

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

WHOLE SESSI

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DIE KOMMISSIE HERVAT OP 5 NOVEMBER 1976.

MR VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, the first witness this morning is Mr David Phaniel Kgotleng. He is the Chief Whip of his Government. I want to apply for an order to prohibit the publication of any information about him, his identity or his present position.

CHAIRMAN: From his position his identity would be clear presumably.

MR VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, he does not object if we refer to him as the - and in the press as a senior official of the (10) government.

DAVID PHANIEL KGOTLENG: sworn states:

CHAIRMAN: This witness's name and identity and anything that may lead to his identification will not be published.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: What in your view causes the unrest in Soweto? -- The cause of this unrest at Soweto it was, they said it was English - I mean mathematics and science. These two subjects were taught by a Bantu who himself does not know Afrikaans. So the children objected to that. That was the cause. They did not actually start on burning houses (20) and so on, they only did not go to the classrooms.

Do you know what caused the local unrest? -- The local here they speak of many things. They speak of petty discrimination, they speak of Bantu education and that to me is the cause.

Would you say whether there is a difference between the reasons for the unrest at Soweto and at Mafeking? -- Well, not much difference because they all say they are now sympathising for their arrested friends and those who are shot. It is nearly the same. The only thing in Mafeking, they did (30) not speak about mathematics and science taught in Afrikaans,

because/...

because here children are taught in English.

The language medium matter, did that in particular play a part in the local unrest? -- Not very, very much, not very much on the language, because they are taught in English and the language which they prefer, which they understand better, which the teachers too do understand better.

Did you at any time discuss the unrest with pupils of the local schools? -- Well, I spoke with the teachers. They really do not know the cause, they speak of - they also say these children say that they sympathise with those (10) Soweto children who are arrested and who were shot by the police.

Do you have any information about organisations which played a part before or during the local unrest? -- Yes. A man came from Alexandra and this man told his relatives in Mafeking here that he was running away from the police, the police were looking after him and that he is a member of SASO and that he has a card from SASO and this card was given to him by a certain European, he said an Englishman who is financing them to go to Germany or to other places for (20) training and after training to come and liberate the people in South Africa. That is the information I got about this organisation. I want to add that it is true to me, that information is quite true because I see even the local people here go to Tanganyika, children, school children and they are not even given the money by their parents. How do they get money to go to Tanzania? For instance, just shortly one Mosea Boa left just a week ago, left Barolong High School here. Her mother sought her. When she got to Gabarone she heard that she took a plane from Francistown to Tanzania. Where did (30) she get the money from? So to me there are certain organisation which/...

which finance these people, some people who finance these people to go to wherever they want to go to.

Do you know if the ANC played a part in the unrest? -- Not only the ANC. There are so many organisations like these, the Black Parents' Organisation and there is the Black Peoples Convention, all those people to me, are taking part. Not only that, even the opposition parties, the Black opposition parties and European parties are taking part. To me they are all taking part.

Do you know whether ... -- Let me go further about (10) the opposition, because oppositions are against independence. For instance the Transkei, Bophuthatswana will follow and they are against that. That is why I say oppositions are also in this matter, they are also taking part.

Were agitators active before or during the riots here at Mafeking? -- No, they were not. Even if they were there, they were underground, underground movements.

Did the local unrest break out spontaneously or do you think it was caused by outside influences? -- Every time when there is trouble, afterwards you hear that there were (20) some strange people here. For instance, even this last week the children who marched from Barolong High School up to the township here, I learned that there were some strange faces there. The students who were there, said that there were some strange people there that they did not know. Every time you hear of some strange people. For instance, before they burned the police car and they assembled here, I heard that on Sunday afternoon boys were playing football at the grounds and there were some strange people who kept on saying 'this weekend something is going to be done'. So every time when there (30) is something, it is always some strange people outside. I may

say/...

say that even these children who are arrested locally here, there are no homeland children amongst them, there are no Mafeking people amongst them, there are no Lichtenburg or Zeerust people amongst them; they are all children from Soweto. Even these who are now arrested at Botswana who are now in Gaborone, who left here just a week ago from Barolong High School here, there is only one of them who is in the homeland and that comes from 'laung. The rest come from towns, from Potchefstroom, from Soweto, Alexandra.

