

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

MORNING SESSION:

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THE COMMISSION RESUMES ON THE 9th FEBRUARY, 1977.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, before calling the next witness, I would like to apply on his behalf that there be no disclosure of his name or any details that may reveal his identity.

CHAIRMAN: An order is made in that form as was done in the previous cases.

DR YUTAR: I now call Mr Mafison Morobe.

MAFISON MOROBE: sworn states:

DR YUTAR: You made a statement to the police, I believe you wrote it in your own handwriting. Is that right? -- No, (10) well, I was dictating to the sergeant and he was writing.

Oh, I see. And that statement which you dictated, you did so quite freely and voluntarily? -- Sure.

And it was read over to you and you signed it? -- Yes, and I signed it.

As being the truth and nothing else but the truth. -- Yes.

Is this a copy of the statement?

CHAIRMAN: Did you consult with this witness?

DR YUTAR: And I also consulted with him.

CHAIRMAN: Did you consult on this statement? (20)

DR YUTAR: On this statement. You remember I consulted with you on this statement last week in Johannesburg? -- Yes, I do remember.

And we had a short consultation again this morning. -- Yes

Now you have got the statement in front of you and it is a very long one and I am going to ask you to start reading it, but as you told me earlier, you may want me to take over, but you will let me know when. -- Yes.

Now will you read it loudly and we start with paragraph 1.
-- I am 21 years old and reside at the above address with (30) my parents.

You/...

You need not mention your father and mother's names. Go on to paragraph 2. -- I am a student at Morris Isaacson High School and I am in final matric. I started schooling here in 1975. I was at Orlando North Junior Secondary from 1972 to the end of 1974. I became used to one Vusi Sithole whilst at Orlando Secondary School and he used to talk to me about Black consciousness and he told me to get books about the situation in South Africa from the South African Council of Churches at Diakonia House in Braamfontein at their library, but I did not go, as I was interested in my studies. In (10) 1975, whilst at Morris Isaacson High School I was elected to the branch executive of the South African Student Movement as the treasurer, which composed of the following: William Nkonyeni of Rockville as the chairman; Romeo Madlala of Jabavu as secretary; myself as treasurer; Tsitsi Mashinini of Jabavu as vice-chairman. This executive did not get off the ground because of inactivity and had to disband. A year went by without my taking part in any politics. During May, 1976, some schools started to boycott classes because of the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and by June, (20) 1976, more schools joined the boycott because they were also affected for it was difficult for students to learn in Afrikaans and most of the teachers were not qualified to teach in Afrikaans and more so, could not impart any knowledge to the students.

Just to stop there for a moment, at the Morris Isaacson School what subjects did you take? -- I was taking mathematics, physical science, additional mathematics, that is calculus; yes, and Afrikaans as a subject; vernacular, English and Afrikaans. (30)

And what was the medium of instruction? What language was used/...

used to teach you these various subjects, apart from Afrikaans which was taken as a subject? -- In English.

And did that apply throughout the Morris Isaacson School? -- Yes, it applied throughout the whole school.

So as far as the Morris Isaacson High School was concerned, Afrikaans was not used as a medium of instruction and therefore was not a cause of irritation or complaint. -- Yes.

We go on now to paragraph 7. -- On the 13th June, 1976, at a meeting, a meeting was called by the South African Students Movement to meet at the DOCC for the purpose of (10) electing a new regional committee. At this meeting there were about 80 students from various schools in Soweto and D. Motapanyane of Naledi High chaired the meeting for the purpose of elections. Before the election took place, I suggested that it would be wise to hear the complaints of other students from various schools in Soweto, particularly those which had boycotted the classes at their schools and various students stated their views about the Afrikaans issue. The complaints were about the failure of school boards and school committees to solve the problems of students concerning Afrikaans as (20) a medium of instruction. Due to the fact that most teachers could not even teach in Afrikaans or express themselves in that language. The elections took place as follows: Tsitsi Mashinini was elected as president; Seth Mazibuko elected as vice-president; Sibongwile Mthembu elected as secretary and another I cannot remember. After the elections Mashinini was asked by Motapanyane to chair the meeting as the newly elected president. He took over from Motapanyane and gave a speech of thanks. He thanked the house for having voted him as the president of SASM and promised to look after the interests (30) of the students according to their wishes. He then referred back/...

back to the complaints of the students about Afrikaans as the medium of instruction and promised to see to it that their problems are solved. He then asked the house what was to be done to solve the problem of the students. I suggested that besides SASM a committee should be formed which was to be representative of all the students and to be known as the action committee and that it must look into the problems of the schools which were on strike. I made this suggestion about the action committee prior to a previous discussion between myself and Mashinini, where he requested me to (10) suggest that an action committee should be formed for the purpose of dealing with action to be taken against the enforcement of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Tsitsi Mashinini added that this was an idea which originated from Mrs Winnie Mandela, as he and Mrs Winnie Mandele discussed this issue previously. Then Tsitsi Mashinini suggested that the students should hold a demonstration against the implementation of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at schools, since the school boards and school committees have failed to solve this problem and further said this was to be the work of the (20) action committee. The house unanimously agreed on both suggestions; that for the action committee and the demonstration and each school present was asked to nominate one or two students present for the action committee. The following students were then elected on the action committee: Tsitsi Mashinini of Morris Isaacson, Bello Motapanyane of Naledi High School; David Kutumela of Naledi High School; Lazarus Mphahlele of Morris Isaacson High; Mafison Morobe of Morris Isaacson; Seth Mazibuko of Orlando West Junior Secondary School; Sikonyele Mthembu of Naledi High School and (30) two students from Belle Higher Primary, one from Entongeni

Higher/...

Higher Primary. Other schools were informed of the formation of the action committee by means of the abovementioned persons going from school to school to inform them of the action taken by the action committee and its activities in the Afrikaans language. The meeting resolved to meet again on the 13th June, 1976, at 2 p.m. and it was closed and I went to my home in Orlando East.

Now this committee formed in 1976 unlike the previous one, became active almost immediately under the leadership of Mashinini. -- Sure. (10)

How old is Mashinini more or less? -- He is about 19 years.

Do you know him well? -- Yes, we are in the same school.

Did he have a following? -- Yes, the students did follow him.

Willingly or otherwise? -- Well, from my observation it was willingly.

Did he ever use threats against any students if they did not fall into line? -- Well, the only thing which was said about the students was that if any student was going to fall out of line, he would be regarded as, you know, selling out on the aspirations of the other students. (20)

And what was his attitude if any of the schools did not want to fall into line? -- Well, what I can say about that, I do not know as a definite attitude he had about the particular schools which did not fall into line, but if ever there were any schools which were sort of falling out of line, he personally used to go to the particular schools and address the particular schools to fall into line.

