

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

MORNING AND AFTERNOON

SESSIONS:

22nd SEPTEMBER, 1976.

VOLUME 11

(Pages 394 - 470)

THE COMMISSION RESUMES ON THE 22nd SEPTEMBER, 1976.

WILLIAM BOKALA: sworn states:

MR HLUNGWANI: You are a reporter of 'The World'. You were assigned to cover the events that was to take place, that was some certain schools who were to demonstrate against Afrikaans. -- Correct.

Now, when were you given this assignment? -- I was given the assignment on June 15th, that is the previous day.

You were picked up by your press car at about 7 o'clock the following morning, that is the 16th. -- Correct. (10)

Together with your colleagues and then you first went to Naledi High School. -- Correct.

Could you proceed from there please? -- When we arrived at Naledi High School we found that students were preparing to leave. They had placards. Then we proceeded to Mapetla. Then went back to Naledi High and found that they had already left. We then went to Morris Isaacson High School in Jabavu. We found that they had left too. We then went to Sizwe Stores where we found them. We found a group of Morris Isaacson High School students with other students from other schools. (20)

That was at Sizwe Store? -- At Sizwe Store.

You were joined by the other group of your reporters, Sophie Tema and the others? -- Correct.

And when you went to Naledi for the first time, you found students still in the school premises? -- Right.

You said they were preparing to leave. -- Correct.

Or did you mean to get out of the premises? -- To get out of the premises.

You saw placards then? -- I saw placards. (30)

Did you read some of them? -- No, I did not read some of them/...

them then.

And then you left for Morris Isaacson School? -- We first went to Mapetla and then went back to Naledi High. Then we found they had already left.

Now just tell us about what happened at Sizwe Stores. -- At Sizwe Stores we found a group of these students and later on they were joined by students from Naledi High and students from other schools. From there they proceeded towards Orlando West.

As they were proceeding from Sizwe Stores, how many were they approximately in number? -- They were about 10 000, (10) that is my estimation.

Then you followed them in a car? -- In a car.

Proceed. -- We followed them through Dube. I remember an incident in Dube where I saw a white big American car, it had about 5 or 4 White ladies inside, manage to pass through as we were also managing to pass through the crowd. They were not violent then. Then we proceeded until Orlando West High School.

You say where was it exactly where you saw this big American car with White ladies? -- It was in Dube near (20) the vocational training school there, near Mr Maponya's house.

Maponya Store? -- No, house.

You say nothing happened to them then? -- No, nothing happened to the car, it was allowed to pass through.

Had the people started stopping cars then? -- No, students were not stopping the cars, but what was happening was, when cars were coming they were sort of opening up to let them pass through. I remember I also had to pass twice or three times through the group.

Was that the first car that passed with Whites (30) inside since the marchers left Sizwe Store? -- That was the second/...

second car. I saw a big lorry being driven by a White man. He was also allowed to pass through. That was still at Sizwe Store.

Did that also pass safely? -- Yes, it did.

And after the big American car passed with Whites inside, what happened? -- The students proceeded towards Orlando West until they reached Orlando West High.

Yes? -- At Orlando West High they were just at the gate there when I saw a convoy of police cars arriving.

You said at the gate. The gate of? -- Orlando West (10) High School.

That is when you saw the police arrive? -- Yes.

In how many vehicles? -- There were about 10 vehicles.

And then where did they stop in relation to the group of students ? -- The students were at the gate facing westwards and the police arrived and parked their cars about say 180 meters away from the students. They were facing the students I can say.

And then what did the police do then? -- I first saw two White policemen alighting from their cars and (20) approaching, walking towards the students and I saw one of the White policemen picking up a stone and throwing it at the crowd.

Where were you standing then in relation to the crowd? -- I was in the front row.

Of th e students? -- Students.

Yes? -- And he threw this stone. Some students sort of scattered in panic, some students panicked but the main group remained standing where it was.

CHAIRMAN: You say some students panicked at that stage (30) when he threw the stone? -- When he threw the stone.

MR HLUNGWANI: And then? -- And I saw him bending down again to pick up another object, something that looked like a stone and threw it at the crowd.

Something that looked like a stone. -- Yes.

That is the second time he picked up something? -- Yes.

Yes? -- And threw it at the students. They did not move there. I saw him drawing his gun and firing.

Drawing? -- His gun.

Now let us get it right there. These missiles, I do not know whether they are stones, you say definitely they (10) are stones he picked up twice? -- He picked up twice from the ground, they were stones.

Stones. -- Stones.

Didn't you see any smoke before the shooting? -- No, I did not see any smoke.

In other words you did not see any teargas thrown into the crowd before any firearm was pulled out? -- I did not see any teargas.

You say in your statement here that two policemen advanced towards the children, who then started waving (20) their hands and telling the policemen to go away. Now, did that happen before one of these Whites picked up a stone? -- That happened before, correct.

Did one or both of these White police talk to the students? -- No.

You said you did not see teargas being thrown, you only saw one White police picking up a stone and throwing it twice. -- Correct.

And then from there proceed. -- From there he started firing at the school children. (30)

Directly or over their heads? -- He was firing directly into/...

into the crowd.

Yes? -- Then they started scattering and some of them picking up stones to throw back at the police.

Was that the first time that stones were thrown to the police? -- Correct.

And then what happened? -- Then more shots were fired. The other White policeman also drew his gun and started firing too.

Was it now before the Black police shot? -- That was before the Black police shot. (10)

Yes? -- Students then also started throwing stones and I saw this Black policeman also joining in firing at the students.

Yes? -- And then the whole thing sort of erupted into a battle of stone throwing and the police firing at the students.

You did not even see teargas even during the shooting? -- The thing is when the police started firing and the students started picking up stones to throw back at the police, I started running also because I was in the front row and I feared that I may be shot at and I ran with a group of students (20) that sort of ran southwards and at that time the police were firing in all directions. They were firing at the students near the gate and they were firing at us as we were running towards the houses.

On the sides? -- On the sides.

At that time did the crowd flank the police, they were now sort of forming a semi-circle? -- I can say sort of forming a semi-circle. They did not flank them really, they were sort of forming a semi-circle. And stones were being thrown from the direction near the gate and where we were and the (30) police were also firing in all those direction.

Did/...

Did you see anybody being shot? -- Yes, I did. I ran into a yard and looked towards .. (intervenes)

A yard of a certain house? -- A certain house nearby.

And then? -- The police were shooting at these children and some of them were throwing stones. I saw a young boy with a dustbin lid, he was advancing towards the police and throwing stones and they were shooting and he was shot in the leg and he limped back and many others were shot either in the leg or thigh and they were limping back and I saw a student who was shot in the thigh and he fell in the (10) tar road there. Then I ran out of that house where I was to get him out of the way.

So you went out of the yard. -- To save the student.

Of approximately what age? -- He was about 13 years old.

The one who had a dustbin lid as a shield, how old would you estimate him to be? -- He was about 16 years old.

And you then picked up this young boy. -- I then picked up this young boy and took him to a nearby yard.

Where? -- I dragged him into a nearby yard and whilst I was there, I was telling him that I was going to get (20) transport for him to get to the hospital, then just when I was about to leave him, I saw one other boy who was shot between the shoulder blades, in the back between his shoulder blades and I grabbed him too and laid him beside the first boy.

How old at least was the second boy? -- He was also about 15 years old.

Yes, proceed please. -- I asked a neighbour to get us transport and within a few minutes the car was there and took them to hospital. But at the time the shooting was going on and many more were being injured by bullets. (30)

And what was then happening to these people being shot?

Were/...

Were some people removing the injured or what? -- In fact those who were being shot, were being shot in the legs and thighs and were limping back into the crowd.

After the two injured had left, what happened? -- The shooting went on and I now went back towards the gates, the Orlando West High gates. When I arrived at the corner there, I saw an old man lying dead just at the corner.

An old man? -- An old man.

Black? -- Black. And when I enquired I was told that he was shot by the police. And I saw many others who (10) were injured and I ran to where my car was parked and told the driver to come up and get some of the injured boys to the doctor or to the hospital.

Yes, just before you proceed. I am interested in this old man. Did you see this old man during the procession? -- I saw him during the procession.

Was he ... -- No, I did not see him, I saw him while the shooting was going on.

You say you saw him for the first time when the shooting was going on? -- I saw him dead, that is the first time (20) I saw him, whilst the shooting was going on.

What I wanted to know is did you see him before the shooting? -- No, I did not see him.

Yes, and now what happened? -- When my driver now was taking these injured young boys, I then saw a young boy of about 13 years old being carried to Sophie's car. Sophie is another reporter.

Yes, Sophie, a previous witness. -- A previous witness. He was being carried by another youth who was wearing an overall and there was a young girl crying with them there (30) and they were taking him to Sophie's waiting car.



Is that the girl you saw yesterday? -- Yes.

Who was crying and hysterical. -- Yes.

Yes? -- The police then went back into their cars and drove back to take another tar road, I do not know where they were going to, but later on I realised that they had parked on an open veld between Orlando East and Orlando West.

That is now a distance from the scene of the shooting. -- From the scene of the shooting.

How far was it now then? From the scene of the shooting to where the police went after the shooting? -- I can (10) say about 200 metres.

Yes, and then? -- The students remained in Orlando West. They were singing along the tar road leading to Orlando East. They were singing the national anthem 'Ramabula ..... Bantu words ... Gayiso'

They sang even after the shooting? -- They sang even after the shooting.

They did march also after the shooting? -- In fact the police were on that open veld there now preventing the students from marching on to Orlando East and they had no chance (20) of course of crossing over and they just remained there singing.

After the shooting did you see any cars? -- Yes.

With Whites. -- I saw, the same car, this car with the White ladies inside, I saw it, it had broken windows. When I saw it, it was sort of zig-zagging out of the crowd where the students were. That is when I saw it and it was going towards where the police were.

Towards the police had gone after the shooting? -- Had gone after the shooting.

Yes? -- And I did not see now whether they did stop (30) when they arrived at the police or what.

And/...

And then what happened next or was it all that you saw happening there? -- Well, thereafter some other cars were stoned, particularly cars driven by Whites and police cars that were passing along the same tar road.

Now, do I understand you correctly to say that there was no stone throwing and no stopping of any car before the shooting? -- There was not.

Coming back now to the shooting, there is evidence that the police warned the students by throwing teargas and the second thing they did was to give warning shots over their (10) heads. What do you say about that? -- It is not true and there was a wall, I do not know, behind the students. Some of the bullets hit against that wall, that is now when the police were shooting over their heads. There was not any wall near there.

You do not know of any wall there? -- I do not know of any wall there.

I have no further questions, M'Lord.

CHAIRMAN: You say that when you got to Naledi, these people had placards. -- Correct. (20)

Those that joined them did they also have placards? -- Correct.

They waved these placards? -- Correct.

What were on these placards? -- Words like "Afrikaans is dangerous to the society, to the Black society" and "Away with Afrikaans" and many others I cannot remember exactly all of them.

Were you right in the front row of the students? -- Correct.

How many students were there? -- Well, after being (30) joined by others, I can say there were about 12 000 or more.

There/...

There at Orlando West School, how many do you think there were? -- At Orlando West High School there were about 12 000.

How many policemen did you see there? -- I cannot exactly say how many, but there were definitely more than 20.

Did you see any dogs? -- I saw one dog that was killed. When the police left that spot to go to that open veld there was a black dog that sort of went astray, but I noticed it was a police dog and it was stoned by the students and it died near the Orlando West gate there.

Did you see that before the shooting or after the (10) shooting, that you saw them stoning the dog? Before or after the shooting? -- It was after the shooting when the police left.

That the stoning of the dog took place? -- That the stoning of the dog took place.

Is the evidence wrong that we have had that the dog was stoned before the shooting? -- Not true.

How did you manage to get into the front of the students, because you were following them. -- We followed them up to Orlando West and we parked our car near Orlando Junior (20) Secondary School and walked up to where the students were standing.

You managed to get right into the front row? -- I did manage to get right into the front row.

Did you see anybody in front of the students leading them on? -- Yes, I did. In fact, he was not leading them on, he was just standing there. I knew him earlier.

Who was he? -- He was the student leader Tsetse Mashinini.

Did you see anybody who was not a student in front? -- No, I did not see anybody. (30)

There is evidence that there were people in front. -- Well, the/...

the only people that were not students there was me and my photographer and the other reporters.

Did you and your photographer show them the way which to walk? -- We did not.

We had evidence yesterday (am I correct) that there were older people, not students, who indicated to them where they should go. Is that incorrect? -- Incorrect.

There were you were right in front, did you see anybody give an indication to the students that they should go around the police? -- I did not. (10)

Could that have happened? -- It could not have happened because where the police were standing there are houses on both sides.

