

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

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*Open Bladsy wenyder nie.*

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DR. YUTAR: U verwys na die getuienis wat mnr. Abrahams gister hier afgelê het? --- Ek verwys na daardie getuienis. Dan ten slotte wil ek net dit sê: Dat hier is verskeie getuies onder andere die intelligente Mej. Gaffoor, getuig dat hulle leiers of sogenaamde leiers is almal gearresteer. Dan wil ek dit vir u baie duidelik stel dat die enigste persone wat in aanhouding is, of almal dié wat in aanhouding is, is in afwagting op klagtes, ernstige klagtes, eerste bylae oortredings van die Strafproseswet. Brandstigting, openbare geweld, huisbraak, plundery ensomeer. Of dit die leiers is weet ek nie. (10

GEEN VERDERE VRAE.

DR. YUTAR: My Lord, the next witnesses is a group of eight from the School of Social Work, University of Cape Town.

With Your Lordship's leave I would like them to be seated in front over here. Four microphones will be sufficient for the eight. Would they take up their seats please?

While they are getting ready I hand in four copies of a memorandum. Starting from the left we have got Miss Berrangé B., Miss Chikte, Dr. Dreyer, Miss Hatchuel is not here. Then we have got in her place Mr. Francis, Professor Helm, Mr. Louw, Mrs. Taylor and then Mr. F.C. Theron. (20

WITNESSES SWORN IN.

My Lord, Professor Helm will just very briefly indicate the purpose of the team now appearing before the Commission to testify.

PROFESSOR HELM: My Lord, I would like just to introduce the team to you. We are all of us Social Scientists by training and profession except one, Mr. Francis here next to me. He is not a Social Scientist by training but he has been/.. (30

been working with and alongside of us for so long that we regard him as a Social Scientist by association. Now the reason why we wanted to come forward as a team is because we believe that the nature of our work has brought us into closer touch with Coloured, Asian and African communities in Cape Town than is the normal experience of any persons and particularly the normal experience of White persons. There are many aspects of the Commissioners' tasks which we believe Social Scientists could contribute perspectives on. Our team wants to concentrate on only (10 certain of these perspectives. We want to concentrate on what we believe to be the ground factors that have contributed to the growing divisions between Whites and Blacks in South Africa. We consider that there is a growing polarization- we are aware of the fact for instance that 20 or 25 years ago the divisions between the social distance between for instance Coloured people and Africans were far greater than they are today and the social divisions between Coloured peoples and Whites were far less and we have tended to see the social distances between Coloured people and Africans (20 lessening and the distances between White and Black growing and it is the ground factors that have conduced to this situation that we would like to talk about. We also believe that this growing distance and growing division has at the same time grown into hostility and we would like to talk about this. We wish very respectfully to urge to the Commission not to overlook these ground factors. We see the Commission as a real opportunity for helping to bridge the widening divisions between White and Black. Because we believe that ultimately, whatever methods you may use, (30

to/..

to conduct or to control riots, whatever methods you may use to conduct or to control wars, ultimately you will have to get down to the conference table and then the important things are those that explain and underlie the position of each party. The more understanding there is of the position of the others, the more successful will the conference be and the more..and the safer the peace. With these few words I would like to introduce my team to the Commission.

DR. YUTAR: Well then may I do that for you? We will start off with Miss Berrangé. Yours is a very short memorandum, would you be so kind as to read it to the Commission please, and would you make use of that microphone.

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MISS BERRANGÉ: Right.

DR. YUTAR: Miss Berrangé, I think you introduce yourself in the first paragraph, who you are and what you are. Would you carry on then please?

MISS BERRANGÉ: All right. This is a statement concerned to examine from one point of view, how young Coloured persons view Whites. I am a Senior Lecturer on the academic staff of the Department of Applied Sociology and Social Work at the University of Cape Town and I am also a registered social worker, and a major portion of my work is the education and training of social workers. This comment I am making is based on my experience in operating training programmes in social group work in community centres and children's homes serving Coloured persons. The relationship between client and social worker is one of the most important areas of concentration in social work training programmes. Without sensitivity and an awareness of his own impact on the client or clients with whom he is working, a social worker cannot

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function adequately. From my experience in training persons to work with small groups of Coloured children, my impression is (a) that Whites are initially regarded with awe and that it takes some time for trust and confidence in the relationship to develop (more than one would normally..than would normally be experienced by a worker beginning work with a new group).

(b) that Whites are experienced as alien: this is manifested for example in exploratory behaviour by the children such as feeling the worker's hair, touching hands, comparing skin colour, examining clothing; (c) that Whites are outside the (10 range of experience of many Coloured children; children

will ask questions: have you a boyfriend, what you do when you go out with your boyfriend, where do you live, tell us about your house, can we see your house, how much does it cost to go to university - questions indicative of a need to explore a foreign and what is seen as an enviable way of life, (d) that Whites are seen as rich and powerful:

demands are made of the worker and the response that "I can't arrange that" or "I can't afford that" is received with disbelief which often leads to anger. In summary, my (20

impression is that the concept of a White person as an individual human being is foreign to many Coloured children. Similarly, for many of the White students the training programme provides them with the first opportunity to experience a Coloured person as a human being with individual feelings and aspirations. In my view, when opportunities for contact at an individual level between White and Coloured persons are limited, racial myths, racial suspicions and racial hostility, are readily engendered. While class differences based on income and other social stratification (30

exists/..

exists in many other countries so that social workers drawn from middle or upper middle class homes would appear unfamiliar to working class children, the social distance between White social workers and the Coloured children that I have experienced has been such as to indicate a marked degree of alienation. Racial separation is leading to polarization and unless programmes of social reconstruction such as bridge-building group work can be instituted, the situation can only get worse.

DR. YUTAR: Miss Berrangé, it wasn't so nerve-racking (10  
after all, was it? Right. Well, we had to give encouragement to the next witness, Miss Chikte and at the request of this lady would her name not be published. She has no objection to reading it in court, open court and just her name.

CHAIRMAN: The name of this witness is not to be published or any indication of her identity.

MISS CHIKTE: This is a statement of the views of Coloured and Indian children in Cape Town regarding educational discrimination. I will give you a brief introduction to..

CHAIRMAN: Yes, and tell us who you are. (20

MISS CHIKTE: In 1973 I qualified as a social worker at the University of the Western Cape and I have worked in a psychiatric unit at Groote Schuur Hospital for two years. At present I am a field instructor for undergraduate social work students at the University of Cape Town and am simultaneously enrolled on a part-time basis for my B.Soc.Sc.(SW)(Hons) in psychiatric social work. The statement I now make is well supported by my own personal experience, and reflects the views of "Coloured" and "Indian" school children, especially in Cape Town and regarding educational discrimination. (30

DR./..

DR. YUTAR: I think Miss Chikte you should mention you yourself are a Moslem, aren't you?

MISS CHIKTE: Yes.

DR. YUTAR: A Moslem.

MISS CHIKTE: Any school system is a reflection and product of the society within which it operates. Bearing this in mind, socio-economic factors appear as very important in shaping the protests by youth in the Western Cape after the Soweto riots. Young people between 12 and 16 years old and classified as "African", "Coloured" and "Indian" become aware at a relatively early age of the problems besetting their voteless parents. The youth knows, amongst other things about eviction from homes; high transport costs; poor roads and lighting; wages so low as to result in hunger and even to starvation; difficulty by parents to settle electricity and rent bills; housing problems; overcrowding; delinquency; poor hygiene; excessive drinking leading to alcoholism with its subsequent problems and the chronic lack of recreational facilities. Frequently during childhood they had to ask questions like: "Why cannot we we have such nice houses and beaches, and at least live comfortably?" or "Why may I not go in there"? These are the factors which preoccupy their minds. Their basic needs are not satisfied and this is what leads to strong emotion. Furthermore, young people are aware of the overcrowding in classrooms of their schools; the lack of compulsory and free education for them; the marked difference in per capita expenditure on "White" "Coloured" and "African" students. They know that schools exist for "White" children with mostly well-qualified teachers and with better equipment which vary from scientific laboratories  
to/..

