum because I was informed while I was overseas, that memoranda should be in by the end of July, so I came back and prepared the memorandum as quickly as I could, so any subsequent mistakes I might say I hope are due mostly to the haste in which I prepared it.

You appreciate of course why we are only calling you (10)
today. -- Yes.

As I explained to you in consultation, we wanted to get the factual evidence on record before we invited opinion evidence.
-- Yes. Well, I just want to say that I am not in a position to comment on the first part of the Commission's terms of reference because I was away when the actual riots started and continued for the first 6 weeks. I intend to confine myself to the latter part of the terms of reference, that is the causes that gave rise to the riots, and in so doing will not deal with the direct issue that undoubtedly sparked off (20)
the disturbances at Soweto and elsewhere, namely the protests by students against the implementation of the regulation requiring tuition through the medium of Afrikaans and English languages in the schools on a 50-50 basis. The Progressive Reform Party's views on this issue were well covered in a speech in Parliament by the Leader of the Party, Mr Colin Eglin M.P. for Sea Point on the 17th June, 1976. Earlier in the session, Dr Alex Borraïne, M.P. for Pinelands (P.R.P.) raised the language issue during the Bantu Education Vote and also put questions to the Minister on the subject. Mr (30)
René de Villiers, M.P. for Parktown is submitting a statement
dealing/...

dealing with his efforts to aware the Deputy-Minister of Bantu Education, Dr Treurnicht, of the dangers of serious disorder should the language regulation be implemented. That was handed in.

CHAIRMAN: That particular statement, the one-page statement and I think it should form part of the record actually being read into the record. That may be done after this witness has given her evidence.

DR YUTAR: I would like to just formally hand it in as an exhibit, as EXHIBIT 265, with a request, as Your Lordship (10) has indicated, that it be incorporated into the - typed into the record.

CHAIRMAN: Well, I will consider whether it should not be read out.

DR YUTAR: Would Your Lordship like it to be read out now?

CHAIRMAN: No, I think it would interfere with this witness's evidence. -- Well, I could do it, it is very short, I know, and I am in fact aware of these telegrams because I was still in parliament when Mr René de Villiers received these telegrams from the Director of the Institute of Race Relations, (20) Mr Fred van Wyk and he showed me these telegrams and we discussed them and he told me that he intended to show them to Dr Treurnicht and he reported back to me what Dr Treurnicht had said to him and he showed me the subsequent telegrams as well. So I am really in a position to know exactly what happened.

DR YUTAR: Have you a copy of it? -- I haven't, I am afraid.

You can take my copy. -- May I also add that the references to Hansard, the speech by Colin Eglin and the questions and statements by Dr Alex Borrairie, I will prepare a précis (30) of those from Hansard, which I should have done, I apologise

for/...

for not doing that, and send them in to Dr Yutar so that they may be put in also as evidence.

M'Lord, I asked Mr Suzman to obtain a copy of this so that it can form part of the record to make the statement more intelligible.

CHAIRMAN: I have the Hansard for the 17th of the 6th. -- Do you have that one?

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, I have arranged for a transcript of all these and these will be handed in in due course. All right. -- Mr René de Villiers, M.P. for Parktown, Progressive Reform (10) Party makes the following submissions. He says:

"On May 25th, 1976, I received the following telegram from the Director of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg:-

"Deeply concerned Afrikaans medium controversy Black School. Position Soweto very serious. Could you discuss matter with Minister concerned?"

I conveyed the contents of the telegram to Dr. Treurnicht, Deputy-Minister of Bantu Administration the following day (26th). Dr. (20)

Treurnicht said he was not aware of any real problem, but would make a point of finding out. He did so and subsequently, a day or so later, sent me a hand-written note which read:-

"Die probleme i.v.m. die staking van leerlinge in Soweto word tans nog op laer vlak gehanteer en blykbaar het onderhandelings nog nie 'n finale dooiepunt bereik nie. Dis ook nog nie (30)

na/...

na die Sekretaris van die Departement verwys vir uitsluiting nie.

Later miskien wel.

Ons sal vasstel wat die aanleidende oorsake is, maar op die oomblik word genoem dat die kinders staak omdat onderwysers (volgens die kinders?) nie bevoeg is om vakke in Afrikaans aan te bied nie. Moontlik is dit nie so eenvoudig nie."

(10)

On June 10th, I had the following further telegram from the Institute of Race Relations:

"Situasie Sowetoskole oor Afrikaans as medium versleg blykbaar daaglik. Geweld het reeds voorgekom en kan maklik herhaal word. Vertrou van harte Dr. Treurnicht op hoogte van sake."

Again I conveyed the contents of the telegram to Dr. Treurnicht, who said he was not aware of any escalation of the dispute. However, he said he would make further enquiries. This he did and subsequently told me he had been in touch with his officials and he had no reason to think that the matter could not be resolved. He said discussions were proceeding.

(20)

I got the clear impression from Dr Treurnicht that he did not expect any violent confrontation."

The gravamen of that statement is of course the date, the 25th May, 1976, and the 10th June, both of which were before the eruption of the violence on the 16th. -- Yes, that is correct and I know that Mr De Villiers was very worried about it/...

(30)

it all.

We proceed now to page 2. -- The point I wish to stress is that although the language issue was the catalyst in this instance, in fact anything else could have easily caused a flashpoint of violence in Soweto. Indeed, last year in Parliament I stated that I believed we were "reaching a crisis situation in Soweto which has a huge, seething, sullen population living under hopelessly overcrowded conditions." I have given the Hansard reference for that. I did so because I am familiar with conditions in Soweto, because I have (10) had many appeals from Africans about these conditions and many discussions with Soweto residents about these conditions which I believe have led to a build-up of grave discontent and which therefore are the underlying, albeit indirect, cause of the disturbances which took place last June in Soweto and Alexandra, with which area I am also familiar. The growing deterioration of existing housing conditions in Soweto as the shortage of accommodation grows ever more acute is easily assessed by the gross over-crowding in many of the houses, some of which provide shelter for a dozen or more people, instead of for the (20) family units of five or six for which they were intended. In recent years, and more especially since the West Rand Administration Board took over, the building programme in Soweto has fallen far below the minimum requirements of 2 500 houses per year (I understand others have given the figure as 2 000, so maybe this is a slight exaggeration) needed to house the natural increase of the population, let alone to catch up the shortfall.

At this stage I would like to mention to you, as I did in consultation and as I did to Mr Moss, that all these (30) allegations against the Department or the Administration Board

or/...

or any other Board will of course be dealt with by the Department when they testify at the conclusion of the proceedings. So if I do not put all the points to you, it is not necessarily an indication that I go along with you on all these points. -- I understand.

