

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

AFTERNOON SESSION:

13th OCTOBER, 1976.

MORNING SESSION:

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THE COMMISSION RESUMES AT 2 P.M. ON THE 13th SEPTEMBER, 1976.

MR HLUNGWANI: M'Lord, the following witness will be Ezra Mantini, he is one of the reporters from 'Sunday Times'. We are still leading evidence on factual evidence. There will be some questions which my Learned Friend and myself will ask them on opinion evidence.

EZRA MANDIKOLE MANTINI: sworn states:

MR HLUNGWANI: You are a reporter from the Sunday Times. --
That is right.

You remember the 16th June this year? -- Yes. (10)

Did you get some report or some information about the demonstration of the students previously or did you get the information that day? -- I actually got it that very morning when I arrived at the office.

That was the first time? -- That was the first time.

That day you were then assigned to go and cover the events about the demonstrations to take place in Soweto. You were with your colleagues. Just read your memorandum from the second paragraph. -- On arriving in Orlando West, Soweto, we saw a large number of students carrying placards and were (20) moving towards the Orlando Bridge. Then police arrived in about five vans and told the students to go back, but they advanced. The White police officer threw a teargas canister at the crowd and they scattered, but again formed themselves into a group.

Just there. Now, you speak about the placards. Can you perhaps remember some of the words written on the banners? -- Some of the words written on the banners, the first one read as follows: "Soweto is not a place for impurity."

"Afrikaans stinks." (30)

"Away with oppressive Afrikaans."

"Please remove Afrikaans."

Those are some of the placards I can remember.

You say how large was the crowd? -- The crowd could have been more than 2 000.

More than 2 000? -- Yes.

That is your estimation? -- Yes.

At least whereabouts did you first meet the first crowd? Now there is now Khumalo Street that will cross the bridge to Orlando West and where did you meet the first crowd? -- The first crowd was next to a shop, Manye Shop, that is the (10) one at the corner of Khumalo Street and the street going to Orlando West.

Is it after you cross the bridge from the east? -- This is from Vilakazi Street, the one from Orlando West High.

CHAIRMAN: Vilakazi Street is the street that runs next to Orlando West School. -- Yes. The one that meets Khumalo Street.

That is Khumalo Street, yes. -- We arrived at that corner and parked our car at that corner.

You parked your car at the corner of Vilakazi and Khumalo? -- And Khumalo Streets, yes. (20)

About what time of the day was that? -- It was between 10h00 and 11h00.

MR HLUNGWANI: Proceed. -- Then the police officer took out his revolver and fired at the crowd. Then the students turned back and seemed to take the direction of Orlando West High School and the police left that scene without any casualties.

That was now this first firing, that was before they met the students in front of the Orlando High School. -- Yes.

Orlando West High. This was before they came there. -- Yes.

Go on. -- At this stage I had already parted with Mr (30) Kumalo as he was already taking pictures. Mr Kumalo is my colleague/...

colleague. I then drove up towards Orlando West High School where there was a clash between police and the students. Here again I saw a few White police officers throwing teargas canisters into the crowd which was charging with stones.

When you came there was the stone throwing on or the shooting was on? At what stage did you come to the crowd in front of - just at Vilakazi Street? -- Actually I parked near to a mission which is opposite Orlando West High, there was a mission house there. I parked the car outside and I got into a crowd which was at Vilakazi Street. Now, when (10) I got there, the crowd was already throwing stones and the police were throwing teargas canisters.

Before the shooting? -- It was before the shooting. I never witnessed any shooting at that time.

Now just describe how the shooting started. -- When the police officer - in fact they kept on throwing the teargas canisters and after some time he ordered that the Black cops, the Black police should charge at the crowd. They gave chase and they were carrying knob-kieries and I spotted one with a revolver, he was facing towards the crowd. (20)

That was a Black .. -- A Black police officer, yes. Then because I was not actually at the front, it is then that the crowd turned back and they ran towards Orlando West High and the Black police officers were giving chase. It is then that I went back into the car and the children were running towards all directions. Some got into Orlando West High and others got into the mission house and others were running towards the nearby houses.

Did you see a dog there? -- I spotted a dog but it was already dead, it had been stabbed. It was an Alsation. (30)

You did not see when it was got loose to get into the

crowd? -- No, I did not see.

Go on. -- Then the White officers instructed the Black cops to attack the crowd. Most of the Black cops were carrying kieres and I saw one of them carrying a revolver in his hand. The students then fled back while being chased by these Black police officers. I then returned to my car which I had parked not very far from the scene. But as I got into the white Volkswagen Beetle, the students attacked me accusing me of being a cop. "We are sick and tired of Black sell-outs. You are the ones who are oppressing us." said the students as (10) they surrounded my car trying to overturn it.

They thought you were a policeman. -- Yes.

Go on. -- But fortunately some students who knew me, arrived and intervened. After knowing that I am a pressman, they told me to leave the place, which I did.

Why did they not like to have you there? -- They said we are taking pictures and these pictures were going to incriminate them when published.

They thought they would be arrested on the ... -- On the pictures. (20)

On the pictures. -- Yes.

And then? -- On driving towards Uncle Tom's Hall I noticed that all cars with Whites were stoned. I then decided to park mine in a safe place as most students would think that I am a policeman. I then spotted a Combi driven by a White, but carrying two Black passengers. The Combi was ordered to stop, but it did not stop and it was pelted with stones. The Combi later went to crash at Uncle Tom's Hall. Before crashing, the Combi knocked down a young girl in school uniform and as she was bleeding profusely she was taken to hospital by a (30) taxi. The angry crowd ... (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Do you know, can you judge what age that child was?
-- She was about 8 - between 8 and 9 years.

The evidence we have had this morning - do you know whether she died later or not? -- I would not be sure, but she might have died, because she bled through the nose, mouth and ears.

Because you see there was evidence this morning that there was a child of 11, was it? The one that died of multiple injuries. She was 11, 12, 13. Could that perhaps be - could she be older than you thought she was? -- I would put (10) it that she was about 9.

All right well now, that was a car driven by? It was a Combi? -- It was a Combi.

Driven by? -- A White.

A White. -- Yes.

And it had two Blacks in the car? -- Blacks in the car.