Why did these people leave Bophuthatswana? -- They (10) are afraid because they know that they have caused the trouble and that if they are caught they will be punished.

Can you give us more information about the way in which they caused the trouble? These pupils. -- They burned schools, they burned government cars, they burned people's houses.

This anti-independence idea, is it a general feeling amongst the people or is it mainly caused by the opposition and outside influences? -- No, no, not only the opposition and some other people, the supporters of the opposition.

Would you say that this anti-independence idea (20) may be a cause of the local unrest? -- I may say that. You know there is a big talk about why do these Bantu governments accept separation development. Most people are against that.

Do you have information about any grievances amongst your people? Your Black people here. -- No, there are no grievances except the students(?) ..(not into the microphone)

Did you observe any strange vehicles from Johannesburg during the riots here? -- Yes, we always see TJ cars here, then after that there is trouble. Certain people who come from Johannesburg and other places who incite these (30) children of ours to go on these disturbances.

Do/...

Do you know about an incident where the police and other Whites broke up a group of rioters with sjamboks and batons? Don't you know anything about that happening? -- No.

M'Lord, I have no further questions to ask.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: U Edele, daar is 'n volgende getuie wat my kollega, mnr. Hlungwani nou sal lei.

CAPTAIN LIONEL BENJAMIN SENTLETSI: verklaar onder eed:

MNR. HLUNGWANI: U het u punte daarso in Engels geskryf. I would like you to quickly just elaborate on them. You (10) are the principal of which school? -- I am principal of Boitshoki Senior Secondary School, a school that starts from Form 1 and ends up with Form 5.

CHAIRMAN: Before you go any further, is there any application?

MR HLUNGWANI: The witness did not indicate anything.

VOORSITTER: Het u enige beswaar dat u naam bekend sal word of identiteit? -- Ek glo nie dat ek eintlik enige beswaar het nie, want soos ek voel is die punte wat ek hier wil uiteensit, min of meer punte sal wees wat ek graag wil hê moet bekend raak en dat dit ook van my af kom. Ek verstaan natuurlik (20) dat daar moeilikheid in steek, dat daar heel moontlik miskien tot 'n sekere mate hierdie mense sal voel dat ek teen hulle is, maar ek wil net eenvoudig die waarheid praat en ek het nie beswaar nie.

Ek sal vir u sê laat ons dan voortgaan, u gee u getuienis en dan aan die einde daarvan dan kan u vir my sê hoe u voel daaroor en dan sal ek die versoek tot die pers rig. -- Baie dankie.

MNR. HLUNGWANI: U het geskryf dat daar 'n paar punte is wat u noem die oorsake van die oproerigheid. Die eerste (30) het u daar genoem 'lack of parental discipline'. Sal u daarop/...

daarop uitbrei asseblief? -- If you allow me I would just like to elaborate on the question of lack of parental discipline in this way. If you will permit me to say that I have now been teaching continuously for a period of 35 years and I have observed the African student throughout these years and I think if anybody can say anything about it, it should really be myself, which is this, that I have noticed that over the years parents, Black parents have tended to leave discipline altogether too much within the hands of the teacher. The parents have not had the control over their children (10) that they had over them 40 years ago. It was reasonably easy for a teacher to complain to a parent and you will find the parent disciplines the child with the teacher, but nowadays the whole discipline of the child is left entirely over to the teacher and to make it worse you will find that parents have a tendency now and then of passing derogatory remarks about teachers in the presence of their children. That undermines even the discipline of the teacher now and as a result we can say that there is very little discipline now in Black society. Parents cannot control their children and we (20) at school have infinite difficulty in controlling our children as well.

Now would you ascribe that to the present conditions? -- No, I would say that that leads directly to the type of situation that we meet today where you find that the students, like for instance in Bophuthatswana, if you will permit me and allow me to add just this little thing, which is that if in Bophuthatswana for instance, if in our Bophuthatswana there were not a single child that came from Johannesburg or Klerksdorp or Potchefstroom or any outside place, we would (30) not have had one-eighth the damage and the rioting that we have had/...

had in our schools.