But I would like to mention at this stage, as I did to Mr Moss, don't you think the position of the housing shortage was aggravated by the very considerable number of illegal lodgers in Soweto of a nature of I think about a quarter million? -- Yes, well, I think one has to concede at once (10) that there are people in the urban areas who are there illegally by virtue - I put that in inverted commas in my own mind, I must add - by virtue of Influx Control Regulations. I know that most of those people are driven in by economic circumstances, that there are no job opportunities in the homelands and that cash wages anyway in the rural areas, the White rural areas, do not compare with the cash wages being paid in the cities. In other words, the economic opportunities are clearly greater in the cities and this is an almost I think irresistible pull factor as far as people from the (20) Black and White rural areas are concerned and this was, I say, I believe the natural reaction is for people to seek jobs in the towns and I believe indeed that mobility is a natural right which should be enjoyed by every citizen and that is why I say, when I use the word 'illegal' I mentally anyway, put it in inverted commas. But I have to concede that in terms of the laws as they exist, these people are technically illegally in the urban areas and there is no doubt therefore that they do take up space, but this does not in any way obviate the fact that there is a genuine shortfall of housing for (30) people who are legally in the area and therefore the fact that something/...

something like I have got 22 000 families are on the priority and secondary list, that is people qualifying under Section 10 (1)(a) and (b) of the Bantu Urban Areas Act and there is also of course the secondary list which contains the Africans qualifying under Section 10(1)(c) and (d). So that there is a shortage, I mean, that is aggravated by the fact that people are, technically speaking, illegally in the areas one cannot deny, they take up space, but nevertheless there is an overall acute shortage of housing for legal people.

Would the position not be aggravated still further (10) if influx control was done away with? -- Well, you see I think that the position should be cleared up by the building of houses. In other words, I would like to tackle the remedy rather than stop the influx, because I do not think you can stop people from moving from an area where there are no job opportunities to one where there there are. I think it could be perhaps lessened, decreased if more job opportunities were supplied in the homelands and if the wage situation in the White rural areas was improved.

Incidentally, this figure of 22 000 families, is that (20) for the priority list and the secondary list? -- Yes, those are the two together.

Two together. -- Yes.

As a matter of interest, if you would like the figures which I obtained yesterday through the West Rand Administration Board, priority list the figure is 10 235 families, the secondary list is 9 275 families, just under 20 000. -- Just a little less than mine. Well, I might say I did try to verify my figures and as I mention in the memorandum, I was unable to verify these figures, despite repeated requests to the (30) Director of Housing, Witwatersrand Board, the WRAB Board. He referred/...

referred me to Mr Manie Mulder to whom he said I should submit my inquiries in writing. On phoning Mr Mulder's office, I was informed that he was out of town until Monday, 2nd August. Well, I thought I had to have the memorandum in by the end of the month, so I sent it in with unverified figures. Whatever the official figures are, however, the real shortfall is considerably higher, since the priority and secondary lists do not contain the names of family heads requiring housing who have not bothered to put their names on the lists, as they consider it hopeless to apply for houses, knowing that (10) thousands of applicants have been waiting for years. And here I refer to legal people.

I am sorry you had all that trouble about getting the figures. Might I be given the opportunity to suggest to you when we have adjourned, who to contact, as I did, and get the figures straight away. -- Thank you, I will be grateful for that. I could of course put questions in Parliament, but that takes - Parliament was not sitting at that time.

I promise you you will get it more directly if I give you the source of my information. -- Thank you. (20)

Next paragraph. -- The lists also omit the thousands of women who are unmarried, divorced or widowed, have children and are often the sole wage-earners for their families. They are not allowed to put their names on the waiting lists, as they cannot, except in exceptional cases, become registered tenants in Soweto. They are perpetual lodgers, despite the fact that many of them desperately want houses of their own and could afford to pay the rent. A few years ago a concession was made which allows widows (who formerly were evicted from houses when their husbands died) and divorcees if they (30) were awarded the custody of the children, to remain in their houses/...

houses under certain circumstances. That is if they themselves, of course, qualify to be in the urban area and if they are able to pay the rent. It is also significant that there is a wide differentiation in the population estimates of Soweto, even among those who are supposed to be in a position to know. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development told me, in reply to a question in Parliament last session, that the population was about 630 500 (Hansard No. 10, question column 721, 1.4.76). The West Rand Administration Board was quoted in the press, putting the figure at about 900 000 or nearly (10) 50% higher. Unofficial estimates are of course much higher still, at well over one million. It follows therefore that estimates of housing requirements are unlikely to be accurate. But in any event, even based on the lowest official figures, the provision of housing in Soweto has been hopelessly inadequate. In 1974 1 009 houses were built in Soweto and last year in 1975, only I think it is less than 800. There is a difference in figure here, I think it is about 780 houses were built. This barely affects the shortfall, more particularly when we know that the natural increase is at least 2 000 and (20) maybe even more. Hostel accommodation is also very short. Some 25 000 names are believed to be on the waiting list for single accommodation. Again I was unable to verify this figure at the time. This perhaps - I would like to mention that figures were put - questions were put in Parliament only this week, if I may divert for a moment, and just to point out that the immediate remedy does not appear to be forthcoming as far as this is concerned because according to a question which was put by Mr Gordon Waddell, M.P. for Johannesburg North, the amount which is going to be spent, the estimate for (30) the construction of houses for the financial year 1976/77 is only/...

only R750 000 and I think the estimate is that each house costs roughly R1 300 to build, that is the most austere house costs R1 300, so at most 500 houses only are apparently to be built in the financial year 1975/76.

1976/77. -- No, this is 1975 up till 1976 - I beg your pardon, you are quite right 1976/77. So that that does not give much hope for much catching up on the existing shortfall. This is perhaps a suitable juncture at which to mention the wholly undesirable hostel system at Alexandra Township, where I believe some of the violent disturbances took place. (10)

Two gigantic unisex hostels accommodate some 2 600 men and about 2 800 women. They are cold, soulless, concrete buildings in which many of these men and women are expected to spend their entire working lives, for they do not have the prospect of qualifying under Section 10(1) of the Urban Areas Act for housing on a family basis. Yet the majority of them are married people, many indeed having lived as family units in Alexandra before their houses were pulled down. Men and women living on a family basis as tenants who could not prove that they had legally resided in the area under Section 10(1) (20) have been split up and sent to the single sex hostels and their children have been sent off to the homelands. Many of the remaining home owners in Alexandra are very dissatisfied with the method of expropriation of and the amount of compensation paid for their houses. (Hansard 12, Column 5258, 1.5.75).

There are of course many home owners in Alexandra, it is one of the few freehold areas remaining in the urban areas.

Have you been to Alexandra? -- Oh, yes, many times.