So is it untrue, the evidence that there was such a person there? -- It is incorrect.

Yes, I am sorry, I should have said it is incorrect. Did the students before the shooting at any stage taunt the police? -- Well, they were waving and telling the police to go away and saying they were not fighting, they were having a peaceful demonstration. (20)

Did you pass Naledi Bottle Store? -- The next day, yes.

Not on that morning? -- Not on that morning.

Did you know that at 8 o'clock that morning there had been stoning at Naledi Bottle Store? -- I did not know.

You were not there so you would not - you never heard about that, did you? -- I never heard about it.

Do you remember that - did you see that there was any Black Power sign given? -- At that time there was no Black Power sign given.

The evidence then must be wrong by everybody so far (30) that the Black Power sign was given all the time by people, and/...

and that in fact the time which you describe, they were waving the placards and giving the Black Power sign. Is that incorrect? -- The Black Power sign came after the shooting and when - later on when elder people arrived.

Is the evidence wrong then that before the shooting the Black Power sign was given all the time? -- I did not see it.

Is it wrong that the Black Power sign was given by cars who passed through and that they were only allowed to pass through if they gave the Black Power sign before the shooting? -- It is not true. (10)

It is untrue. -- It is untrue.

Now we are not on correct or incorrect, but that must be untrue. What time of the morning did you see the car with the four or five White women passing through? -- It was at about 9,30 in the morning.

And the second time you saw that car, it was the same car, I suppose? -- It was the same car.

Were the women still in the car? -- They were still in the car.

Were they then injured or not? -- I did not see (20) whether they were injured, but I could see the car was damaged.

You could see that the windows were broken. -- Correct.

You did not see inside whether they were injured? -- I did not see inside whether they were injured.

I will return to the question of the car in a few moments.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, may I point out that Mrs Carruthers, on page 2 of her statement says: Behind the first creche at 10,30 a.m. dozens of teenagers began to pour from the building which I assume is a school. Jenny and I were in the garden of the creche looking at the various equipment and when they (30) saw us, several youngsters gave us Black Power salutes, that

is/...

is the clenched fist. This was done to the accompaniment of broad grins, they seemed very good-natured.

CHAIRMAN: It was the time at this stage that I wanted. When was the second occasion when you saw the car? What time was it? -- This was at about 11,30 or - it was at about 11,30 I think.

Yes, Mrs Carruthers says that they were stoned after 11, it could have been 11,15. Does Mrs Carruthers describe two journeys through the crowd?

DR YUTAR: Yes. (10)

CHAIRMAN: I haven't got her statement with me. The other must have been when they arrived.

DR YUTAR: Yes, that is so. From the first creche to the second and then from the second creche.

CHAIRMAN: They passed through the crowd?

DR YUTAR: That is so.

CHAIRMAN: Just a possibility I want to put to you. You see there is evidence that the teargas bomb or whatever you call it, originally did not explode. Some of them did not explode. Now, is it possible that what you had described as a stone (20) being picked up from the ground, were in fact - thrown by the police, were in fact teargas bombs which did not explode? -- I would not say that because if it was teargas then he would not have picked it up from the ground.

So you say this could not have been teargas that he threw, it was stones that he threw? -- Stones.

At a stage when there were only these two White policemen ahead of all the others. Is that correct? -- Correct.

How close were they then? -- They were about 80 metres away from where .. (intervenes) (30)

80 metres is a long distance to throw. Could it have been nearer/...

nearer? -- I think it was about 80 metres away.

And they threw stones at that stage? -- Yes.

It sounds like rather a dangerous thing to do in these circumstances. -- I think it was dangerous.

Dangerous for himself, don't you think so? The other policemen were not out of the cars yet. -- Some of them were out and some of them were not out.

They did not come up as a group, there were only the two of them that walked up. -- There were only the two of them that walked up. (10)

You do not think it was dangerous for them to have done this and to have - which could have caused the children to throw stones at them? -- I do not think it was dangerous to them if they could have just walked up to the students and ... (intervenes)

No, no, I said dangerous of them to throw the stones. -- It was not dangerous because the students were not retaliating.

Look, they are men. You have a number of students who are standing on the other side - we are not children now - but there were a lot of children standing there. Two (20) policemen walk up to them. Now I say to you is it not dangerous that when they got to 80 metres from them, for one of those two policemen to pick up stones and throw it at the students? -- It was dangerous.

It was dangerous for them. They deny of course that they had done that. -- They are denying the truth then.

Did you ever see, you in the front row, ever see teargas there right at the start before the shooting? -- I did not see it.

Is it correct that there is evidence that there was (30) teargas, by practically everybody who was there?

DR YUTAR: Yes, including the last witness yesterday.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, you see, even Sam yesterday said that the police threw teargas. You were right in the front row and you did not see that. -- I did not see that. I believe when you throw teargas it has got to explode and there must be smoke.

And you did not see that. -- I did not see that.

You say that there was no throwing of stones before the police shot? -- That is correct.

There has been a witness here, well, it is Sophie. (10) Sophie says that after the teargas was thrown and before the shots, stones were thrown by these students. -- I only saw students throwing stones after the shots were fired.

You were right in front, so you must know. -- I know.

Did you read the reports in your newspaper in 'The World' about all these things? -- I did read them.

Did you tell your editor there is a very big mistake in this report here of what happened, because there is a report that after teargas was thrown by the police, stones were thrown by the students and then the shooting occurred? (20) Did you see that in the paper? Did you see that in your paper? -- This morning?

Did you see that in your paper on the 17th? -- I did not.

Don't you read your paper? -- I was writing a story and I know it was not like that.

I am not asking you these questions to justify anybody. I want to know whether you are giving me a correct and truthful - a correct report of what happened there and to do that I must put other statements to you. You see, in 'The World' on the morning of the 17th, there is a report which is (30) one with the pictures right across the top 'World car rushes

shot/...



shot schoolboy riot victim to clinic , so it speaks of the same incident as you are speaking now and it says: 'The World Reporter Sophy Tema was an eye-witness to yesterday's riots in Soweto and then here is her report and it says: 'The White policeman then hurled what seemed to be a teargas shell which released a cloud of smoke or gas into the crowd. Miss Tema did not get close enough to be affected by the gas and she did not see if any students were affected. Miss Tema said the crowd immediately became angry and began throwing rocks and any other objects they could find at the (10) police. At no stage, she said, did the police warn the students to disperse and there did not seem to be any communication at all between the crowd and the police. Immediately the crowd began throwing rocks, Miss Tema said. She saw a White policeman pull out his revolver and fire. And that was the first firing. Now what do you say to that? -- That is not what I saw.

Could you be making a mistake in what you saw? -- I am not making a mistake in what I saw.

This you think is a mistake? -- That can be a (20) mistake.

Well, you see it differs in material respects from what you had said. I do not want to prolong this, but I do not want you to feel afterwards that I may perhaps not have accepted your story because I have got the other evidence. -- Perhaps if a copy of - an Extra Late copy of 'The World' of June 16 can be .. (intervenes)

Of June the 16th? -- Of June 16. I think that is where the correct version may be.

What edition of 'The World' was that? Because you (30) see the 16th is the day on which it happened. Did you put in that/...

that report so that it could still come out on the 16th? --

Correct.

That was in the afternoon of the 16th? -- In the afternoon of the 16th.

There is an Extra Late Edition and I will just have to look and see. There is a reference of course to what had happened outside the Orlando West School. Perhaps I could ask you to look. This is an edition, it is also called an Extra Late Edition and I think this has a picture of the child, this is the 16th. See if you can find anything in that. (10) Did you find anything in these? -- There is a report but it does not state how it started.

I am asking somebody to look through the other. Well, apart of course from that, I want to tell you that the evidence of Sophie yesterday was as I had read it to you in the newspaper. I want to tell you that Sam actually saw the teargas as well. Now there are just one or two other things that I would like to ask you about. Is it known how many shots were actually fired at that particular incident?

DR YUTAR: I think Sophie spoke about .. (intervenes) (20)

CHAIRMAN: No, did the police - perhaps I put it wrongly to you. Did the police give an indication of how many shots were fired there that morning?

DR YUTAR: I think they indicated they fired - they first fired a number of warning shots above their heads, I think it is about 4 they mentioned and at a later stage they picked out the ringleader.

CHAIRMAN: But then of course the issue is somewhat clouded by the statement of one of the officers that other people may have shot. (30)

DR YUTAR: And then Colonel Swanepoel spoke about firing shots

at/...

at the solid wall of the building on the one side. M'Lord, whilst I am on my feet, may I indicate that this witness, in his statement says that, the last witness of yesterday, Sam Nzima was with him.

CHAIRMAN: Was Sam the witness who was with you? -- Correct.

That is the man who gave evidence yesterday. Apparently there was another edition of 'The World' in which the same report that I have read to you was carried. I am not yet quite certain as to what the number of cars were, but apparently the police say that there were fewer cars than ten. (10) You estimated this at about ten. Can you just explain to me where you saw the body of the dead man? -- It was lying at - there is a church opposite Orlando West High. It was lying at the corner of the church, outside.

How far is that from the school? -- Just across the road.

Is the church on the other side? -- On the other side of the road.

That man must he have been in the crowd of students or how could he have come there? -- Well, one student nearby told me he was passing, the old man was passing, he was going (20) somewhere when he was shot.

Were people really still passing that way with 12 000 students in the streets? -- At that time students were scattered all over.

And there were was shooting. -- That is the police version.

You had thought better to go and hide, would an old man still be walking across? -- Well, I in fact wanted to have a clear view of what was happening, that is why I ran into that yard.

What would the evidence be of the number of people (30) who were killed at that particular place?

DR YUTAR: According to Colonel Kleingeld two were shot.

CHAIRMAN: Two were killed?

DR YUTAR: Two were killed. That seems to tally also with what Sophia Tema said yesterday.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, that is the one, the young boy.

DR YUTAR: And another one aged about 20.

CHAIRMAN: Another one aged about 20. Did you see what happened to the body of this old man? -- I did not see what happened to it. I left him lying there.

Could you see that he had been shot? -- Yes, I could (10)  
see he had been shot.

Was this at the time when the students were retreating?  
-- Correct.

I am trying to think what could have happened to the body because apparently there is no record of a - well, there is no evidence so far of a person of that nature having been shot there.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS FOR TEA.

THE COMMISSION RESUMES.

(20)

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, my next witness is Vusamuzulu Credo Mutwa.

VUSAMAZULU CREDO PUMELELO MUTWA: sworn states:

DR YUTAR: In July, 1976, shortly after the riots erupted in Soweto, you wrote a letter to the Secretary of this Commission. -- That is correct.

Offering and making yourself available to give evidence before this Commission. -- Yes.

Tell the Commission not only what you knew and heard before the riots erupted, but what you personally saw during those troubled days in June. -- Yes. (30)

And also to give the Commission your views as to the possible/...

possible causes of these riots. Is that right? -- That is quite correct.

And although you have, as you have just indicated to me, received threatening letters, you are still prepared to give evidence before this Commission. -- Well, they can only kill me once.

And as you very bravely said to me and invited me to help you to give this matter the full treatment. -- Quite correct.

And that is what I propose to do. -- Thank you. (10)

You are by profession a witchdoctor and a writer. -- Amongst many things, yes.

Amongst many other things. -- Yes.

And you are the author of this voluminous book entitled 'Indaba My Children'. -- Yes.

Am I correct in saying that it is a book which for the first time fully sets out the customs, the ritual and the tradition of the various Black people who inhabit this country? -- If I may say so, this book was really intended to be one of a set of about 20 such books, because there is so much (20) to write about, so much to reveal that one cannot do it within the limited pages of a book, no matter how many pages it can have. It was to be the first of a series.

It was first published in October, 1964 and went into second editions later the same year and also in 1965. -- That is quite correct.

Are there any further editions? -- Various versions of it were made and it was even made in a paperback.

You also wrote as a sequel thereto the book entitled 'Africa is my Witness'. -- That is so. (30)

That was first published in 1966, both a collector and a standard/...

standard edition and incidentally in this book you devote a chapter to the question of or what was known as 'apartheid' and it is to be found at page 318 onwards. Now, in giving your evidence, do you regard yourself as being objective and impartial. -- Within my limited humanity I shall try my best to be so, although sometimes it is hard not to be angry, I shall keep the dog of anger under control.

You will, in the course of your evidence, be criticising not only the White people, but also the Black people. -- And if the Honourable His Lordship the Judge, I will also (10) criticise what has just happened now, as proof of the fact that the White people really know nothing about the Bantu.

You will be critical of the government, of the police, as well as certain Black institutions as well. -- Yes.