Did it have a name on the outside? Can you - I do not want you to remember the name if you cannot, but did it have writing on the outside or not? -- There was writing, it was a commercial van. (20)

It was a commercial van. -- Yes.

And that was on its way going where? Do you know? -- I think it was heading towards Orlando East, but you see, when it was ordered, when it advanced towards Uncle Tom's Hall, it was ordered to stop. It never stopped and they pelted it with stones.

In what street was that? -- Khumalo Street.

Still in Khumalo Street higher up? Towards the railway line? -- Yes, that was next to Uncle Tom's Hall, it was going down towards the bridge. (30)

MR HLUNGWANI: Towards Orlando East. -- Yes.

Yes? -- The angry crowd then went for the Combi after it had crashed, but found that the man driving it was actually a Chinese. They therefore called an ambulance and took him in without hurting him any further. At this stage police vehicles were standing next to .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Was this the driver you say that was taken to hospital? -- The driver of the Combi was taken to hospital.

MR HLUNGWANI: Is it now the man you thought was White? -- Yes, we thought was White as the car came and after crashing the students discovered that he was a Chinese and some (10) thought that they should leave him.

CHAIRMAN: Have we got any evidence of such a person being injured?

MR HLUNGWANI: We do not have the evidence, but the press sort of has.

CHAIRMAN: You say he was then taken by ambulance? -- Yes, by an ambulance.

His passengers? -- His passengers apparently went out, they were not injured that night.

Yes? -- At this stage police vehicles were standing (20) next to Orlando swimming pool and were stopping all cars from Orlando West. In the late afternoon the mood of the people, even those who were not students, was very bitter as they accused police of enforcing Afrikaans down their neck at the point of a gun. Hence I think the riots spread thereafter. With the latest riots I think it is the police detentions that aggravated the situation.

What do you think aggravated the situation? Their presence? -- Their presence because in most cases whenever people saw, especially when they are in camouflage suits (30) to them that declared war. In fact I have seen in most cases

whenever a police van, wearing camouflage suits and the police van was just travelling down the streets, parents would start telling their children to get within doors. Without any incidents or without any further provocation or anything.

MR HLUNGWANI: You know that as the riots intensified, there was some burning of beerhalls, Administration Board offices, hostels and hotels and such things. Why do you think the rioters burned down the beerhalls? -- Deducing from what I overheard on the 17th, that is on the morning of the 17th I was outside the Orlando Police Station and there were (10) many young fellows there who were looking at the police and there were two helicopters there and as they surrounded these helicopters, they were actually looking at the helicopters and the police were in camouflage suits there.

And some of them came to see their friends or something, because there were some young chaps arrested. -- Yes, there were many people outside Orlando Police Station on that morning and I overheard a discussion between a group of about between 6 and 10 fellows were there. They accused the beerhall of exploiting their parents' privileges of being with their (20) families and actually observing the difficulties they were facing at their homes. They said that their fathers were always drunk when they got home. One remarked that he told his father that Afrikaans was being enforced on them, but his father only replied that there is nothing he can do that can be done. So they said that these beerhalls were merely there to oppress them and merely to distract their parents' attention and matters that concerned them.

What about the Bantu Administration office? -- On the same date they also suggested that Administration Board offices (30) be burned down. They said these township managers were gods

over people and then one who finalised their speech and actually warmed their hearts, raised the threat of citizenship certificates being imposed by the Administration Board and that if they are not burned down, they will all one day go back to the homelands.

Now like that you overheard that the Administration offices enforce citizenship certificates on them and what do they mean about centres of operation? -- They said that to start at the Administration Boards had police that raided them every morning for permits, for late rent paying and for (10) many things and they never looked upon the township managers as people they could use whenever in difficulty, but they only knew that the township managers were merely there to suppress them. Then again they said whenever a person is being called by someone to get to the office, that is the Administration offices, you know that by going there he might either lose a house or he has got some kind of an offence that he is not direct aware of.

Now what is your comment on that? Your own opinion and what happens to you as a Black of Soweto? -- As a Black (20) of Soweto, to start with, I personally did not like the Administration offices as such because of the way people were administered. In fact on more than one occasion that I have been summoned to appear at the .. (inaudible) manager's office, all you find that they thought that I had not paid rent when in fact I did pay rent. And I did not actually like the way they used to wake up people in the morning, in the early hours of the morning, between 3 and 4, to go and wait in the office where the township manager would only arrive at 08h30. (30)

What is your comment on the attitude of what you call a

Black Jack, that is now the Bantu Administration police? -- Well, I should say that they were very much - they are not trained and they are very much uncouth. They really used to knock at the doors, then the windows and you actually, you know they actually had all the power in them to do anything they like and as such if a person should not go to get to the office in the early hours, he had to bribe, raising from the rent to ... (inaudible) in order to get .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: You had to bribe them? -- Yes. They had all the power in them to do anything and people were scared of (10) them, scared of the so-called Black Jacks.

MR HLUNGWANI: They are scared of them better than also the South African Police. -- They actually prefer that the South African Police are much better than the Black Jacks because Black Jacks could mean that they could make you run without a shelter.

Do they care about your privacy, I mean, when coming in the early hours of the morning, they can also just get into a bedroom and ask you questions. -- They came to our bedroom whether one is dressed or not dressed. In fact my cousin (20) complained to me about that, that they were disturbed during their sleep in the early hours of the morning just to check on their family and they went to search in the bedroom and actually went under the beds, they thought that there were some other people who were not in the permit. They searched and found nobody and then from there they left.

Why did they not burn the recreation halls? -- The recreation centres they said they served them. In fact according to the discussion that those fellows were saying, they suggested that they had better leave all that (30) serve them, that is their society, but anything that did not serve/...

serve the society should be burned down. They said they have come to a stage where they are sick and tired of anything that does not serve them, that oppresses them.

CHAIRMAN: What would they then say about clinics? -- I never heard anything being said about clinics. But what I overheard was only about Administration Boards and beerhalls.

And what about the Employment Bureau? -- I never heard anything about that.

MR HLUNGWANI: What about - there was an attempt at burning the hotel at Diepkloof. -- Yes. (10)

Did you perhaps hear anything about a hotel being burned why it should be burned down? -- What I gathered on the 18th, that was on Friday, they actually said that there was just no kind of relief or entertainment they get from these hotels because these hotels are very expensive. They actually said it was much use that Blacks were even allowed into 5 star hotels when they do not have the means to get into those hotels.