Lately? -- I went in fact during some - well, I would say only a couple of weeks ago, over a weekend I just (30) browsed through it again, but I was there when one of the big raids/...

raids was carried out by the police, I think it was in November last year, but I am not sure of the date and I was phoned up by a woman to say: come and see what they are doing to us, they are dragging people out of the houses and there are hundreds of policemen here with dogs and guns. And I went down to Alexandra Township together with the M.P. for Sandton, Mr Dalling, whom I phoned and said: come with me to Alexandra and by the time we got there, the raid was almost over. We saw the commanding officer and he told us it was just a routine raid looking for lay-about and won't-works and we saw (10) many, many police milling around and vans filled with people and there was clearly a mass raid going on. I gathered later that some 800 people had been arrested during that raid. Many complaints were made to me later by the Alexandra people that a lot of people had stayed home at that period because there was this threat that if they went to work, they would get into trouble and that they were people in employment and not just lay-about and won't-works, but people who were staying at home because they were nervous of what would happen to them if they left their homes. So I am just mentioning this as (20) one of the miseries of Alexandra at that time.

The Commission visited Alexandra township. Speaking for myself I found the conditions generally, apart from ... (intervenes - speaking simultaneously) .. pitiful and a health hazard. -- Very much so, with garbage all over the streets and the roads of course unmade and undrained, it is a terrible area, but as I say again that I believe it could have been cleared up under an urban renewal scheme in situ without moving these people out, it could have been renewed in that area. They are very bitter about losing their homes and (30) about the compensation which has been paid to them. That is the/...

the problem.

The intention is to move them, isn't it? -- The intention is to turn it into an area where there will be hostel accommodation only for workers who are legally in the area. Those who own homes and are legally in the area will be moved, I understand, to Soweto; many have already been moved. I think largely to Diepkloof, but I am not sure about that.

Don't you think that will be an improvement from a health point of view? -- Well, I think the health point of view could have been cleared up right on the spot. If the roads had (10) been paved, if drainage had been provided, if proper garbage removal was instituted and of course you must remember, I think, that no improvements have been carried out on those houses for a number of years now because the minute it was stated that Alexandra was going to be removed and the people expropriated of course nobody spent a penny on their houses, so that the area has steadily deteriorated as a result.

Would you agree that the condition of the houses there is far worse than even the matchbox type of house in Soweto? -- Well, some of the houses are certainly absolutely (20) appalling, but of course you could build matchbox houses if that is the only alternative, right in Alexandra and not in Soweto for these people.

All right. All these factors, the middle of page 5. -- All these factors contribute to the discontent and resentment that has been growing in areas like Soweto and Alexandra. It does not require the expertise of a trained sociologist to evaluate the likely effects on the life-style of people crowded into houses well beyond their capacity, or existing in the bleak atmosphere of hostels. The instability of life in (30) all the urban townships is exacerbated by the migrant labour system/...

system which denies normal family life to hundreds of thousands of Africans. The social effects are there for all to see - they are evidenced by the extremely high consumption of alcohol (by no means discouraged by the Bantu Administration Boards who rely on profits from the sale of alcohol and I would like to make a correction here, this figure of 60% of their income is wrong, it was based on the gross income from the sale of beer and hard liquor and I wish to change that and simply say a considerable portion because I have been unable to ascertain the exact percentage of the revenue which (10) the alcoholic consumption of alcohol in fact presents. But it is known, I know, among the inhabitants of Soweto, as the "booze economy" because they know that a great deal of the income anyway comes from the beer halls and I must say that one of the first targets during the riots, it was noticeable, were in fact the beer halls and the liquor outlets by students who stated that these places give them drunken parents and that was one reason, I am told anyway by students, why these were the first and early targets of the riots.

CHAIRMAN: I have heard another one and that is that they (20) were burned down because they provided finance for the homeland policy. -- Well, that of course was so, I think, for quite a long time that a good percentage of the income was diverted to the homelands, but I think that that was changed a couple of years ago if I am not much mistaken and all the income of I think it is the - of certainly hard liquor I think now, goes to the Boards, but I speak really subject to correction here, but I know there was a change made in the law.

DR YUTAR: Before we continue, I think this liquor problem is a world problem and it is not confined to Blacks only. (30) -- Of course not.

Even/...

Even I think Whites, Coloureds, Indians are drinking far too much. -- I could not agree more.

With disastrous consequences. I think that is also the cause for the increase in the crime rate in America and in England. -- I would agree with you. I think that alcohol is indeed one of the major causes of crime and family and misery and break-up of families and so on. But I believe that in South Africa it has a special significance, particularly because of the migrant labour system many of the men I know at Alexandra for instance, have got nothing to do at night, (10) they simply go and drink. Their families are not with them, there is no chance of enjoying a family life and therefore they drink a lot of their earnings away and I think you find it among very impoverished communities everywhere in the world, as you say, and Soweto is an impoverished community, that people do tend to, in despair, if you like or because they simply do not see the chances of building up say a decent home life or they do not own their homes and there is no sense really in therefore trying to improve them too much, there is a tendency to spend a lot of money on alcohol. No doubt about it. (20)

If you could wave the magic wand, would you do away with all these beer halls? -- Oh, well, I am not a prohibitionist, you know, I do not believe that that is the way to solve the problem. I believe that if you improve the conditions of the families, if you help them to build up, as my colleague, Mr Moss, has said, the stable middle class, it would give them hope for the future that their life style could be improved, I think it has been shown, I think, by sociologists throughout the world, that the level of alcoholism tends to drop as the standard of living of people tends to rise. Which does (30) not mean that you do not have a lot of cocktail parties in affluent/...

affluent areas.

I understand from the Bantu Administration Board that they are aware of this problem and they are trying to improve and increase the Bantu beer on consumption premises. -- Yes.

But what worries me and that is what I want to put to you, if you were to decrease these outlets, would you not cause the illegal shebeens to flourish, where they would prey on the Black population in more ways than one. They mix their liquor, I speak from experience. I remember in the .. (?) .. Bottle Store case, you know what they used to do, these (10) shebeen owners, they used to take a bottle of brandy, drain off a cup full, put methylated spirits in it and in that way increase the number of bottles of brandy and they used to sell these bottles at an exorbitant price, far more than you pay in these beer halls. -- I think that was in the days when they could not buy hard liquor legally and therefore that supports my argument that prohibition is not the answer.

But you will admit that the problem is also these illegal shebeen queens. -- Well of course, obviously they are making a fine living out of it all, but I think that you do not (20) stop people drinking by closing down outlets. I think the thing is to make conditions more comfortable at home, then people are not apt to go and drink quite as much if they are in a family atmosphere as they are, I think, when they go out to these beer halls and shebeens.

One other thing, these shebeen queens do not contribute any share of their profits to improve the amenities of the Blacks in Soweto or even in the homelands. -- No, I think that is true.

We carry on, page 6. -- I mention at the bottom of (30) page 5 that in Soweto alone I understand (again this is an estimate/...

estimate) that some R36,5 million was spent on alcohol last year.