to sportsfields. In brief, they are not only indignantly aware that schools in this country are segregated for "Whites", "Coloureds", "Indians" and "Africans" but also that they, (the children of the voteless) are being discriminated against. The educational requirements and needs of the enfranchised and the voteless children are disproportionately met. The teachers are aware of the conditions under which the children of the oppressed majority have to struggle in order to acquire an education to prepare themselves for existence in the adult world. Many of the teachers themselves started (10 school careers in a "double shift class" in a "plankie-gebou" and battled through the early years in an overcrowded classroom with a teacher of a minimum of "professional training". They feel the tremendous lack of adequate facilities for intellectual and cultural development. When teaching they feel insecure and frustrated, since their educational system was of an inferior nature and they have thus been equipped with inferior skills and cannot help doing an inferior job. They see no promise of a way out of this destructive circle, which denies to children who are not White the chances to develop (20 their potential. Expressions of opposition by students towards educational and other forms of discrimination have long existed in schools although it was never as dramatically shown as in the past few months. Scholars reject the indoctrination processes whereby the "Coloured", "Indian" and "Bantu" Affairs Departments use schools to produce what are seen as three "tribalised", ignorant and intellectually stunted generations conditioned to accept a common subservience. Indignation and dissatisfaction was especially marked amongst most parents, teachers and students alike with the formal (30

transfer/..



transfer of schools from the Cape Provincial Department to Coloured Affairs Department. The transfer was seen as the final main extension of the rejected policy of apartheid to the field of education where Coloured people were concerned. It is this policy of apartheid which has become synonymous with oppression; the denial of franchise; being paid less than one's White counterpart for the same work; having disadvantaged access to the apprenticeship of skilled labour. The word apartheid and its later modifications such as "separate development" and "eensoortigheid" signifies the denial of full equality of rights for those who are not "White". Opposition to segregation has been growing in schools. It became enhanced by "Republican days and other so-called 'Volksfeeste' " during sessions of Parliament and the Coloured Representative Council, and when sports boycotts of foreign countries against South Africa were implemented. The opposition usually took the form of ridiculing and mocking apartheid policy or of expressing delight at any act considered detrimental to the enfranchised minority in South Africa. The mode of expression adopted by adolescents during the unrest was emotional in many instances. But one should bear in mind that adolescents often find difficulty in articulation and thus often react emotionally to situations. Moreover, they saw that the "dialogue" of their parents had produced no results in the past. In conclusion I would like to add that I believe that the frustration and opposition will remain in schools as long as the present "White", "Coloured", "Indian" and "African" school systems, with their separate and discriminating curricula and syllabuses continue to exist.

DR. YUTAR: You feel better too now, don't you. My Lord we go over to Dr. Dreyer.

DR. DREYER: Your Lordship, I am a part-time lecturer on the academic staff of the Department of Applied Sociology and Social Work at the University of Cape Town, with training and experience in psychology gained in South Africa, Holland and the United States of America. An aspect of the total situation in South Africa I wish to draw to the attention of the Commission, is the function of communication media in South Africa, importantly television. It is widely recognised<sup>(10)</sup> that television is the "great equaliser". It has influence on norms, attitudes and even behaviour as a result of all members of a population viewing the same programme at the same time over a vast area. In South Africa however the index given to our total population is that of the White middle class group, who represent for the majority of our population a view of a world that is alien and unattainable. Inevitably this leads to alienation, frustration, and a feeling of non-identity and non-recognition. Television is currently not allowing for the presentation of any point of view<sup>(20)</sup> other than that of the White group. Viewing current programmes here, a stranger would not get the impression that the country's population contained 5 times as many Blacks as Whites. Moreover, the White-centred approaches to issues are often presented in ways that are insensitive to the position and feelings of Blacks. A case in point has been the documentary on "Bantu Education" entitled "Imfundo" and presented on Tuesday, the 16th of November where no recognition was given to the present situation in South Africa. And then I give you a passage taken from the Rapport on the 21st November, 1976. (30)

Do you wish me to read that?

DR. YUTAR: Yes, please.

DR. DREYER: "Die opstootjies in Soweto, the uittog van swart skoolkinders na buurlande, die klaarblyklike uitbuiting van Swart jeug se werklike en/of vermeende griewe oor onderwys, het 'n mens se verwagting opgeskerp vir vandeeweek se SAUK-TV program 'Imfundo'. Dit het beloop om te handel oor Bantoe-onderwys in die Republiek van Suid-Afrika. (10

Wat die Nasionale Filmraad gemaak het, is 'n fraai klein atmosfeerprogram met 'n sterk liriese inslag wat die hart verbly het met die toneeltjies van mooi Swart kinders aan die sing, aan die skool toe hardloop, aan die klok lui, druk besig in die kunsamer of die fisikalaboratorium.

Maar die hele program is oordonder deur die groot stilte wat nie oor Bantoe-onderwys gesê is nie: Oor die hopelose tekort aan onderwysers, aan klaskamers; oor die uitmergelende dubbelsessies (20 die probleme rondom skoolboeke en skooluniforms, die ontstellende uitvalsifer.

Ook oor die nuwe stappe wat sedert die onluste gedoen is om die posisie te verbeter.

Deur verswyging is die magtige TV-medium hier misbruik. Die SAUK-TV skuld ons, naas dié liriese nommertjie, 'n sterk, oop, dringende dokumentêre program oor die saak wat aan die hart van die onrussituasie lê."

I wish to draw particular attention to the anger and resentment (30 that/..

that such a programme at the present time evokes in Black viewers.

DR. YUTAR: This was on the 16th of November, was it?

DR. DREYER: Yes. This was after the..(intervenes).

DR. YUTAR: Yes.

MR. NGO: Is anybody satisfied with the present T.V.-programme?

(LAUGHTER).

DR. YUTAR: May I continue? May I maintain this alphabetical order now, and call upon Mr. Francis. This is his statement, has Your Lordship got a copy of it? Right Mr. Francis, (10  
over to you.

MR. FRANCIS: My name is William Benjamin Francis and as Professor Helm correctly stated, I am not an academic, although I am employed on the staff of the Department of Sociology for 31 years and that is when I left the war service. And I specifically speak here on behalf of ex-servicemen. I am an ex-serviceman, having served with the Cape Corps from 1940 to 1945, in North Africa. I was born in Athlone, Cape Town, where I still live. My present employment is with the University of Cape Town in the capacity of a laboratory (20  
attendant. After World War II I joined the British Commonwealth Ex-Servicemen's League and now as Vice-President of the S.A. Coloured Ex-Servicemen's League, a nation-wide organisation with many thousands of members. The League is a registered welfare organisation (W.O.983) and its chief function is to care for the social and educational needs of ex-servicemen and their dependants. I have been engaged in this work and also in other types of welfare work for nearly 30 years and can claim substantial knowledge of many Coloured communities throughout South Africa. In volunteering (30

evidence/..

evidence to this Commission, I wish to testify from my personal knowledge that there are many leaders of my community who may be better qualified to speak about our problems, and about the recent riots, but they fear to come forward. Despite the assurances of the Commission that there will be no victimization, many people nevertheless fear adverse consequences for themselves. I ask the Commission to note that when you have lived for so long at the mercy of arbitrary action and high-handed treatment, without being given a chance to state your case, you have good reason to be suspicious.<sup>(10)</sup> With due respect, the Commission cannot control all future actions in all future situations of police and other authorities.

DR. YUTAR: Mr. Francis, here in fairness to the Commission I did tell you at the time of our consultation that if after anybody's given evidence before the Commission he or she has been in any way hassled by the police, or penalised or victimized by anybody, you are free to report it to the Commission who will take the matter up.

MR. FRANCIS: I am very glad for that assurance Your Lordship for the simple reason that I do have friends from the Special Branch occasionally visiting me and they come with this story that it is a..well, what do they call it - a visit just to see how you are getting on. Well, I don't think it is their concern how I am getting on. (LAUGHTER). (20)

CHAIRMAN: Well, I hope you get on well enough.

MR. FRANCIS: Very well indeed! (LAUGHTER). May I continue?

DR. YUTAR: Yes, do.

MR. FRANCIS: The Coloured Ex-Servicemen's League annually holds a National Conference. This Conference is the occasion for policy-making, and for discussion of urgent problems. (30)

I want to quote from a presidential address made if I may Your Lordship, made by our National President in Kimberley in 1975, wherein he states, and I quote from his presidential report:

"Our League is not an ordinary organisation.

It was formed as a result of people sacrificing their lives in the service of their country.

Remember those words, when you go home, tell them of us and say: For your tomorrow we gave our today."

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Year after year the same basic difficulties reappear, mainly because by discriminatory laws and practices under which Coloured people live. Each year we find there are three different groups of speakers. The first includes those

that are militant, saying that we have made so many requests and have not even had the courtesy of a reply; promises were made but were never kept; sacrifices to fight for the country were made in vain. Second are those who remain willing to accept things as they are, showing a spirit of fatalism and submissiveness. Third are those who take a middle line

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between these two. Hitherto the League has favoured the middle line, keeping up its attempts to negotiate and to establish dialogue. But recently younger people are turning their backs on negotiation and just to amplify that sir, when I was born in 1921 I was born into a situation where I could mix and play and for that matter go to school with my White friends. But after 1948 the children of today, the youth of today are the apartheid children who do not know these situations and therefore can you blame them if they think the way they are thinking. But recently younger people

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are/..

are turning their backs on negotiation. They say my generation has proved that talk does not help. They point to the fact that Coloured people today have fewer legal and civil rights than when the war broke out, and I think that is a very true statement that we have less rights now than when I went to fight for this country. The Commission should note that there is now deep and widespread anger at the erosion of the rights of Coloured people and at the deaf ears that are turned again and again to reasonable requests, and to moderately-stated grievances. In September 1974 (10 I was a Guest Speaker at the Annual Memorial Service organised in the City Hall by the Cape Town Branch of our League and this was held in the City Hall of Cape Town. I tried to give expression to the desires of my community in the following passages in my speech which I quote below.