And then we have had evidence and there will be some more evidence about principals who did not want to give permission for their school children to take part in a demonstration/... (30)

demonstration. What was his attitude with regard to those school principals? -- Well, that I do not know, because in most of the schools I know him to have succeeded in meeting the principals and talking to the students.

We continue now on page 3, paragraph 17. -- On the 13th June, 1976, some members came to the meeting and others did not come. Those who met were only members of the action committee and Mashinini chaired the meeting of the action committee. The discussion was about the oncoming demonstration. The routes to be followed from various schools. It was (10) agreed that schools should be divided into three streams, namely that Morris Isaacson should lead the first stream, Naledi High School the second stream and Sikanontwana should lead the third stream and that Morris Isaacson was to come along the schools in its vicinity and that is to say schools in White City, Jabavu, Mofolo and Dube and meet on the way near the secondary school and move along with them to Orlando Stadium which was the destination. Naledi High and Sikanontwana were to do the same.

CHAIRMAN: Was there any decision that the route to (20) Orlando Stadium should go past the Orlando West High School? -- Yes, there was a decision.

That was the route they were going to follow? -- Yes.

DR YUTAR: And the three schools that were to take the lead as it were in the three streams, they were the most senior high schools. -- Yes, they were the senior high schools.

Now just before we go on with paragraph 18, I want you to complete paragraph 17 by reading the first 10 lines on page 5 please. I think it fits in here more logically. -- On the 14th June, 1976, the action committee held a meeting (30) in the hall of the DOCC at 2 p.m. and the meeting was chaired

by/...

by Tsitsi Mashinini. The following members of the action committee attended. Tsitsi Mashinini, Mafison Morobe, Bello Motapanyane, Simon Mokoena, Seth Mazibuko. There were other students of the school - of other schools but I cannot recall their names. Other members of the action committee did not attend. I do not at all remember being at Winnie Mandela's house on the afternoon of the 14th June, 1976; after this meeting I went home.

All right, now we can turn back to page 3 and carry on with paragraph 18 please. -- After the schools had met at (10) Orlando West High School all schools had to move in one stream to Orlando Stadium. It was further suggested that the students should carry placards that is written as follows: "Away with Afrikaans", "Afrikaans pollutes our minds", "Afrikaans for Afrikaners", "Afrikaans retards our progress". On the 15th June, 1976, I went to school as usual and during the day at about 12 midday, a meeting was held at Morris Isaacson High School in the school hall and was chaired and addressed by Tsitsi Mashinini. He told the students to come to school prepared for the demonstration by coming along with (20) placards on Wednesday, 16th June and he further said if students were attacked by police they should also retaliate by fighting back with any means at their disposal. He said they should use the 'African bomb', that is stones. It was a short meeting and it closed.

At that meeting was there any discussion as to what should take place at the Orlando Stadium when all the school children arrived there? -- The main idea was that when all the school children had congregated near Orlando Stadium then Tsitsi Mashinini was to address them. (30)

And it is clear from what you have said and from what was said/...

said at the meeting Mashinini expected possibly police intervention. -- Yes.

And he warned the children to be prepared and to use what is termed the 'African bomb'. -- Yes.

We come now to paragraph 21. -- The students agreed to what was said by Tsitsi by shouts of "Matla Amandla". The students then went back to their classes. The meeting was held during the school's free period. I was at home that evening. At about 9,15 Tsitsi Mashinini, Tebello Motapanyane and David Kutumela came to my place. Tsitsi told me that (10) they had been to contact newspaper men to cover the demonstration which was to take place on the following day. He asked me to accompany them to the house of Winnie Mandela because Mandela's car must be handed back to her. Motapanyane said that I should come along because there is something which might be discussed. I then got into the car and left together with them. The car was a reddish Beetle.

Volkswagen Beetle. -- Yes. At about 9,30 p.m. we arrived at Winnie Mandela's house. The car was parked and we got into the house. On entering the house, we found Aubrey (20) Mokoena and Mandla Matimba and Winnie Mandela was in. We went into the sitting room and sat with Aubrey and Mandla. Tsitsi then said to Winnie that he has finished the job of looking for newspaper men who had to cover the demonstration. He said he had managed to get reporters of three English newspapers, namely, the Star, the World and the Rand Daily Mail. Winnie replied and said he had done a good thing and said to him: You have done a good thing, Tsitsi. She made us coffee to drink and came to join us in the sitting-room. She then said: Oh, yes, boys, I see there will be a demonstration tomorrow, (30) and we replied: yes. Then Aubrey Mokoena asked us what we would do/..

do in the face of interference from the police. He said it is likely that police will interfere. Motapanyane said police will not cause any problem on the road because the demonstration will be a peaceful one and added that what the police can do was only to use teargas in order to disperse the crowd. Mandla then said that the police could also use police dogs to disperse the crowd. David Kutumela said that dogs can be stoned to death if that is the case. Aubrey then said that if such a situation arises, you could retaliate against them. I then said to them that in fact when Tsitsi addressed a meeting (10) at school in the afternoon, he had told the students that if any provocation between them and the police takes place, the students should fight back. Winnie Mandela said that it was true that you will have to fight back if you are met with police confrontation. She further said she does not necessarily mean fighting the police directly. She said that students can fight back by destroying buildings like municipality offices and government property. She also again mentioned that we can also hit back at white properties, for instance delivery vans which belong to white firms can be attacked or buses. She (20) wished us good luck for the following day.

Before we come to the following day, who did all the organisation for this proposed demonstration the following day? -- The students were rallied around by members of the action committee.

And the leader was? -- Tsitsi Mashinini.

Now, he went as far as saying using 'Black bombs' for retaliation and also that dogs, if necessary, should be killed. But is it correct that Winnie Mandela was the first one who suggested the destruction of government and other buildings (30) by the students? -- Yes, to my memory I still remember it to be/...

Tifile Secondary School. I joined the procession and moved on towards White City and met pupils from neighbouring schools and moved on towards Mavulo, that is on the road to Dube. We moved past Dube towards Orlando West and there there were no incidents nor police interference till we came to Orlando West. Before we reached Orlando West High School we were stopped by Mashinini who informed us that he has got the word that police are in the vicinity and said that there is no turning back, we have just got to go on and there was a roar of approval. The students were singing all along the (10) route Nkosi Sikalele Afrika. The demonstration moved towards Orlando West High School and here there were also other students waiting for our arrival. On joining them I went into Orlando West High School premises to inform the students here that the others were waiting for them. I told the students who were outside the classes to come and join and they did join others. Outside the school premises I was unable to leave through the gate as the teargas had been fired by police before I could get out. The alternative route I could get was to scale the school fence and then join the other students, which I did. (20) By the time I joined the students, I found them throwing stones at the police outside Orlando West High School and I also joined the students in throwing stones at the police. The police were moving down into the mob and the students then scattered. The police then moved in the direction of Orlando East and parked at the open veld off the spruit. In Orlando West the stoning continued now on every delivery van or truck that the students came across. It was now a real fight against the vehicles and in one instance I was far away when I saw a green car with white persons being stoned. I did not see the end of this car (30) and its occupants.