That is an awful lot of booze. -- That is a lot of money and a lot of booze. The crime rate in the townships has reached horrifying proportions. Again my colleague, Mr Moss, I think has enlarged on that. Over 10 000 cases of violent crime were reported in 1975, including an average of 3 murders a day. Law abiding citizens are terrorised by tsotsis and thugs. People constantly ask me (I mean African people) why the police spend so much time looking for pass offenders (10) instead of real criminals. And then again I am told that the percentage of illegitimate births is extremely high - some estimates place it as high as 60%. I am unable to verify that figure too. But I mean all this points to a very unstable insecure urban community and I believe this is all part and parcel of the causes of the disturbances that we have had last year and are still having. There are other relevant factors. Although the number of children at school has increased over recent years, the drop-out rate at Standard 3 is still abysmally high - it is about 50%. Less than 1% of children (20) who start school in fact matriculate. Those are figures for the Republic of course, not for Soweto. But obviously Soweto is the microcosm of the whole of the Republic and therefore I mention the Republic figures. Poverty is the overriding characteristic of Soweto and Alexandra. Despite big increases in real wages over the last 2 or 3 years, a great many residents of these townships are having considerable difficulty in coping with increases in rentals (which have gone up very considerably), transport costs, food, fuel and clothing prices. The basic components of minimum expenditure of the family (30) and as we know, all these have really gone up enormously.

Only/...

Only 20% of the houses in Soweto have electricity. Since the riots it has been announced that provision of electricity throughout Soweto will be made within 5 years. Why it needed riots to accelerate the provision of this basic necessity is a question that Africans must be asking themselves. Despite efforts to improve transport between Soweto and Johannesburg, it is still woefully inadequate and it is by no means unusual for workers living in Soweto to rise at 4 a.m. in order to reach their places of employment by 8 o'clock in the morning. To these daily doses of discomfort must be added the constant (10) harassment of pass-law arrests and police raids. Last year over a quarter of a million people were arrested under pass laws and influx control, and 65 000 persons were convicted under our archaic curfew regulations throughout the Republic. I may just mention in passing that the Viljoen Commission Report, as you know, has just recently appeared on penal reform in South Africa and the recommendations are strongly in doing something to de-penalise if not de-criminalise the pass laws because the Commission was very concerned indeed about this as being one of the major causes of racial friction in (20) South Africa. In Britain recently the Home Secretary stated that the country's daily average prison population was reaching what he called the "danger level" of 42 000. In South Africa, with a population of less than half that of Britain, our daily average prison population was 98 000 last year. Statutory offences account for the vast majority of these convictions. During the last session of Parliament, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development told the House that a departmental committee had investigated and reported to him, the Deputy Minister and the Secretary of the Department on (30) the operation of the pass laws and had made certain

recommendations/...

recommendations, some of which were already being implemented. No public announcement was made or intended to be made, he said. (Hansard 12, column 5546, 28.4.76). Why the secrecy it is hard to understand. Amelioration of oppressive laws should be given the utmost publicity surely, or the effect thereof is lost. If anything has been done departmentally, is the point I wish to make, there is no point in keeping it a secret if you wish to remove friction. Surely your idea would be to let people know exactly what had already been done by the Department to soften the impact of the (10) implementation of the pass laws.

I promise to put that to the Bantu Affairs Administration official when he testifies and perhaps we will get the answer then. -- Good.

Right. -- Conversations with many Africans reveal that there is considerable dissatisfaction with the administration of the West Rand Board and with many of the officials who are regarded as being unsympathetic and unhelpful. And this, I am afraid, is also so in the Bantu Education Department where some retired members of the South African Police have been (20) appointed and I must say their appointment was obviously not welcomed. There is no doubt that the lack of any executive authority of the Urban Bantu Council renders that body an impotent talking shop despised by the majority of the residents of Soweto. And I think this is borne out by the fact that only about 16% of those eligible, bothered to vote at the last UBC election. The riots have revealed an alarming lack of communication between the people and the officials and the officials and the Ministers and Government M.P.'s. The latter is revealed by the many bland assurances given in (30) Parliament, as for instance given by Mr K.D. Swanepoel,

the/...

the National Party M.P. for Gezina, who waxed lyrical in Parliament over the policy of the Government and particularly over the Department of Bantu Education "to place the say in and the control and supervision of their own education completely in the hands of the Bantu themselves" (Hansard 13, column 5730, 30.4.76). He also told Parliament on the same occasion that the Bantu School Boards have wide and executive powers and, by the way, his speech was made on the 30th April, 1976, that was a couple of months before the riots, about 6 weeks before the riots. Yet on the 6th February, (10) 1976, the entire remaining members of the Meadowlands Tswana School resigned in protest over the dismissal of two members because of their objection to the Afrikaans medium of instruction. Deputy Minister Treurnicht, on the language medium policy, this was on the 30th April, 1976, when he told the House that "the policy of 50% Afrikaans and 50% English in the secondary schools is being applied in such a limited manner that in practice the instruction in matric is virtually 100% in English as against nil in Afrikaans."

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS FOR LUNCH.

(20)

THE COMMISSION RESUMES AT 2 P.M. ON THE 11th FEBRUARY, 1977.

HELEN SUZMAN: still under oath:

DR YUTAR: Before we turn to page 9 may I ask who are these retired members of the South African Police Force who had been appointed? I am not seeking an appointment, by the way, but I would like to know who they are. -- Well, I haven't got the names with me here, but I know there were two of them.

Is one a gentleman called De Beer? -- I think one was a gentleman called De Beer, I am not sure about Mr Ackerman or not, but I am not sure whether he was.

(30)

I must correct you; De Beer was not a retired policeman,
he/...

he is one who left the Force, studied to become a teacher, qualified himself and then joined. -- Oh, well, perhaps I should say ex-policemen.

Former policemen. -- Former policemen. I correct that. I am not sure about Mr Ackerman though.

CHAIRMAN: Have you heard complaints about policemen who have been appointed, who may have been appointed as these officials or inspectors of the Bantu Administration Board? -- Well, they are all general complaints. You know, I cannot specify, but people have said to me these are responsible citizens (10) of Soweto with whom I have been in touch since the riots on a fairly regular basis, I mean, I would not say weekly or anything like that, but I make a point of getting in touch with 3 or 4 people and discussing what is going on, you know, are things quiet, are things settling down now, how are the kids getting on and so on and I know that one of the complaints was that they do not want police in the Bantu Administration Department. Simply because, I think, unfortunately - and it is unfortunate that over the years the police have had the difficult task of implementing many of the very unpopular (20) laws that are on our Statute Book and of course I refer mainly to the pass laws which are so unpopular.

DR YUTAR: Whilst we are talking of that, you know, I seem to want to talk intimately with you. -- Right.