"We as Coloured citizens have seen our beloved Cape Corps granted the Freedom of our Mother City.. As ex-soldiers, we commemorate those who laid down their lives for our country. We who survived the Wars know that we fought for freedom. We fought for a better world against the forces of oppression and discrimination. We fought against a country, for instance, that excluded citizens from buildings, open spaces, eating houses, and jobs for ethnic reasons, we fought against a Nazi Germany's treatment of the Jews. (20

Surely therefore ...we have a right to speak out when we feel that, in our own society and in our own country, we experience oppression and discrimination ... Although we fought for freedom and/.. (30

" and although the Freedom of the City is ours, we do not live the lives of free men and women. We, the Coloured people, along with the many peoples of the world who joined to fight the forces of oppression and discrimination in World War II, look forward to the same freedom that our fellow fighters battled for. "

I now wish to testify about events that I witnessed in the street where I live. It is a beautiful song, sir "In the Street Where you Live" (Addax Crescent, Silvertown, Athlone). (10 They happened between 7 and 8 p.m. on Thursday, September 16th. Near my house is Blossom Street which is a main thoroughfare with a double carriage-way. Some young people had blocked this street by setting alight some tyres. Eight riot trucks arrived. On one of them, a riot policeman was sitting on the bonnet with a machine gun type weapon at the ready. As the trucks were driving by, somebody (unknown to me) hurled a petrol bomb at the vehicles. After this the riot squad seemed to go beserk. There must have been four or five policemen in each truck. They immediately covered every (20 exit of a side road from Blossom Street. All lights in the area (in houses as well as in the street) went out. My wife and I were standing on the stoep of our home. We heard a woman screaming. She was a neighbour, living across the street and we know the family. I crossed the street to see if I could help, I saw four riot policemen dragging the body of a man from behind a hedge. He was a young man of 24 who had been shot dead. I presume that his name Isaacs, I am not quite sure of that. After placing the body on the ground, they put it into the van. The way the body was handled, angered (30 and/..



and embittered the bystanders. One of the policemen asked me what I was doing in the street. I said I was a leader of my community and felt responsible. I wished to see what was happening, and there was no curfew to keep me indoors. To my dismay I heard how members of the riot squad were boasting amongst one another how many people they had shot and in what ways they had shot them. In my opinion, much of the violent behaviour was the result of the behaviour of the riot police. If you listen to the talk of the bystanders and of the ordinary people in the street, you will hear time and again people saying that peaceful students protest but police riot. (10

DR. YUTAR: Mr. Francis just for a moment. You heard the evidence of Major Mouton, this morning?

MR. FRANCIS: I heard, sir.

DR. YUTAR: I think you should qualify what you say there.

MR. FRANCIS: Well, this is a statement sir, and I..to a certain extent I wish to agree with what the major has said, but when you come and when the major or his top officials is not in the position to witness this invariably they are not going to get the truth because if I can get as a riot policeman somebody on the "cutee" and I'll beat him up on the "cutee" and that is what has been happening. (20

DR. YUTAR: Right, carry on.

MR. FRANCIS: And I want to amplify this by a statement.

During my war years I was a P.O.W. guard and we looked after Germans and Italian prisoners of war and the Italians was a very..they could get very excited and if you did not do your job properly they could riot, get out of hand and break camp. But with a gun that can hardly fire anything we kept control (30

of - and when I say "we" I mean the Cape Corps, we kept control of those P.O.W.'s without beating them up. Riot policemen are strangers to us, whereas the ordinary policemen are not, and would have been much more successful in settling things. For instance I myself was able to persuade a group of youngsters to put out a tyre they had set alight. They said that they did it because other people were doing it and for "kicks" but when I spoke to them, they themselves brought sand and put out the fire. In conclusion sir, I should like to express my opinion that taking the Coloured people off the common voter's role was a major blunder that caused incalculable harm. I quote again with your permission sir, from a Presidential Address of my National President in Port Elizabeth in his address he said:

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" Let us now turn our attention to something else. The New Year lies ahead with all its obstacles. The world is in a turmoil, the message of Christ has not penetrated our hearts. It never will until such time as we open our hearts. Politicians are meeting day after day to find a solution but they will never find it. I believe that it is the ballot-box, it is indeed a great pity that this privilege was so rudely taken away from us. In fact, everything that affects the dignity of a man has already been taken away that we have nothing further to lose. "

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The Immorality Act and the Group Areas Act are other examples of laws that cause ongoing anger and prevent normal relationships between Whites and Coloured people. You don't harm your relatives/..

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relatives and your neighbours. Whites used to be our relatives and our neighbours. I think it was better like that. Thank you.

DR. YUTAR: My Lord, the following five pages delivered by Miss Hatchuel who is not present and does not desire to be present, may I ask that those five pages be typed into the record.

WHITE STUDENT ATTITUDES TO DISCRIMINATORY  
POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

I have been a social work student at the University (10  
of Cape Town for the past four years and am at present studying  
an honours course in Psychiatric Social Work.

In submitting this statement to the Commission, I  
explicitly do not claim to speak on behalf of UCT students;  
on the contrary, I state my own views of what White student  
attitudes are. These views are, of course, based on my  
observations, experiences and interchanges with my fellows  
on the campus over four years. Below is a summary of the  
opinions that seem to me to be paramount.

SECTION A.

1. The University of Cape Town has always maintained that  
equality of opportunity and a standard of academic merit  
without regard to race, colour or creed, are central to a  
university and to academic freedom.
2. Members of the university have consistently maintained  
a vocal and articulate protest against the enforced seg-  
regation of universities (in terms of the Extension of  
University Education Act No. 45 of 1959) and have sought  
to grant all UCT students the same facilities, privileges  
and opportunities without regard to any criteria except (30  
academic/..

academic merit.

3. UCT students have for many years demonstrated a deep concern about the inequalities and injustices of South African life and most prominent among these concerns have naturally been inequalities in the area of education. UCT students are able to compare their own opportunities with those of their fellow South Africans and they feel strongly that such inequalities are indefensible.
4. Reference should also be made to the similarities between (10 the protest of UCT students focussing on Education in 1972 (in response to the Black student unrest at Turfloop and elsewhere) and the recent demonstrations in response to the current wave of Black student unrest.

In both cases:

- (a) UCT students responded in sympathy with the observed cause of the Black students in an attempt to identify themselves with the grievances and demands of Blacks.
  - (b) UCT students were anxious to move the White community (20 to change its attitudes and the Government to amend its policies.
5. Most UCT students would like to see the universities of South Africa open to all students of all races on academic merit so as to allow for free exchange of intellectual ideas as well as to bridge cultural and ethnic gaps.
  6. These students would certainly not wish to express support for the use of violent methods of demonstration and certainly do not identify themselves with a call to violent revolution. They do, however, appreciate the (3

frustration/..

frustration and desperation which has driven many Blacks to violence as a result of many years of more moderate protest without success.

7. Many students feel that to concentrate on the methods employed by the Black student protesters (however unacceptable these may be seen to be), and to detail individual incidents, would be to run the risk of missing their underlying causes and the sincerity of the demands that were being made.

SECTION B:

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1. These UCT students regard the riots as a manifest rejection of the discrimination, exploitation and oppression experienced by Blacks (African, Coloured and Asian) in South Africa.

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2. Some examples of the above mentioned discrimination, exploitation and oppression are to be found, according to these students, inter alia in the policies and practice of:
  - (a) Migrant labour which exacerbates many of the social evils that are commonplace in the townships surrounding our cities - shebeens, alcohol abuse, prostitution, (20 organised crime and gang intimidation - and which has been described as a "cancer" by the Dutch Reformed Church.
  - (b) Resettlement Schemes (under Influx control legislation) and Removal Schemes (under the Group Areas Act).
    - (i) The threat of being endorsed out to resettlement schemes hangs like a sword of Damocles over the heads of all but very few Urban Africans, resulting in insecurity and concomitantly dissatisfaction and resentment. (30

(ii) The removal of families from proclaimed White areas in terms of the Group Areas Act has resulted in the disruption of communities and the rehousing of settled families in an alien environment where services are inferior and indeed inadequate. This has bred a high level of resentment.