Do you think that the parental control in the homelands is of better quality than that in the cities? -- Not only is it, I would say, of better quality, but I would say that in addition we would have, if there were the parental discipline that we had known, our children would not have been the easy prey to the students who came from outside to organise them, because the parents locally here would have kept their children under control. So that even here there is that lack of parental control and discipline. (10)

CHAIRMAN: Just before you go further, are you going to speak about discipline in the schools too? -- I am going to speak later if the opportunity arises to speak about discipline in the schools.

Because I would like you to deal with that as well. -- Yes.

MR HLUNGWANI: You have also the second point that you made mention of here, it is the lack of dedication to duty by the teachers. Would you elaborate on that? -- Yes, on that I think I can also elaborate in this way and it will lead directly to the question that has just been put by (20) the Honourable Judge here, which is that I find during my experience that there is a grave tendency among teachers, for instance No. 1, to sit in the staffroom when it is time that they should be attending to lessons in class. No. 2: that the bell can ring though it breaks and when the teachers have got to go to class, you find that the teachers will spend at least a minute or 2, sometimes up to 4 minutes in the staffroom instead of attending directly to their classes inside the classrooms. That makes the students restive. When the bell rings we expect the students to respond promptly to the (30) bell and to go to their classrooms and when the students are

inside/...

inside the classrooms and the teacher does not respond immediately, it makes the students restive. It makes them feel that they are not getting a fair share from the teachers and as a result when the teacher does get into class, you will find that there is that spirit of defiance, of time having been unnecessarily wasted and all those things they add up to a lack of discipline within the classroom. Not only that, but if I pursue the point that was raised by the Honourable Judge here about the question of the lack of discipline, you find that the teachers who now teach our children in the (10) secondary school, you find that to a very large extent they are not really able, they are not really qualified to teach the subject that they teach and as a result, because of their fumbling over their subject, you find that the children tend to want to defy them, they occasionally even correct them because children nowadays correct their teachers if the teachers are wrong. And all that adds up to the lack of discipline in the classrooms and in schools that we find and of course you find that nowadays also students now drink, which we did not do once upon a time. And when they drink they come into (20) contact with all sorts of bad elements at the shebeens or at the bars or wherever they may drink and they do imbibe from this society the type of atmosphere that they bring into the classroom that militates against good discipline in school and class.

As you have mentioned that, is it not true that the teachers sometimes drink with the senior pupils in the shebeens? -- I have seen occasions where teachers had actually asked for drink from the senior students, sometimes not even those senior students. I have been witness on a number of (30) occasions to state of affairs of that type where the teachers drink/...

drink with some of their students.

Now don't you think that even if a child gets a good discipline from home, it can be spoiled by such thing? -- Oh, definitely that is the case, without hesitation.

Could you proceed to elaborate on the - though you have touched on it now, but I think you will still have to elaborate on it, the lack of adequate qualification. I saw you have actually written some notes on that. -- Yes, there is this point that you find for instance that there have been secondary schools mushrooming throughout the Republic of South (10) Africa - secondary schools; in other words post primary schools. But unfortunately we have not had sufficient teachers training to be able to teach in those post primary schools. For instance in Bophuthatswana last year we had only about 80 graduates, the entire Black graduates I mean. We only had about 80 Black graduates and we have roughly 20 more post primary schools. In other words, even if those graduates could have been put one in each post primary school, just to aid the schools, that would not have been enough. But that is not enough. You expect that even the ordinary assistant (20) teachers, especially those in high schools like my school, should possess university degrees and as a result you find that teachers quite often are called upon to teach subjects that they are not competent to teach, or of circumstances makes that necessary and that makes the morale at the school to go down and it could easily add fuel to the fire of rioting.

You have now in the junior secondary schools teachers who possess the higher primary teacher's certificate and have just qualified to that up to J.C. academically and then they have the professional certificate of two years. Now (30) how do you think of that? Do you think it is good for

a secondary position? -- Well, as an educationist I must say that that is a very unhealthy situation. It is most unhealthy and it is highly inducive to dissatisfaction in class and also it will to a very large extent also contribute to a general lowering of morale in the schools.