Oh, no, no, do not misunderstand me. (LAUGHTER)

Now you refer to the unpleasant task of the police and some of these things have received world-wide publicity. Now recently we had floods. It was heartwarming to see photographs of policemen, White policemen ... -- I agree.

Rescuing Black people, Black children and there were (30) two young White policemen surrounded by .. -- Cheering young Blacks/...

Blacks.

Blacks, one of them still dared to give the Black Power sign. -- Yes.

How many of those photos appear overseas? -- Well, I am unable to tell you. I would hope some of them, because ... (intervenes - both speaking simultaneously)

... -- I do not know, I haven't seen the overseas papers. They should, I agree with you that when the police do something which is obviously extremely commendable, they should get credit for it and it is most unfair if you only see (10) photographs of the police either using guns or teargas and you do not see them in the other role which, as you say, was really very special.

It is so discouraging because they are officers who have to carry out - officers of a very disciplined force who have to carry out their duty. -- Yes, I agree with that, although I will have to add later that I have had many complaints about unprovoked police action during the riots.

Oh, well, you get black sheep even in the legal profession. -- Yes, but I think, you know - you get them among (20) parliamentarians.

I am sure.

CHAIRMAN: Would you say that the attitude of the Black citizens of the United States against policemen had influenced Black feeling in South Africa? -- No, I think they are two entirely different things. I think that the Black resentment against police in America which was certainly very strong in the 60's and have abated quite considerably since then, I might add, but throughout the 60's when there were those serious riots in America, particularly the 5 years in the mid-60's, (30) something like only - when I say 'only' I am using this

in/...

in comparison with the minimum number of figures that we have for our 6 or 7 months of rioting in this country where the official figure, the minimum, is 500. Now over the 6 years of rioting, 5 or 6 years of rioting in America, the official commissions revealed that less than 200 people were actually killed, the majority of whom were Black. But less than 200 in 5 to 6 years of very bad rioting in cities like Watts, Newark - not New York - Newark, Detroit, those were the three worst. So that, as I say, there was of course resentment and tremendous antagonism, but that has died down now to a (10) large extent, but mainly I think because the condition of Black people in America has improved and because of the civil rights legislation which was enacted from the time of the Johnson administration onwards. Now I do not think that our average man in Soweto, Black man, says to himself the Black man in America hates the police, therefore I must hate the police in South Africa. I think the hatred really stems from the fact, as I say, that it is the police who have to carry out the most unpopular laws in South Africa and also I think there is a tendency, a man seems to be a bit tough with Black (20) people and certainly during the riots, as I say, I have complaints of a lot of unprovoked police violence.

The reason why I have asked you the question is because some of the expressions were used in America and are being used here. -- Yes. Well, I have no doubt that these school boys and girls are literate, they can read, they do read, they see film shows, they know the unpleasant appellations that are used against the police in America and I have no doubt they have taken them over, just as they have taken over the slogan, although maybe not the same direction or intent as Black (30) Power in America, they have taken over that slogan too.

It/...

It no doubt has an effect.

DR YUTAR: It is true that the number of deaths were not so many, but you know the number of injuries? -- Thousands were wounded. There were thousands of wounded, but then we had thousands of wounded as well.

And of course the damage done there runs into .. --
Millions.

In one case 500 million dollars. -- No, I am not trying to minimise it.

No, quite. -- The seriousness. (10)

And whilst we are on that topic, there was recent trouble in Notting Hill in England and there too one found, according to the press media hatred on the part of the Black against the police just because they stopped the Black people in order to search them for drugs and weapons. -- Yes.

A position which bears some resemblance to what we have here. -- Yes, but I still think that you do not have the same amount of statutory offences that we have here.

I am not talking about that, I am talking about the relationship of the Black and the White policemen and (20)
there too they have got an unenviable task. -- I agree.

Page 9. -- I will say that there was an alarming lack of communication between the officials and the Ministers and Government M.P.'s and I quoted Dr Treurnicht as saying that the policy of the English medium versus Afrikaans medium was being applied in such a way that it is almost 100% English in the matric classes. The Deputy Minister also told Parliament that in practice the language proficiency of the teacher and the language which is in predominant use in a specific area are taken into consideration in implementing the 50-50 (30)
principle. Now just to show that Dr Treurnicht did not know
what/...

what was going on, as far back as the 20th January, 4 months earlier than the Minister made his speech which was on the 30th April, on the instructions of the Secretary for Bantu Education, circuit inspectors in Soweto were already insisting that the medium of instruction in all schools should be on a 50-50 basis. Then further proof there is the Deputy Minister of Information who said: "Today it is a pleasure to travel through Soweto." Well, I do not think anybody who is very conversant with Soweto would ever say that it is such a beautiful place that you enjoy travelling through it. (10)

I think after your experience yesterday you would be one of those who would disagree with that statement. -- Well, I had no experience in fact in Soweto yesterday. I would like to make that clear. The report in the newspaper was completely untrue. Not the latter part where my own comments were quoted, but the opening paragraph where the reporter says that I had to leave the school by a back door and that slogans were shouted at me and I was told that I was unwelcome because of my white skin, nothing of the sort happened at all. I was given a most exciting, if I may put it that way, and (20) spontaneous welcome by the students of the Meadowlands High School who were assembled by the headmaster in the courtyard of the school, when he heard that I had come to visit the school and I addressed them for a few moments, saying I was glad they were writing exams, I expressed sympathy for those who had lost people in the riots, friends or relatives and I said that I hoped 1977 was going to be a better year for all of us and when he told them who it was that had come to visit them, I was greeted with a round of hearty applause and I then said goodbye to the students and I drove out of the gate. So (30) where this man gets this report from, I do not know, but I am going/...

going to take some form of action against him because he phoned me last night, told me that he had heard this story and I told him there was absolutely no truth in it whatsoever and I said if you publish that, you are publishing a lie, and I will say so. But he went ahead and published it. But what I am saying is that Soweto and its environs and the row after row of little houses and the dust and bad streets and everything do not make it a pleasure resort. Now shall I continue then?

Yes, please. -- He also said there are only 9 800 families waiting for accommodation. Well, obviously he (10) took this figure from the priority list which you have read out and this is Mr Le Grange, and I have given the quote. I then had a little exchange with the Prime Minister.