(iii) Not only are families thrust together in an inhospitable environment, but they are put to considerable inconvenience and greater expense - (1 not to mention the fact that many former home owners have been forced to become tenants in municipal housing schemes.

(c) The Industrial Colour Bar and Job Reservation which bars Blacks from economic advancement.

(d) Separate and unequal Education systems.

(i) Black students have been protesting about the inferior quality of their education at all levels for many years (as evidenced by the disturbances at Black university campuses as long ago as 1972). The inferior quality is illustrated by:

(a) the disparity in State spending per capita on White, Coloured and Bantu pupils

(b) the dire shortage of properly qualified teachers in Coloured and Bantu schools

(c) the fact that Black pupils have hitherto been required to purchase their own school books whereas White and Coloured pupils have not.

(ii) Most important of all is the awareness on the part of Blacks generally that the system of separate educational authorities and syllabi has been acknowledged by Ministers of State to be designed to prepare Black pupils to play a limited and subservient role in society. Thus schools of the Bantu Education Department and the Coloured Affairs Department are seen to be symbols of an oppressive regime which seeks to perpetuate White domination in all aspects of life and as important instruments of the regime in maintaining its control. (1)

3. It is evident that Black pupils and students desperately want to remove the barriers which still restrict the political, social, and economic aspirations of their parents. They appear in fact to despise their parents' tolerance, passive acquiescence and lack of ambition. They are anxious to ensure that they do not fall into the same subservient lifestyle as their parents and are therefore prepared to go to desperate lengths in an attempt to force changes in South Africa before they embark on their adult careers. (;
4. Agitation and instigation may have contributed to the unrest of the past few months. Should the Commission find evidence of such agitation and instigation, I respectfully submit that to ascribe the unrest to such agitation without taking full cognisance of the deeply-felt grievances of the participants would be unrealistic in the extreme.

DR. YUTAR: It brings us then to the next that is your goodself/..

goodself, Professor Helm.

PROF. HELM: M'Lord, in presenting the first of the two memoranda..I beg your pardon, I am not audible apparently. In bringing forward this, the first of two memoranda that I have prepared for the attention of the Commission, this one namely on the consequences of removals under the Group Areas Act, I will with the permission..with the Commission's permission, not read through the full text but I take it that the Commission has that on record anyway but I would refer to highlight certain of the points I make (1 and to speak to them. Now in the first part of my memorandum I detail how it came about that I got to know District Six very well. I think for a White person quite unusually well. I also not only got to know the physical environment of District Six very well but I also got to know a very representative group of associations and activities within that District. I also because of the particular policy of the community centre where I was working in that district at the time, namely to admit to its Nursery School which was one of its activities only the poorest of the children in (2 the neighbourhood who were on the waiting list and I detail here the fact that the waiting list usually consisted of at least ten times the number of vacancies that the Nursery School had, which is in itself an indication of the need. Our policy was to admit only the poorest of children and our measure for poverty was one that involved a detailed household investigation so that income and needs could be measured according to an objective standard. This meant that you.. every year regularly, visited and very carefully studied a large number of the Coloured households in the area of (3 District/..



District Six. I was also involved in various types of research surveys so that in these and other ways I acquired an intimate knowledge of the peoples of District Six and their lifestyles. And for the most part, householders there were working-class people with much vitality and interest in life. There were also of course professional people, I am not overlooking those but I am speaking of the majority and despite slum surroundings and meagre earnings these people managed to live decent and respectable lives and to bring up their children worthily. Now I make the point that the fact that this community succeeded so well was in large part due to the rich and strong social fabric that the community had built up over decades. People knew each other, relatives were close. Mutual aid and mutual entertainment, mutual security and mutual respect enabled people to live in relative peace. Moreover, District Six was looked upon by the Coloured people of Cape Town as their heartland. Men born there became intellectual leaders, some even in other countries. Sportsmen, churchmen, professional men there were known and revered. Artists, ballet dancers, singers and musicians were bred in District Six. Then I mention the late Mr. George Golding's richly innovative school in Ashley Street, District Six, which made its mark. The school is still there but its role in the community has changed and such power in local government as the Coloured community had, and which they wielded, came largely from men who lived in District Six. Now the Group Areas Act (which was passed in 1950 and implemented in stages) destroyed all of this. Householders were moved against their will and homes were destroyed. No consultation took place - people were allocated to houses

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in new areas where they knew nobody and where they did not wish to be. I would like to stress that: Where they did not wish to be. No attempt was made to recognise people's preferences, their associates, their antecedents, their individuality and the rich warm network of human relationships that had bound people together by means of formal and peaceful community controls was missing in the new environment. The depth and the extent of people's anger was either not recognised or else ignored. And I would like to add to this a general opinion that in all the measures that have been taken in (1) the past 25 years that have involved changes in the social status of Blacks generally in this country, the extent of people's anger was either not recognised or else it was ignored and I would like to say something further than that even and I would like to express the opinion that by and large Whites in general but particularly Whites in administrative and authoritative positions, grossly under-estimate both the intelligence and the sensitivity of Black people. They carry out orders and many - and I recognise the position that they are often not able to do otherwise than to carry (2) out orders, but somebody gives the orders and my feeling is that the intelligence and the sensitivity of the people who are the recipients of these orders is not recognised. Over the years I have to some extent kept in touch with District Six and each time I visit there people who have not yet been moved, speak with deep bitterness of what has been destroyed around them. This destruction is seen as unwarranted wanton, callous, authoritarian and ruthless. My work brings me into a measure of contact with various new Coloured housing estates that have been arising on the Cape (3) Flats/..

Flats during the past 25 years. Many of the householders now living there, once lived in District Six or else in lower Claremont, Wynberg, Palmboom, Protea Village, Green Point or other regions that have subsequently been declared "White". I testify from my personal experience of the ongoing anger, resentment and bitterness that people feel about what they see as a major injustice. In a paper which I delivered before the Congress of Sociologists of Southern Africa in 1974, I reported on a study done in Manenberg. Now Manenberg is one of the Cape Flats Coloured townships (1) where rioting took place in 1976 and it is one of those that has been developed subsequent to 1950. I repeat again my finding that the social fabric in Coloured areas is disorganised or unorganised. People have been moved from areas where their socialisation has taken place, where they may either have owned property or acquired a kind of ownership through family occupancy over generations. In either case, they no longer live where they emotionally "belong". This has been done without consultation, without planning in which relationships between people were taken into account. And (2) then I go on to make the point that the culture shock of such displacement, has been analysed in many studies of migration and this culture shock was quite ignored when the removal under the Group Areas Act was taking place. Moreover, the environment into which people were transplanted was itself disruptive of social relationships because it was mostly raw incomplete and without physical as well as social amenity. Thus deprivation was experienced because of the arbitrary break with past life and simultaneously because of the absence of the physical neighbourhood content that would make living (3)

normal/..

"normal" according to expectation. There are two further points I would like to make here. I would like to stress that for displaced persons, and this is what the Coloured people were when removed under the Group Areas Act, they were displaced persons.

CHAIRMAN: One moment please.

PROF. HELM: I am making the point Your Worship that Coloured people moved under the Group Areas Act were displaced persons, physically and emotionally. Now for displaced persons who are victims of wars or revolutions or of the idiosyncrasies of new rulers and I must confess when I wrote that phrase I was thinking of Idi Amin, when such people become displaced, aid programmes, sometimes international aid programmes, have become usual. But for the many thousands of Black households in South Africa in similar situations, no steps specifically directed towards displacement were taken and in the door-to-door visits that we undertook as part of the study, householders often spoke of not wanting to be where they were, of wanting to go back and of the happy times of the past. Now I would like to say a few words about the physical quality of the new environments that were created into which Coloured people were moved and while I am doing this I would like to mention that the statements I make about the physical quality of the environments for Coloured people apply perhaps even with greater strength to the physical quality of the environments in which urban Africans live. If you consider from where Coloured people were moved under the Group Areas Act, one would recognise that District Six was near to where the life is. A man could step down from Hanover Street and he would almost immediately be in an environment which he recognised was

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the "down town" area. As I have said, it was where the life is. If you look at Palmboom or Claremont or Wynberg or Protea Village or Green Point or any of the many other areas from which Coloured people were moved in Cape Town you recognise that they were either close to where the life was or else they were close to situations of beauty and places of recreation. I don't want to take the Commission's time up with giving further details of this, but I could detail very clearly scenes of parkland, proximity to beautiful natural parks, proximity to the sea and that kind of situation. (1)