And you will be also giving praise where praise is due. -- That is quite correct.

I would like to read to you just one short sentence from your second book dealing with 'apartheid' on page 321 and to ask you whether that is your attitude in giving evidence now. You say here: "I am by no means trying to curry favour (20) with the present government, nor with the Afrikaners who form their main support. I shall not lightly forget it was an Afrikaner who killed my brother so many years ago and my girl as short a time ago as 1960. But if one has faults to find with a person, race or government, there is no reason why one should be blind to his or their admirable qualities. To condemn blindly is again the attitude of a hypocrite. To the Bantu this attitude stinks. The average Bantu can hate a person for his bad points and respect or even like that person for the good in him. Is there any other race on (30) earth who claim to be less hypocritical." Was that your attitude/...

attitude at the time of writing this book? -- Yes, and it still is unfortunately.

Is that your attitude which you are adopting in the evidence which you are about to give? -- Yes.

In your profession as a witchdoctor, what is the standing of a witchdoctor amongst the Black people? -- As the State Counsellor said, the moment you say witchdoctor to any educated person, whether Black or White, you immediately invite a sneer of contempt because people in this world like to play-act, to do things in private which they dare not admit in public (10) and if you asked any people of this modern age whether they go to witchdoctors, they will immediately say no, and yet the facts point otherwise. There are witchdoctors of extreme wealth in Soweto and elsewhere. Who are paying these witchdoctors such vast sums of money to make them rich beyond their time? Not the ordinary Bantu people who can only afford to pay a few rand, but the very people who sneer at a witchdoctor when he passes in the street and yet come in their big cars to consult him when the chips of life are down.

As a witchdoctor then have you a certain measure of (20) influence amongst your own people? -- Yes, if there were no witchdoctors in Soweto, the rioting would be 20 times worse than it is now and I dare anyone to contradict my words.

And in fact you, together with other witchdoctors, endeavoured to quell the riots when they broke out. -- Yes, and we are getting no thanks for it and no help from those whom we look to for protection.

You also at present are employed as a recorder and caretaker of the new Bantu Museum Kraal which we saw on our recent visit to Soweto in the vicinity of the Oppenheimer (30) Centre. -- That is quite correct.

And/...

And I believe your appointment has been confirmed, namely as supervisor of traditional studies. -- That is what I have heard.

In November, 1975, you went to Los Angeles, America. For what purpose? -- There was this young Negro, Mr John Amos who seemed to think that I was the leading expert on tribal law in South Africa. He had tried various experts and they had all let him down and he chose me because he wants to make a film of the Zulu King Shaka's life which will bring out the Zulus as they really were and some of the things that (10) they did, to show the world the true picture of our people.

You pronounce it 'Shaka' do you? -- Shaka, yes.

Yes, in my school days we pronounced it Tshaka, but I accept your pronunciation. And this was an American film company which proposed to shoot the scenes in Kwa-Zulu next near. -- That is quite correct.

And on that occasion you spent some time in the United States. Is that right? -- Yes.

How long? -- It was 3 months or to be exact, 2 months and 3 weeks. (20)

During your stay there did you get to know what has become known as the Black Power Movement? -- Much to my regret. It found me, I did not look for it. You see, the moment it is known that you come from South Africa, every fool and his uncle will want to start an argument with you and that was how I came, one could say we collided with this Black Power Movement and also with certain rather unpleasant gentlemen known as the Black Moslems.

We will deal with that a little later when we come to deal with the Black Power Movement. Now, you spent, as (30) you say, close on 3 months in America. -- Yes.

Was/...



Was that your first visit? -- And I hope my last.

When did you first hear of trouble which was brewing, which was going to erupt in South Africa? -- It came to me indirectly. What happened was that this Negro started an argument with me and one thing led to another one and we nearly fought and then one day this man caught up with me again, to cut a long story short, and he had with him a friend. Now, at first I thought this friend was another Negro, but it was really a South African Bantu or rather I should say, because he spoke Tswana, a Bechuanaland Bantu and this man, at (10) the height of our argument, said that within a short while - and I am using his exact words - the flames of the struggle will be lit in South Africa and traitors of your type shall be swept away along with Vorster and his thugs. These are his exact words.

This was in? -- This was in a place, it was a building in the City of Los Angeles where several Negroes of high standing were invited along with their friends and friends of friends. I was in the company of my host, Mr John Amos and several other people more.

And did they indicate what period, what month the (20) struggle would break out in South Africa? -- No, unfortunately I lost my temper and I did the wrong thing as usual; I did not find out, but when I returned to my country I met a group of young people, they were scholars from the Morris Isaacson School and in the course of our talk, because they are very - they were very interested in the kraal I had built - one of them said that there was going to be trouble in Soweto between June and July and September and October. I could not believe this, but it confirmed what that man in America had said.

Then you reported it to certain gentlemen whom you (30) regarded as your superiors. -- That is quite correct, because

I had already seen ugly things happening in Soweto; children boycotting classes and rumblings of anger and, you know, the usual danger signs in a Bantu community. But the whole thing seemed to me so far-fetched that I did not at first believe what I heard, and I was very sick with worry because I knew what that would mean.

Did you, in supporting to your superiors, endeavour to compare the Black Conscious Movement with, say, the ANC or the PAC? -- Most regrettably I never studied these organisations, but I did compare the Black Power Movement in South Africa with the Black Power Movement in America, which I had met rather explosively and I found that they were one and the same thing. One: the same love of indoctrinating people and making all of them to toe the line. Two: the shameless use of extortion, threat and even blackmail to make people toe the Black Power line. Three: the same militancy, the constant use of I do not know what the English word is, I think they are called cliches, like 'the struggle', like 'solidarity' and all kinds of rubbish. (10)

Now, you have before you your memorandum and I believe your eyesight is not as good as it used to be and you have asked me to read it for you. -- Please. (20)

With His Lordship's permission, if I may do that and then as we have agreed, as I read paragraph by paragraph, I may want to ask you certain ancillary questions and you may want to elaborate as well, so I will not read too much at a time. -- Thank you.

M'Lord, I turn now to page 3. There you say that the Black Consciousness Movement was many times more dangerous than either the ANC or the PAC and that it was spreading like wildfire amongst the Bantu youth although it was finding it/...

it hard to win converts amongst the majority of the adult Bantu people, because there were certain aspects of its philosophy with which no adult Bantu can agree. Was that your view? -- That is my view and it is confirmed by facts. First of all, the Black Power Movement exploits all the basic fears that are extant in every Bantu heart. It is capable of capturing the imagination of the youth and it is also capable of arousing within each young person the will not to live, but the will to die. Even now they say that first of all Whites and Blacks can only settle their differences with (10) war because the White man is a contemptuous monster who does not want to listen to the Blacks and who treats the Black as an animal and also they say that the only way in which the Black people can be rid of oppression is that they should die in as many numbers as possible and attract the attention of the world. It sounds fantastic but here it is.

And is it then correct as you went on to report ...

(intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Could you just tell me, have I not the correct document?

DR YUTAR: The memorandum is directed to the Secretary (20) of the Commission.

CHAIRMAN: And you were on?

DR YUTAR: Page 3. I have covered the first two pages. Has Your Lordship got it?

CHAIRMAN: Yes. Now where on page 3 is it that you read?

DR. YUTAR: I read from the second line: that the Black Consciousness Movement was many times more dangerous.

CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DR YUTAR: Now, you went on on that page, you say that this movement, that is line 7, you went on to report to your (30) superiors that this movement, in order to bring about the unity/...

unity of the various Bantu tribes and classes under its flag, and so spread its influence throughout South Africa in the shortest possible time, was not above provoking a second Sharpeville-type incident in South Africa, an incident which would have the following aims: (1) To unite all Bantu people and groups and classes under it, using the anger, fear, hatred and grief which would result from Bantu lives having been lost in this incident; and (2) to once more attract hostile world attention to South Africa. Is that what you reported? -- Yes, this is what I reported and if you (10) will forgive me, may I add something here quite clearly?

You may. -- First of all the ANC and the PAC were purely political organisations, but the Black Power is more than a mere political organisation, it is a way of life, it penetrates even to the - how shall we say - it takes over the whole life of the person following it, it can - is from the most public to the most intimate. It is a way of life, a gesture, a thought and it is a creed, a religious creed, one can call it that and may I also say something else?

You are free to state your views here. -- Respected (20) gentlemen of the Commission, I want to say something here which I must say before I forget it and in this I mean no insult to the White people either in America or in South Africa. They, the extremists amongst them are fully responsible for the rise of the Black Power Movement both in America and in South Africa. It was men of the extreme right wing who brought about this organisation of retaliation; men who for years and for decades in parliament even and in political party rallies uttered the most evil words, the words whose full consequences they were not aware of. With your leave I would like to (30) read to you a little cutting which was pushed into my post some time/...

time back. One of the things that help to strengthen the Black Power Movement and all the dangers it brings both to Black and to White. Do I have this leave?

Yes. -- This is a cutting from the newspaper 'The Star', dated 4th April, 1974. It is going under the title 'Election Brief' and it is titled 'It is a matter of brains'. It goes: "The Herstigte Nasionale Party is pulling none of its punches in its election campaign, race propaganda. Mr Willie Marais H.N.P. candidate in Pretoria East, said Blacks did not have much between the ears. He went on to say that in the (10) past 30 years a White man has only once captured the world heavy-weight boxing title. This is because they, the Blacks, have thicker skulls than ours. A friend of mine in the Police told me that a 0,38 revolver even has difficulty in penetrating a Black man's skull, but as I have had no personal experience, I cannot vouch for it." Respected ones, these are the attitudes that has given rise to Black Power in South Africa. Attitudes expressed even by people who today sit in the chairs of our government. I can go on quoting ad nauseum some of these speeches, speeches to this effect (20) like this one whose name, the speaker I shall not name. This was said early in the middle sixties, this was the speech: "The Afrikaner is still at war, but the enemy is no longer the British Tommy but the Coolie, the Kaffir and the Kleurling." This is a speech that was recorded and it can be found in the records. Now these people who say things like this, what did they think their words were - what kind of effect did they think their words were having on our people?

CHAIRMAN: Do you say that the Black Consciousness is a reaction to some of the White men's attitudes and sayings and (30) actions? -- That is perfectly correct. It is a fact that can be/...

be proven with little effort and this is why I say and I say again, no matter who disapproves of my words, that Black Power is a destructive, highly destructive thing because it is really a reaction, a retaliation for White racism of the most extreme sort. It is the same in America, it is the same here in South Africa.

DR YUTAR: Now, you go on to say, page 3, that you reported that because the Black Consciousness Movement and its subordinate organisations were finding it hard to draw the conservative adult Bantu to their side, they were going to (10) make greater and greater use of the Bantu youth and they were fast gaining control of many schools and universities for our people throughout South Africa. That is what you said? -- Yes, that is what I said and I said it after long investigation. First of all, the Bantu youth is more - we, the older people have minds that are still in the bush, so to speak. Our minds are narrow within the narrow confines of tribalism and all that goes with it, but the modern youth is more international in its outlook. In Black Power it sees as Black people all those races which have got dark hair and dark skins, like (20) Coloureds, like Indians, like - well, all the Black races on earth and it puts these races against the hated White man whom it is dedicated to destroy.

Now, you told His Lordship that you heard some time before that there was going to be trouble in Soweto in the months of June and July this year. -- Yes.

Now, I go on then to the last few lines on page 3: It was said that the trouble was to be directed at the PUTCO Bus Service, a company which our people detest for various reasons, one of which is the ill-treatment that Bantu (30) passengers receive at the hands of Black dispatchers and drivers/...

drivers of this company. It was said that the trouble would be in sympathy with the Kwa-Thema bus boycott which was now in progress. Would you care to elaborate on that? -- Yes. The PUTCO Bus Company is the most hated and despised bus company by our people for many reasons. One of the reasons was this, that this company destroyed other bus companies which were run by Bantu people and even Indian people and it ate them up and also it is said that - I do not know how true this is because I could not unfortunately, much as I tried, verify it - it is said that some people in parliament (10) are shareholders in this bus company. Also during the 1950's this bus company gained a very bad reputation in Alexandra when its buses used to run over people and somehow it was said that the pedestrian had been in the wrong and well, things like that. And sometimes bus drivers were little better than thugs, they used to beat up passengers, a thing that still goes on in our township even today. It is not uncommon to see a bus driver of the PUTCO Company assaulting a passenger and I myself have seen this thing many times and I was once also struck by a PUTCO bus driver. (20)

Why should the Black bus drivers and dispatchers ill-treat their own people? -- The thing I am about to say gives me much shame, but in the name of justice I shall say it. People shall soon be dead in Soweto and they have died and this is no time to pussyfoot around the truth, as the Americans say. You see, our people, and I speak as a Bantu, a man of the Zulu tribe, our people, the majority of them, are not capable of holding power. Many will disapprove of this, but it is true. Give a Bantu a uniform and he seems to think he is a god in heaven. The first thing he will do, he will (30) ill-treat his own people, ..(indistinguishable) them and otherwise/...

otherwise humiliate them. This is a fact that you find in the police stations, in the hospitals, everywhere. It is all part of one ugly pattern under which we have to live.