What/...

What was the total number of students more or less? -- Well, I could say it was about the figure of 20 000.

And how many police were there more or less again? -- I should think the police did not exceed the number 60.

Black and White? -- Yes.

Did they have dogs with them? -- Yes, I did see them with dogs.

And how many police vans were there? -- Well, I managed to see about 4 police vans.

This green car that you saw, do you remember the make (10) of the car? Do you know what make it was? -- I do not know whether it was an Opel or a Valiant.

And the White persons inside, could you make out how many there were? -- No, I could not make out how many there were as I was a distance away.

Could you tell whether they were male or female? -- No, I could not tell.

And about what time of the morning was this? -- I think it was at about 11, round about 11 or 12.

All right, we can go on now to paragraph 37.-- I later (20) saw a White man being stoned at Orlando West and he was lying on the ground. I did not see his car. I also took a brick and also hit at him on the ground where he was lying. I do not know if he was dead, but he was lying down. Before I hit this White man, I noticed among the students who were hitting him: Selbi S.(?) Simela - he is at Morris Isaacson High School, and a certain Moss also of Morris Isaacson High School.

Whereabout was this White man stoned and hit? -- It was in Orlando West in the area of the clinic.

And what is the name of that clinic? -- It is Phomelong.(30)
Paragraph 38. -- Later I got a lift from a car and went to
my/...

my home at Orlando East. The car was a white Volkswagen with two men inside. I identified the driver as Nat, a reporter of the Rand Daily Mail newspaper.

Is Nat a White man or a Black man? -- He is a Black man.

Do you know his full names? -- No, I only know the first name.

Yes. -- On the way Seth Mazibuko also got into the car and in Orlando East I got off and Seth Mazibuko also got off, and went to my home and Seth Mazibuko to his home in Orlando East. Nothing of importance was discussed in the car. When I (10) got to my home, I changed my school uniform. I stayed at home for about 45 minutes and then went back to Orlando West and found there were still students roaming about the streets, stopping cars and forcing the drivers to give the Black Power sign and utter the words 'Power - Matla Amandla', before he or she could proceed. I met among the students here David Kutumela and others unknown and moved towards Dube, witnessing cars and other vehicles being stopped and drivers made to give the sign of Power before proceeding. I went as far as the municipality office and stopped here and watched as people (20) had been further stopped. There was no stoning of cars. At this place as one of the cars was stopped, I went up to the owner and asked him to give us some petrol and I picked up a container nearby and drained petrol from his tank, about 5 litres. He did not ask for what purpose we wanted the petrol. He appeared scared and we took the petrol and scaled the fence of the Dube municipality office with David. I splashed the petrol through the broken windows and David Kutumela lit a paper and threw it inside; the petrol caught fire. We then left the scene soon thereafter and moved towards the Mofolo area on foot. At (30) Mofolo we approached the municipality offices. Here the offices were/...

were already - the windows were already broken and the mob was milling around the area. I noticed some boys having drained petrol from a van. I told those boys to throw the petrol through one of the windows and they did so. I then lit a cloth with a match and threw it inside whereafter the petrol caught fire. We then moved away from the scene in the direction of White City, Jabavu.

CHAIRMAN: The question of setting fire to the buildings, whose idea was that? Where did you get that idea of burning buildings? -- As we had the idea that we should retaliate against (10) - that is government property, well, this one of having to set petrol, we just did it on our own.

But this was part of your idea of retaliation? -- Yes.

DR YUTAR: We now go on to paragraph 43. -- I then departed with Kutumela and I went to the Methodist Youth Centre at Central Western, Jabavu. Here I found Aubrey Mokoena at his office of the Black Community Programmes. He was with Motapanyane, Tsitsi Mashinini and later on Kutulema arrived. They were drinking coffee when I came here. The discussion was centred around the events of the day as to what was (20) happening. We did not stay long here and Aubrey suggested that we should go around Soweto and see what was happening in Soweto. We drove in Aubrey's van towards Dube and then Orlando West and then got to Phomelong offices in Orlando West. Here we met a mob who stopped our van and demanded petrol from us. Aubrey Mokoena gave them some. They had a container in which they drained the petrol. I could not see the amount of petrol they took, as I was at the back of the van. They moved towards Phomelong Beer Garden or Bottle Store and we drove off to Orlando West. I do not know any of these persons. Along (30) the way Aubrey Mokoena said there was a meeting to be held at

Dr/...

Dr Matlare's surgery at Naledi, that is in Soweto. Along Orlando West Mokoena stopped at the house of Mandla Matimba and called him out, who also got into the van and together we drove to Dr Matlare's surgery in Naledi for a meeting of the Soweto Parents Association of which I was not a member. On arrival at the surgery of Dr Matlhare we were introduced to Dr Matlhare as students by Aubrey Mokoena and waited for a long time here, but no persons turned up for the meeting and it had to be abandoned because of the situation in Soweto. We then drove back to our respective homes and I went to my home (10) in Orlando East.

Now before we come to the events of the next day, I want to ask you a few questions. You were in a van when you were stopped by others who demanded petrol. -- Yes.

How many of you were in the van? -- We were about 4.

It was yourself and who else? -- And Aubrey Mokoena, Tebello Motapanyane and David Kutumela.

Now we know Aubrey Mokoena was not a school student, but you were. -- Yes.

Were you in your uniform or you had taken it off (20) earlier that day. -- I had taken it off.

And were the other two students or not? -- Yes, they were students.

Were they in uniform? -- They were not in uniform.

Now the people who demanded the petrol from you were they students? -- Well, it was dark by the time. I could not see whether they were students.

Did they look like students? Were they young people or old people? -- What I could see was that most of them were young people. (30)

And did you ask them what they wanted the petrol for? --

No/...

No, we did not ask.

Did you know what they were going to do with it? -- Yes, we knew what they were going to do.

Namely? -- Well, using it for burning down buildings.

Now I want to put to you some of the evidence we have led that during the day it was the students who demonstrated, but in the late afternoon it was the older element and the tsotsis who took over and started looting. Did you notice that on the first day? -- Yes, I did notice that.

That is so? -- Yes.

(10)

Tsotsis and other elements took over from the students and they burned buildings and also looted them. -- Yes.

Did you see beer halls being plundered? -- Pardon?

Did you see beer halls being broken into and people running away with liquor? -- No, that did not come to my notice.

You did not see that? -- Yes, I only read it through the newspapers.

You read about it in the newspapers? -- Yes.