Now again when I said earlier that people have under-estimated the sensitivity and the intelligence of Black people generally in this country, they apparently took no notice of the fact that even if your house may be physically a slightly better structure and I say "even if", I don't grant that that was always the case, but even if it were, there are so many other things that go to make up the quality of life beyond the condition of four walls and a roof and the amenity that the Coloured people lost through being moved, cannot be overstressed. What is there for young people to do if they are housed in an area as windswept as barren and as almost irremediable as some of the areas that have been created for Coloured people to live in. And while I mention this, let me also just refer to beach apartheid. Even the seashore was no longer available to people in the way it had been and one finds it difficult to explain by what measure of coincidence it happens that most of the beaches that were set aside for Blacks tend to be the stonier, the rockier the more windswept the more dangerous or near to a sewage outfall. And I go on to report that on innumerable occasions people I have talked/.. (3)

talked to have said things such as:- 1. "Why did they have to do this to us, we were always respectable and did our work". or 2. "I don't understand my children. They don't want to wait. I say maybe one day it will be better. They don't want to know about 'one day' ". 3. "It's no good. No matter how much you talk, they don't listen. We Coloureds talk, but they don't listen". 4. "Our leaders talk, our churchmen talk. Nobody listens. Nothing gets better - only worse". Or as a very eminent Coloured man said to me only very recently. "I can forgive many things. I have forgiven<sup>(10)</sup> many things. But one thing I cannot forgive. Why did they take my vote away?" 6. "As ek so dink aan wat my gedoen is hulle het my oupagrootjie se huis by ons weggevat - dan voel ek ek kan die hele Kaap aan die brand steek". 7. "Hulle het kom sê ons moet ons huis afbreek en trek want ons is 'illegal'. Ons vra waarheen, maar die mense kyk anderpad. Ons vat toe maar ons sinkplate. Ons moes self dra. Terwyl ons nog loop toe kom die 'bull-dozers'. Toe ons die ander sinke kom wegvat toe is alles onder die sand gestoot en hulle lag vir ons."

My Lord, I want to draw attention to this phrase "hulle lag vir ons" (20). It is one that has cropped up so many times in my work with the communities I am talking about. It is this ridicule which people feel they have received and which hurts far more than the loss of a house, it hurts far more than other kinds of deprivation, it is this feeling that you don't count for anything and that you are an object of ridicule.

8. "Daardie huis.." this was said to me in a nearby town. "Daardie huis het aan ons mense behoort, dit is ons grond by ons kerk. Ons het met ons geld en ons hande die huis gebou vir ons leraar en vir God. Nou woon daar wittes in. Ons mooi (30) tuin is weg. Party slae voel ek ek wil moor".

My Lord, these are not fictitious words. 9. "Wat help dit om te praat, praat, praat? Al wat jy kry is leë antwoorde. Dis nie net om van kwaad te word nie, dis om van baie kwaad te word". So in my opinion I submit that removals under the Group Areas Act has contributed enormously to the growing alienation, frustration and anger of the Coloured people of Cape Town. I believe that the only way to achieve some redress would be, first by some explicit acknowledgment from clearly authoritative quarters that a major mistake was made. I feel that this explicit acknowledgment is tremendously (1) important. And second, by real steps that Coloured people will recognise as an honest attempt now to make good some of the loss and the damage that they have suffered. In other words, new opportunities must be created and new rights.

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DR. YUTAR: Now, do you want to deal with the next one or do you think we could possibly read it into the record, Professor?

PROF. HELM: I realise the time factor, but I do feel that there are some important..I won't go through the whole..you could read it into the record but perhaps it would be possible for me to say just a few words. I just want to draw attention (2) to the fact that I can testify from my personal experience as a student of the University of Cape Town and as a member of the staff there for more than..for nearly 30 years, that I have never known of a single race incident on that campus. I then go on to talk about the..my contact with mission stations and I go on to talk about the feelings of Coloured persons about university segregation. On page 2 of my submission I testify there to (a), (b), (c) and (d) and I would just like to draw the Commission's particular attention to this..to these four points made there. And then I go on to say that even (3)

if/..

if beliefs in the inferiority of the University of the Western Cape may not be justified, the fact remains that the beliefs are real and that they therefore have real consequences. And this is the fact I would like to bring before the Commission. Let us not go into the question of whether the university is in fact inferior or not, that I submit the Commission could regard as basically irrelevant but what is important for the Commission to note is that people believe it to be so and because their beliefs are real, the consequences.. are real and both Coloured students and their parents regard (1) such beliefs as contributing in large measure to disturbances. Then I go on finally to conclude by saying that so little has been done to redress any of the deep grievances felt by the Coloured people that small changes which will be seen as "tokens" now, will not be effective, but there are certain changes at university level which I think will have good consequences far beyond the relatively small numbers of university students involved, the point being that a number of students, Coloured students who attend university in comparison with the population is small anyway, but I think (2) that a change on this level and this holds equally for African students, would have consequences far beyond the relatively small numbers of university students that are involved, and I then go on to make four recommendations which is that the Extension of University Education Act be repealed or at least fundamentally amended, that all students qualified for university entrance be empowered to present themselves at any university willing to enrol them (which will imply for instance that White students should be free to enrol at the University of the Western Cape, and Coloured students at the University (3)

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of Cape Town). And that students registered at one university be permitted to attend for periods of up to six months at another university (universities being free to issue such invitations) so that first-hand experience at different institutions may dispel some of the myths that the lack of such experience now is engendering, and finally that the impediments that avowed policy is believed to be placing on the appointment of suitable-qualified Black academics to the staff of so-called "White" universities, be explicitly removed, this restoring the position existing before the 1959 legislation. Thank you, Your Worship. (10

DR. YUTAR: My Lord, would Your Lordship order that these three pages be typed into the record.

CHAIRMAN: It is so ordered.

A STATEMENT ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION  
FOR COLOURED PEOPLE

I have been a permanent member of the teaching staff of the University of Cape Town, in the Faculty of Social Science, for more than 20 years. At present I hold the Chair of Applied Sociology in Social Work at that University. (20

From my personal experience I wish to testify as follows:

1. Absence of Friction between Races at an Open University

Until the coming into operation of the Extension of University Education Act (No. 45 of 1959) any student academically qualified had the right to present himself for registration at the University of Cape Town. His application would be judged on its merit. If he was admitted (some Faculties, such as Medicine, have for many years been unable to accept all applicants for want of training facilities (3  
and/..

and restricted entrance has thus been necessary) the instruction he received and the standards by which he was judged were the same as for all other students in the same courses.

I attended the University of Cape Town both as an undergraduate and as a graduate student. I shared classrooms, libraries and cafeteria facilities with African, Coloured and Asian students. In all my student years I know of no "race incident" on the campus but can on the contrary testify to (10) friendship, co-operation, and mutual esteem between persons of different colour.

As a university teacher I have taught classes (both undergraduate and graduate but mainly the former) ethnically mixed in membership. I know of no disturbance at any time on "race" grounds, but can on the contrary testify to the considerable gains to both Black and White that resulted. Moreover I can testify to very strong feelings of anger and injustice, among both White and Black students (20) that resulted from the passage of the 1959 Act.

At present, having been granted Ministerial permission, a few students not classified as White are attending classes in the Department of which I am the Head. Their presence is welcomed, and there is absolutely no friction or tension. Present students and staff actively desire all students should be free to present themselves for registration, without race restriction.

2. Burning Feelings of Injustice among Coloured Communities (30)  
on Apartheid at Universities.

The various mission stations, mainly established in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are, both in historical and in contemporary fact, important centres of education for Coloured persons. Many high schools at mission stations enjoy positions of prestige for their educational attainments.

My work, over years, has led to my acquiring personal knowledge of many communities with mission origins. I would for instance cite Blanco, Elim, Genadendal, Hankey, Leliefontein, Mamre, Pacaltsdorp, Pella, Rehoboth (SWA), (10 Steinkopf, Wupperthal, Zoar, Zuurbraak. I also claim some personal knowledge of the teaching staffs of Coloured high schools in Cape Town itself, and in other towns in the Cape Province, as well of the communities from which Coloured high school pupils are drawn.

From this background I testify that:

- (a) there is a rooted belief that the ethnically separated universities provide inferior educational facilities
- (b) there is a bitter resentment on the part of (20 parents at not being able to send their children to the university of their choice.
- (c) there is acute awareness on the part of Coloured university students that their university lacks the amenity, the history, and the prestige of the other university in Cape Town
- (d) there is ongoing anger at the attitudes of some White members of staff at the University of the Western Cape towards their students; these attitudes are contrasted with the attitudes known to be (30 manifested/..

manifested between staff and students at the University of Cape Town.

Even if beliefs in the inferiority of the University of the Western Cape may not be justified, the fact remains that the beliefs are real and that they have real consequences. Both Coloured students and their parents regard such beliefs as contributing in large measure to disturbances.