Now, in April two strange things happened to you. -- Yes.

Did you first of all receive a newsletter through the post from the ANC. What was that all about? -- It was rather hair-raising. It was, well, about what one should do or what do people - you know, it was just propaganda rubbish about how White authority ought to be overthrown and all that kind of rubbish. (10)

And then secondly you received an invitation also through the post, to attend a seminar of Black writers which was to be held at Auden House in Braamfontein from the 16th to the 19th April and in the letter of invitation you were given the telephone number to ring if you wished to accept the invitation. -- Yes.

Did you accept the invitation? -- I was for refusing it, but my superiors advised me to accept it.

And you decided to phone the organisers to accept invitations? -- With one of them we phoned at the UBC in Soweto (20) to accept the invitation.

And did you expect a Black or a White man to answer the phone there? -- I expected a Black man because it was a Black man seminar.

And in fact who answered the telephone? -- To my great surprise it was a White man.

And without mentioning names, can we say that he was somebody who was attached to the Information Department of another State? -- That is quite correct, a diplomat of very high standing. (30)

Did you indicate to him that you were prepared to  
accept/...



accept this invitation? -- I did.

And did he make any offer to you? -- He said - well, I wish to tell you a little bit more about this gentleman.

Do not mention his name or his ... -- No, I shall not. This gentleman has been rather a shady character in Johannesburg. There were rumours that he was in love with a Non-White female and also at one time he invited me to go to an American State, a university there, but unfortunately I had just begun to work for the West Rand Board and I had to decline and he was rather unpleasant about the whole thing, both to (10) myself and to the officials of the West Rand Board. He was rather abusive in fact. He called me confused and all that kind of clap-trap.

And were you prepared to go to America and spend a year there? -- No.

And you declined. -- I declined, but not for the reasons that White people might think. It was because my father had prophesied that I would go across the sea, he had prophesied this many years ago, and that I would return and then die in my country afterwards and I did not want this prophesy (20) fulfilled. Unfortunately it was, except for the last part.

Now, when did you first hear of trouble in the various schools in Soweto because of the African language being used as a medium of instruction? -- Firstly I heard from one witchdoctor in May, just after my return from America that some school children had been on strike at a certain school in Soweto for some time. They were boycotting the Afrikaans lessons and then several young scholars came to my kraal and they told me the same thing. You see, they were worried and very, very scared which to me was very, very strange (30) and they were sort of looking for, how shall I say, when

Bantu/...

Bantu people are nervous, they always look for a father figure to talk to and they wanted to talk to me and they bared their souls to me; they were afraid and that there was going to be trouble, but that they were determined because the White man was being insulting when he said that they must learn certain lessons in Afrikaans.

Now these Black children who saw you, were they afraid to take part in the strike? -- That is quite correct, because some of them were aware of the consequences.

What were the consequences which made them afraid? (10)  
-- I will use the words of one of them please. They said that they knew that some of them would be laid down, that is killed. And it frightened me very much because I saw a nightmare become a reality.

Now the children who came to see you, did they personally raise any objection to the use of Afrikaans as a medium? -- Yes, they did.

All of them? -- All of them. And what is more, I understood. You see, a nation, a race's language is that race's soul, that race's saliva and by the moral laws of the (20)  
Bantu people no one has the right to force anybody to learn his language. That is, I as a Zulu, have no right to force a stranger to learn my language. That stranger must ask to learn my language. In the rural parts of our country and other countries in Africa through which I have travelled, whenever I had asked to learn the language of the particular tribe I was in, a brief ceremony was done. My teacher used to take a little of his or her saliva from her tongue on her finger or his finger and place it against my lips, thereby giving me ritually the permission to learn his language. (30)  
Now our people view the forcing of a language upon a people

as/...

as bad, as if I was to force a man's mouth open and then spit inside that mouth and force the man to swallow my saliva. Our people will ask to learn English and other lessons at school, but they view as very offensive the forcing of a language on people and unfortunately in police stations, in - well, wherever Bantu people come in contact with officials, some of these White officials force our people to talk in Afrikaans, placing the man at a terrible disadvantage. There are some policemen even who refuse to take a statement from a Bantu who speaks English. This I know from sheer (10) experience and it happened to my wife not so long ago.

We will come to that incident presently. -- Yes.

I would like to ask you this: what difference is there in teaching Black children through the English medium or the Afrikaans medium? Is there no objection on the part of the Black children to being taught in English, and that is not their language? -- Yes, but they argue that English is an international language. For instance if a man from - this sounds very strange, but Zulus and Swazis can barely understand each other because although Zulu and Swazi are similar (20) languages, there are certain pronunciations and certain words which are hard to understand. Now in these circumstances the people prefer to speak English together and here is also another thing that may be of interest. Our people in the townships speak a language which is known as 'tsotsi taal'. This they use as a mutual language of communication between friends of different tribes. Now this 'tsotsi taal' is really a corrupted form of Afrikaans mixed with Bantu words and words that have just been made up. Now our people who are against the forcing of this - of the Afrikaans language, (30) they did not object to the language as such, but the forcing of it/...

it which they regarded as the height of arrogance on the White man's part.

Right. Now you go on to say on page 5: As tension continued to grow in Soweto and as school children began to talk openly of coming strikes and protest marches, I sensed that the school children were being pushed into a bloody confrontation with the authorities and I decided to do something to avert the coming disaster. -- Yes.

All my superiors in the Parks Department had been most anxious for many weeks that as many Bantu children as (10) possible should visit our kraal at the Oppenheimer Tower and they had tried many times to get prominent Soweto citizens and school principals to visit the kraal and early in June they succeeded in getting a group of principals and school teachers to visit the kraal as a prelude to getting children to visit it as well. I spoke at length to the principals and teachers, telling them about Bantu culture and religion and warning them of the dangers of godless modern philosophies that tried to poison the minds of the Bantu youth, and they were so impressed by what I had told them, that they told (20) me that they would bring children from their schools so that I may show them around the kraal and talk to them as well. That is correct? -- It is quite correct.

What were you referring to when you warned them of the dangers of godless modern philosophies that tried to poison the minds of the Bantu youth? -- First of all I was worried, seriously worried about two things. Today in Africa there are several forces that are trying to wreck the Black man as he knows himself. There are forces from the West and forces from the East and usually these forces from the East (30) and from the West come - use certain pathfinder forces to  
break/...

break the way for them. For instance, the Black Consciousness Movement is used by communist people to break into our people, because our people do not understand communism and any man who says that there are communists in Soweto, needs his head to be examined. First of all, communism, like christianity, has got to be learned and at length and our people do not understand this. A few intelligensia understand it, a few modern people who read a lot of books, understand it, but you cannot - for instance, you can take many months and many years to indoctrinate a Black child into the communist religion, (10) but you can take only a few hours to indoctrinate him into the ideals of Black consciousness. Thus the communists use Black consciousness to penetrate the soul of the Bantu which is otherwise close to them. This is the thing that the authorities and the police do not realise.

You go on to say then: My intention (in doing what you did) became to try and talk the children out of listening to Black consciousness agitators and I intended to do this skillfully and subtly without arousing their suspicions, using colourful Bantu parables and fables. Did you meet with (20) any measure of success? -- There are impartial witnesses here within this house with me who can vouch for the fact that in my kraal even at the height of the riots, I have saved the most militant of students and reduced them to tears. You see, these people do not want to be pushed into the flames of death.

The youth do not want to be pushed into the flames of death. -- No, but they see no alternative. On the one side they have got pressures for change, on the other side they have got White intransigence, disbelief, contempt and scepticism. They are caught between the devil and the deep (30) blue sea and I can swear that all the children who visited at

my/...

my kraal were not really wanting to die. They wanted to live, they wanted to learn about their forefathers, they are very interested in the making of drums and things like that and in this kraal I make these things. They want to express their creative abilities, but they feel stifled because they say the White man denies them these things. Now, I have talked to them, because another thing also, one of the things that are there in Soweto at this moment and elsewhere, is a raging identity crisis. Our people want to know who they are, where they are and when. They want to know the true (10) achievements of their forefathers. They have been taught in schoolbooks that their forefathers were nothing but a bunch skin-wearing heathens and they are surprised when you confront them with irrefutable facts in the forms of solid artifacts like this one I am wearing which took art and science to make. You see, they want to find themselves, but evil people are making use of them and each one has got a weak spot which a man who knows the soul of his people, can exploit and I have exploited this many times. For instance, without being dramatic, at one time I confronted a gang of 30 such (20) children. They were in a very militant mood. I spoke to them in front of witnesses and they calmed down and went away and only two weeks ago exactly, three youths, one of whom was definitely armed with a pistol, arrived at my kraal. I opened the gate, I faced them and then I spoke to them. I asked them questions, who their forefathers were; I asked them questions, what did their fathers believe in and when they gave me wrong answers, I corrected these wrong answers and when these three young men left who had come to kill us, because it was that Thursday of the strike and employees of the West Rand (30) who had been threatened with death for working on the day of

the/...

the strike, and when they left, I can say their tails were figuratively between their legs and I was very, very sorry for them.

Now you go on on page 5, the last 8 lines: I had heard that the Morris Isaacson School was a hotbed of anger and discontent and I was terribly afraid because in this school are many very brilliant, highly-gifted Black pupils and I knew from knowledge of my people's minds that gifted, sensitive young Bantu people always fall easy meat to political and other agitators and are also always the (10) first to get killed or maimed in any upheaval. Why do you say that they fall easy meat to political and other agitators? -- A brilliant young Bantu person is very, very sensitive to what goes on around him. He sees many things that are definitely wrong and he cannot correct them. He can do nothing, he sees crime, he sees corruption, bribery of all kinds, he sees many things which I will not go into and he wonders what must I do, and when the agitator comes along, this brilliant person feels himself that he must lead his community and he dies. (20)

In effect you say these gifted young Bantu children are being exploited by agitators. -- They are being shamelessly exploited, but an agitator cannot invent grievances, he exploits existing grievances. An agitator cannot invent things like the ones that I have read to the Commission, he shows it to the children. He says look at what the Whites think about you, they say your skulls are so thick that even a bullet would not go through them, you are nothing but a lot of sub-human animals; are you going to tolerate that. He uses a fact and not a fiction. Our people are not dupes, they (30) can only be misled or led by fact one way or the other.

You/...

You then go on, the bottom of page 5: I knew that if children got killed in the coming upheaval, the aims of the Black Consciousness Movement would be achieved almost overnight and irreparable harm would be done to the Black-White relations throughout South Africa. In my eyes and also in the eyes of other witchdoctors with me, the goading of small school children into rebellion by Black consciousness agitators was the most cowardly and most dangerous deed of all time, because once you poison a Bantu child's mind against anything, that child becomes a dangerous rampaging little monster (10) whose mind can never again be purged of the poison with which it has been filled. We were aware of the many serious grievances that our people have, grievances that never reach the government's ear and which the White people can correct without sacrificing their dignity or principles or the policies of our government, but we do not think that pushing the impressionable and immature children into the fire, was the right way to get those grievances righted. We realised that for years the government had lent a deaf ear to our people's legitimate complaints, that the authorities had ignored (20) the swelling tide of resentment over many reasons that had been building up in our townships for the last ten years or so and that even our leaders such as the men of the U.B.C. never told the authorities exactly what our people's complaints really are, preferring rather to tell the White people what they felt the White people ought to know and what would make sense to them as White people. We knew all this, but we thought that the price that the men and women of the Black Consciousness Movement and its subordinate organisations such as the BPC, SASO, SASM and others were asking our people (30) to pay to get those grievances righted was too high, too

terrible/...



terrible. As conservative and tradition-minded people, we realised that for the education authorities to compel our children to take certain lessons in Afrikaans, was the height of folly because according to the law of all Bantu tribes throughout Africa, for a tribe to force another tribe to learn its language, is held to be an insult and a declaration of war, because a tribe's language is that tribe's soul and no race, tribe or people has the right to force another race, tribe or people to adopt its soul. To our people the learning of a language must be voluntary to create peace and under- (10) standing and this applies just as much in Soweto as it does in the jungles of Rwanda-Urundi. Well, we have covered that already, you have spoken about that. -- Yes.