Well, let us come to the events of the next day and hear what Tsitsi Mashinini said to you about what took place that day. And we therefore go on to paragraph 47. (20)

CHAIRMAN: Is this now Thursday, the 17th?

DR YUTAR: Thursday, 17th June. -- On the 17th June, 1976, I got up at home and went to Orlando Station to buy a newspaper and then went back home. Here I read about the death of a White doctor called Edelstein who was killed in Orlando West, Soweto. I also read out the riots in Soweto and the burning of the municipality offices in Soweto. After this I left the paper and went home and went to ICT(?) to see Vusi(?) but he was not at home on arrival. So I went to see my girlfriend, (30) ..(?) Mthembu, at White City, Jabavu, and found her indoors and stayed/...

stayed with her until about 1 p.m. whereafter I went back home in Orlando.

What impression did the newspaper make on you when you read it? What effect did it have on you? -- The effect?

Yes, how did you feel when you read the newspapers that morning about what took place the day before? -- What I felt was that the students had done what they had been instructed to do.

By Mashinini and Winnie Mandela? -- Yes.

And were you pleased about what you read? -- Yes, then (10) I was pleased.

And did it incite you to go on with the work? -- Yes, it did put in me that inspiration to go on.

Inspiration to carry on with what had been done the day before. -- Yes.

And did it also encourage you? -- Yes.

Did it encourage also your friends who were with you and doing the same sort of thing? -- I should think so.

By the way, did you know this Dr Edelstein? -- No, I did not know him. (20)

You did not know him at all. Did anybody speak to you about him? -- No, nobody.

Do you know what the attitude of the Black people were towards him? -- No, I do not know.

Carry on now, paragraph 48. -- At about 3,35 p.m. I went to Orlando West. As I walked in a street in Orlando West, I saw Tebello Motapanyane and Tsitsi Mashinini about to enter the yard of Winnie Mandela's house. They also saw me and waited for me. I came to them and greeted them and went with them into the house of Winnie. In the house we found a female. (30) Winnie was not in and we all sat in the sitting-room whilst

the/...

the female sat in the kitchen and we had some conversation about the events of the past day of the 15th June, 1976.

Do you know this Black woman was? -- I did not know her name.

Was that the first time you saw her? -- Yes.

But she was in the house of Winnie Mandela. -- Yes.

And Winnie Mandela was not there. -- Yes.

Right. Paragraph 49. -- Tsitsi Mashinini related to us what he saw and what he did on the 15th June, 1976. He said he burned a truck at Orlando West, also a bakery van (10) which he had instructed people to stop and they offloaded bread. Some ate it, others took it away. He also told us that on the way to Morris Isaacson High School the group in which he was, had attacked a White man and left him lying in the street. Also that this group had phoned the municipality office for Youth Employment Centre in Central Western Jabavu and also set it alight and at that stage police arrived and the group dispersed.

Did he mention who that White man was? -- No, he did not mention. (20)

Was the name of Dr Edelstein mentioned at that stage or at any other stage? -- No, it was not mentioned.

Not mentioned. -- He also told us about the South African Brewery truck which was stopped by his group near Morris Isaacson High School and was burned after the driver had run away.

What happened to the contents on the brewery van? All the beer. Did he tell you? -- No, I was not told about the contents.

Paragraph 51. -- Tebello Motapanyane told us that he had taken part in the stoning of the delivery vans in Dube (30) Village and also at Phafeni, that is Orlando West and the group in/...

in which he was, drove away some of the vans which the drivers had left behind when stoned. I also related to them the events of the 16th June in which I had taken part, also what I had seen as told in this statement from paragraph 30 onwards. I left the house before Winnie arrived from work and Tebello Motapanyane went to his home whilst I and Tsitsi went further to the taxi rank. Tsitsi took a taxi to his home and I went to the A.M.E. Church in Orlando West to see Malusi, that is Jacob Malusi, a student at our school, and stayed with him here till after sunset. At about 8,30 p.m. Aubrey Mokoena (10) arrived at the church and I decided to go with him to his home and we left the church at about 8,50 p.m. or 9 p.m. I slept at Mokoena's home at Orlando West.

That was the 17th? -- Yes.

You then go on to tell us what took place on the 21st June, but what about the intervening days? Friday the 19th, Saturday the 20th, what did you do those two days? -- Those days are the days of which I spent at home mostly, and I used to read from newspapers as to what was happening in Soweto.

Did you participate in any of the events? -- No, on (20) those days I did not participate in any events.

Just spent at home. -- Yes.

And you read the newspapers. -- Yes.

Again I ask you what effect did the newspapers have on you? -- Well, they had the same effect as before.

As before. -- Yes.

One of incitement and encouragement. -- Yes.

Now before we come to the 21st June, I would like to ask you a few questions about the crowd or the mob, the term you use. There were children of all ages? -- Yes. (30)

The youngest, where were they? The youngest, where you had/...

had a crowd of people, where were the youngest people? -- Well, some of the kids were turned back, that is, went to their homes, and some were in the mobs.

Yes, but those that were in the mob, where were they? At the back, in the middle or in front? -- Well, it was just a mixture of everybody, we had no definite pattern.

You had no definite pattern. -- Yes.

Where were the leaders? -- Well, Tsitsi was the one who was leading.

Was he in the front, in the middle or at the back? (10)
-- He was in the front, that is by the time I got into Orlando West High School.

Were you present when the school children were met by the police or confronted by the police? -- The first confrontation I was still in the school premises, that is telling the other students to come and join the procession.

When were you present when there was a confrontation? When was that? -- Well, I only managed to get out of the school premises and that time is when the stoning started and the police vans were moving down towards Orlando East. (20)

And all you saw was the stoning of the police, the dogs and the vans and vehicles by the students. -- Yes.

In what way did the police retaliate? -- Well, at that time what I experienced was the teargas which was being used by the police. At some stages when I heard what I can say are shots.

But that came afterwards. -- Well, it was in the proces, because when teargas is fired I think it gives the same sound as of bullets.

Did the firing of teargas, was it always effective? (30)
Did it disperse the crowds or not? -- Yes, it did disperse
the/...

the crowds.

And if it did disperse the crowds, did the crowds also reform afterwards? -- Yes, they did.

And they came back again. -- Yes.

Was that also in accordance with the planning that was done beforehand, that if they are dispersed by the police, they should reform? -- Well, that is not the case, we did not talk about that.

That was not discussed. -- Yes, the reforming.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS FOR TEA. THE COMMISSION RESUMES. (10)

MAFISON MOROBE: still under oath:

DR YUTAR: Before we go on to the 21st, I want you just to dwell a while on the meeting of Sunday the 13th June. That is when the committee met. We have led some evidence that a suggestion was made at that meeting that perhaps a letter should be written to the authorities, protesting against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Was that suggestion made at the meeting? One of the suggestions made? -- I cannot remember of anything of that sort.