So they even criticised those hotels, I mean the policy of actually declaring some of the hotels in towns as international hotels. -- International hotels. So they said (20) what was the use of granting/^{Blacks}the privilege of entering those hotels whilst those hotels were as far as the stars to them, that is compared to their wages.

That they would never be able to use them or ... -- That they would never be able to use them. And especially the Diepkloof Hotel, they said it was not even Black owned, but owned by the Administration Board offices. So this means this would be much better for the Administration Board giving it to some Black or at least lease it to a Black man, seeing that the Administration Board is sent to boost the economy of (30) the Black man, but as such this meant that all the profits they took/...

took on that hotel, using it for their own concern.

What about the buses then, Putco buses serving the whole Soweto, why were these burned down and damaged? -- According to my opinion and to what I gathered from the people after the burning of some buses, I tried to ask and people said after all Putco did not serve them well. They said there was a wide difference between a suburb bus and a Putco bus that is run in the townships, their commissions were very, very bad. They are mostly dirty.

We had somebody in evidence here telling us about (10) the arrogance of the conductors and the bus-drivers, the Blacks, on the buses towards the commuters. Did you hear anybody complain about that or did you as a Soweto resident, complain about it too? -- Well, most drivers are arrogant to tell the truth and also they also feel that they have a lot of power in their hands and the so-called bus conductors do not even serve their purpose because they do not care even if the bus could be how full .. (indistinguishable - it is very difficult to follow this witness) .. so much packed in a bus they do not care what happens. (20)

So much for the Administration police and the bus, but I would like you to give your opinion about the superintendents of the townships, whether they are friendly fellows, helpful people whom you can run to for advice and help? -- They have never been friendly. They have not even once to my knowledge been that friendly, because I have received complaints as a press man, I have received complaints from various people who were complaining that they have stayed in certain houses for periods of exceeding 30 to 50 years but the township managers have just kicked them out like that after, say, their (30) husband died, you know, a widow would come crying that she

had/...

had been chucked out of her house with 10 to 14 kids and the township manager has just no sympathy with that. Others they said that the township manager does not serve any purpose on them. To start with, if a person is trying to allocate somebody into the house permit, it is more than a hustle to get anybody into the permit and it is hard to explain to the township managers, to explain anything or whatever difficulty you have, even in paying rent, that you have certain financial difficulties, because their language was always harsh and they always threaten you to lock up the house. If you do (10) not meet their demands they only lock up the house. They will only tell you that the next person has enough money and he can get into that house.

They do not care whether you are left in the cold... -- In fact there are many families that I know of that are left in the cold and when I approached the township managers they are actually rude, they do not even want to answer and they refer us to their head office .. (inaudible).

Do you as a press man sometimes try to help these people in letting their seniors know about this? -- Yes, in most (20) cases we do most of the people's grievances why they have to be chucked out of their houses and when we phone the head office they usually try and reallocate those people into their houses. But never gives excuse why it has been done.

What about the - how do they feel about the citizenship certificate? -- The citizenship certificate is the one that actually heightened the feelings of the people because after it was announced that business people to start with, would no longer be allowed to renew their licences next year, that is if they do not have their citizenship certificates, (30) they said that this certificate was some kind of an octopus that/...

that would entangle every urban Black. Besides also the threat that anybody who applied for a house and does not have a citizenship certificate would not be able to get that house. They said this was some kind of a thing that would spread even to the homelands some kind of a day if they had to have this citizenship certificate and as such they said they would do anything in their power to get rid of it.

What is the feeling of a student who was born and brought up in Soweto when he is told that he must one day get to the homelands? -- This was actually why I am saying, it made (10) many youths run amuck with anger because they said they cannot imagine themselves being in the homelands which are said or alleged to be dry, barren grey sands and has no wealth in them and they had to go away from the Reef suburbs or cities which they are already used to, they grew up in a city life and one day they are being told that they have to go to these homelands.

I just want to ask you one question that had just slipped my mind. Why were the cars now driven by Blacks also stopped and stoned? -- Those cars that I saw being stoned, did (20) not comply with the instructions. They ordered all the cars to stop and they would look for police inside. If there are no police, they would look if there were no Whites and they would let the car do. But all those cars that refused to stop, they thought they must be having police inside and they stoned them as such.

I understand that the only passport through the crowd was only the Black Power sign. -- Yes.

But now even if there are no police inside, if you do not give that salute you ... -- You would not pass (30) because they would tell you that it means if you refuse to give that/...

that sign, you are not yet conscientised, you are not yet aware that you are Black.

What is the significance of being aware that one is Black? -- They say that if you are aware that you are Black, you are aware of all the laws that are oppressing you, that you are not privileged to enjoy and as such they say that if you are Black, you will be able to support their struggle, whatever they are fighting for.

When we were consulting you, you told me something about a drunken man who is not aware of the struggle he has or (10) the suffering he has under the system. -- Yes.

So perhaps would you like to say something about that? -- In fact they said to start with, they said they had discovered why the beerhalls or bottle stores were all stationed next to railway stations. They said this plan was actually made so that people - so that parents when they alight from trains, they would go into the bottle store or beerhall and then drink and finally they go home without actually being aware of anything that is happening; even when their children were complaining that they were hungry or complaining about (20) anything, any problem they would face in their house, their parents would not be aware because they are only drunk all the time.

This brings us to the question of shebeens. I understand, though we do not have such evidence, but I understand there are some pamphlets issued out to the shebeen queens warning them to close down their businesses and in the press we read that there was such a campaign of students in the Cape where students went from house to house, breaking the bottles and all from the shebeens and do you have perhaps some (30) comment on that? Why shebeen queens are to lose like that? --

They/...

They said when they had burned down the beerhalls, their aim was to get rid of liquor, their parents being addicted to liquor as they were before. So they saw no reason why the shebeens should continue selling liquor, because they were still sorting their ideas or the conscience of their parents. Because they said that as long as there is liquor they never achieve their ambitions. If their parents do not want to join them and fight with them for whatever cause they are fighting.

M'Lord, I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN: You were asked about drivers of motor cars (10) giving the Black Power sign. -- Yes.

Did you see the Black Power sign during the marching and the demonstrations? -- No, I never saw it.