Not the first time. -- No, and not the last, I am sure of that. In which he was saying that things were fine and relations between the races had never been better. This was in, I think, the no-confidence debate of 1976 session, that means the end of January and I interjected which is also, I am afraid, my wont, and I said: "When did you last visit Soweto?" And the Prime Minister's reply was: "The Honourable (20) Member need not ask me now when I last visited Soweto. I want to ask the Honourable Member when she last read The World." Well, the Prime Minister was obviously referring to the report about letters that had been sent in at the request of The World, asking its readers what they thought of the Prime Minister. And about 200 people wrote in, I am informed, of whom 53% said that they thought Mr Vorster is a good Prime Minister and this the Prime Minister evidently believed to be significant and indicative that Soweto residents were content. I want to point out that I think the yardstick he used was in fact (30) not a very good one. In 1975, the year of great expectations regarding/...

regarding the removal of race discrimination, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced in the House that the 30 year leasehold system which had been discontinued in 1967 was to be re-instated in the urban townships (Hansard 12, column 5232, 1.5.75). This was widely and enthusiastically welcomed in that it would provide some form of permanency of tenure for urban Blacks. The Minister made no mention at the time of any requirement for certificates of citizenship of an ethnic homeland for aspirant 30-year tenant lease-holders. Nor was any mention made of a similar requirement of (10) homelands' citizenship certificates for the traders and professional men who, the Minister announced, were to enjoy easier conditions in obtaining renewal of annual trading licences and permits and owning trading and professional premises. The subsequent announcement of the requirement that the concessions in the urban areas were dependent on the identification of urban Africans with their ethnic homelands by the formal application for certificates of citizenship was received with anger and deep disappointment, in no way mitigated either by Ministerial assurances given in the House (20) by way of reply to questions, or in speeches, or by the inclusion in the Status of the Transkei Act of Section 6(3) which reads:

"No citizen of the Transkei resident in the Republic at the commencement of this Act, shall, except as regards citizenship, forfeit any existing rights, privileges or benefits by reason only of the other provisions of this Act."

I may say at this stage that I feel not nearly enough (30) publicity was given by the Department to the fact that
Africans/...

Africans could be reassured that they were not going to lose any rights under Section 10(1) of the Urban Areas Act, which was what most of them were concerned about, but that in fact is the position, although since then I have heard in the Cape that where persons of Transkeian origin, even though to qualify under Section 10(1), when they apply for new passbooks or if they have lost their passbooks, for duplicates, they are having difficulty because they are Transkei citizens. Now the Minister has denied this in the House and I have been told, however, by people who are handling these cases, (10) that these people are having difficulties and again I feel it might be a case of lack of communication between the officials and the Honourable Minister and I hope to do something about this when I get back to Cape Town. A further requirement of "identification" with an ethnic homeland which caused considerable anxiety was the regulation introduced in December, 1975, which laid down that every birth certificate of a child born in an urban township had to contain identification of both parents and child with an ethnic homeland. That is even if the parents have never been anywhere near an ethnic (20) homeland. In other words, the second or third generation African has got to provide identification with the homeland on the birth certificate of his child. The culminating factor, however, was the Section 6(1) and Schedule B in the Status of the Transkei Act (Act 100 of 1976) which deprived Xhosa and other people of Transkeian origin or connections living outside the Transkei, of their South African citizenship when the Transkei became independent. Urban Africans feel they have been duped. The law of rising expectations, subsequently not realised, has had its effects. A leading article in (30) The World, I think it was the 6th June, 1976, succinctly summed

up/...

up the feelings of urban Africans as follows:

"For millions of our people who look upon an undivided South Africa as their home, this debate on the Transkei is of great significance. It concerns the most devilish scheme ever devised by any Government, namely the stripping of people of their citizenship. It is a crime against humanity. The Transkei Independence Bill may well be the final parting of the ways between Black and White South Africans. It may well spell the final break between sanity and bigotry. Nothing, in our view, has caused such anger and bitterness in the hearts of our people in modern years as the controversial citizenship clause contained in this Bill."

(10)

And I must say that from conversations that I have had with numerous Africans in the urban areas, this is a very, very sore point indeed. Now it is true, I must add at this stage that of course the citizenship certificate requirement for the 30 year lease has since been withdrawn, that has been withdrawn and I was told in the House the other day, firstly by the Prime Minister and this is borne out by an interjection by the Deputy Minister that the requirement of a certificate of citizenship for the renewal of licences was never intended, although I must say the Gazette does not really specify whether it is new or old licences, but he said, according to the Deputy Minister, only when new licensees applied did they have to provide a citizenship certificate.

Well/...

Well, I have here confirmation that that in the case of renewal .. -- Yes, it is not necessary. I accept that. I must have misread the Gazette. It certainly was not very clear. It did say where a site was required, but you have to renew your licence every year and therefore presumably you have to apply for your site every year.

I have got a motive here from the Department that the annual renewal of trading permits were done away with as from the 1st January, 1977, and no renewal of any existing trading permit was dependent on homeland citizenship. The (10) regulations are clear on this. -- Well, then that is a new regulation, if I may say so, because at the time when I wrote this, certainly the regulation had not been withdrawn, it was the regulation which was introduced last year.

It must have been rectified. -- So now they have rectified that, which is very good. Many African parents are concerned about the gap which has developed between their children and themselves. It is not only the usual generation gap or the lack of respect of which they complain - the latter not surprising in view of the inferior status of adult Blacks (20) which is observed by their young. It is also the fact that they are judged to have failed to obtain through moderate means any real and basic changes regarding race discrimination in South Africa. Thus, as has long been predicted, those parents now find themselves in the process of being brushed aside by the far more militant younger generation. The days of patient submission are over for them. The occurrences beyond our borders in Mozambique and Angola and Rhodesia have not escaped their notice. If, as the Minister of Police proclaims, "agitators and manipulators" are at work, it (30) is because the conditions have been provided for them by decades/...

decades of obstinate refusal on the part of the Government to recognise the existence of genuine grievances and to do something to remove them. Black nationalism and Black Power will be increasingly difficult to cope with, recurring violence will be the order of the day unless the necessary changes are made and improvements effected. I believe that some of these can be made even within the framework of present government policy, such as the introduction of a massive housing programme for urban Africans, provision of better transport and recreational facilities, the phasing in free and (10) compulsory education, provision of free school books. I am glad to say the latter too have at least been set in motion. Free and compulsory education has not really come about yet for Africans, but a beginning has been made by requiring parents to sign an undertaking that their children will stay four years at school if they enter school. It is not really compulsory education because it only applies to those who go to school.

CHAIRMAN: I don't suppose you subscribe to the criticism that we have had of this particular move and that is that (20) compulsory education should be started from the top and started with Std. 9 and matric. -- Yes, well.

You cannot phase it in from the top surely. -- Well, I think it will be difficult. I see what the object is. I mean, unless you train enough people to be teacher material, it is impossible to introduce compulsory education from the bottom and that is the problem. I mean, as you know, the majority of teachers at present are not even matriculated so that it is going to be very difficult and I think it may well be that the emphasis should be on the higher education in order (30) to provide teacher material.

Is/...

Is there compulsory education for .. -- Not for matric, no. After Std. 8? -- No, I think it goes by age.

For Whites? -- No, I think it goes by age. When they reach 16 I think.