So little has been done to redress any of the deep grievances felt by the Coloured people that small changes (seen as "tokens") will not be effective. But I believe that changes at University level may nevertheless have good consequences far beyond the relatively small numbers of university students involved. I would recommend:-

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- (i) that the Extension of University Education Act be repealed or fundamentally amended
- (ii) that all students qualified for university entrance be empowered to present themselves at any university willing to enrol them (which will imply, for instance, that White students would be free to enrol at the University of the Western Cape, and Coloured students at the University of Cape Town)
- (iii) that students registered at one university be permitted to attend for periods of up to six months at another university (universities being free to issue such invitations) so that first-hand experience at different institutions may dispel some of the myths that lack of such experience engenders.
- (iv) that the impediments that avowed policy is believed to be placing on the appointment of suitably-qualified black academics to the staff of "white" universities

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be explicitly removed, thus restoring the position existing before the 1959 legislation.

DR. YUTAR: Mr. Louw.

MR. LOUW: My Lord, the evidence that I am submitting revolves around the causes of anger in the Coloured community. As a member of the "Coloured" community I grew up in and experienced the frustration of being a Black person in the South African society. I received my training as a social worker at the University of the Western Cape. I worked for the University of Cape Town Students' Health and Welfare Centres Organisation (10) in both the Kensington and Elsies River communities of Cape Town. Currently I am on the teaching staff of the University of Cape Town School of Social Work and I am still involved in on-going community work in both of the communities mentioned. It is on the basis of my experiences since birth, my training and continuing professional services that I submit this evidence to the Commission. In addition to being a social worker I am also a clergyman, so I have a broader base in terms of my contact with the community. There are numerous volumes that have been written on both "coloured" and African people (20) in South Africa. Many scientific studies have been undertaken "with special reference to the 'Coloured' people". Within the space of about 40 years, two government-appointed Commissions reported on the conditions of the people classified, by exclusion, as "Coloured". These and other literary resources point to some sources of anger in the community. The day-to-day experiences of people verify that these volumes have not brought significant change to their own conditions. The shortage of housing is impinging on every dimension of family and community living in the "Coloured" community. Squatting and overcrowded (30) in/..

in existing housing stock impair the social functioning of the entire community. This is a daily, living reality for people and there is the persistent knowledge that the mass removals of people from one area to another, because of their racial classification, aggravates the total situation. The long distances to be travelled to work every day on an inadequate, racially segregated public transportation system further intensifies the anger of the community. Where physical development has taken place we encountered a variety of problems. In one community, Elsie's River, there was a heavy backlash against the proposed redevelopment of the area a few years ago. In two other ambitious development projects, Atlantis and Mitchell's Plain, there is not such an enthusiastic, positive response to being settled there.

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But, short of being outdoors, one is obliged to accept accommodation in such a development project. It seems that community self-determination and the active participation of the community in determining its own destiny have not been taken into account in planning these projects. The people who live in the housing provided in the Elsie's River community now declare their dissatisfaction with it and they wonder when other public facilities will be provided. The identification of tenants with their dwellings in Elsie's River is therefore, minimal. Poverty and its attendant problems are real to a large section of the community. The world of the poor is a very restricted one and the motivation to attend school and to improve the quality of life in the community is expectedly very low. And yet the same people are exposed to the relative wealth and prosperity of that minority of persons who govern this country. The experience of the

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obvious disparity engenders intense anger. Matriculants who wish to enter university experience the acute limitations on their choice of local university to attend. It is only a very distinct minority that can even consider applying for exemption from attending the University of the Western Cape. The enforced enrolment of students in the university does not contribute to a very positive identity with the institution. Once there many questions arise amongst the students as to the relevance of the institution to the very real issues that people experience daily in an apartheid society. Upon entry into the labour market the South African "Coloured" or African confronts the harsh realities of job discrimination, the inequalities of working conditions and the unequal pay for equal work. The final blow is struck when the realisation dawns upon a person that one is precluded from participation in the political process on the basis of skin colour. Again it is the principle of participation in the decision-making process that determines the destiny of the community-at-large that is under scrutiny. The "Coloured" people have declared their rejection of the Coloured Persons Representative Council in various ways and on several occasions. Participation in the mainstream of political life in this country is what the community is insisting upon. The right to vote and to be voted for in Parliamentary, Provincial and local government elections is what the community is insisting upon. At this stage in South African history, the Black and by that I mean all non-White people, are once again registering their protest against the system of legalised separation. While the importance of further study is not overlooked, the demand for the abolition/..

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abolition of the system of legalised separation is urgent and requires immediate attention. Peaceful co-existence is what all of us desire, but it must occur on the basis of human equality. The daily experiences of Black people testify to the absence of this human equality, and peaceful co-existence is jeopardized. Thank you.

DR. YUTAR: Mrs. Taylor?

MRS. TAYLOR: My Lord, I have been a student of social work at the University of Cape Town during the past five years and am now qualified as a psychiatric social worker. Con- (10  
current with my part-time studies for the Psychiatric Social Work Degree I have also worked part-time as a field instructor of Social Work in the School of Social Work, U.C.T. during the past two years. My evidence attempts to reveal that the

demonstrations that were started by children and young adults were an expression not only of their own frustration and anger but also that of the community in which they live.

I base my opinion on my clinical experience of the following:

1. The anger that exists amongst adults in the townships.
2. The fact that there have been few legitimate channels (20  
through which this anger could be expressed.
3. The fear of adults to express their grievances out of fear for repercussions. I am also speaking from my own knowledge of the

psychodynamics of human behaviour, and here I wish to draw attention to the following: (i) that adults who live in misery will generally attempt to cover up their suffering and present a bland face to the outsider, whereas children are still spontaneous enough to expose the misery. (ii) that children tend to act out the conflicts <sup>that</sup> their parents cannot resolve. (iii) that the adult has learned that when he (30

risks/..



risks himself, he risks his family also. Children are however, more free to risk themselves as they do not carry the responsibility for others. (iv) that a child's or a young person's frustration tolerance is lower than that of the adult. At the same time, a young person's impulse control is less well developed so that he will more readily express the feelings that he experiences. and finally (v) that we all learn our attitudes and prejudices in our own homes - if children are angry at the Whites, then they have learned this in their own homes. In the course of my work (10 I have had occasion to listen to many persons classified as "non-White". They talk of having nowhere to live or if they have somewhere to live, they talk of inadequate space, of inadequate washing facilities, of cold and damp rooms, of lack of food, and of the sickness that all this brings with it. They talk of families not being able to stay together or of being compelled to move from a place that was their home. Very rarely do they express their feelings about these circumstances in a one-to-one interview. I have repeatedly been aware of the fear that stops people (20 from talking but I have heard their grievances very openly expressed when they find themselves supported by others in a group. Perhaps the clearest illustration I can give of this is from an experience in Langa when I, together with a group of social work students visited the Zones in order to learn something about life in the area. Individuals that we spoke to would barely answer yes or no to a simple question. But as we were standing there, onlookers came out of the nearby barracks and shortly we were heavily outnumbered and surrounded by a crowd. Those same individuals who would not speak (30 earlier/...

earlier now suddenly spoke up very boldly and were firing questions at us, such as: "How would you like to live without your wife?"; "Do you know that there are thousands of us and no women at all?"; "How do you expect a man to live without any women at all?"; "I am a man. Why do people call me 'boy'?"; "How would you like to be arrested because you forgot to put your pass in your pocket?"; "How would you like to live behind a fence?". They told us that they hate the conditions in the townships but that they have no other choice because they could not find employment (10 at home. We learned that many of them had brought their children too - illegally. Someone said: "There is no food at home, our children will die. We are afraid to bring our children but what must a man do to keep his children alive?" We learned that these children cannot go to school in Langa, that they are periodically rounded up by police and released on payment of a fine by the father, only to be rounded up again in due course. One man said: "You have to break the law to survive. I don't know how to communicate the extent of the frustration and anger that was present there (20 as people began to talk spontaneously - not in answer to us but in answer to their own need to express themselves. A Black social worker from Bantu Administration who had accompanied us, said it is dangerous to let the people talk about themselves because they are too angry; the situation is explosive; we must leave immediately. We did so. Because it was indeed a very threatening situation. This was early in 1975 and the situation was then already so explosive that it was dangerous to simply stand there and let people talk about themselves. Since then, and until recently it has (30

been/..

been quiet in Langa and we tend to assume that the quiet means that life is at least tolerable. We hear even now that the situation is "calm" and "under control". I wish to use an illustration here: The situation was also calm and under control in the Jewish Ghettos but life was not tolerable. I want to make it clear that I do not wish to draw a parallel between life in the Jewish Ghettos and that in the townships in the Western Cape - it would be unrealistic to do so - but I am using this example to illustrate the danger of assuming that calm means an absence of suffering, (10 frustration and anger. I should like to give one further example of the fear that I have experienced among people: I was working with a small group of persons classified as "Coloured". The topic of travel came up and one of the members mentioned that there is no enforced apartheid in Europe. Immediately another member stopped the discussion by saying that we should not talk apartheid because (and I quote her words) "you can't say what you want to say, you get sent to Robben Island." It is this intense fear that "you can't say what you want to say" that I have come up (20 against so often - as well as the underlying bitterness. I know from clinical experience that these feelings must find expression sooner or later and that if no direct expression is possible for the adults, it will in some way find expression in the behaviour of the young - for the reasons that I have mentioned already. I suggest that this is what has happened in our townships.