And you have crystallised your views in those sentences. -- Yes.

You go on: We all knew from bitter experience, as did thousands of our people, that many Afrikaans-speaking White people throughout South Africa, persistently make a terrible mistake that has made the Afrikaans language hated by many of our people, especially the youth, over the years. (20)

When they speak to Bantu people, they insist on speaking in Afrikaans, becoming furious and even violent if the Bantu being spoken to dares to speak back to them in English. Thus the Bantu becomes compelled to speak a language he does not fully understand. He has to grope for words, to stutter and to stammer, completely at a psychological disadvantage. We knew there were White police officers, superintendents, pass office officials and others who daily insist on being spoken to in Afrikaans by any Bantu coming before them, regardless of the fact that the Bantu is able to speak this (30) language or not; that there are even policemen who, rather than/...

than take a statement from a Bantu in English, chooses rather that the Bantu should give the statement to a Bantu interpreter in a Bantu language who will then interpret the statement to the White officer in Afrikaans, a strange thing which happens daily in Soweto police stations. You then go on .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: One moment. What would a Bantu prefer to do when he has to make a statement? Would he prefer to make it in his own language or in a language which he can use and thinks he can use reasonably well to express what he has to say? (10)  
-- Some of our people prefer to give statements in their native language and some in English or Afrikaans.

You think it should be left to him to choose what he wishes to do, just as when he gives evidence in court. He is told - he is asked what language he wishes to speak and if he does not speak English or Afrikaans sufficiently fluently and well, he is given an interpreter. -- Yes, this is the .. (intervenes)

It should be his selection. -- Yes, it has been for many decades. (20)

DR YUTAR: Do you know, the Commission paid various visits to the townships and His Lordship invited the Black leaders to address him and some spoke in English, some spoke in Afrikaans very fluently, and others spoke in their own language, which was translated. -- Yes.

So there is no averseness to them speaking either English or Afrikaans or their own language. -- That is true. But, as I have said, some officials insist on being spoken to in Afrikaans and for instance, if you come to a police station and you would immediately speak in English, you will (30)  
be insulted very, very badly. It has happened to me many times/...

times, so much so that I have forced myself to learn Afrikaans and it - I do not know what I can say, but can I pray you to go back a little bit, because there is something here extremely important which I think we - regarding our leaders who never tell the White man the truth.

Yes, surely, and you can always stop me. You are referring to what I read out on page .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Page 6, is it, where you refer to that you think that the officials do not tell the people or tell those who are superior to them exactly what the grievances are. -- (10) That is quite so and it will sound fantastic but it is true.

Could you - I see it is one o'clock. Can we start at 2 o'clock with that particular point? -- Thank you.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS FOR LUNCH. THE COMMISSION RESUMES AT 2 P.M. ON THE 22nd SEPTEMBER, 1976.

VUSAMAZULU CREDO PUMELELO MUTWA: still under oath:

CHAIRMAN: You wished to return to what you had said on page 6.

DR YUTAR: That is right. But, M'Lord, before we come to that, may I apply to Court to prohibit the publication of any (20) photos that may have been taken of this witness. His name is being published and also his evidence but we would not like his photo to be published, he is so easily recognisable, if it is at all possible.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, would you prefer your photo not to be published? -- I am sorry, it is really a superstition on my part because the Zulus say that if you are in court and your soul gets taken there, you will return there again. I have never been in court in all my 54 years and it is the first time and it is very scarifying. (30)

Well, I will ask for the purposes of your protection that

photographs be not published, although your name may be published. -- Thank you.

DR YUTAR: Now you asked His Lordship to take you back to page 6, to this passage on page 6, 8 lines from the top: We were aware of the many serious grievances that our people have, grievances that never reach the government's ear and which the White people can correct without sacrificing their dignity or principles or the policies of our government, but we did not think that pushing impressionable and immature children into the fire, was the right way to get those (10) grievances righted. Now you wanted to make some comment on that passage. -- Yes. If I may say so, the thing is, although we live in the same country, although we have been with each other for over 300 years, we know nothing about each other and the proof of this is there for anybody to find out for himself and if the Court will please forgive me, I would like to say this: there are men and women, both Black and White, especially White who have won doctorates in the universities as 'experts' on the Bantu people, but these people know nothing about our race and even when they do find the (20) truth, it is so incomprehensible to them that they edit it out, so to speak and it never really gets to be known. With the result that for many, many decades the White man was been acting in the dark regarding the government of the Bantu and I dare anyone anywhere to contradict these words of mine. First of all, may I, with respect, draw attention to a thing that has just happened please. May I?

Yes. -- I am a witness in a court of law, but under Bantu law, under the moral code of my forefathers, this court has insulted me. First of all I will tell you why. According (30) to the law of our forefathers, a man could only swear after he had/...

had testified because our people regarded the oath as the seal of those words that I have spoken. That is why even today if a Zulu makes a statement or a Sotho makes a statement, to another Zulu, then the one to whom the statement has been made, will say: '.. Bantu phrase ..' which means: will you swear to that. Now, when a Bantu has sworn before a court before he has spoken, he is no longer bound to tell the truth. Am I making this clear, respected ones? Our people said everywhere in Africa where I have gone, the oath must come first - sorry, the oath must come after the statement, (10) not the other way round, because the oath is the seal of your words. Now, in courts of law all over our country for many generations and for many decades, the procedure has been that the witness must swear before he makes the statement and this is why Bantu people have come to court and told the bluest lies to the highest judge because they have never felt bound by the oath that they have sworn to nothing. But this I am trying to illustrate, one of many things about which the White people do not know about us. Now this ignorance extends throughout the field of human contact, from the master/ (20) servant level, from the patient/doctor level, right up to the government level.

Well, I promise you that at the end of your evidence I am going to ask you whether you are prepared to swear to all you have said. Perhaps I will remove the insult that way.

-- Thank you.

May we now continue then? -- Thank you.

At the bottom of page 7 you - I do not propose to read it, but there you refer to the incident where your wife was approached by - well, let us read it and set the facts (30) out clearly: In fact, some weeks before the riots, two policemen/...

policemen came to my home to take a statement from my wife about some pictures which a White man stole from me and one of the officers, who was White, asked if my wife could speak Afrikaans and she, who comes from Natal, said she could only talk English and the White policeman then told her to give the statement in Zulu to the Black officer who then interpreted in Afrikaans for the White officer, which was a dangerous thing to do, because when one makes a statement to a policeman in Soweto, one must remember every word that one said, and how can anyone be sure that the statement he gave would (10) be put down as he said it if it is translated into a language he does not understand. And how can anyone be lawfully expected to sign a statement written in a language he cannot read, let alone speak. Well, I think we have covered that aspect fully now. -- Yes.

You go on: We knew all these things and more, but we did not think that the BPC and other limbs of the Black Consciousness Movement were doing the right thing in seeking to sacrifice the lives of innocent children on the bloody altar of grievance. You disapprove of what was done? (20) -- Yes, I disapprove and if the Court will forgive me, I would like again to go back and then come back to something of what is in my humble opinion something of extreme seriousness of which our government is not aware. One: a state of revolt exists in South Africa, civil war between Black and White is a certainty, but our government is unaware of this. The government is not aware of the true meaning of setting children against the police. What it means in Africa, just as the Rhodesian government was unaware of the full meaning of the kidnapping of children in the north-east of Rhodesia by (30) our - by the terrorists. I beg to go back there to our leaders.

One/...

One of the things that our people have done for many generations is this: they have said this, that '... Bantu sentence .. - never reveal your true self to a White man, and they have carried this thing to extreme length, with the result that the White man, in trying to do things for the Bantu people, have blundered again and again, laying themselves open to agitators, laying themselves open to all kinds of things which have made him to lose the empires that he had in Africa. Now, why is this? Our leaders, as I have said, only tell the White man those things that they feel the White man should know, (10) and those things which would make sense to a White man. The fact that some of our deepest grievances and the bitterest, have their roots in our beliefs and superstitions, have forever escaped those rulers. Like now, I mean no offence, I mean no criticism of the organisation I work for, but the West Rand Board has got a very abominable regulation in Soweto, a regulation which is good food for any agitator, no matter how immature. Now this is the regulation, that children over 18 years should pay a lodger's fees in the homes of their parents. Now if there is one thing that a Bantu resents (20) most, it is the turning of his child into a stranger in his home. My home, humble and dirty as it is, is my temple. There live the spirits of my forefathers. I may be the biggest hypocrite driving the largest American car with a business as large as O.K. Bazaars, or I may be the humblest pick and shovel labourer in the West Rand Board, but my home is my temple and no child of mine is going to be alienated by becoming a paying stranger in my home. Now this is the sort of thing that our leaders never tell the White man. Again I wish to go back into history. (30)

Just before you go. -- Yes.

Now/...

Now take that regulation. -- Yes.

Don't you think it is the duty of the Black man to explain that to the White man in order to remove that grievance? -- It is, but our leaders are such hypocrites, God forgive me, they can hate me and be damned, they are such hypocrites that they prefer to play make-believe in front of the White man. They tell the White man those things they feel he should know and they never go deeper. I can go back into another unpleasant episode in our country when passes for women were decreed by the government, that every woman should (10) carry a reference book. Nobody ever told the State why we objected to that thing, because according to Bantu law everywhere in Africa, a woman must not suffer the same humiliations and tortures that a man suffer. Even in the days of Shaka women were not killed with the assegai, never, will educationalists and tribalists(?) tell you. Women were strangled because the spilling of a woman - or of blood with an assegai was a shameful thing. Now under the pass laws our women have got to endure the same agonies that we, the men, have to undergo and they also have got to be equal to us. Now my wife is (20) equal to me because she stood in the pass office like me and I am a Zulu. Now this thing was never explained to the White man and I know that Afrikaans people, when a thing is explained fully to them, they understand, but our leaders play the hypocrite and whenever there is something that embarrasses the White man, to many of them it is welcome. Just now our leaders, some of them, are as unapproachable as God on Friday to the ordinary Bantu. They are cold, distant men. In fact I can place it on record this that I have found it easier to go and take my problems to the Honourable Mr Manie Mulder of (30) the West Rand Board than to approach my elected leaders. This

is/...



is a fact and I would face anyone of those men. They come here probably to play the hypocrites, but in real life they are more unapproachable than White people are and then when there comes extremes like this, the deaths of so many young children, some of these men are trying to cash in now on the deaths of these children, some of whom died smiling, not knowing what was really happening. They want more powers for themselves, unable to use properly the little powers that they have now. They want a say in the Provincial Council. They know very well that no White man would grant them this. (10) And again I say that many of our grievances can be righted by the White government without sacrificing any principle or any dignity of theirs. When a policeman says to me: 'kom hierso, jou verdomde kaffer', is that government policy? When I have to queue in the pass office for hours on end while a petty official files his nails and talks stories the same to his woman, is that government policy? Of what need is this thing? You will forgive me, M'Lord.

No, we understand. -- But the voice just goes, I think the tokolosh eats it. (20)

Now, I am glad you spoke in this way, because His Lordship will have a record of it and he will report back to the authorities. -- And I wish to say another thing. The reason, first of all, the people of the Black Consciousness Movement all of them, say that what is going on in Soweto is 'the struggle' for 'Black liberation'. Sheer shameful, one-sided murder of innocent children and they dare to try and climb over the corpses of these young angels for power. It is obscene, totally un-Bantu, it is totally un-African. I grew up in Umsinga and I was brought up in Umbumbulu where (30) faction fighting was the order of the day and the same thing even/...

even then that our people did was to protect their children. What kind of a race is it that sire takes his children and hurls them in front of the guns of the police, calling them warriors? What is a warrior? Isn't it a trained man who is not a stupid child who does not even know what is going on? When the history of our land comes to be fully written, this will be one of the most shameful episodes both for the Black and for the White races.