And it is possible that after such suggestion was (20) made, that Mashinini and others then said no, the best thing to do, the best way out is to demonstrate? -- Yes, because the demonstration was taken by the whole house.

As being the best means to be adopted. -- Yes.

Now, that involved of course a number of schools, the demonstration. -- Yes.

Is it possible or do you know whether the arrangements to hold the demonstration had been discussed some time before? -- Well, that I cannot make head of it because that suggestion came up with Tsitsi Mashinini. (30)

Yes, but then here is Mashinini on Sunday the 13th June saying/...

saying no, the best way to deal with the situation is to hold a demonstration. Did you perhaps yourself get the impression that this is something they may have discussed beforehand?

-- Well, at that stage I did not get any impression, but I was fascinated by the idea of a demonstration.

You will admit, I think that the time was very short to organise and hold a demonstration a matter of a few days later, on Wednesday, the 16th; time was very short. -- Yes.

Because you had to get representatives from the various schools to agree to it. -- Yes. (10)

And you told us Mashinini did go round to the various schools to speak to the children. -- Yes.

Does it not seem that possibly Mashinini together with Winnie Mandela, with whom he was in close contact, had made these prior arrangements some time before the 13th? -- Well, that I do not know, because the only suggestion he had requested me to put forth to the meeting was the one of an action committee. The one of a demonstration, I would not say as to where did he get it from.

But it is quite possible that it might have been (20) discussed beforehand and suggested at the meeting. -- Probably.

We come now to the event of the 21st June, 1976, and would you please read paragraph 54 on page 8. -- On the 21st June, 1976, I was at the meeting of the Soweto Parents Association, held at Dr Matlhare's surgery in Naledi, Soweto, when we were again introduced as students to the audience at the meeting. That was myself, David Kutumela, Mandla Matimba, Tsitshi Mashinini and Tebello Motapanyane. I also saw at the meeting the following: Dr Matlhare, Winnie Mandela and others who were introduced as parents from Naledi. I cannot remember (30) the names mentioned. The meeting was chaired by Dr Matlhare

who/...

who said that since the students were present at this meeting, they could work hand in hand with the parents to resolve the crisis that has befallen Soweto. The Soweto Parents Association should help other people in burying the dead of the families and relieve those who had been injured and it was decided to hold a further meeting at the Methodist Youth Centre in Central Western Jabavu on the 24th June, 1976.

Who invited the students to this meeting of the Parents Association held at the house of Dr Matlhare? -- Well, we were there even on the first occasion when we were taken (10) to the meeting by Aubrey Mokoena.

24th June. -- On the 24th June, 1976, a further meeting was held at the Methodist Youth Centre in Central Western Jabavu as arranged on the 21st June, 1976. At this meeting the Black Parents Association was formed and the following persons were elected to the executive committee. Dr Manas Buthelezi as chairman; Dr Aaron Matlhare - assistant chairman; Dr Ntatu Matlana - treasurer and Mr Nteso as secretary; Mr Aubrey Mokoena as assistant secretary and Mrs Winnie Mandela as an executive member. Also present was Mr Ngakane (20) and many others unknown to me. The following students were present: Myself, Mafison Morobe, David Kutumela, Tsitsi Mashinini and Tebello Motapanyane. A committee was chosen to look into the question of burial of the riot victims. There were also other organisations represented at the meeting at the Methodist Youth Centre, as follows: The SACC was represented by Mr Ngakane.

The SACC, that is the South African Council of Churches.
-- Yes.

And Mr Ngakane what is his position with the South (30) African Council of Churches? -- I am not clear of his position.

You/...

You are not clear. Right? -- The South African Students Movement represented by Zweli Sizani and a welfare association represented by Mr Nteso and Black People's Convention represented by Mr Kenneth Rachidi and the South African Students Organisation represented by Mr Ngokong. Then the South African Women's Federation represented by Mrs Mandela. In the course of the meeting an amount of R200 was collected for the burial of the riot victims in Soweto by the South African Students Movement, which was handed in by Zweli Sizani. Also the South African Students Movement organisation collected the (10) sum of R200 which was handed in by Mr Ngokong, also for assisting in the burial of the riot victims. Other organisations promised to make the donations later for assisting in the burial of the victims. It was also arranged that a further meeting should take place on the 29th June, 1976. I did not attend the meeting of the Black Parents Association on the 29th June, 1976. The Black Parents Association called a general meeting at the Regina Mundi Roman Catholic Church in Roseville on the 1st August, 1976. I was present at the meeting, but arrived late. The meeting was on when I arrived. The (20) church was not packed, but a fair number of people attended it. I cannot say who chaired the meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to get people, especially parents to encourage the pupils to get back to their schools. This was because the school attendance in Soweto had dropped and was on its lowest ebb. In all the essence was that students would go back to school. People stood up and voiced their feelings. Those who spoke, especially in the parent circles, repeatedly thrust the point that parents should stand by their children and eradicate the Bantu Education system. It was at this (30) meeting that Tsitsi stood up and told the parents to encourage their/...

their children to go back to school. He said this would gear them towards togetherness. I also stood up and said that for us to succeed we were to come to school and stand up as one unit.

Just one moment. You say at this meeting Tsitsi stood up and told the parents to encourage their children to go back to school. Did he ever discuss with you this position that whilst the children stayed away from school it was impossible to speak to them and tell them what to do and that the best thing to do is to get them back to the school where he could (10) address them all together? Did he discuss that with you? Do you understand my question? -- Yes, I do. Well, what I know is that the essence of that is that if the students would be at school so that if anything was to be done, the students would be present at school.

He could address them all the more easily. -- Yes.

Right. Paragraph 62. -- Towards the end of the meeting Aubrey Mokoena thanked everybody on behalf of the Black Parents Association for having sacrificed their own time to come to the meeting. And further said that he hoped that the students (20) will have heard what has been said. He then led the house into singing Nkosi Sikalele Afrika and the meeting was closed after the singing. As the people went out of the church, I noticed a group of boys jostling about with somebody outside the building. I noticed that it was David Kutumela. Among the people who were assaulting him, was a student I once saw at Orlando West High School, name unknown, and one was having a moustache and wearing a skullcap and many others unknown to me. They were using open hands and also kicking him. No weapons were used. I did not assault him, nor did I (30) see Tsitsi in my presence.

When/...

When did this take place, this assault on David Kutumela?
-- It was after the meeting.

Of the 1st August? -- Yes.

And who assaulted this David Kutumela? -- It was a group of people who were from the meeting.

And for what reason did they assault him? -- Well, the reason is stated here.

You will come to it just now. -- Yes.

He was supposed to be a sell-out. -- Yes.