Isn't it 16 or Std. 8? -- 16 or Std. 8, yes. But I mean you can leave school at 16 if you have only got to Std. 4 and I suppose that does happen with some people, not many admittedly, but I think it would be very difficult to do it that way. I would agree, as I say, that emphasis should be on trying to help to keep children at school until they (10) matriculate because of the need for more teachers, but you have got to - I might say this phasing in is something which was recommended over 20 years ago by the Eiselen Commission on education for Bantu, the Commission on Bantu Education. The Eiselen Commission recommended 20 years ago, 1956 if I am not much mistaken, was when it reported and it stated that 4 years of schooling was the minimum for functional literacy and if the children did not stay at school for 4 years, they may just as well not go to school at all and they recommended the phasing in of that. (20)

DR YUTAR: Well, a start has now been made in that direction. -- Well, it is a start and I have learned to be thankful for small mercies.

I think we all are. -- Yes. And of course a start has also been made with the provision of free books. I know that as from the next two years, the top classes will be getting issue of free school books and I think by 1979 the intention is that the whole of the high school school book requirement will be provided free by the Department, which will be a very big advance and a great help to the parents who find this (30) a big burden. May I say the cost will be high in terms of money/...

money, but we are spending R1 400 000 this year on defence and I believe that the diversion of some of that enormous sum to improving the lives of urban Africans will be a guarantee of internal security and I might add that you may just as well provide our men with bows and arrows on the border if you are going to have an enormous hostile Black population inside the country. We just will not be able to cope with it. Finally, it is surely possible for the Government to refrain from provocative actions like introducing highly unpopular regulations - I was there referring to the citizenship (10) requirement and of course to the Afrikaans medium teaching requirement which could not have been implemented anyway, because the teachers were not able to do it - appointing highly unpopular Deputy Ministers - and I was referring particularly there to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration - and officials, or taking the highly unpopular step of depriving people of their South African citizenship.

I would like to ask you a few supplementary questions. --
Yes.

Having gone through your memorandum, would you say (20) that the causes of the unrest in South Africa are unique to South Africa? -- No, but I think that they are very exacerbated by the fact - I mean, you get poverty everywhere, you get a shortage of housing, you get the alcohol problem, as you have mentioned, you get crime, but I think you do not get such an exacerbation of the situation by statutory measures. In other words, the migrant labour system which deprive people of stable family life. The fact that Africans in the urban areas are not allowed to own their homes freehold, I feel is an important thing. The other thing I might mention is the lack of (30) any say in the laws that govern their lives. These are all

very/...

very important exacerbating factors and I think perhaps most important of all is the fact that Africans in South Africa do not, as is commonly supposed by my friends for instance on the Nationalist benches, compare their lot with the lot of Africans in the rest of the Continent of Africa; they compare their lot with the lot of White South Africans living in the same country and there is no doubt that the standards of living, the differences in the standards of living between White people in South Africa and Black people in South Africa are very obvious to every Black man in this country and (10) this I think is an exacerbating factor too.

Now I notice from the riots that took place in America from 1963 to 1967 the causes seem to be, on the face of it, similar to those here, slums, poverty, disease, not enough jobs and from the photographs that I have seen in the Turner Report, the conditions there are perhaps as bad, if not worse, than they are here. -- I think that the correct term would have been 'were'. I do not think they are, I think every American Black will say today that enormous strides have been made. (20)

Yes, I am talking at the time of the riots. -- Ah, yes, at the time without a doubt and I think .. (intervenies)

And of course because of the riots and as a result of the riots there has been an improvement. -- There has been an improvement in two ways. I think much more money was devoted to clearing up the ghettos as they were known and of course to providing better opportunities for Blacks; a really concerted effort was made on behalf - on the part rather of the Federal Government and of the State's Government to provide openings and opportunities for Black people and of course (30) most important I think is the fact that the Civil Rights Legislation/...

Legislation was passed, which actually imposed a duty on the State to level up opportunities in education and to deny people the right to discriminate.

Is it surprising that after the passing of those Civil Right Bills, after favourable court decisions in favour of the Negroes of America, after that only riots broke out? -- Oh, no, that is not so, the riots started right through the 60's and I believe that the riots continued, of course there was a Vietnam War as well, which we have omitted to mention as one of the major causes of the riots as well. But the (10) Civil Rights Legislation took time to be implemented, you know, the law is not passed one day and implemented the next, as far as finance is concerned anyway.

Well, I am going to quote to you from a statement made by Professor Banfield, but before I come to that, I want to suggest to you that not only are the causes of the riots here not unique to South Africa, but the pattern of the riots in America is strikingly similar to the pattern here. Stoning. -- Yes.

Burning, looting and everything that went with it. -- Yes, I think that is so, but I think that is the normal (20) pattern of a riot. You know, like having measles - you first have a fever and a sore throat and then you get spots and so on. It is the course of the disease so to speak.

I would like to quote to you the great historian of France, Alexis de Tocqueville - I do not know whether I am pronouncing his name correctly, is the first to point out that the significance of the French Revolution was that it occurred not at the beginning of the 18th Century, when France was a despotic monarchy and laid heavy feudal exactions on the peasantry, but at the end of that century when the absolutism of the (30) monarchy had been greatly tempered, when most of the feudal exactions/...

exactions had been removed and when 60% of the French peasantry owned their own land. The paradox was, he wrote, that it was precisely in those parts of France where there had been most improvements that discontent ran the highest. -- Yes, I think that is a very interesting observation. It has got to do with roused expectations I think, but I think people in America today, if we can come to a more modern example, will tell you that the lot of the American Black has improved greatly, he is still among the largest section of unemployed in the United States and he is still among those who have the lowest (10) income in the States. You will find the majority of very poor people are Black, but there has been a very marked improvement in the lot of the lower middle classes and middle class Black Americans, which I think is noticeable to anybody who was there in the early 60's and who goes back to America.

It may very well occur here too. -- Well, one hopes so, but then you have got to remove the restrictions on job opportunities for instance.

Well, let me just quote one more passage: Indeed deTocqueville's thesis provides an analogy the force of (20) which should be familiar to Americans. For it was not during the years of the greatest Black oppression here in the United States that black Americans rose in revolt. As Professor Edward Banfield has pointed out, for 20 years prior to July 18, 1964, there were few riots by blacks, and none of them was a major riot, involving several hundred rioters and lasting more than a day. Rather, the worst riots occurred after the series of decisions and acts - the Brown V. Board of Education decision of 1954, the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1963, 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 - which had largely completed (30) the process of reversing the historical discrimination against Blacks/...

Blacks in America. And yet in 1966, for example, there were 11 major and 32 minor riots and in 1967, there were 25 major and 30 minor riots. -- Yes, I think you must remember the Vietnam War was an enormous issue at that stage and the riots started and they were not only conducted by Black Americans, but White Americans as well, particularly on the campuses.