If for example you have people in some other homelands who are better qualified, can you import them into your homeland? -- Yes, fortunately that is quite permissible and allowed in Bophuthatswana. For instance at my school I have several people who are not Tswanas but who are teaching some of (10) the tricky subjects like science and mathematics, although at my school of course I have two Whites doing science and mathematics up to matriculation level. But you do find that there are others also throughout Bophuthatswana, especially from the Nguni element, who happen to have come into contact with education earlier than ourselves, who do teach some of the subjects like science and particularly mathematics.

Are these two Whites quite competent to teach in those subjects? -- The two Whites are absolutely competent to teach those subjects and they are doing a marvelous piece of (20) work.

And what is the relationship between the White members of the staff and the Black students? -- The relationship I would say very, very good. They have accepted the Whites in a way that they could only have accepted their own fellow Blacks and the Whites also have accepted the environment of mixing freely with us to an extent that has even made me to write a recommendation to our Department of Education for them, praising their attitudes and generally speaking well about the relationship at my school. (30)

Now you think their dedication and their efficiency at

work/...

work contributes to the healthy relation that exist? -- That is what I would say.

Now before you go on, I would like to ask you what your opinion is and what actually you saw during the riots. How would you describe the police action in quelling the riots? -- That is a very good question because it is a question that had worried me for a bit of time. If I were to speak honestly on this matter, without fear of victimisation which I know is going to be the ultimate result if this view of mine were published, if I were to speak without fear of victimisa- (10) tion, I would say personally I considered the police action at the beginning to have been altogether too lenient. My personal opinion is that if the police had only been a little more firm at the beginning, we would not have had the extraordinary damage that we found at my school, where the buildings were burned down to the value of R18 000 and damage within the school itself, to property, to the tune of R36 000 was caused. If the police had only after the first stoning of the school come in, one hesitates to say, they could have stopped indiscriminately the poor unarmed and misguided (20) children. One hesitates to say so, but one does feel that if they could have picked one or two ringleaders and they wielded into the children with rubber truncheons and teargas, it would have stopped the destruction that was caused at my place at Itsoseng here in Lichtenburg district.

Did the police come before that damage was done? Because it might be that when the police came there, the school was burning or perhaps the damage might have advanced to such an extent. -- The police came before the very great damage was done. What happened was that at 20h30 whilst I was (30) getting my supper, a student of my school came along to tell

me/...

me that students have banded themselves together to go and burn down the school and at that moment I had in the school safe a sum of money to the value of R1 022. So I immediately dashed to school, I opened the school safe and I collected the money and from there I ran to the police station and when I got to the police station ..(inaudible) .. at Lichtenburg, they told me that at that moment they had a man there with whom they are communicating by two-wave radio and the man says the students are already at the school and they are already busy stoning the school. They only stoned the school (10) and they attempted to burn down the school, but they did not succeed. They left my school and went over to the GG offices, to the post office, that they burned down. From there they went to the superintendent's office, they burned down two cars there. From there they went to the magistrate's offices where they burned and by then the police had already arrived in Itsoseng and from there only did they go to the school to go and burn down the school. In other words, the far greater part of the damage was caused while the police had been in the township for a period of an hour or so already. (20)

According to you, is there any particular reason you know of or which you are aware of why they burned the public offices? -- About the public offices really I would not say, excepting that there were, according to reports that we received, two agitators that were leading them, that were non-students. They are at the moment still in custody and they have got to appear, because I have just received a subpoena to appear in the Circuit Court at Lichtenburg next Tuesday, on the 8th of this month, and these people were at the head; they were the people who were organising (30) the students. They just came and took the students and

the/...

the possibility of their having organised the students to destroy particularly the magistrate's offices in order to destroy all government documents, etc., etc., is there, but I did not hear it specifically mentioned.

According to you, you mentioned that the police should have dealt with the ringleaders. Were they identifiable or could a person see that these are the ringleaders at that time? -- That is a question that we have discussed very, very long and wide, the question of is it possible to pick up the ringleaders from a group of mobbing people, a group of (10) rioters. That is a moot question, it is a very difficult question which you and I must admit it is not so simple and easy, but what I would say is that they can look for the person who is obviously giving instructions, even his instructions by code methods so that it cannot be seen, the person who is leading, who from here says now we go there, that is the kind of person that you would assume must be the leader of the group, the one who seems to give instructions and seems to lead.