You never saw it? -- No, actually I only saw it after - not during the marching, but I only saw it when - that is after there was the shooting of - after the shooting incident, that all the cars were now stopped and were ordered to give the sign.

By the students themselves? -- Yes, they .. (intervenes)

While they were marching, you never saw it? -- (20) During the first march, this was just a plain demonstration, they did not give any Black Power signs.

What do you say of the evidence, we have had a lot of evidence that it was shown all the time. -- Yes, they did it only on the cars, not during the first .. (intervenes)

No, when they were marching. At the school there before they even left. -- I never observed that. It possibly could be, but I never observed it. You see, what I observed most was the placards.

Most witnesses asked about it, say that that is so. (30) They saw the Black Power signs. -- Possibly they could - but what/...

what - you see, when I only noticed it was only when a car came from Orlando West going towards Orlando East all those cars were stopped and they were ordered to give the Black Power sign. It is then that they were given the green light to pass.

Was there any explanation given of why shops owned by Blacks were broken into and looted, burned down? -- No, that I never got any evidence leading to that.

Never heard anything about that? -- I never heard anything, I tried to enquire, but I did not find any such evidence. (10)

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

MR HLUNGWANI: M'Lord, the second witness would be Mr Kumalo.

MANGALISO ALF KUMALO: sworn states:

MR HLUNGWANI: You are a reporter also from the Sunday Times. The previous witness is your colleague. -- Yes, I am a photographer for Sunday Times.

Now just read out your statement and stop after each paragraph. -- On June 16th we were assigned with Mr Ezra Mantini to cover a students demonstration in Soweto. On arrival there we met students marching facing the east. We drove (20) closer to them, they turned, facing the north, between Khumalo Street, which is the main street in Orlando West and a second street from the bridge.

Go on. -- Whilst walking northwards just near the corner, they were confronted by police who told them to turn back. The police announcing, was holding a hand-held loudspeaker.

Now let us get it there. This corner you are speaking about it is corner of which and which streets? -- It is corner of Khumalo Street and a street just near the shops, it is the second street from the bridge coming from the police station side, the second street at the shops there. So they (30)

actually turned off to face north. They had walked down, facing the east, and then they turned left to face the north.

It is also after you have crossed the bridge from the east.
-- Yes.

Yes, go on. -- It is the second street after you have crossed the bridge from the east.

Yes.

CHAIRMAN: What time of the day was that? -- It was approximately between 10h00 and 11h00.

MR HLUNGWANI: You did see a loudspeaker in the possession (10) of the police and it was used to warn the students. -- Yes.

Was it possible that the other people could have seen it?
-- Well, there were huge crowds, people were milling around all over. To actually get closer I had to get into a yard to advance to where police were.

Was it possible that the other colleagues of yours could have heard the loudspeaker being used? Even if they did not see it. -- Well, it was possible that some of them would have heard it but the police were not very close to the children.

The crowd was quite big. -- It was big but the (20) bigger portion of the crowd was still at the back and a few in front.

Just continue after the announcement. -- After the announcement the students tried to continue and police responded by firing teargas canisters. One White police fired shots onto the boys who had advanced further forward than the big crowd of students.

Now these shots you are speaking about here, was it now before the police confronted the students at the Orlando West High School? -- It was before the confronting at the (30) Orlando West High School. Actually it was just starting then.

Was/...

Was it when the police were still marching in the direction of Pfeni to come from the top? -- No, what happened, the students came back to go to Orlando West and then police drove away to go and get into Vilakazi Street, walking the street just in front of the school.

They came from the top.

CHAIRMAN: The police then went back? -- They went back, going round to the Pfeni side, the station side.

To the Pfeni Station. -- Yes.

And did they drive up - do you know the name of the (10) street? -- They went past Khumalo Street and then turned ... (intervenes)

And turned to the left. -- They appeared in - I am not sure whether they turned at the top because I was far from there.

They turned up in the direction of the station. -- Yes.

Pfeni Station. -- Yes.

Did they then go past the clinic? -- Yes, they went past the clinic.

Phomolong. -- Phomolong Clinic and when they next appeared, they appeared in Vilakazi Street. (20)

It would appear that they went right around the top and they then came down. -- Yes, it appears so.

MR HLUNGWANI: Did they get to the group of students before you? Or did you reach the students first at Orlando West High School? -- I reached the students first.

Yes, just go on. -- The students picked up stones and stoned the police who fired more shots as they hurried to their vehicles. Police drove away. I then followed many students who first scattered and then walked back towards Orlando West High. As they were walking I approached some of them, (30) and arranged to take pictures of the placards without showing their/...

their faces as I did not want to be responsible for their arrest. To my request they cooperated beautifully, actually saying that they appreciate my idea of photographing them without showing their faces because police use these photos taken by the press to arrest them. One of them added that they have actually asked police through their seniors not to photograph them during their demonstration. The students made their request before the 16th June.

Now just there, they said they made that request before the 16th. Was there any deputation from their ranks to (10) the police to go and ask such things? -- When I asked them they said they had asked police, because previously the Special Branch police were taking pictures of them and they did not like this, because they did not want to be fighting the police, they said they sent their seniors to them that they do not want any pictures. And even from the press they did not want pictures. That is why I had to oppose them and explain that actually I will not show their faces.

Go on. -- Just as the students and I arrived at Orlando West High School a singing huge crowd of students was (20) advancing, marching, facing east. They walked into Orlando West High saying they are fetching students from there. They were holding banners and placards attacking Afrikaans. The crowd was jam-packed into the school. I was photographing them with placards when suddenly shots rang.

Now, you speak about placards. Did you perhaps read some of them? Can you perhaps remember some of the wording? -- Some of the wording had "Afrikaans stinks. If Afrikaans is so wonderful, why force it on us." And then another one: "You oppress us so much you even force us to learn every- (30) thing in your language. Afrikaans can only be used in this

country. We need an international language."

That is some of them. -- Yes.

Did you take photographs of some of these? -- Yes, I took many photographs of these.

And what happened to these photographs? -- They were taken by students together with my films and the cameras.