Now, we go on. Page 8: About a week before the rioting broke out in Soweto, we received a message to the (10) effect that some school children would be brought to our kraal on Thursday, the 17th June, and we began making preparations for holding demonstrations of various traditional Bantu arts and crafts such as wood-carving, pottery-making, bead-making and even dances and story-telling, and about two days before this Thursday, a small group of schoolboys from the Morris Isaacson School visited our kraal on their own and they found me making two large drums and I showed them how an African drum was hollowed out, decorated and then tested for sound and I also spoke to them strongly about the need to (20) learn, the need to stay at school and to learn as much as possible about everything on earth. The boys were deeply interested and they left, promising to bring more of their friends, but two days later we heard from the White gentleman who brings tourists to Soweto and to our kraal that violence had broken out in Soweto and that he must return with the tourists back to Johannesburg with all speed. We realised that our worst fears were about to be fulfilled and I decided to go out and stop the marching school children. I spoke to my superior, asking for permission to be taken to my home (30) so that I could put on my full witchdoctor's regalia and then return/...

return to stop the marching children, by talking them out of what I knew could not but end in bloodshed and misery. Mr Briscoe came to our kraal in the company of one of the White gentlemen in his department, Mr Swanepoel, and I saw to my horror that the truck in which they were travelling had already been damaged by stones and that several heavy rocks lay in the back of the truck, rocks which Mr Swanepoel told us had been thrown by a mob of rioting children at his truck. I ordered that the oldest of our female witchdoctors, Dorcas Mtambo, should accompany us back to my home in Diepkloof (10) for I knew that no Black child would ever dare to stone a truck with witchdoctors sitting at the back. In Diepkloof I changed into my regalia and Mr Briscoe and Mr Swanepoel drove back into Soweto with Dorcas and I sitting in full attire conspicuously in the back of the truck, but when we had crossed over the Orlando bridge, we were stopped by the police, who told us that there was violence ahead and that a vehicle driven by White people could not get through. I told Dorcas to get off the truck and to follow me into Pfeni where the rioting was said to be taking place and where we could (20) see smoke rising from something burning. I also told Mr Briscoe that we were going into Pfeni to try and use our skill and dignity as known witchdoctors to try and disperse the rioting children. The police had parked their vehicles in a big group not far from a small stream that flows through the township and far ahead of us we could hear deafening noise and see great crowds of people. May I stop there for a moment? -- Yes, please.

When you spoke to the Black children in your kraal and told them to go back to school to learn, what was their (30) reaction? -- They listened to me and they were most obedient,

all/...

all of them and in fact I succeeded in isolating one group of these children and such was the effect of my talk to them, that never did they take part in any rioting. Whenever there was trouble, they always came to our kraal and walked around there and then went and sat across the railway over at another small hillock which is just across the rails.

When you and Dorcas came across these rioting children, did those children whom you had spoken to earlier, did they likewise go to your kraal and not take part in the riots? --  
When Dorcas and - first of all I wish to go back to (10)  
my - the strange words that I have uttered, that a state of revolt exists in South Africa; that our government must please be on guard. In fact I would repeat these words to the State President himself and I will tell you why. First of all, all subversive organisations in South Africa have had one aim, which was to unite the Bantu people. Now they also have another aim which is that the Bantu people should take up arms against the White man and now, according to Bantu law of all tribes, if a tribe kills the children of another tribe, then that tribe whose children has been killed is honour bound to rise (20) as one man and take revenge on the tribe that has killed these children. Are my words quite clear, please, sir?

Very clear. -- What is going to happen in th e - what might suddenly happen will be the - let me say this: each child who dies in the streets of Soweto angers and enrages even the most apolitical of our people, because our people cannot understand why, with so many methods of quelling riots at their disposal, the police have got to repeatedly shed the blood of our children. Now this is what the Black Power wants, that even the hostel Bantu should take up arms against the (30) government and already the Black Power has got the hostel's family/...

family in its pocket and it has boasted of this. Now what is going to happen? First of all let me tell you a surprising thing. Some of the people who live in the hostels are Zulus from Umsinga where my mother comes from. These Zulus, apart from being able to make crude guns, can also make gunpowder. Any policeman who has been in these faction fights will tell you that some of the guns that are used there, are home-made. Now, I beg this Court to carefully think very carefully about this, that now the Black Power has got the hostel people in its hands. This is why I say a state of revolt exists (10) in South Africa. I am not being dramatic, but being coldly factual and I dare anyone to contradict me, even the Prime Minister himself.

I think in fairness I should put this to you. When the children rioted, bearing placards and taunting the police, and they far outnumbered the police; at one stage, according to Colonel Kleingeld, there were about 300 children and the police were only 6 Europeans and 40 Blacks. They tried to quell the riots by using - tried to speak to them, but they felt it was useless, they could not be heard. They then (20) tried to disperse the children by the use of teargas; that did not help. They then used batons; that did not help. There were some policemen who thought that even that would mean suicide for the police and then finally they opened up fire and they fired warning shots over the heads of the children and sometimes just in front of them; not at them. -- Yes.

And the only time that they fired to kill and to kill only a ringleader, was when the police felt that they were in grave danger of their lives. -- Yes.

Under those circumstances, bearing in mind 6 White (30) policemen, 40 Black policemen, surrounded by 3 000 children, throwing/...

throwing stones from all sides, they opened fire, but only two were killed; one, a ringleader, the other unfortunately a youth who must have got in the way somehow or other. Under those circumstances do you still attach blame to the police? -- I pray to you, a thinking man and a man of court, not to get the impression that I am attacking the police. I am trying to open your eyes to what is taking place. I am telling you these things as an ordinary Bantu. I am not in any way attacking the police, I have been in there at the height of these riots, I have seen, first of all, in Diepkloof I (10) saw a policeman standing with his FN rifle, he was standing there, trying to scare the children off and some little bloody fool came with a beer carton, struck that policeman full in the face, so that the kaffir beer sprayed the policeman's face and the policeman did not shoot. I swear this before God. I am not attacking the police. I would not be here if I had only come to attack the police. I am trying to open the eyes of our country to what is really taking place because our government has shown a surprising degree of inactivity in the face of the greatest threat that our country has ever (20) faced.

Now, I appreciate what you said about this incident, but on the facts that I gave you, and I do not want to repeat them, do you still blame the police for opening fire in the way they did? -- No, I will tell you why. First of all, if you take a child and you push him in the jaws of a crocodile, would you blame the crocodile for eating that child? The only people I am against are the monsters behind this thing, the educated people who are instigating our children, pushing them into the jaws of death. These people knew very well that the (30) police would shoot, they knew very well that people would die and/...

and what makes me sick is this, that the real gangsters behind this thing have not yet been arrested.

In other words, you are repeating what you said, in effect, on page 3, when you say that these people were trying to provoke a second Sharpeville-type incident in South Africa. -- Yes.

They were trying to force a confrontation between innocent Black children and the police. -- They want a civil war between Black and White, the war that I tried to warn South Africa against more than 10 years ago in one of my books. (10) They are trying to provoke this war and they are succeeding.

Now we go on to page 9, the second paragraph. We come now to: We crossed the stream at a bridge and walked slowly towards the rioting and not long after that we were walking through crowds of school children and we saw that most of the children were just standing in crowds while only a minority were running around, shouting and giving Black Power salutes. Many of the children looked scared and surprised as they stood watching a Combi which had been set alight and which was burning fiercely in the yard of the hall known as Uncle Tom's (20) Hall across the road along one side of which we were travelling. We began talking to some of the children, urging them to disperse and go home and some of them actually obeyed us, but some said that they were afraid to go home because others would beat them up afterwards. One girl said to me that she could not return home because then the 'Ama Azaniya' - is that how you pronounce it? -- 'Ama Azaniya'.

Would beat her up and when I asked her just who the 'Ama Azaniya' were she said she could not tell me and so walked away. Now, what is 'Ama Azaniya', what is that? (30) -- I do not know, but this thing so disturbed me that I went and asked/...

asked one of my superiors and he said he did not know either, but there is something in Soweto known as the Azanian Liberation Army which specialises in stealing people from Soweto to undergo guerilla training somewhere. This is not my opinion, this is the opinion of this gentleman, because I knew all the tsotsi gangs in Soweto; I have never heard of a gang called the 'Ama Azaniya'.

My Learned Colleague tells me that 'Ama Azaniya' is South Africa and this word is a derivation of it meaning 'South Africans'. -- Yes, and also here is another thing (10) that may interest you, something of extreme importance which the White authorities have not seen either to. Whenever our people are planning a bloody revolt in any country, the first thing that they do to show their intention, really show them, to show that their intentions are firm in what they are intending to do, they alter the name of that country. First of all, let us take Rhodesia. Before Rhodesia was engulfed in the war it is engulfed in at the moment, many of the people there began talking of Rhodesia as Zimbabwe and I was in Rhodesia at this time. It was at the time of the (20) Federation and I was deeply disturbed by this persisting thing and I knew as a Black man what this meant, although the Rhodesian authorities did not see what I saw. Now South West Africa, Namibia, Swapo, read between the lines. Now South Africa, Azania. God have mercy upon us.

You go on: As Dorcas and I drew near to Pfeni Station, pausing ever so often to walk to groups of children, we noticed that we were drawing closer to the heart of the violence. We saw young tsotsis, definitely not school children, because the scholars were in uniform, while the tsotsis were ragged (30) and dirty - hijack a milk truck, drag out the driver, beat him up/...



up and chase him down a street, while other tsotsis looted the contents of the truck and scattered milk containers all over the street. We saw that taxis were now encouraging the rioters by blowing their hooters, while the people inside stuck their fists through the open windows to give 'Black Power' salutes. I swear that at this time I saw no scholar or tsotsi forcing the passing taxis and other Bantu-driven vehicles to do this, but I was, however, to see it on the following day, Thursday, in Diepkloof where young hooligans and scholars stood in the centre of the street, blocking (10) each vehicle and forcing those within to give Black Power salutes. As we approached the intersection near Maponya Stores, the crowds became thicker, the violence more ferocious and the noise more terrible. Cars were being stoned and we saw a Chinese Fah-Fee man whom we had seen several times in Soweto before, narrowly escape death at the hands of the mob, tearing through the intersection at high speed, with stones falling like hail upon his vehicle. We saw a huge bakery van trying to escape down a small side-street with its rear doors open and a gang of shouting scholars, (20) adults and plain thugs in full cry after it and we saw that there were two cars, a dark brown one and a black one which appeared to be just cruising round and round the rioting area, blowing their hooters and with their occupants shouting and saluting each time the rioters did something spectacular, such as chasing a truck or car or cornering it and setting it alight after driving the occupants out and beating them up. These two cars, which appeared to be following each other, came past us about four times and this was what made me take notice of them and I also noticed that the mob was not (30) attacking private vehicles driven by Bantu, but was rather

bent/...

bent on destroying all White, Asiatic and Coloured driven vehicles and that all trucks, vans and cars which carried the names of firms on their sides were also marked for destruction by the rioters. I also noticed .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Just one moment. What is the significance of trucks and vans and cars having the names of the firms on the sides? Because we have heard evidence too that that was so, that vans and trucks with names written on the sides were attacked. What is the significance of that? -- It is my personal opinion, which has no evidence to back it up, (10) you see, our people in Soweto there are these firms which employ them. Now, any car at this time which bore the markings of a firm was equated by the Black Power people as a Black exploitation thing, a symbol of Black - of exploitation of Blacks by Whites. Thus a car becomes a target because it is a car belonging to a firm which exploits Blacks in the eyes of the Black Power people.

DR YUTAR: In the eyes of the Black Power, but not necessarily in the eyes of the people who work for these White firms. -- No, not necessarily, because first of all why should I (20) stone the car of the man that pays me every week? Where am I going to get the rent money from?

Right. I also noticed a strange thing, that there were several young men who wore khaki trousers and red or golden-brown shirts in the crowd and that these young men led the rioters in several acts of violence and daring such as intercepting delivery trucks and I swear by all that I hold holy that on no less than four occasions it was one of these young men, of whom we took notice of three from a distance, who first stepped onto the road to hurl a rock at the (30) windscreen of an oncoming truck before the mob closed in.

So/...

So great was the violence at the intersection, so thick the rain of missiles such as stones and bottles, that I advised Dorcas that we must leave the area as we had failed to do what we had come to do and so we walked down a side-street, finding groups of excited people, adults and children, in various corners until we came to a large group of school children which was coming towards us with banners, obviously intent on joining the rioting further up the street at the intersection. We decided to stop this group and we did and succeeded in dispersing it, after talking strongly to (10) these children. Some defied us and walked past us, but the majority scattered and disappeared amongst the side-streets. This was the last group we succeeded in breaking up on this evil day. That is your account of what you saw take place on that first day. -- Yes. Dorcas and myself are both very heavy people and fat. Dorcas weighs about 300 pounds; I weight 200 and something. Now, I was wearing at this time a very heavy regalia and she also was wearing this, thus our progress was very slow through this rioting, but I can say this, to those who still believe witchdoctors have no power (20) in modern Bantu places, that we walked for about three quarters of an hour through this violence, but at no time were we abused or in any way harmed. We walked and the children made way for us. Many of them, as I have said, were terribly scared, some were crying, but some were excited. There was no policeman in sight in this area and with the last group we dispersed, the one I mentioned, it was there that Dorcas cried and went down on her knees, praying to the children not to go to their death, and they dispersed. Whether they rejoined the rioting later, we shall never know. (30)

We go on and now we come to an interesting aspect of the riots/...

riots. Some time later we got a lift aboard a West Rand Board tractor and trailer. By this time helicopters were in action over Soweto and we were getting very anxious about those of our colleagues who were cut off by the rioting at our museum kraal. It was now in the afternoon and we were very weary and footsore, but our strange adventures were not yet over, because just as we were approaching the Morris Isaacson School, which is on the road to the Oppenheimer Tower where our kraal is, a badly frightened schoolboy jumped aboard our trailer, a boy from the Morris Isaacson (10) School judging by his uniform, and we saw to our surprise that the boy was drunk. He smelt of liquor. -- Very much so. He was so drunk, he was incoherent and he was not the only one; there were others who were staggering drunk all along the place and this one said that certain brothers, that is big men, ouboet in Soweto, had given them liquor, but there is also another side to this thing. It was at this time they had already looted a huge beer truck which they had burned on the side of the street.