But now according to you, you could not notice such a person in that specific group which was marching then. (20) Because for your information on the Rand the police had been able to pick up such leaders in the crowd. Could you - you have a point which you call a half-baked political philosophy. Could you explain to the Commission what you mean by that and to elaborate on that? -- Attempting to elaborate on this, I would say that very many of these students, those in Form 3 and also those in Form 5, they have got to study the French Revolution and when they study the French Revolution they come across such things as liberty, fraternity and equality and to them that only means one thing. Liberty could only (30) mean one thing. It means we must be completely free of what

they/...

they consider the yoke of oppression and to them the White man symbolises that oppression and getting rid of the White man is a way of getting liberty. Fraternity to them means the question of everybody being your brother and your sister, be he Black or be he White. In other words, there must not be a vestige of a law that even smacks of discrimination. In other words, there must be no such thing as my entering a post office by one entrance and the White man by another; my getting into a separate coach on the train and the White man into another. There are ideas such as equality which means that we must (10) be absolutely equal in all spheres, we must have an equal franchise as it were, with the one man one vote, etc., etc. Now those things, they come forth from the classrooms and some of the teachers also imbibe them with these ideas that here in South Africa we have a situation that is vastly equivalent to the situation that prevailed in France before the French Revolution and the only thing that we could do is that we must also now sort of bring about the violence that was brought about by the French Revolution, then we will ultimately have these three things as they had them in France. But now (20) my own idea is that these poor children are only importing those ideas and their minds are immature at this stage to adequately appreciate how these things even in the very Republic of South Africa are ultimately coming on by evolution; they should not be brought about by revolution but by evolution and it can only be brought about by evolution because evolution, you will understand, is necessarily a very slow process that takes a long time, it can take thousands of years, it can also take millions of years, but it can be brought about, evolution, in this country, if the White man, if I could quote my own (30) Chief Minister, Chief Lucas Mangope, if the White man makes

a meaningful sacrifice, if he is prepared to go out of his way to make a meaningful, even painful, sacrifice. Ask me what kind of sacrifice, for instance, then I will tell you that here we have Bophuthatswana split up into six pieces. There is a whole corridor between Bophuthatswana at Brits which stretches right up. Now if this corridor could be closed and Bophuthatswana could be consolidated into only two or three while the Whites in those areas be expropriated, then they will have sacrificed a little; then they will have put on the process of evolution. And instead of waiting for (10) too long, for too late to make too little concessions, you will find that ultimately we are going to restore better relations within this country.

Now, when you speak about this philosophy, I have noticed that not only in class were the history part of the whole thing it is dealt with, I usually read in newspapers where they give history lessons, you find that in these lessons they study about Marxism and the acts or philosophies of Lenin. Now do you think now the Education Department has perhaps not done it properly that they put such things in the (20) syllabus of the immature children? -- Well, fortunately in our syllabuses there is no study of communism, no Marxism. We do not study Lenin, Marx, we do not study any of those people. It does not appear in our syllabus at all, but as you say, people, politicians, Black politicians, those people allied to the ANC, the PAC and that type of thing, they are the people who go out of their way to study those philosophies and they bring them in, they import them in order to implant, to spread them among the masses.

Don't you think a teacher is tempted to explain to (30) the children something about Marx and something about Lenin

when/...

when you have got to describe the causes of the French Revolution? -- I am quite sure that quite a few teachers without malice quite often also bring in because you cannot explain a syllabus or go through a syllabus blinkered like this and see only one direction, your views must be wide and I am quite sure that some of them do bring in some of these philosophies.

You have motivated enough. You have also touched your point here which you .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: How do you suggest that that particular (10) matter should be dealt with? Children must know their history. Do you think it would be sufficient if they emphasize, the teachers emphasize that you must have evolution and not revolution? Or do you have any further suggestions? -- Well, I have a few suggestions here that I have sort of written down that I thought would be - I would later on deal with as what I consider remedies to the situation.

Oh, I see. -- I have a few of them that I have noted down.