Just go on to page 3. -- The students scattered in different directions. I saw young girls hanging on a barbed wire fencing the school as they tried to run away. I dashed out of the school and ran through houses as to be away (10) from the line of fire. Going through houses until I got to a point that was near police. From a vantage point I photographed police firing into the children and children stoning the police. This action continued until a White police asked Black police armed with revolvers and sticks to move forward. The Black police charged at the students, the students stoning, forced the charging police back. Police ran back to join the other crowd of police behind them. At this point police used their vehicles for cover. As they fired I spotted colleagues from The World newspaper and joined them to an even better (20) spot. From this point we watched police shooting at the children with others falling. But as others were falling, the students surrounded this area, stoning from various angles. At one stage a revolver appeared to have jammed, watching people laugh as the police tried to fire, but nothing came out. In another incident a police fell as he retreated from the stoning students. Police could not take it any more, so they drove away fast. On a street adjacent to the Orlando High School .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Which way did they drive? -- They drove (30) towards Uncle Tom, moving from which is .. (intervenes)

It/...

It would be down Vilakazi Street to Khumalo? -- Yes, facing north to Khumalo Street.

Is that through the crowd? -- They drove through.

The crowd was now standing up to them. -- Yes, but the crowd was no longer huge, it was sort of scattered all over the place at that point, but they still went through it and as they were going through there was still stoning too and then they got to a point when they shot these. There were more shots. A small boy fell. As he was writhing with pain, other students were very fast in picking him up. There was anger and (10) pain, screams as more bullets tore into the crowd. There seemed to be no plan. The police were blasting away at the mob. What was remarkable was the .. (intervenes)

If the police shot like that all the time, you know, we have had evidence here, then there must have been many more dead than there were dead or injured. Is it possible that they might have shot in the air over their heads to warn them? -- Many were in hospital. Even though the number of people who died on the spot was left. Others died late, others died in hospital, others did not die. (20)

But you know, if you are shooting through a lot of people like that, you cannot miss them. -- Yes, but it depends on where you hit them like, you can hit one on the arm, you know on the body, in the tummy.

But the chance is if you miss one, you hit the one behind him. -- Well, they were shot, there were quite a number shot.

We know the number of shots that were fired too. -- The police were really shooting all the time because they were desperate too. They were actually running away. That is when they ran to even go across the bridge. They were (30) stationed there for a long time, they could not ..(inaudible)

there/...

there, because you know, and besides they were not firing like when you are standing still sort of.

MR HLUNGWANI: But it is possible that most of the shots might have been shot in the air or some of them were just shot aimlessly to scare the crowd off perhaps? -- Well, they were pointing the crowd - I think some of them may, because the police were actually not standing still, they were running, shooting through, running, because they were hit; some of the stones were hitting the police.

Did you see a student sort of encircling the (10)
police perhaps? Surrounding them sort of in the heat of stone throwing. -- Yes, in the heat of the stone throwing at a point in front of - there was a white house just next to the school where the police vehicles were. As they were stoning them, they surrounded them completely from all angles and the school children were advancing, to police ran - that is the point when they ran away.

Were the police now surrounded together with their vehicles?
-- Yes, together with their vehicles. They were actually using those vehicles for cover. (20)

CHAIRMAN: You are quite certain that they were surrounded? -- Well, they were surrounded. The students - actually I should say they were surrounded, that they were firing from all angles, but the students were not really close to them, they were just firing stones from all angles and the police were in the middle.

The students were all around the police cars? -- Yes. Except on one angle when they were left which is the angle which has houses, the north side. There from that side they did not fight. (30)

That is where the police went through, isn't it, on the side/...

side there. -- Yes.

But you cannot go right down on that side because ... -- There are houses. But from the other angles, from the south, the west and the east.

MR HLUNGWANI: That is where the students came from. -- That is where the students came from.

When they threw the police. -- Yes.

Go on. -- What was remarkable was the attitude of the children. They were so incensed with anger that many seemed oblivious from danger. As they continued their attack (10) dodging and ducking. I was taking pictures of the young student Hector Petersen, blood was flowing from his mouth and some students knelt next to him and tried to stop the flow of blood.

CHAIRMAN: Did you know what his name was? Did you see him being taken to the clinic, that particular one? -- Yes, I saw him, but I discovered his name later.

That was Petersen, was it? -- That was Petersen.

He was taken to the clinic. -- Yes, there was actually foam in his mouth and blood. (20)

It would appear that he was dead by the time they got him to the clinic. -- Yes, I think so. He was still breathing then and they just shot him next to where we were.

MR HLUNGWANI: It was the World newspaper people who took the young injured to the clinic. -- Yes, they took some. It was them plus other people too who were on the scene.

Yes, continue. -- In a moment they were rushing him to the car belonging to a newspaper The World. Some students objected to my taking of pictures. I was still explaining that these pictures could help them when one of them hit me with a (30) stone, a young girl from a crowd away from us threw another stone/...

stone. I covered. The students next to me were divided in that crowd. Two thought I should be beaten up as I represent the adult folk who should have fought and won the struggle long ago. I mentioned .. (intervenes)

Just a moment please. When they accused you of being a representative of the adult folks, what did they mean? Did they mean even their parents they are representing them? -- What they meant was that I represent the adults who had left the struggle and the way they were suffering because the adults did nothing about it, along with their parents. (10)

CHAIRMAN: The older people. -- The older people did nothing about the suffering until they took it upon themselves to do something. That is what they meant.

MR HLUNGWANI: And you nearly lost your life because of that. -- Yes.

Because of having not fought before. -- Yes.

Now go on. -- I mentioned my name, telling them who I was and three of the students advanced forward and said I must not be beaten up. More stones came from the outside crowd. Others who had been far from us moved in and took my cameras. (20) As I tried to argue one student sensing the danger, pulled me by the hand and we ran. As we were running he was hit with a stone by the angry mob and I ran alone, jumped walls into different yards. As I approached in one yard students shouted that I must be stopped. One of them drew a knife. I saw no chance of running any more as the mob was big in front, and there were more behind. The first thing I did was to mention my name very fast and explain who I was. He then spread his hands holding a knife and said 'this is Bra Alf you are not touching him.' (30)

Just there please. This young man spread his arms to you
in/...

in a way of protecting you. -- In a way of protecting you.

He used the words 'Bra Alf', what does that mean? -- It means 'Brother Alf', it is the language which ..

That is now the lingo franca in Soweto, meaning Brother Alf. -- Yes.