All right. Oh, it is the very next line. -- I (10)
recall that Tsitsi once told the students that David Kutumela is a sell-out. By that he meant that he collaborated with the police.

Did Tsitsi participate in this assault on David Kutumela?
-- In my presence I did not see him participate.

Was he there when David Kutumela was assaulted by the others? -- Yes, he was there.

Did he take any steps to stop them assaulting David Kutumela? -- In my presence I did not see him do anything.

Paragraph 66. -- It was also at this meeting that the (20)
Black Parents Association asked for a mandate from the house to go and see the government authorities about the Afrikaans issue and the school situation in Soweto. This was approved by the meeting. On the following day, the 2nd August, 1976, a meeting was held at Morris Isaacson High School at about 9 a.m. There were about 50 students here from various schools - secondary and high schools. The meeting was chaired and addressed by Tsitsi Mashinini. He first asked the house how was the response to the call that students would go back to school. On the overall it was found that the attendance (30)
was about 50%. He further said to the house that when the
meeting/...

meeting closed, the students should go and inform other students that they should return to school as their presence was needed and there was something to be done and that was on the following Wednesday.

Yes, now doesn't that lend support to what I said to you earlier that Tsitsi Mashinini's whole idea in getting the students to go back to school was in order to instruct them as to what they should do at a later date? -- It does.

Right, paragraph 70. -- He said that he wanted students to demonstrate again on Wednesday, the 4th August, 1976, and (10) he said students should demonstrate for the release of fellow students who had been detained and told those present to go and tell others and make it clear to the students that they must tell their parents that they should take part in the demonstration because some of those arrested were their children. I remember the schools present at this meeting were Sikhononkwane Morris Isaacson, Diepkloof, Orlando High, Orlando North Secondary School and Naledi High. At this stage it is appropriate to mention two discussions that I had with Winnie Mandela. In July, 1976, I had one discussion with her in the company (20) of Tebello Motapanyane and Tsitsi Mashinini.

You have left out one line. -- In July, 1976, I had one discussion with Winnie Mandela. By then the schools had already closed. I was in the company of Motapanyane and Tsitsi Mashinini. -- She told us that the system was now desperate. She said that this was because they had never thought that kids can do what they did, referring to June the 15th. She said that they (that is the government) had killed so many people and were now arresting people at random. She further said that students must never retreat, but must go on with what they (30) they are doing. She mentioned that as soon as the schools

re-opened/...

re-opened, the students must do something about some of their colleagues who have been detained. At this stage it is then that Tsitsi told her that there is no reason to worry about anything, as the students are always ready to do anything. Tsitsi then further said to her that if ever she has got anything in mind, she must inform him. She then said to us that the sooner students do something again, she can be very happy because we must maintain the spirit which prevailed on June the 16th. It did not go further than this because she then said to us that we should not frequent her house (10) for she suspects that 'they' could have started to watch her house again. It is then that the three of us left.

Just to stop there a minute. Do you know about the attempt that was made to burn the house of Winnie Mandela? Do you know about that? -- I read about it in the newspapers.

You only read about it in the newspapers? -- Yes.

You know nothing about that? -- Well, personally by then I had not seen actually.

Apart from the newspapers, had anybody spoken to you about it? -- Pardon? (20)

Apart from what you read in the newspapers, did anybody speak to you about the burning or the attempt to burn the house of Winnie Mandela? -- The only person who did so to me was Motapanyane.

And what did he say? -- Well, what he said was that he suspects there is nobody else who could do this other than the system.

Other than the system? -- Yes.

Meaning? -- The system, meaning the police.

We have had some evidence to the contra viewpoint (30) that perhaps her house was burned by some Black youngsters, setting/...

setting it alight in order to divert the police from her house.

-- Well, I have no idea of that.

You have no idea of that. We come now to page 11, the first line. -- She talked to me again on a Sunday after a meeting of the Black Parents Association which was held on the 1st August, 1976. She told me to see Tsitsi who has got something to say to me. On meeting Tsitsi before the meeting of the 2nd August, 1976, he told me that everything is set for Wednesday, the 4th. He then went on to tell me that another demonstration must be launched on Wednesday for the (10) release of detained students and that this time we shall march to Johannesburg.

Just one moment now. Winnie Mandela told you to go and speak to Mashinini who had something to tell you. -- Yes.

Did you gather that Winnie Mandela knew what it was all about? -- Well, at that stage I did not gather anything since she referred me to go and see Tsitsi, that Tsitsi has got something to say. So I had to go and see Tsitsi.

And did it appear to you that whatever Tsitsi Mashinini wanted to say to you, she knew? -- It appeared like that. (20)

Now we come to the 4th August. This was now the planned march to Johannesburg. -- Yes.

Right. -- On the 4th August, 1976, the demonstration started with students stopping people from going to work for the purpose of getting them to join in the demonstration. I arrived at school on that day at about 7,30 a.m. On arrival the atmosphere was tense. Police were already on the scene and teargas was being shot at the crowd. Tsitsi got onto the roof of a car and addressed the crowd. He said the march must go on and must not be disturbed by the presence of the (30) police. He said that the police wanted to disturb this demonstration/..

demonstration. He then said that people must move down to Rockville and mentioned two house numbers which he said belonged to members of the Police Force and ordered that they must be destroyed. He gave the numbers as No. 124 and No. 125 in Rockville, Soweto. I did not hear him mentioning the names of the two policemen staying at these houses, he only mentioned the numbers of the houses.

This is what Mashinini told you? -- Yes.

Right. -- At that time the news began to cover the area and as we moved down through White City, Jabavu, the (10) police in two hippo vans could not follow the procession because mist had already thickened and one could not see very far away. Tsitsi Mashinini then led the students down to Rockville. He was in front. On arrival in Rockville we had stones in our hands and I was in the middle of the column. Before our column could reach the two houses, two persons - one I recognised as a student at Morris Isaacson, and known to me by a nickname, Berezer and another who did not appear to be a student to me - went past our column and were carrying two tins about the size of 20 litre containers. (20)

That name Berezer is spelt B-e-r-e-z-e-r. Is that right? -- Yes.

Paragraph 77. -- We started throwing stones at the windows and doors of houses No. 124 and No. 125 in Rockville which are situated next to each other. The two men with tins then entered both houses and poured the liquid in both houses. After they came out of the houses, I saw smoke coming out through the windows and the doors. We thereafter left the scene. During the stoning of the houses, there were some shouts from the students and other persons who had joined them, shouting: (30) 'Sell-outs! Sell-outs!' and also 'Power - Matla Amandla' in Zulu/...