MR HLUNGWANI: I think you had better deal with them now because I think your following points you have, are just (20) a repetition of what you have said in your elaboration. Could you just go on to what you consider to be remedies or what you have prepared for us today. -- I am going to be relatively brief on this matter, because just as the Honourable Judge here has already indicated, several of these things have been covered and I am just trying to open up new fields or cover the fields that I have not covered.

CHAIRMAN: No, you must not get the impression that as far as I am concerned, I want to limit you, you must say everything that you have got on your mind and you think deals with (30) this situation. -- Thank you.

Everything/...

Everything.

MR HLUNGWANI: For example, where you say evolution instead of revolution, you have covered that. -- That is right.

I think you are satisfied that you have covered this. -- I am reasonably satisfied.

And the description of progress towards independence, have you covered that? -- Yes, I do not think I have quite covered that one about the grievance that I have come across, which grievance is that so far as independence is concerned, there are people, politicians, I would say - I would (10) not say that they necessarily all fall under the group of opposition in our parliament, but I would say that there are people who seem to be against this question of independence of Bophuthatswana and I did not mention this when I spoke about the riots generally, but I want to say that there are people who have an interest in the riots for their own sakes. There are people, for instance, that I would say have been ordinary hooligans or, as ek dit so mag stel, leeglêers by enige plek, and these people have found a ready mob in the rioting students and they have joined the mob for their (20) own purposes. Purposes of looting for instance. If a man is a 'leeglêer', he does not work, he finds it very convenient if he were to break into a shop and get at least something to drink and something to eat. These people have joined the group in that way. There have also been the people who have a vested interest in this situation continuing, ordinary students, they have not been studying throughout the year, they know that their chances of passing at the end of the year are very remote, therefore they have an interest in examination being disrupted. So they go out of their way to do so. (30) Similarly you find that there are people, these politicians who/...

who take advantage of the situation. They say here is a ready-made situation for us, where we find that we have been against the idea of education; so what are we going to do, we are going to encourage education, we are going to encourage rioting, we are going to encourage these things. So that the Government of Bophuthatswana, because what strikes one is this, and .. (inaudible) .. why is it that the Ngunis are generally a far more pugnacious people than the Tswanas generally? Why is it that if they are, that analogy in Kwa-Zulu in the Transkei and in other places have been considerably less (10) than you find in Bophuthatswana and when you investigate you find that there was this idea, the people have taken advantage, they jumped on this .. (inaudible - witness speaks very loud and fast - I cannot follow him) and in fact if we could exploit the situation and generally get the people to be restive, then the Government of Bophuthatswana will say, no, let us temporarily sustain application for independence, let us see whether we cannot look at the situation that has now cropped up first and after the people have been quietened, only then can we go ahead with the idea of independence. So I mean so (20) far as that one is concerned, I thought I would deal with it more or less in that way.

Do you think that might have been the cause of the burning of the Legislative Assembly Hall? -- I am quite sure that in my own mind I am convinced that at the back of the burning down of the Houses of Parliament of Bophuthatswana there was the idea that - not that they said they could necessarily believe by burning down or even postpone forever indefinitely, but they felt that we are showing our disapproval of our government having started negotiations for independence by burning (30) down the parliament buildings.

CHAIRMAN/...

Can I just add to that the point that you had mentioned in between, is it clear that you think that the present campaign to disrupt examinations is to a certain extent done by people who realised that they have had too little education in the last few months and will not be sufficiently up to the mark in their studies to pass the examinations, therefore they think it is better that no one should write an examination in the hope that then from the authority there may come some other form of either passing or of giving them a further chance?

-- That is exactly how I feel about the situation and (10)
that is in fact what I am saying.