And then he goes on to say this: Nor did the riots generally occur in areas where oppression or racial discrimination or poverty were most prevalent. The worst riot occurred in Detroit which had been regarded as one of the most (10) enlightened cities in its racial policies. -- Yes, but I mean, you have got to look to the causes of the particular things in Detroit. Again it may have been the whole thing stimulated by tremendous anti-war feelings and also, as I say, roused expectations and things are not going fast enough; that also happens in times of change, times of transition and the '54 school decision I do not think is really relevant here because it was very difficult to enforce that until the Federal Government came in with its legislation which prohibited the granting of any financial aid to schools if they were segregated. (20) The '54 decision had to be implemented by every Black American child going to court to demand his rights to go to school, which was a very expensive and long and tedious process.

Well, the solution which you are now advancing escaped the chairman of that Commission, the Kerner Commission, because this is what they went on to say. Before I quote from the Commission's report, this is what the professor says: I do not think that the Kerner Commission was always successful in explaining the paradox of the greatest violence occurring in the areas where there had been the greatest progress, but (30) in one notable passage, which might almost have come from de Tocqueville/...

Tocqueville, the Commission reported:

"Negroes no longer felt that they had to accept the humiliations of second-class citizenship, which consequently appeared more intolerable than ever. Ironically, it was the very successes in the legislatures and the courts, more than perhaps any other single factor, that led to intensified Negro expectations and resulting dissatisfactions with the limitations of legal and legislative programs."

(10)

-- Yes, I think that was all still in the transitional period and as I say, people get roused, they want more and they want it faster. That is the main thing. The pace of change is not fast enough for them, but I do not think Professor Kerner recommended thereafter that none of these changes should have taken place.

No, no, not at all. -- Exactly. I think it is the transitional period and I think you will find now if Kerner (20) was to write again now, he would grant the change in conditions in America. There have been no riots to the best of my knowledge for the last 3 years - not since the war stopped.

And of course if that process was allowed to continue, then there would be a total elimination of discrimination. -- I do not think you can ever have a total elimination of discrimination. I think they were hopeless expectations because humanity is not without its feelings of discrimination, but if you aim at the elimination of statutory discrimination, then I think you have gone a very, very long way to reducing discrimination of other kinds because it has always been

(30)

my contention that the law educates people into thinking in certain directions and if the law is against discrimination then the citizens of the country begin to accept that the law then is doing the right thing.

One final point on the question of discrimination, I want to quote to you from a well known professor from Holland who visited this country a few times and spent a long time at the University of the North and in this report he concludes as follows and I will conclude with this:

"For there are two types of racism. One (10)
totally unacceptable form is that which
discriminates against a people purely in
terms of skin pigmentation. The other form
of racism qualifies all people blindly as
equal, and does not wish to acknowledge
the richness of differences between
peoples - an attitude which due to its
untruthfulness and sanctimoniousness is
equally dangerous and unacceptable."

And his concluding observation is this: (20)

"The world accuses you (South Africa) of
the former. Never allow the world to
accuse you of the second type of racial
prejudice."

-- I think it is very unlikely the world will have a chance
to do that, I mean, to accuse us of the second type but I just
want to comment on that, that it is not that for instance
people of my political persuasion think that everybody is
equal, because they are manifestly not, but it is that everybody
should have an equal opportunity in life and what they (30)
do with that opportunity afterwards of course is their own
affair/...

affair.

Well, I put this to you because of your political persuasions in the hope that your replies would help His Lordship. -- Yes, well, I have no, as I say, people of my political persuasion simply want equal opportunities. We do not say that everybody is and remains equal after those opportunities.

M'Lord, I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN: Have you anything further you wish to say? -- Well, I would just like to hand in to you two - one is an (10) affidavit which I think you may already have received, but I am not sure, and the other is a statement which is not an affidavit, about the - I simply want to mention this because it was brought to my attention that one of the accusations that was made during the riots to me several times by several people, was that a green Chevrolet car used to be seen driving through the township with men in camouflage uniform in it and that these people were taking shots at the residents of Soweto without any provocation and a white Valiant car was also accused of doing so - the occupants were accused of doing the same (20) thing. I did write to the Minister about this and he denied strongly that anybody in fact had done such a thing, they both were police cars, he admitted, well, certainly the green Chevrolet he admitted was a police car; the other one was identified as a police car by other people and he stated the police at no time shot, except when their own lives were endangered. And I just feel that the Commission ought to have these accusations before them, perhaps to make further investigations to see whether this was so.

Do you know of anybody who was injured or .. -- Well, (30) there is an affidavit and a statement that I have here which,

as/...

as I say .. (intervenes)

You see, the Commission did receive evidence of - was it Mamelodi?

DR YUTAR: Atteridgeville.

CHAIRMAN: Atteridgeville. -- This is not Atteridgeville. I think we have also handed in affidavits about the accusation that there was incitement at Mzimhlope, the hostel in which many Zulu people were living, against the residents and police were involved in this too.

DR YUTAR: We have dealt with that. -- You have dealt with (10) that?

Yes. If Your Lordship will bear with me - may I suggest that you let me have those statements. -- May I give them to you.

So that I may have them investigated and then I will then call whatever evidence I can gather and then you will see the report. -- May I hand them in to you.

Up to now we have had Valiants appearing in evidence, driven by people who were inciting the Black youth to riot. -- Well, I would like you just to look at this statement. (20) One, as I say, is an affidavit, there are two affidavits and one statement which is not an affidavit. You may well have the affidavits already, because I think we sent them in.

I promise you that I will have this investigated and lead the evidence accordingly. -- As I say, I did mention it and the Minister said he had had the matter investigated and as usual I was listening to 'skinderstories', which may well be true of course.

No, we have not had these affidavits, but let me go through them and I will cause them to be investigated (30) and lead evidence accordingly. -- Yes, thank you very much.

I/...

I have nothing further to add.

CHAIRMAN: You were somewhat hampered by the original provision that everything should be in or rather all memoranda should be in by the end of July. That period has been mentioned, but you can take it now that if there is anything else which happens or anything is said by somebody and you feel that you should have further information... -- Thank you very much indeed.

DR YUTAR: Before Your Lordship excuses Mrs Suzman, may I just ask her whether these people, would they be prepared to testify? -- Well, I do not know about the one who just (10) made the statement. I believe the people who made the affidavits were prepared, but may I verify that and let you know.

Would you? -- Yes.

Because I do not want to .. -- You know, they are frightened.

I do not want to expose them if they do not want to; on the other hand, as His Lordship has indicated previously, they can come and testify here either their names are not disclosed, or testify before His Lordship in camera. -- I will make inquiries from them, if I may, and I will let you know. (20)

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS.