Go on. -- A second young man who heard me, also told the students who I was and that they must not beat up their own brothers and sisters. Others did not know why I was running away. They thought I had done something drastically wrong. So I left with one of the students and finally reached (10) Mr G.G. Xoriles home where I telephoned my office, Sunday Times. When another car came from the office, police had converged on the eastern side of the Orlando Bridge and some vehicles were on fire.

Now you express your opinion in the following paragraph. -- In my opinion there would have been no disturbance if the police had not fired as students marched peacefully without attacking anybody.

CHAIRMAN: But your own story was that they threw stones and then the police fired teargas at them. That is what you (20) said. -- No, no, but the police started first.

Did they? -- They threw teargas and then they started firing.

Teargas ... -- That was before they were stoning them.

No, that was what you said. Read again what you said.

Am I wrong?

MR HLUNGWANI: The sequence of the story was that this is now the stoning.

CHAIRMAN: There was stoning and then there was teargas. -- No, no, there was teargas - there was a loudspeaker and (30) teargas and then .. (intervenes)

Is that the sequence? -- Yes, that is the sequence.

MR HLUNGWANI: In your evidence there is the loudspeaker. -- Yes.

Just now when they confronted the students and the students went in the direction of some - I mean, they did not stop, they actually continued coming. -- Yes.

And then there was teargas. -- Teargas and then fire.

And fire. -- Yes.

CHAIRMAN: Fire or stones? -- No, no, fire. Even according to this.

Teargas and then firing with -- The police (10)
fired at the students.

Before stones were thrown? -- Before stones were thrown, because students did not want to turn back.

MR HLUNGWANI: M'Lord, the witness describes two stages of shooting.

CHAIRMAN: I know. I am at the very first one now. -- Yes.

The very first one in Khumalo Street. -- Yes, I can read it again.

Yes, I think I must have heard you incorrectly then, but read it again. -- Yes. (20)

I do not think it is necessary, because it is recorded. -- Yes.

But you say this was the order. There was ... -- This was the order.

A loudspeaker, then teargas and then the students came on and they fired with guns and then there was stone throwing. -- And then there was - they turned back.

MR HLUNGWANI: Without throwing stones? -- Without throwing stones and the stones came later.

CHAIRMAN: Yes? -- This is my opinion then. (30)

About Vilakazi Street you say while you were taking

photographs. -- Yes.

You heard the shooting. -- Yes.

Is that correct? -- Yes.

All right, go on. You say in your opinion? -- In my opinion there would have been no disturbance if the police had not fired as students marched peacefully without attacking anybody. Especially if they had not injured or killed anybody. During my work as a press man which is more than twenty years, I have seen adults demonstrating on very many occasions and police had ordered those demonstrating to please (10) disperse within so many minutes and if they refused I have seen police baton charging them without a single bullet and most of these demonstrations involved political bodies like PAC and ANC as well as Wits students. So as a result I was shocked and amazed by the police brutality. More so because when I checked I found that police knew in advance so they could have used better means to stop the march.

How many people did you see that day there at that particular place? -- At Orlando West?

Yes, -- About between 10 000 and 12 000. (20)

Have you ever seen so big a march in your life before? -- Of people?

Yes. A march, not a gathering at a football match. -- I have seen big marches, yes, over the years.

Not at a football match, but have you seen a march as big as that before? -- Yes, I have.

Where? -- For instance there was a citizens march right into Johannesburg.

When was that? -- In the 60's. Starting from - I was actually taking pictures there. There were several (30) fights there, baton charge and everything.

Shooting? -- No shooting. I was actually injured there, but there was no shooting. Stabbings by members of the crowd and so on. Actually I ... (intervenes)

Do you remember when that was? -- I do not quite remember the year but I can check it. It was a very huge crowd right in the centre of Johannesburg. There were ministers among them, even though there were fights reported and so on. It was called the citizens march.

Was this before Sharpeville? Sharpeville was in 1960. -- I think it was after Sharpeville but I am not 100% (10) sure, but you see if we check with any newspaper they will know when the citizens march was. It was combined, a multi-racial crowd with ministers of religion, educationists and so on and lawyers and everybody was marching. And I have seen huge crowds too when students marched from Wits. This has happened several times, marching with police baton charging them, beating them up and so on, but I really think shooting was unnecessary.

You what? -- I really think shooting was unnecessary in that after the shooting the students were so hysterical, (20) they were so angry that they did not mind dying, they would advance to shooting police and just get on and on. They were not even like the Alexandra for instance, they were using the shields used for rubbish bins, but in Soweto they did not have those, and they went in to the police, the way they were hysterical and I think they would not have got that angry if there was no shooting, especially because in the location they were actually with their people. They had nobody to pick up trouble with really if there were no police in that they were marching towards Orlando for a gathering there. (30)

Do you know where they were going to march to? -- They

were going to march to Orlando Stadium and then there they would decide whether they would go and see the Bantu Education Department and so on. There was also a hint that they might go .. (inaudible) to go and see the Bantu Education Department people.

Where is the Orlando Stadium? -- Orlando Stadium is on the same side as the police station about half a mile from the Orlando Police Station but towards the north.

North? -- North of the police station.

MR HLUNGWANI: It is now on the way as you are driving (10) from the police station to town. -- Yes.

On the left-hand side. -- Yes.

Could you perhaps - I asked you a question about how you think the police would have acted, you told me an incident which happened later on I think it was in the preparation of Eloff Street march or something like that. Could you perhaps tell the Commission something about it? -- You mean a different incident altogether?

I mean the ... -- Oh, the methods they could have used.

I mean the way the police ... (inaudible). -- This was (20) sort of taken from a story. Electrifying tension gripped a huge - this was on the same day the students tried to march into New Canada.

CHAIRMAN: This was the 4th August. -- Yes, this was the morning of that day.

Yes? -- What happened that day.

MR HLUNGWANI: Perhaps just describe it without reading. -- What happened was students had moved to a place called Klipspruit which was Pimville before. Now, as they were moving there with placards, the police came and arrived there (30) in dramatic style. When they got there, they got off their

vans and pulled their guns and cocked the guns in readiness to shoot and then the students responded by lifting a peace sign and lifting placards, saying: we want peace, we are not fighting. The man in charge of the police lifted a peace sign too and then the watching crowd roared with appreciation. Then he ordered his men into the trucks. They quickly got into the trucks and they drove towards the students. The students walked towards them and as they were passing the students, the students made another peace sign and the police made a peace sign and there was laughter and it was over. (10)

The peace sign is now raising of your forefinger and your middle finger-- Yes.