DR. YUTAR: Dr. Theron...(intervenes).

MR. THERON: It is Mr. Theron.

DR. YUTAR: I mean Mr. Theron, you have proposed just to (30

comment/..

comment on what you have written. I shall ask His Lordship to have your whole statement typed into the record, namely the eight pages, but you said in consultation that you just want to comment on a few points.

MR. THERON: My Lord, with respect to the Commission, I will just summarise very briefly and quote extracts from these pages. I am a registered social worker and on the full-time teaching staff of the University of Cape Town School of Social Work. This statement will attempt to give a documentary outline of the sequence and the major causes of Black unrest (10 in South Africa as viewed by previous Commissions of Inquiry appointed by the State. In more than half a century from 1921 to 1976, there have been some nine governmental inquiries into various riots and specific periods of unrest among the non-White population groups of South Africa. It is not intended to correlate the causes of previous disturbances with those which the Commission is presently investigating nor to suggest that there has been a consistent link over the past 50 years in all acts of violence or unrest involving the various population groups. However, among the many findings (20 of these several commissions and investigations there are a number of themes which have cropped up consistently and relating to those grievances expressed by witnesses appearing at previous investigative hearings. I have summarized these.. the official references to these commissions of inquiry in chronological order. There are nine of them. 1. The Bulhoek Native Disturbances, that is 1921. 2. The Bondelzwarts Rebellion, was in 1923.

DR. YUTAR: I think we can take these as read.

MR. THERON: Right you are. Now the evidence submitted to (30 and/..

and the deliberations of these investigations are far too encompassing obviously to be dealt with adequately here. Notwithstanding, it may be pointed out that many witnesses over the years have alleged that poor or deteriorating relations between the police or other authorities and the various races of South Africa have had an exacerbating effect on the existing trouble, especially in the manner of arrest, search and alleged harshness of treatment by the authorities in retaliation for civil unrest. One of the first of these reports, the Interim and Final Reports of the Native Affairs Commission, was tabled in the House of Assembly in 1921. This was the Bulhoek Disturbances, and interesting enough it seemed to portray something very close to what is known today as the "Black Consciousness" movement.

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It related to a group, a sect, a religious sect known as the "Israelites". In 1923 the Bondelzwarts Rebellion took place and the commission which investigated this particular rebellion, made a number of points. The commission heard for example that there were cases of the police allegedly exceeding their powers in quelling the disturbance, poor wages and general working conditions caused many grievances the commission heard. The various pass laws and the requirements of carrying identity documents caused ill-feeling. There was resentment at the alleged harassment or detention of various Black leaders by the authorities. There was an apparent lack of interest on the part of authorities in the grievances of the non-Whites and finally the witnesses perceived a lack of consistent policy towards non-Whites, and there were minor grievances which could easily have been alleviated by adequate channels of communication. This I quote from

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the Roberts Commission, pp. 1-33 passim)

DR. YUTAR: Mr. Theron I can tell you that these riots you refer to, the Commission..His Lordship has copies of the reports.

MR. THERON: Yes. That is why I have given the references. The next one is the Durban Riots of 1949. The immediate causes were given as being a very small incident. In fact it was a relatively minor incident in which an African lad was slapped around by an Indian storekeeper and in the ensuing tussle cut his face and he bled profusely and this (10 was in full sight of a number of Africans who were there and this set off, sparked off a certain amount of violence, they went on the rampage attacking every Indian in sight, according to evidence the commission heard. This is from Section VI, p.5). The other causes were witnesses who spoke of police - I quote now - "police ruthlessness in putting down the disturbances". Also five other major factors were mentioned; the five are: (i) Incitement of rioters by police..(inter-venes).

CHAIRMAN: Those things weren't findings of the commission.. (20 (both speak simultaneously).

MR. THERON: Sorry, did I say findings? I beg your pardon.

CHAIRMAN: They were allegations made, they weren't findings of that commission.

MR. THERON: Yes, I meant to say that..sorry Your Lordship, that this was evidence heard by the commission from witnesses.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, but these were not the findings of the commission.

MR. THERON: No, I am just quoting what...was stated in the actual report. I would like just to quote the concluding (30 remarks/..

remarks from the commission's report. The commission said:  
"In a multiracial country like South Africa, greater responsibility rests upon the individual than in more homogeneous societies. The sins of the fathers are visited not only upon the children but upon all others of their race. The position in Durban requires constant vigilance."  
Then I won't go through this in detail. There was another commission of inquiry, U.G.47-1950 which goes under the title of Acts of Violence Committed by Natives in the suburbs of Newlands (Johannesburg), Krugersdorp, Randfontein Newclare, and there was evidence led of..the witnesses spoke of anti-police attitudes, intimidation (not specified), public utterances and the Press also featured as being a cause of the riots. In fact the commission refers to them as "causative factors". The immediate causes it was submitted that it was the increase in the tram fares, mass intimidation by youths, dissatisfaction with Pass Laws and fourthly, police raids. If I may quote .. an extract from Annexure "D", p. 13 of the report, it says: "Last Thursday the Africans of the Western Areas began a peaceful and legitimate boycott of municipal transport. Unruly behaviour by a small group of youths, provoked the unjustifiable use of firearms by the police. An innocent bystander was shot dead by an irresponsible policeman.". Then the years covering 1960 to 1962 there were the Cato Manor Riots, the Riots at Sharpville and Langa, and the Paarl Riots, all which were subjects of investigative hearings. In conclusion I wish to refer to the evidence in these commissions of inquiry and I would respectfully like to submit to the commission that many of the grievances and sources of friction in Black/White relations/..

relations in 1976 are similar to those mentioned in the findings of previous Commissions of Inquiry. In submitting this statement I wish to re-emphasize that it is not intended to present events of the past as a cause of present-day unrest, rather I wish to identify certain themes in previous findings as being germane to the search for meaning in the recent disturbances. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN: There is also a report, a later report of one two years ago at the University of the North.

MR. THERON: Thank you, that is all sir. (10

DR. YUTAR: Would Your Lordship order that these eight pages be typed into the record?

CHAIRMAN: It will be typed into the record.

THE RELEVANCE OF PREVIOUS INQUIRIES INTO BLACK UNREST IN SOUTH AFRICA TO THE RECENT DISTURBANCES

I, the undersigned, am a registered social worker in terms of the National Welfare Act, and on the full-time teaching staff of the Department of Applied Sociology in Social Work at the University of Cape Town. The perspective presented here reflects my special interest in teaching and research in the field of social legislation and administration in South Africa, with special reference to the study of race relations in a plural society such as ours. (20

Prior to joining the staff of the University I spent a number of years as a journalist and newspaper reporter. In 1974 I graduated from the University of Cape Town with a Master's degree in Applied Sociology.

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This statement will attempt to give a documentary outline of the sequence and the major causes of Black unrest in South Africa/... (30



Africa as viewed by previous Commission of Inquiry appointed by the State. In the more than half-century from 1921 to 1976 there have been some nine governmental inquiries into various riots and specific periods of unrest among the non-White population groups of South Africa.

It is not intended to correlate the causes of previous disturbances with those which the Commission is presently investigating, nor to suggest that there has been a consistent link over the past 50 years in all acts of violence or unrest involving the various population groups. (10

However, among the many findings of these several commissions and investigations there are a number of themes which have cropped up consistently and relating to those grievances expressed by witnesses appearing at investigative hearings. Summarized below are the official references to these investigations.

1. Bulhoek Native Disturbances, A - 41, Ann.455-6, 1921.  
(Roberts Commission)
2. Bondelzwarts Rebellion, U.G. 16-23, Ann. 361 - 1923  
(Roberts Commission) (2)
3. Vereeniging Location Riots, Ann. 53-1938
4. Durban Riots, U.G. 38 - 1949.
5. Acts of Violence by Natives (Johannesburg) U.G. 47-1950.
6. Cato Manor Riots, Select Committee Report to House of Assembly, February, 1961.
7. Sharpsville Riots, 21 March, 1961 (Wessels Commission)
8. Langa Riots, April 1960 (Diemont Commission)
9. Paarl Riots, November 1962 (Snyman Commission)

The evidence submitted to and the deliberations of these investigations are far too encompassing to be dealt with (3

adequately/..

adequately here. Notwithstanding, it may be pointed out that many witnesses, over the years, have alleged that poor or deteriorating relations between the police or other authorities and the various races of South Africa have had an exacerbating effect on existing trouble, especially in the manner of arrest, search and the alleged harshness of treatment by the authorities in retaliation for civil unrest.