Zulu and 'Matla' in Sotho. During the stoning of these two houses, I did not see the occupants of both houses and the stone throwing was made among other persons I saw was Tsitsi Mashinini, myself and Berezer known by this nickname only. I was unable to see others, but most of these who destroyed these houses were from Morris Isaacson and were joined by adult persons on the route to Rockville in Jabavu and in Rockville. After the stoning and burning of the two houses, the students went to Alca Cycle Stadium and on arrival here came other students from the opposite direction of (10) Rockville and Tsitsi was now among them and they were chanting "Hlubi, Hlubi".

Meaning? -- That is the name of a certain policeman who lives in Rockville.

Right. -- When I looked in the direction in which they came from, I noticed the police at the circle near the municipality offices, but did not come to us at Alca Stadium where we had congregated. At that juncture we all congregated on the turf of Alca Stadium and Tsitsi said he had got a word that other students were waiting for us at Orlando West (20) and said we should move fast because time was running out. As we were about to move, we were joined by other students coming from the direction of Senoane. In two columns we moved together on the way to Orlando West, with the object of getting into town. We then moved on towards Jabavu towards Orlando West and we were joined by adults from various directions, who got into the march with us. Others were already there from Rockville and moved to Mofolo, Dube, Orlando West, up to the Shanti Clinic in Orlando West, but did not find Orlando West students. All the way we were singing Nkosi Sikalele (30) Afrika and fists were raised up in the air and chanting

'Amandla/...

'Amandla Ngawethu', that is meaning 'Power is Ours'. A word was passed to us at Shanti Clinic that the students from Orlando West and Orlando East and the neighbouring schools were now nearing New Canada and we moved fast to follow them. From the Shanti Clinic we moved on to Orlando East and got near Orlando East High School and here the police came from the opposite direction and fired teargas at us. The road was also blocked by police, that is the road leading out of Orlando East. The police in hippos fired teargas on the students until we all scattered as the teargas was now (10) unbearable. Everybody was running and coughing and sneezing. We all ran back in different directions into the location and as I was running, a Combi came behind me and hooted. I flung myself into the Combi and the driver drove in the direction of the Orlando Communal Hall. When it reached the Communal Hall, I alighted from the Combi and all students and other persons were running away in all directions. Police had managed to disperse the demonstration. On the 4th August, 1976, I attended the meeting at the house of Dr Manas Buthelezi in the afternoon. Dr Buthelezi chaired the meeting and I saw (20) the following persons: Dr Manas Buthelezi, Dr A. Motlana, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Nteso. Also the following students were present at this meeting: myself, Simon Mokoena and Michael Tsagae. Students from Orlando High School in Orlando East, were present. I do not know their home addresses. They were asked by the chairman as students to tell him of our grievances and as we were not prepared for the meeting, I just talked and gave the chairman the following points of students grievances. (1) Continued students' detention should be stopped. (2) The scrapping of Bantu Education. (3) The stopping of police (30) harassment. (4) Police provocation. (5) Universal education.

These/...

These were noted by the chairman down in writing and he said he had made an appointment to see the Minister of Justice and hand him the students' grievances.

Would you just stop there for a moment. You were a matriculation student at the Morris Isaacson High School. -- Yes.

What was your personal objection to Bantu Education? -- Well, the thing is that as I came to realise that the thing was I came to understand this to that White students have a different education from ours and I could not get the (10) real reason for that kind of a set-up.

And if the word 'Bantu' was dropped and it was just called 'Education', would you be happy with that? -- Well, that I would say I would be happy because I would not know the difference between the other kind of education and our education.

What do you mean by universal education? -- Well, incidentally the 5th point was not brought up by me, it came out from Michael Tsagae. I think by universal education, it is meant that the same education for everybody, equal (20) education.

Paragraph 86. -- In the discussion at this meeting I also informed the house about the burning of the houses of two policemen at Rockville, that of Mr Letlaka and Mr Magoro and here Mr Winnie Mandela congratulated us for having burned down the two houses of the security policemen and mentioned one as having previously given evidence against her in court when she was charged. The meeting then closed and I went back home. I then went to bed early as I was tired because of the march, the demonstration. On the 5th August, 1976, at about (30) 9 a.m. I went to school at Morris Isaacson and found students congregated/...

congregated there and were being addressed by Tsitsi Mashinini. From where I was, I could not hear him well, but I heard him say everybody should move into the street. Then everybody moved into the street and I also joined and we went into Molopo, Jabavu, and we were singing as we were marching and at White City, Jabavu, we were dispersed by police with teargas and scattered and went back to school, where again police used teargas. I then left to my girlfriend's home where I spent the afternoon.

This meeting at the school that Mashinini was (10) addressing, where was it being held? -- It was on the school premises.

In a classroom or school hall or what? -- It was next to our classrooms outside.

When the crowd moved into the street and were singing, were they singing freedom songs? -- Yes, what they were singing was the anthem, that is Nkosi Sikalele Afrika.

Any other songs? -- The other song they were singing, it is an English song, 'We shall overcome'.

And who taught them? Do you know? -- Well, this song (20) -- well, I would say Nkosi Sikalele they knew it and Tsitsi came up with this English song, We shall overcome.

Do you know whether at any stage Winnie Mandela had taught students some of the freedom songs? -- No, I do not know.

Paragraph 89 please. -- At one stage I asked Mashinini whether he was aware that many of our students had been arrested. He said that was nothing to worry about, as we can always get them back with us like we did with Afrikaans by simply demonstrating for their release. During August, 1976, I was introduced by Michael Tsagae to a certain man in (30) Dube Village, whom he said to be Mr Koka. He said this man wanted/...

wanted to help students as a parent and felt very disturbed by what was going on in the country. Mr Koka said the students have not had much success in their demonstration. He even said we had failed at New Canada to get any results. He said it would be better do do away with demonstrations and engage ourselves in staging some stay-aways from work. He said this after Tsagae had asked him what was to be done by the students to succeed. He further said our fellow students were still in prison and are still being arrested and detained. I told him I will give it a thought. He said that we should embark (10) upon a project which would put the Whites into trouble. He said students should launch a campaign to stop workers from going to work so that there can be pressure on the government to release the arrested students. He said he would help in this way to make this a success as we now had nothing to embark upon at present. At a meeting of the Soweto Students Representative Council I learned from Tsagae that Tsitsi had been to see Mr Koka at Dube and was given the same idea by Mr Koka to embark on the campaign to stage a stay-away from work by workers. Then at this meeting Tsitsi told the Council (20) that the SSRC was now going to embark on a stay-away from work by workers and that students should go and inform other students about this stay-away from work. The dates were decided as from the 23rd to the 25th August, 1976, which was a 3 day stay-away from work. It was at this meeting held by the SSRC that Tsitsi Mashinini told the students that if parents insisted on going to work, they should be stopped by means of force. The SSRC did not oppose this. It came from Mashinini as an instruction to the SSRC and it was approved.