As if you are taking an oath. -- Yes, and even that I think it was a responsible action of that particular officer in charge. If he was not, he would have shot like had happened in other cases.

Don't you think it was also responsible for the students in raising their -- Yes, yes, they actually assured the police that they were not fighting, they want peace.

And nothing happened? -- Yes. (20)

M'Lord, I have no further questions.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

MR HLUNGWANI: The following witness will be lead by my Learned Friend, Mr Van Graan.

MR VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, the next witness is Mr Duma.

ENOCH WILLIAM DUMIZANI DUMA: sworn states:

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Will you please read your memorandum? I will interrupt you from time to time to ask some questions. -- I, Enoch Duma, a reporter employed by the Sunday Times newspaper in Johannesburg .. (intervenens) (30)

Will you please speak up? -- I, Enoch Duma, a reporter employed/...

employed by the Sunday Times newspaper in Johannesburg, was assigned to cover the unrest which broke out in Soweto on June 16th, 1976. As I was driving to work from Dobsonville, where I live, to Johannesburg, where my offices are, I stopped at Mofolo Village at 8,30 a.m. when I saw a crowd of people, comprising mostly of children.

Along which street were the children approaching? -- I do not know the name of the street, but it is not far from the Mofolo Golf Club.

You may proceed. -- I knew on the morning of June (10) 16th that Soweto school children would march from various schools in Soweto, assemble at Orlando Stadium, and from there march as one huge crowd to the school inspectorate offices in Booyens to air their grievances, namely, to discuss their rejection of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction with the ... (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Just stop there for one moment. Did you know that that was the intention, that was what they were going to do? -- Yes.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: From whom did you get that information? (20) -- I got this information from some of the students at Morris Isaacson High School.

On what day did you get that information? -- On June 15th.

Did you visit the pupils of the Morris Isaacson School? -- I met some of them and my niece attends school, she is a matriculant.

Did they perhaps tell you if they had organised a meeting with the inspectors of the Department of Bantu Education? -- No, what she said, I asked her about this, she said this was their plan that they should march from their school, (30) Morris Isaacson, to the stadium and then along the way they

were/...

were to be joined by other students, other pupils and I believe this is what they did. As they were marching they were joined by other students.

From whom did they get that instruction? -- I do not know.

Can't you say if it was from fellow scholars? -- Well, it must have emanated from them clearly, because from what I know the whole strategy of the students movement had been planned by the students themselves and they said this openly that they are responsible for everything in Soweto these days.

You may proceed. -- For 20 minutes I followed the (10) crowd in my car. And, realising that there was nothing happening at that time, decided to go to the office to be in time for my deadline.

Can you perhaps explain the route which the children followed? -- I may, but I do not know the names of the streets.

CHAIRMAN: Were you near Morris Isaacson? -- I was between - no, I was not, I was far from there, but I was between the Mofolo Golf Club and the Mofolo Municipal Offices, just between there.

Do you know which school that would be? -- Opposite (20) the Salvation Army building, I was coming down there.

I do not know exactly where that would be. Do you know where these particular children came from? -- Yes, I believe that they came from Morris Isaacson High School because most of them the very first group came from Morris Isaacson and that group was to be joined by other schools.

Hadn't the Naledi High School joined them already? -- I would not know, I would not say that for certain.

Yes? -- Later .. (intervenes)

ADV. VAN GRAAN: At what time did you go to your office (30) to make the report? -- I was at the office after 09h00, about

09h20 or so.

Did you know if there was any shooting at that stage already? -- I did not know, no, I did not know that.

Proceed. -- Later all my colleagues received reports that the student march had erupted in a bloody violence. I was then assigned by my assistant editor to "rush to Soweto and get a report of what is happening there." When I arrived at Orlando just after 14h00, I noticed school children standing along Mooki Street, not far from the Orlando Stadium. The street was littered with broken glasses. (10)

And what were these children doing? -- At that time they were just standing along the street, they were doing nothing.

Yes? -- I deviated and instead of driving deeper into Soweto, went to see the late Mr Washington Mposula, principal of Emthonjeni Higher Primary School in Orlando and he told me that there was trouble in Soweto and that if I want to go through without being attacked, I must stick out my hand and make the Black Power salute like this and he showed me how to do it.

CHAIRMAN: I suppose you had seen it before that day. (20)

-- I had not. I had just entered Soweto at the time.

You had seen before that day how the Black Power sign was made. -- Not in the morning.

No, no. -- No, I had not.

Before that date. -- Before that date?

Yes. -- No, I had not.

You had never seen the Black Power sign? -- Not in Soweto but elsewhere I had.

You had seen it elsewhere, you knew what the Black Power sign was. -- Yes. (30)

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Did the principal tell you about the reasons for/...

for the trouble in Soweto? -- Yes, he did.

What did he mention to you? -- He said students have been demonstrating today and that this has been caused by their rejection of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. In fact his school was involved and I think I spent about between 8 and 10 minutes with him and after that I drove away.

Did he identify the demonstration as the cause of the trouble in Soweto? -- Yes, he did.

Yes, proceed. -- I left Mr Mposula and got back to Mooki Street. Just then I saw five young men between (10) 14 and 18 walking quite casually in the street. Suddenly three policemen, two White, one Black, got out of their car and ordered the boys to stop.

Do you know if the children were followed by the police? -- No, they were not, definitely not.

Did you observe a burning building in that particular area where you had seen the children? -- No, I did not.

Proceed. -- The boys panicked and ran away. I immediately stopped my car and tried to take photographs of what was happening. The police fired at the fleeing boys. I (20) could see from where I was standing that the police were aiming at the boys, who all ran into the premises of Khanya Communal School.

Where is that school situated? -- The school is situated between Orlando Stadium and Mooki School, junior school.

Proceed. -- Other children in the trouble spot scattered and ran away. I feared for the boys' safety. So when two of them emerged from the other side of the school building, I opened the door of my car and called them saying: 'come in, come in, you are going to be killed.' They both jumped (30) in. They were terribly frightened. They talked at the same time/...

time, saying: "they have killed so and so" mentioning the name of the boy who was allegedly killed.