A. The Interim and Final Reports of the Native Affairs

Commission, tabled in the House of Assembly on 30 May 1921, (Bulhoek Disturbances), dealt with what may be viewed as an early prototype of the modern "Black Consciousness" movement. The trouble centred around an exclusive sect known as the "Israelites" who were squatting illegally on Crown Land at Ntabalinga in the Bulhoek sub-location. Due to friction between members of the sect and the legal residents of the area, allegations of stock theft and the general "edginess" of White residents in the area, a volunteer force of 115 armed men was sent to Bulhoek. The Commission reported that "rumours were rife" at this time. (p.3)

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Among the Commission's brief points of summation was the contention that the "Israelites" were basically a fanatical sect, and "...The community at Ntabalinga (was) not a criminal one, and that they (are) not guilty of common law offences, but (were)...breaking the Statute Law and defying the Government." (Ibid., p. 7)

B. The Bondelzwarts Rebellion: The Commission heard that:

1. There were cases of the police allegedly exceeding their powers in quelling the disturbances.

2. Poor wages and general working conditions caused

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many/..

many grievances.

3. Various pass laws and the requirements of carrying identity documents caused ill-feeling.
4. There was resentment at the alleged harassment or detention of various Native (sic) leaders by the authorities.
5. There was an apparent lack of interest on the part of the authorities in the grievances of the non-Whites.
6. Witnesses perceived a lack of consistent policy (10) towards non-Whites, and there were minor grievances which could easily be alleviated by adequate channels of communication. (Roberts Commission, pp. 1-33 passim.)

C. Durban Riots (Van den Heever Report) 1949.

1. Immediate Causes:

The Commission concluded that a relatively minor incident sparked off the riots: A Native (sic) youth of 14 was assaulted, in full view of other Africans, by an Indian storekeeper who slapped the boy in the face. The boy's head went through a store window (20) in the ensuing tussle, causing cuts which bled profusely. This had the effect of enraging the other Africans, who subsequently went on a rampage attacking every Indian in sight. (Section VI, p. 5).

2. Other Causes:

Witnesses spoke of police ruthlessness in putting down the disturbances (Ibid., p.8) and five other major factors were mentioned:

- (i) Incitement of rioters by police and civilians
- (ii) Statements by "politicians" (30)

(iii)/..

- (iii) Slum conditions
  - (iv) Feelings of frustration
  - (v) Increase in tensions between Indians and Africans.
- (Ibid., 9-13)

The Commission made the following concluding remarks:

"In a multiracial country like South Africa greater responsibility rests upon the individual than in more homogeneous societies. The sins of the fathers are visited not only upon the children but upon all others of their race. The position in Durban requires constant vigilance." (Ibid., p. 22) (1 D. Acts of Violence Committed by Natives - Newlands (Johannesburg Krugersdorp, Randfontein and Newclare. (Louw Commission, U.G. 47-1950).

This Commission listed the following "causative factors" in the preamble to its Report:

- (i) Antagonism to the White Government
- (ii) Communist influences
- (iii) Intoxicating liquor
- (iv) A reign of terror by tsotsis
- (v) The Urban Native Administration
- (vi) Anti-Police attitudes
- (vii) Intimidation (not specified)
- (viii) Bioscope films
- (ix) Public utterances and the Press.

Immediate Causes:

- (i) Increase in tram fares
- (ii) Mass intimidation by youths
- (iii) Dissatisfaction with the Pass Laws
- (iv) Police Raids

Extract from Annexure 'D', p. 13: "Last Thursday the Africans/.. (30

Africans of the Western Areas began a peaceful and legitimate boycott of municipal transport. Unruly behaviour of a small group of youths provoked the unjustifiable use of firearms by the police. An innocent bystander was shot dead by an irresponsible policeman."

E. Cato Manor Riots - January, 1961

A committee of senior members of the Department of Police, Justice and Bantu Administration (appointed by the Minister of Justice) submitted a Report to Parliament in February of 1961, following the massacre of a number (10 of policemen at Cato Manor, Durban, on January 24 of that year. The immediate causes of the riot was given as being the result of repeated police raids for illegal liquor, and was allegedly sparked off by the jostling of an African woman by a policeman.

F. Riots at Sharpville and Ianga - (March-April, 1961)

A summary of the Reports of these Commissions was published by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations in a Fact Paper, No. 10 of 1961. The Commission heard evidence of Black dissatisfaction with the system of (20 Pass Laws, low wages and the difficulty of urban Africans in airing their grievances.

G. Paarl Riots - November 1962 (Snyman Commission).

Some of the causes of the Poqo uprising are listed in Chapter III of the Report, parags. 124-175. These include statements regarding squatter camps and municipal housing; inadequacy of the local authorities and their officials - especially in terms of the latter's lack of qualification for the job; the migrant labour system, and the problems of adapting to urban life. (30

I respectfully wish to submit to the Commission that many grievances and sources of friction in Black-White relations in 1976 are similar to those mentioned in the findings of previous Commissions of Inquiry. In submitting this statement I wish to re-emphasize that it is not intended to present events of the past as a cause of present-day unrest. Rather I wish to identify certain themes in previous findings as being germane to the search for meaning in the recent disturbances.

The relevance of presenting this short historical perspective to a Commission seeking information about events in the immediate past should be clarified: From a social scientist's point of view, the events of this year should not be encapsulated and viewed in isolation. The world history of social upheavals demonstrates clearly that episodic periods of violence or revolution usually originate in underlying and deepseated social conditions that are persistently and in on-going fashion experienced as deprivation, injustice and oppression. (10

For example, contemporary complaints that relations between (2) the police and the urban African population are poor, that there is resentment against the pass laws, and that the living conditions of many Black workers leaves much to be desired, are echoed by those voiced nearly a century ago.

Chamber of Mines Reports for the years 1891 to 1897 indicate that the molestation of African workers and corrupt administrative practices were common. A pass system was in operation in one form or another from the earliest days of the South African Republics. G.V. Doxey, (The Industrial Colour Bar in South Africa, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1961) (30

notes that:

"(The pass system) opened up the way for other abuses: Soon there were reports circulating that police were removing passes from Africans and either destroying them and later 'selling' the workers to labour touts, or extorting fees from the workers in return for the confiscated passes." (p. 54).

Sir James Sivewright, quoted in the Chamber of Mines Report for 1896, stated that:

"Transkeian Natives complain bitterly of being jostled, thrashed, and in the course of fumigation, even robbed of their hard-earned wages by police in charge of fumigation stations between the Transvaal and Free State.." (p. 171). (10

The relevance of the incidents related above to the situation today should be apparent: Rather than being examined in vacuo, the recent riots can be seen as part of a long and unhappy history of race and labour relations in South Africa.

It is my considered opinion, based on scientific study and on practical experience and observation, that the basic grievances, reported by previous Commissions of Inquiry, exist today to a more urgent extent than in the past. There has been no properly-planned policy to attempt to meet the grievances identified in the past, and they have consequently grown with time. Not only do the grievances themselves remain, but the fact that no effective steps have ever been taken to eradicate them, despite the clear findings of previous Commissions, has in itself become a major grievance. (20

Given the trust, goodwill and co-operation that can exist between the races in South Africa, perspectives on the past/.. (30

past can offer valuable insights into the problems of our present society, and a recognition of the need to understand the value of status, membership and community.

Francois Coenraad Theron.

22 November 1976.

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DR. YUTAR: My Lord, I must apologise for holding the Commission back so long but in view of our assignments this afternoon it was necessary to finish it.

CHAIRMAN: Is that all the evidence for today? (10

DR. YUTAR: That is all the evidence for today.

CHAIRMAN: Well, I must thank you, particularly the eight members who gave evidence, for staying somewhat later so as to make it possible for the Commission to go on with its work later today. I had indicated this morning that this would be the end of the evidence. There will be no public sitting this afternoon. I have indicated that the Commission was holding consultations this afternoon and tomorrow morning, but since I made that announcement, further evidence, witnesses have come forward and there will be a public sitting at 2 o'clock tomorrow afternoon. There will be no sitting this afternoon or tomorrow morning and the meeting now adjourns until 2 o'clock tomorrow afternoon. (20

COMMISSION ADJOURNS.