You go on, you say: He smelt of liquor and when (20) I asked him why he was drunk, he told me that certain brothers (which is a Soweto slang for adult men) had given the marching scholars liquor earlier in the day and also that some scholars had also stolen liquor from some vehicle. Before we could question the boy further, one of the helicopters dropped some kind of gas canister not far from our tractor, nearly causing it to crash as the driver, blinded by the gas and badly scared, swerved off the road onto a football field. The schoolboy jumped off the trailer while we were still affected by the gas and the driver of the tractor decided to return with (30) us back to Nancefield where the yard and the offices of the

West Rand Board Parks Department are, and here we got a van to drive us to the kraal to fetch our fellow witchdoctors and workers from the dangerous area. Now, that is a fair description of what you saw? -- Yes.

Tell the Court, the children were they noisy? -- At this particular time, yes. They were running around, they were no longer a mob, but rather a group fleeing from the helicopters at this time and the helicopters were dropping gas everywhere.

Were the children carrying placards? -- Not at this time, not any more, because they were now being disorganised (10) and broken up.

But before they were broken up? -- Before they were broken up, they were carrying placards, they were singing songs and one of the songs gripped my soul very, very much.

Why? -- It was a song of what we call 'death dedication', an old song which has been modernised, but which they sang not only at that time, but also in Diepkloof. The song says: (Witness sings the song in Bantu language). It says: we are the ones who must die on the wayside, we are the ones who must die on the wayside. It says, the song goes: (20)

'... Bantu words .. ' That is: there is now the noise of breaking windows. 'Zogozogo' is an imitation of breaking glass, bang-bang of glass and then this song really distressed me.

Who do you think taught them this song? -- I do not know.

Do you think they were taught that at school? -- I do not know, because there are so many songs in Soweto and each occasion produces its own particular song.

Did you see the children at any time throwing stones? -- No, not here at this time. I did not see any stones, (30) except at - there by Maponya Stores and where they were stoning cars/...

cars.

That you saw. -- Yes, that it was really tremendous, it was awful, it was like hail on Judgment Day.

Did you see any baton charges by the police? -- No, because as I have said, we had left the police behind on the other side of the river. I did not see any baton charges except in Diepkloof near the Diepkloof Hotel on the following day, that was the shooting of the police of the men who were trying to steal, to rob the Diepkloof Hotel.

All right, let us come to the following day, page 12. (10) On the morning of the following day, which was a Thursday, the day began as usual with children going past my house to school because the schools near my home had not been involved in any strikes or rioting. It follows from what you say there that not all the schools therefore took part in the rioting. -- Yes. The schools in Diepkloof, the Vuna Masibuko School, the Holy Cross Mission, the Junior High Schools which are four of them, all near my house, were in no way involved in these things until much, much later.

You go on: My children also prepared to go to (20) school which is a Roman Catholic school about half a mile from my house. But to our surprise the children returned home, saying that they had been sent back by the teachers for their safety and that the school holidays had begun. Then about an hour after our children had returned home, a large mob of school children in grey trousers, maroon jerseys and blazers streamed past my house and these children were armed with sticks, sjamboks and lengths of reinforcing iron. More and still more children carrying weapons went past, singing "Nkosi Sikalele i Afrika" and I decided to go out. - I was (30) in full regalia - and stop this unnatural and fearful sight.

I/...

I shouted at the passing children to drop their weapons and go home, but they took no notice and so I left my yard and crossed the street and stood in the path of the next crowd to approach and urged this crowd to go home. The children, attracted by my regalia, stopped undecidedly and I spoke to them, urging them to stop what they were doing and not surrender to the demon of violence and I was still speaking when I felt a violent blow from behind and I staggered and nearly fell. My wife told me later that one of the children who had stood behind me, had hit me with a half brick. (10)

I called to my wife and Dorcas and Freida, another witch-doctor woman, to bring me my prayer mat and I knelt and prayed in the street and, to my amazement some of the children returned, stopped laughing and knelt down and prayed with us after which they dropped their weapons and scattered. But the majority of the children had already gone, searching the schools near my house for fellow pupils who were not on strike with intent to beat them up. Is that a clear account? -- Yes. I later learned that these school children in maroon jerseys and maroon blazers were the pupils of the Matibani School (20) which is high up from where I live, say about one mile or two miles or so. Now these children were the first really heavily armed band of children, armed with dangerous weapons that I saw.

Those are the children who confronted the police. -- Yes.

Those are the children who surrounded the police. -- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: When? -- At the Diepkloof Hotel.

Does this come later in your evidence? -- Yes.

DR YUTAR: This was on the Thursday? -- Yes, it was on the Thursday.

Realising that I had failed to stop the riots, I (30)  
and Dorcas took a taxi for Johannesburg to appeal to the  
authorities/...

authorities in Albert Street to help us put a stop to the disorder before more people died. I was given permission to appeal to the Bantu people over Radio Bantu and I did so in Zulu and in Sotho and when we returned to Diepkloof in the afternoon later Dorcas and I found scenes of unbelievable chaos. Now we come to what you saw there. On our way into Diepkloof by taxi we saw three burnt-out vehicles on the edge of the new highway that passes through Crown Mines and as we entered Zone 4, Diepkloof, we saw crowds of shouting children and young adults choking the streets and (10) stopping passing vehicles and demanding that the drivers should give Black Power salutes, before being allowed to pass. Our taxi was stopped twice by youngsters armed with beer bottles and stones and on the second occasion a small group of armed, drunken youths demanded money from the driver and he gave them several coins. We saw that there were broken bottles all over the streets, and that some children were carrying beer and other liquor crates. We saw that the great Diepkloof Bottle Store was on fire, as were the post office and a West Rand tractor and trailer and about two cars. The driver (20) dropped us opposite the Diepkloof Library and we saw that the building was burned and its windows smashed, and as we walked through Diepkloof, Zone One, we saw hordes of drunken young people who, however, did not try to molest us, although they did molest many other people who passed by, seizing them and forcing them to shout slogans and to salute. One group found an excellent toy in a frightened old man, whom they forced to salute and shout and then cursed him and told him to shout louder each time he obeyed. We saw scores of Bantu beer cartons littering the streets and most of these had not (30) been opened and had been trampled by people so that the contents/...



contents filled the street. That was the sight you saw? --  
Yes. And I was to see the destruction of a carton box Bantu  
beer many, many times and there is a reason behind all this.  
It can also be seen in some of the photographs that have been  
taken during the riots. Our people have for years believed  
that the White authorities put a chemical inside the  
municipality beer, a chemical that makes men impotent. Again  
and again I tried to draw the attention of the authorities  
to the harmfulness of this rumour, but in vain.

To the harmfulness of this? -- This rumour. (10)

Of the rumour? -- Yes. For many years our people have  
believed, many of them, that if they drink municipality beer  
it makes them impotent, because the White authorities, to  
keep the numbers of our totals down, put a chemical in this  
beer. In fact this belief was responsible for the bloody  
disturbance at Mai-Mai some years ago in Von Wëlligh Street.  
I think the Court will recall this disturbance.

Now, you as an intelligent Black man, you do not believe  
that story about this being done by the White authorities, do  
you? -- No, but it is one of many stray stories that (20)  
our people believe and one of them is this that train accidents  
are deliberately caused and I can say to the Court without fear  
that 95 out of every 100 Bantu people believe that the train  
accidents are deliberately caused. In fact, it was a train  
accident that has helped the Black Power to unite the hostel  
inmates and the township people.

CHAIRMAN: Now, there was, during this period of the raids,  
there was a train disaster at Benoni. -- Yes.

There is a pamphlet, it does not show where it emanates  
from. It starts off at the top it has 'Azinkwela' (30)  
written. It then says, "13, 14, 15 September, Ons ry nie, ons

ry nie, ons ry nie. We urge our parents to help us in the struggle to set free our brothers and sisters in detention" and this was after people had been arrested. "As you know that our people are picked up every day and killed in detention under the mask of committed suicides. We ask you to stay away from work so that our demands be met by the powers in be" and then appears the following: "These are our demands. All these must be stopped." The first one refers to the continual shooting, it says: "The continual shooting of our people by Kruger's Regime. (2) The (10) unending detention of our people by police without being charged. (3) The murdering of our people in jail and committed suicide being used. (4) The train disaster which always claim the lives of Black people only, for example Langlaagte and Benoni." Is this the sort of thing that you are referring to? -- Yes, and it is the most dangerous, most inflammatory thing that is exploited by many subversive organisations and has been in the past for a long time and it is, how shall I say, it is to our country's shame and a horrible indictment and proof of the lack of understanding(20) that exists between Black and White that at no time has the authorities, the government, given these fears by our people the attention that they fully deserve. That people can believe that a train accident can be deliberately caused, as many of our people believe, is to a White man's mind presumptuous and illogical and stupid, but our people believe this nevertheless and the most dangerous human beliefs are those without any foundation. Two: Our people also believe and we have believed for decades that there is in Soweto, the police are in cahoots with all the criminal elements and that the criminals (30) are encouraged to murder our people and they are deliberately

armed/...

armed by the police to keep our numbers down and these things may not sound as fantastic as it seems, it is not as fantastic as it seems, because those who believe this, have got a very strong argument to get up their belief. One: with train accidents, always the driver jumps clear. Two: with criminals, far too many criminals in Soweto carry guns, sometimes of a very heavy calibre. I have seen criminals with the old type of police pistol which, you know, the old heavy revolver which was used round about the 50's and the 40's and also these people cite the fact that mass murderers like Sipho (10) Sithole who killed 50 people in Soweto until he was struck down by fellow gangsters, have been able to operate in Soweto right under the noses of the strongest police in Africa, unmolested and yet it is one of the six jokes of Soweto this, that you can get away with 50 murders in Soweto, but not with one wrong permit stamp and this joke .. (intervenes)

With one wrong? -- The joke is this .. (intervenes)

That they can get away with 50 murders, but not with?

-- With one wrong permit stamp on your pass. Now this thing would sound fantastic were it not so, would sound funny (20) were it not so terrible. And our people have for decades nurtured a fear that one day the White man would exterminate them. This fear is behind many of the strange things that our people do. One: not going to the T.B. hospital until too late. Two: sometimes in times of famine when relief organisations bring food to the people, the people just empty the food in the bush. Three: well, many other things like these beliefs that the police help criminals to keep our numbers down, but this belief, this fear of extermination, this morbid fear in the minds of our people is not (30) unfounded.

DR YUTAR: Who spreads these fears? -- Pardon?

Who spreads these rumours? -- I do not know, but these things have been going around for years and as I say, they are not unfounded. I will tell you why. In 1859 or 1856 the Germans committed genocide in South West Africa, which was then known as German West Africa. They killed thousands of Hereros but here is something that our country's historians do not know, that some of these Hereros escaped from German West Africa, fled to Bechuanaland then to the Transvaal and then into Natal, spreading this fear that the White man (10) poisons wells and so on, and this fear has stayed with our people for many years and these are the things that our leaders should tell the White people and these are the things that White people should not just read, because these are the things that have now poised our country on the front of destruction. Our people are consumed by fears, fears which should be eliminated but which are not and I would like to know where are those so-called anthropologists, professors and so-called experts on Bantu law who have written such impressive books? Why don't they wake our government up? They are very, (20) very conspicuous by their absence now and their silence. Shame to them.