Can't you remember the name? -- No, I cannot.

Proceed. -- While driving away, I asked why the police were after them. One of them said: "we have done nothing. We were just walking in the street when the police attacked us." As we approached the Orlando Charge Office, we saw more crowds milling outside the D.O.C.C. (this is the Y.M.C.A.) in Orlando. The two boys, who identified themselves as students, asked me to let them out at D.O.C.C. I did. (10)

Where is that situated, that D.O.C.C. -- It is situated opposite, not quite, but not far from the Orlando Police Station. I parked my car and joined the crowd. Police, about 40 of them were moving about, jostling the people. Some of the police, armed with automatic rifles were questioning people. A young woman suddenly lifted her hand and with a clenched fist salute, cried Black Power. A young White policeman grabbed her by her dress and frog-marched her as she protested, to the charge-office. There were other incidents of confrontation between the police and residents and students I witnessed. (20) For instance, in Dobsonville, photographer Sidney Mahlangu my colleague and I were caught in a cross-fire when police, using pistols and rifles, fired at a crowd without issuing a warning. We stopped dead in our tracks and only moved when it was safe. I witnessed another shooting incident at Ikwezi.

CHAIRMAN: When was this one before this one at Dobsonville? -- I do not remember the date, but I covered this incident. I do not quite remember the date.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Was it on the 16th June, that Wednesday? -- No, it was not on the 16th. (30)

On a later date. -- Later, yes, but I think it was in the

same week.

CHAIRMAN: Were any photographs taken? -- Yes, of the police shooting at the crowd.

Are they available? -- Yes.

Yes? -- I witnessed another shooting incident at Ikwezi. A jittery young White policeman was posted at the Ikwezi Bridge to protect workmen who were repairing the derailed passenger train. Out of curiosity people went near the scene of the derailment to see what was happening. At the time I was waiting for Mr Mahlangu to return to the car after (10) taking photographs. The policeman in question, without any apparent reason, opened fire at the crowd. Sensing that I would be hit by a bullet, I drove away. He turned the gun at me. I ducked and drove fast past him, missing the bullet narrowly. I nearly overturned on the bridge. I also witnessed the shooting of a student and two men at Zone 6, Diepkloof, during the afternoon of the second stay-away strike.

What was the date of that? -- I do not remember the date, but it will be easy to find out the date.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Why were they shot? -- When I got to (20) the scene I found some people who were returning home from work. This was on a Tuesday and they were not supposed to go to work because there was the stay-away strike in Soweto. So some people in the township attacked them as they alighted from the bus and they chased them to the veld near Baragwanath and police came and some people were arrested and others were shot and some people who were returning home from work were injured.

CHAIRMAN: And you say these people who were shot, what were they? -- One of them I saw the following day was a schoolboy and the two men were from the nearby men's hostel in (30) Diepkloof.

Were/...

Were they returning from work or were they of those who attacked the people who were returning? -- I am not sure whether they were returning from work or whether they were (intervenes)

Attacking those who were -- Yes, I am not sure of that. The unrest would not have happened had it not been for the intransigent attitude of the Department of Bantu Education senior officials.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Are you referring to a particular person? -- To certain people in that department. (10)

Can you name them perhaps? -- No, giving their names, I know the names, but I have forgotten them now. These two men who were told about the student rejection of Afrikaans and a delegation went to see these people, the officials of the Bantu Education Department with a view to finding a solution to this problem. This was about, I do not know, but much earlier. Some time last year people were talking about this and then these people just decided to ignore the complaint of the students and I know that some members of the School Board in Soweto were sacked because they were said to be (20) agitators and these were people who were concerned about what was happening in the schools, that school children were telling their teachers that they were not happy about being taught in the medium of Afrikaans, a language they did not understand well. And these officials decided not to meet the delegation of the students. I maintain that the unrest was spontaneous. No political party organised it. Even the rejection of Afrikaans by students was not the real cause of the present state of unrest. In my opinion, the Afrikaans issue was merely the tip of the iceberg in a situation that (30) had been mounting over a period of years. The real cause of this/...

this situation is the repressive society which is being increasingly rejected by the youth. Blacks, especially students, openly say "We are tired of being dehumanised by these repressive laws. We want quality education. Pass laws must go. We demand good wages for their parents. We want to have a say in deciding our destiny. We want absolute freedom - one man one vote." Everyone in Soweto feels insecure. Many people have been detained under the State's security laws. This is aggravating the already delicate situation. There has been a lot of wholesale shooting of children (10) and innocent people. Black journalists are being harrassed and detained. One of my colleagues, Willie Bokala of The World was detained shortly after giving evidence before the Commission of Inquiry. Even people who belong to legitimate communal organisations, such as the Black Parents' Association, have tasted the wrath of officialdom. Most of the executive of this organisation have been detained. Students themselves have admitted time and time again that "we are behind what is happening in Soweto. We do not plan our strategy with our parents. All we want from parents and older people is (20) their moral support. We are prepared to die for our freedom and convictions." Black police who have become unpopular with the residents, have been guilty of brutality. I was for no reason beaten up by four policemen in Mofolo Village. They broke my glasses, my watch and took my press card. I had to spend 10 days in bed recovering from injuries sustained during the attack.

CHAIRMAN: When did that happen? -- This happened at Mofolo Village.

When? -- In August, 24.

(30)

Of this year? -- Of this year.

Did/...

Did you lay a complaint? -- I beg your pardon?

Did you lay a complaint? -- I have not. I do not know the name of the men. I went there to cover a story of a policeman whose house had been gutted by fire and I walked in with my colleague, Mr Kumalo. The police accused me of being one of the agitators.

Was this at the police station where you were assaulted? -- No, I was assaulted at a policeman's house in the yard, in his yard.

And you have not laid a complaint? -- I do not know (10)
the names ... (intervenens)

Since when is it necessary to know the name of your assailant to lay a complaint? Surely you know better than that. -- Yes.

You were at a particular place, you were at a policeman's house you say. Surely one lays a complaint about that. -- Yes, well.

Well, I advise you to go and lay a complaint in any event if this happened to you.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS. (20)

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Ons het geen verdere getuienis nie, Edele.
Ek doen aan die hand dat ons verdaag.

DIE KOMMISSIE VERDAAG.