MR HLUNGWANI: Could you proceed to your point on remedies as you have them there? -- So far as remedies are concerned, here are the things that I would like to place before this Honourable Commission here. In the first place I want to say that we must get teachers of education, teachers of quality, teachers of responsibility, but here is this man - you can get those teachers provided you can pay their salaries. Because very many of those teachers, I have had a B.Sc. who has left my staff, I have had a B.A.D. who is leaving my (20) staff, they are going over into commerce because they feel that they can be better paid there. Not that I mean the Department of Education has not been trying. Mind you, they have been doing very, very well. They have been trying their absolute utmost to come up to a situation where the teachers can be reasonably well paid. Now I want to say now that headmasters are fairly paid, but assistant teachers are poorly paid. No. 2: There are female teachers who are every inch as good as the males, they have gone through university, such as the one that I have on the staff of my school, she (30) is qualified, she has got a degree, she has got everything, with/...

with another teacher who was at the same university, but there is a discrepancy in salary. One, the male teacher, must receive R210, the female teacher only receives approximately R180 per month. .. (inaudible) .. for graduates and the discrimination in salary is too great. If the salary could be moved up because they pay exactly the same fees at university, she pays exactly the same for all the books that she bought, she did not buy one for less than the other one for more. Now if a situation could be brought about where one, the females and the males, the salaries could be equal for all (10) teachers throughout the Republic of South Africa because you will find, as I have discovered during my years of teaching, my 35 years of teaching, the females are sometimes far more dedicated and capable and competent teachers than very many males and if there were to be discrimination, it should really have been in favour of the female rather than of the male. But nonetheless I do feel that that would encourage females to take up teaching and they would tend to strengthen our staffs. That is the one thing, the question of better teachers, they shall be brought about in that way. But that is not all. (20) We must look into our own houses also as teachers and we must be more dedicated to our teaching profession. We must be more dedicated to our duty. That is a word that I would like to have spread throughout the length and breadth of the Republic of South Africa. We, I have discovered, I do not say so because I am a teetotaler, I want to make it quite plain here I do not drink or smoke, but I do say that the incidence of drunkenness amongst teachers is so great as to be absolutely deplorable. I feel that if we can reduce drunkenness we will set a better example to the younger teacher who is (30) just coming onto the field and indeed also to the students

who/...

who are at our school at the moment. I do not say they must not drink, they must drink, but drink with responsibility and with respect. At their own homes they must not be seen drunk along the street, etc., etc. That is one thing that I would like to moot and the next thing I want .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Just before you go on. Do I understand you correctly that you say whatever comes from the part of the authorities, you should really bring from your side a greater devotion to duty, harder work and setting a better example? -- Yes. (10)

I think those were the three points you made. -- Those are the points that I made.

Right, now you may go on from there. -- I am going to bring up another slightly moot point which is this: I feel convinced about it that all responsible principals of senior secondary schools, in particular those with high schools, must be automatically armed; they must automatically qualify for the possession of a firearm. Not necessarily a personal one, but an official firearm that is intended for the use of that school. If he leaves the school, he must automatically (20) leave the firearm also there. I am not speaking about Blacks being armed generally, I am just speaking about an official firearm for use at the school, but those who have already indicated trends of violence of course, those automatically are disqualified. Those who have already indicated that they are not responsible enough, those who have long criminal records and that type of thing, those are automatically out. But responsible men I think must be armed, not for use at the students, because the principal teacher who must depend upon a firearm to discipline the students of his school, must (30) be written off, that kind of man knows he must not be there.

But/...

But the danger does exist like in a situation which we are now, as I am standing here my students are writing their matric examinations at my school. Already there have been two threats - why do the students of this school write while other students are in jail, other students are dead and other students are not writing their examinations. So you may find agitators from outside who may come to the school and wants you to drop the examination, hooligans who come in from outside, students or non-students and if the principal were armed, he would be able to defend himself if he tries to (10) stop these hooligans from outside entering the school premises and all students like mine have already indicated to me that they are now prepared to fight, they would pick up bricks and to stone those people who want to disrupt them starting their examination, but the danger is that there may be an ... (inaudible) from outside and at least if they knew that their principal were armed for this emergency and other emergencies of a similar nature, I think he would have a great deal more stability in the running of our schools. Another point which I would like to make which I think can contribute a great (20) deal also towards easing the situation is one where there is an infinitely greater inter-relationship between the teacher and the parent. I think the question of parents-teachers organisations are an absolute necessity so that the two, the parents and the teachers can together give the child an adequate education so that their discipline and their education must be supplementary to each other rather than be conflicting as it quite often is. I have already spoken about some parents passing derogatory remarks and that kind of thing and I feel that if we have parent-teachers organisations, we will (30) be able to eliminate this thing very systematically and we

would go a long way, a very long way towards the question of putting more discipline into our own students. And the second-last point .. (intervenes)

Just before you go on. Do I understand your point correctly that you are in favour of a teachers and parents organisation, that is an organisation of teachers and parents who are parents of children then at school? -- Yes.