Will you be prepared to tell His Lordship how the government and the authorities, what they should do to eliminate these fears from the minds of the Black people of Soweto and other areas? -- My coming here, first of all, I am not a politician. I loathe and despise politicians of all shapes of opinion and also I have tried to tell White people some of the things about our people and I have been called a liar and a fake and yet in Rhodesia, yet in South Africa some of (30) the strangest, most fantastic fears are being ruthlessly exploited/...

exploited by communists who know more about our people than do the people upon whom we depend for safety. Just now I wish to make these last words. Just now in Soweto because they do not know our people, the police do things that strengthen the Black Power Movement and politicians say things in newspapers which strengthen this terrible thing which will engulf us all until sooner or later there will come a time when even the most law-abiding Bantu will have to take sides, to side with the Black Power and then that will be the end of everything. And Respected Court, I am not just talking (10) through my head. I appeal to you to think carefully about my words. I cannot tell the government what it must do. It is against the laws of my forefathers for a subject to tell his chief what the chief must do. If the government is not prepared to investigate itself and find out what is wrong with our people, what can a lowly man like me do, when our very leaders whom we have elected, men who earn vast sums of money, men who are always in the papers, tell lies to the White man and never reveal this terrible truth which Black Power exploits and the communists exploit, what can I do. (20)

In describing the events of Thursday, 17th June, events which you said, you described as scenes of unbelievable chaos. -- Yes.

Did you see the police there? -- At that time, no, there were no police at Diepkloof when we came.

And yet the children were armed the way you say they were, and destroyed what they did. -- Yes, the yard of the West Rand Board just behind my home had been looted of wheelbarrows and of lawnmowers and of all equipment by looters and my wife told me that the police had been (30) there, but I saw none at the moment, although at night we did hear/...

hear some shooting from the direction of Orlando.

Now, to continue: After Dorcas and I had parted, I reached my home and ordered my wife and children to help me in barricading the windows and doors of the house with furniture and other objects and an ugly, violent night of noises and screams and drunken shouts came and went with my wife and I sleepless and guarding our sleeping children. Outside in the darkness people jumped fences, shouted, pounded on doors shouting 'Black Power', it was insane, it was nightmarish. Is there anything else you want to (10) add to the events of Thursday, 17th June before we come to Friday, the next day? -- Yes, it is this, that on those three terrible days people just went mad and they - old scores were settled and all the gangsters crawled out of their holes and walked boldly down the street with pangas and things like that, raping and doing all kinds of funny things in that place and there was nothing we could do. Unfortunately my wife developed an unhealthy habit of locking me up.

And of course these gangsters not only looted and raped, they also murdered. -- I did not see a murder, but I (20) certainly heard that certain people had been put down, yes. Not in the riots, but in the settling of old scores.

Settling of old scores. -- Yes.

Could that possibly account for the figures given by one of the police officers so far of 294 killed? -- I do not know.

172 the police say they claim responsibility for that, but not for the remaining 122. Is it possible that scores that were settled accounted for the deaths of so many people? -- I do not know, but I do know of one disgusting murder. A (30) boy I knew, who lived in Meadowlands, who had once lived with his/...

his family in a house just behind my home, a boy called Strike, was taken by his friends out of his home and he was murdered and then flung under a blazing vehicle. I saw his corpse and it did not look very nice. This was one murder for settling of old scores that I am definite of, of somebody I knew.

So if it could have happened with a young child, it could have happened with many others and older people as well. -- Yes, indeed and it was awful.

Right, we come now to the events of Friday, and you (10) say the following at the bottom of page 13: The following day, Friday, was just as bad as Thursday. Helicopters were flying overhead, groups of children were running around utterly berserk and known gangs of Diepkloof thugs such as the Damara Gang, were out in the open with pangas, dustbin lids and stones, and they were robbing people and not rioting as the children were doing. On Friday evening a group of men threw a shower of pebbles upon the roof of my house, shouting to us to come out and open the gate which was locked, and I asked them through one of the front windows of my house (20) what they wanted and they told me that they were collecting money for the people killed in the rioting and I told them to get away and leave us alone and as they went away, two of them threatened to get me and to send me running out of Soweto like a dog. We were very scared. Anything you would like to say about Friday, the 18th June? -- Yes, I would like to say this that, at that time in those days it was there that the West Rand Board emerged in a very unfavourable light in the eyes of many of our people. First of all all West Rand Board officials had been withdrawn, thus creating an impression that the (30) Black Power had scared them away, an impression which Black

Power people exploited to the hilt, saying that just as they had chased the West Rand Board out of Soweto, so they will chase the White man out of South Africa very soon and it was here that I had to protest to the officials of the West Rand Board that in times of this sort, under no circumstances are the authorities to abandon the loyal people in Soweto, because these people, depending upon the authorities, are suddenly faced with violence and with silence; they feel betrayed and they feel let down by the people who take money from them in the form of rent, but who have failed to protect them in (10) the long run. This was the first propaganda victory for the Black Power Movement.

Will you go along with the police evidence that the majority of the Black people in Soweto and elsewhere are law-abiding? -- I will go along with this, because first of all, we do not want to fight anybody, we do not want to die. We want just to earn a living and we want just to be treated like human beings, but we are not and now we trust in the authorities, hoping day after day that they will do the right thing, but they never do. We are not asking to marry White women, (20) we are not asking for seats in parliament, we are not asking to sit side by side with the State President on his chair, we only ask to be treated like the things that we look like - human beings. The large majority of our people are law-abiding, but they are being provoked beyond endurance by the persistent self-sacrifice of these children.

The week-end was chaotic, with rumours of frightening proportions flying throughout our neighbourhood, rumours which we could not confirm for there were no newspapers. It was said that over a thousand Bantu children had been killed (30) and some had already been secretly buried by West Rand

officials/...



officials and police in a mass grave somewhere outside Soweto. That of course you know is devoid of all truth, entirely devoid of all truth. -- Yes, I do, although I must confess that I had to use all my thoughts as a man to convince myself of the emptiness of this thing because in times of stress, the human mind becomes susceptible to all kinds of rumours and also the police did not help matters by not telling exactly how many people were killed, by not revealing the names of the people killed. The said rumours which in turn helped the Black Power to discredit the police, just now, (10) if I may remark, terrible accusations have been made against the police that they are now shooting indiscriminately at children going on errands. These things must be refuted because they are intended to cause harm. One gets the impression that the authorities just do not care how angry the Bantu people get, because nobody being accused of murder shall stand and say nothing, because his silence is the admission of this.

It was said that the government had ordered that poison be put in the water that came from taps and it was said (20) that the Frelimos were coming to help the Soweto people. A vast cloud of fantastic rumour which helped to fill loyal people with despair and to incite the rioters to even uglier acts. All of us felt trapped, scared and defenceless. In those few hellish days I saw what anarchy really was. But there was one thing which reached our ears which was not a rumour, something which angered all of us and which was told to us by reliable people, one of whom was Dorcas herself, who had gone to see if her sister Johanna in Rockville had survived the rioting, and this was that the police in (30) Orlando and in the Moroka Police Station were laying out the bodies/...

bodies of people killed in the riots outside in the police station yards, with a tag attached to each dead body's foot. If there is one thing that infuriates Bantu people and fills them with insane hatred it is the exposing of a dead body out in the open by anybody. To all Bantu tribes a dead body becomes a very sacred thing which must be carefully put away out of sight, and leaving the bodies of people they have killed, exposed in public, was something that even the most tyrannical Bantu kings did not dare to do and even Idi Amin knows that killing people and leaving them lying around, (10) could get him overthrown overnight which is why he has special forests in Uganda where the bodies of those he has murdered are quietly dumped out of the public eye. And one of the bitterest grievances that our people in Soweto have had for years is that the police often leave the bodies of murder victims lying in the street for hours on end in the townships, a thing which to all Bantu people is a foul sacrilege. Do you want to add anything to that or does it speak for itself? -- I will just add this little plea, this, that again I say the White man does not know the Bantu, nor has he ever tried (20) to know him. First of all when people start trouble in Africa, they always know that their best allies will be the very authorities who try to put them down. The terrorists in Rhodesia have their best allies in the very Rhodesians themselves, because existing times of crisis, the White man cannot help making mistakes out of ignorance which anger the Bantu people and alienate and destroy what little loyalty there still remains. Like now, many of the things that deter a White man, do not deter a Bantu and one of these things is the fear of a fellow person's dead body. In Rhodesia (30) the army there exposes the bodies of murdered terrorists in

the/...

the belief that this will deter the tribes people from joining the terrorists, but it helps them because an African, when he sees a fellow man's body, he does not care who this man was, he could have been the worst criminal under the sun, but the moment you expose him to the light of the day, the moment you make a sport out of him, you anger all the people who see his face. It was the same in Soweto and it still is.

Assuming that what was reported to you is true, you are not suggesting that the police did that deliberately, it might have been just an unfortunate mistake on their part? -- (10)  
No, if I believed this, I would not be here. First of all I have seen the White people make so many mistakes in the past, I have fought for many years of my life, trying to correct these mistakes but without avail. I do not for one moment believe that any man entrusted with the maintenance of law and order and wanting to put a stop to the violence in the quickest possible time, would deliberately go out of his way to do something that nullifies his own task.

You go on: I later learned from a report in the Rand Daily Mail that in the Orlando Police Station child (20) prisoners were made to load the bodies of dead people onto a mortuary vehicle, which again was a stupid mistake on the part of the police, the type of mistake that helps the subversive elements in South Africa, because according to Bantu custom no child is allowed to handle a dead body and anyone who forces a child to handle a dead body, especially the body of somebody that the child does not know, becomes guilty of an unforgivable crime. It speaks for itself, we need not say more about it. It is a sad subject. -- Yes, except one thing. Amongst us here are Bantu people. I would like them, (30) with His Lordship's permission of course, to state what our people/...

people's attitude regarding children and dead bodies is. It is shameful that only I should be speaking here. Many more should be speaking. I was not allowed to handle a dead body until I was well in my middle twenties and for a child to be forced to handle an unknown dead body in the law of all the tribes under the sun in Africa is a sacrilege. In fact one of the things that led to the extermination of the Watusi in Rwanda-Urundi was that at one time in the history of that unhappy land, the Wahutu, the Watusi were - had the bad habit of killing kings and then forcing the children of the dead (10) kings to take their fathers' bodies and bury them, which was a horrible sacrilege.

By the way, all these tribal customs to which you have referred, you deal with them in this book of yours 'Indaba my Children'. -- Yes, and no. I was about to write many more books, but unfortunately .. (intervenes)

You have dealt with some of them at any rate. -- Yes, I dealt with some of them.

You go on: It is a fact known to all our people that very often the authorities, especially in times of unrest, (20) commit mistakes which greatly help the cause of the subversives and law-breakers and this is equally true in South Africa as in Rhodesia. It was also true in Malawi, North Rhodesia and Kenya. The aim of all insurgency in Africa is to drive a wedge between the law-abiding people and the authorities, to make the authorities seem like incompetent, cruel and blundering tyrants not fit to be obeyed, and in the recent Soweto riots this aim succeeded all too well. Because the White people possess scant knowledge of Bantu ways, beliefs and customs they often play right into the hands of Black (30) terrorist organisations which seek to overthrow Western civilisation/...

civilisation in Africa, and I could cite scores of clear examples of this. And then you go on: One of the things I warned my chief about in writing, was that Bantu subversives were making use of the Terrorism Act to spread their message amongst the Bantu people; they used this act to martyr themselves, knowing that in Africa one martyr to any cause is worth a thousand rifles. I asked my chief to tell the judges who try Terrorism Act suspects not to allow these accused people to demonstrate in court as they always do, not to sing and make Black Power salutes as they always do, because (10) there is a sinister reason behind all these seemingly senseless histrionics on the part of the accused. These people are not fools and everything they do is for a reason. They want to unite the Bantu people under the cause of Black consciousness and to keep the flames of rebellion burning in South Africa and they know that if they present themselves as smiling, singing and saluting heroes who go to prison for long periods, without fear, they inspire thousands of imaginative young fellow-Bantus outside the court's walls, for Bantu people love heroes and any man, whether good (20) or bad who suffers heroically with a smile becomes a saint in our eyes, especially if the sufferer suffers at the hands of White men. And then you conclude: The result of the recent Soweto riots has been that the Black Consciousness Movement has spread throughout the Transvaal, Transkei, Natal and the Cape. It has swallowed up many organisations, some with scores of members in the Bantu community; it has taken over many high schools and monstrous things like the so-called Black Parents Association of Soweto have overnight almost become as powerful as the African National Congress once (30) was years ago. And we, the law-abiding Bantu who tried to

warn/...

warn of this disaster and to avert it are heartbroken and filled with despair for the future. The rioting is spreading even to peaceful places which had never known disorder before. You signed that and what you have said, is that the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth? -- It is.

Now, with His Lordship's leave perhaps we can tomorrow deal with the meaning of Black consciousness and then finally your reasons, as you see them, for the grievances of your people, as you see them.

THE COURT ADJOURNS.

(10)

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