So that there can be a unity of purpose in the education and in the disciplining of those children who are at school? -- Correct. (10)

By their parents and their teachers? -- Correct.

MR HLUNGWANI: Will the teachers organisation not invite the parents as it happened at Lebowa sometimes that teachers met the parents and discussed about the problems of their children. -- The teachers of individual schools, they do occasionally call in the parents of their schools and they do once or twice a year they do go over just formalities and routine matters such as the progress of the school, the progress of the children and if there are a few difficulties then they also discuss them and so on, but what I have in mind is a formal parent- (20) teachers organisation which has a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary, assistant secretary, perhaps even treasurer and which has a sort of constitution written or unwritten and where they meet regularly to discuss problems that crop up at school, not an informal meeting of parents and teachers just meeting to discuss.

Yes, that is what I mean, that teachers organised and parents formed it. Could you just go on with the other point. -- The second last point that I have noted here is that I think that the Whites also carry a grave responsibility and (30) that responsibility is that right at home from the infant stage/...

stage the Whites must eradicate the spirit of superiority from their infants and plant into them a spirit of brotherliness in their children. When they meet the Blacks in the street there, it must not be a question of the Black must give way and the White must pass. They must instil into them as they grow up, reach puberty and when they become young men and women the idea that good relationships between Black and White in this country, let us not depend upon Mr John Vorster in Pretoria or Cape Town who is doing an exceptionally fine and good piece of work, but singlehanded even if he is a (10) super-human being, he can never manage, he must be assisted by the ordinary rank and file. Those people must also please us, they must go out of their way to show to their children and to us that they are prepared to accept us here in this country as first class citizens also, because this is the land of our birth, the land on which I am standing now, the history books compiled by Dr Van Warmelo and Dr L.C. Broyd, they indicate that my people, the Barolong people have occupied this soil on which I am standing now from the year 1100, in other words, for 800 years now have the Barolong people lived in this (20) vicinity here and here in the land of their birth they will never accept the idea of being second-class. It will always hurt them. I do not want to minimize the efforts that are made by very many Whites, there are very many Whites who are going out of their way, like the two I have on my staff, like very many others that we meet in all spheres of life, but it is so easy to break down within one minute a relationship that has carefully been built up over very many years, that a few people can altogether bring to acid(?) and to chaos, a thing that so very many have nurtured and that kind of thing (30) will make the idea spread overseas always that the Whites

are bad, the Whites are oppressors, the Whites are this, that and the other thing, when you and I who have lived in this country, we know that there is such an enormous reservoir of goodwill that flows from the White man; that if we nurtured it, we would be able to build up the country to something very substantial. That we all know. Now the last point is one that I have already mentioned, the one of the meaningful sacrifice on the part of the White man. All of us - the students must have more discipline, the student must do his work, the student must not be .. (inaudible) to forces (10) that come from outside, the parent must play his part in disciplining the child, the teacher must play his part and the government must play their part by equalising salaries, in other words all of us must work together to try and bring about a situation, we must not look at the other man to do it, but must know that it is our responsibility; all of us have a part to play and all of us can eliminate the cause of the riots eventually and we will find that good relationships is brought out by evolution rather than by revolution.

I have no further questions, M'Lord. (20)

CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much for coming to give evidence. You must decide now whether you would like this to be without your identity and your name attached to it or whether you are prepared to let this go into the world as your word. -- I do not think that I have in any way been unfair to anybody and honestly my own personal deep conviction is that this what I have said here can go, can be spread throughout the world under my own name.

Well, I presume it would carry more weight if it is under your own name, because people then know that you have (30) the courage of your convictions too. But I must leave

it/...

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it entirely to you to decide. I do not think that - no, I must not tell you what I think, I must leave it to you. -- I am prepared to let it be published under my own name.

Well, then I must thank you very much for your evidence, for the outspoken way in which you have given it and for the thoughts that you have given to us.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS.