Mashinini then said that if the parents insisted going (30) to work, the students should stop them by means of force. Did

he/...

he indicate what kind of force, in what way it should be applied? -- No, that was not indicated.

He did not give details. -- Yes.

What did you understand by that, by means of force? -- Well, it simply meant that we should stop them, that is at the various points where they get their transport to town.

Stop them in what way? -- Well, we should just get there and instruct them to get back.

And if the parents resisted? -- Well, that was not said as to what could be done if they resisted. (10)

Paragraph 94. -- Before the stay-away from work was staged, there were some pamphlets issued and distributed in Soweto. I did not know where they came from, as no pamphlets were made by the SSRC to stop people from going to work and no pamphlets were prepared then by the SSRC in my presence.

What did those pamphlets say? -- Well, the pamphlets were telling people not to go to work, that is the reason which was put on the pamphlet was the one for the scrapping of Bantu Education and the release of the detained students.

So the pamphlets in effect carried out what Mashinini (20) had suggested to the meeting. -- Yes.

Paragraph 95. -- During a week before the 23rd August, 1976, when I was near to Baduba Stores in Dube and here I met Mr Koka again. He told me that he had prepared some pamphlets for the stay-away from work from the 23rd August to the 28th August, 1976.

To the 25th August. -- To the 25th August and he showed me one which I read and gave it back to him. He said some pamphlets had already been distributed in Soweto; he did not say by whom. I left him there and went home. On the (30)
23rd August, 1976, I went up between Orlando West and Dube

Station to see whether people were going to work or not. I did tell some people in Dube to go back home and not to go to work. I remember them going back into the township and on the 24th August, 1976, and the 25th August, 1976, I was at home in Orlando East. There were other students at Phafeni Station Orlando West, also at Dube Station in Dube, going about and telling people not to go to work. It was not only the students who stopped people from going to work, but also some hooligans took advantage of the situation and stopped people from going to work. On the last day of the stay-at-home I read in (10) the newspaper that the stay-at-home was far less than expected and was only less than 50% who stayed home for the 3 days. I was at some time not much in contact with Tsitsi Mashinini for the reason that he was by this time well known and that many pictures of him had appeared in newspapers. He also informed me that it was no more safe for him to go about on foot and that his friend, Barney Mokgatlé was going to provide him with transport and he would now deal with other matters, which he said bluntly. He did not elaborate the matters he was going to deal with. We were at school and he soon thereafter (20) left school as he did in the previous days. In September, 1976, I visited Mr Koka at his house in Dube Village. I was just seeing him in passing. So as I spoke to him he suggested that another stay-at-home be staged because the first stay-at-home was not successful and he promised that this one will be successful. He then set a date as to be from the 13th September to the 15th September, 1976. I agreed to this suggestion and told him I would inform members of the SSRC. Mr Koka also said he will see that pamphlets are prepared and printed and then distributed about the stay-at-home to inform the public (30) about this as well as workers. A meeting was held in September, 1976/...

1976, by the SSRC, and at this meeting I suggested that another stay-at-home to the SSRC and it was accepted. The house agreed on the 13th September, 1976, to 15th September, 1976. I put the suggestions as mine and not those of Mr Koka. I also told them that there would be some pamphlets which they would in turn distribute to students, as well as to the public in general. The SSRC agreed to do so. I told them that I had someone to print them for us. The pamphlets were made and given to the SSRC by means of four members, that is myself, Simon Mokoena, Michael Tsgae and Tito, meeting Mr Koka at (10) his house who then handed them to me and others and we took them to Moletsane Secondary School and here met other members of the SSRC, Sakie, Dan, Mpo, Solly and Joshua and others unknown and divided the pamphlets for distribution to the public in general. It was on this stay-at-home that Mr Koka said that this would make the White firm owners pressurise the government to release detained students.

Why were you keen to say that the suggestion was yours, the suggestion to stay away from work and that it did not come from Mr Koka? Why? -- Well, I said it out of my own. (20) It was just to make so that it would seem that it comes from me.

Paragraph 102. -- The stay-at-home started on the 13th September, 1976. It proceeded with the minimum of incidents until the inhabitants of Mzimhlope Hostel got into the picture. Apparently they were given a raw deal by people at Mzimhlope, meaning that tsotsis around Mzimhlope were robbing and stealing money and goods from them. Also a section of the hostel was burned. Then the hostel inhabitants got infuriated. They retaliated by launching attacks on the neighbouring township of Orlando West and Mzimhlope and part of Meadowlands. (30) And when this ultimately stopped, it had resulted in a number of people/...

people being killed, and scores being injured. This resulted also with people abandoning their houses and seek refuge elsewhere in other townships and a section of the hostel which was attacked and burned was also deserted.

Was this now when the Zulus became involved? -- That is right.

Do you know about the burning of the one Zulu man? -- No, it is the first time I hear of it.

It is the first you hear of it. -- Yes.

But you do know that the hostel of the Zulus was set (10) alight. -- Yes.

And that led to a lot of trouble. -- Yes.

A lot of people were killed. -- Yes.

And did the police come to the rescue? -- Well, I did not manage to see whether they did come to the rescue.

But now you say that this resulted - people abandoned their houses and sought refuge elsewhere. -- Yes.

Did you know that they sought refuge at the police station? -- Well, I did not know of the police station, but I used to see some of them carrying their goods. (20)

Who started this trouble? Between the Zulus on the one hand and the rest of the inhabitants of Soweto on the other, who started this trouble? -- Well, I have got no idea as to who started it.

We have led evidence that the police intervened in order to prevent people being killed and seriously injured. Do you know about that? -- I only read about it in the newspaper.

And that the police tried to restrict the Zulus to their hostel and to their own area. -- Yes, I have read that.

And that also the police gave refuge to a large (30) number of Black people who arrived there, having abandoned their homes/...

homes. Did you hear about that? -- No, I did not hear about that.

Paragraph 103. -- There were no instructions to the effect that people should be stopped from going to work. The whole suggestion or idea of the stay-at-home was the idea of Mr Koka, not the Students Representative Council and did not have that idea and the pamphlets were made, prepared and printed by Mr Koka. The students helped him by distributing them for him after printing them for the September stay-at-home for 3 days. The SSRC did accept his idea of the stay-at-home. (10)

Now this Koka, how old is he? -- I think he is about the age of the gentleman next to you.

He wasn't a student? -- No, he wasn't a student.

Well, I can tell you his age, we celebrated it the other day, but he was an adult? -- Yes.

And what was his work or what was his vocation? -- I did not know what he was working.

Do you know where he is now? -- Yes, I saw in the newspapers that he had skipped the country.

Paragraph 104. -- A meeting of the SSRC was held (20) during September, 1976, at Madibane High School at Diepkloof and here a demonstration was suggested by me. It was initiated by one I had read about in the newspapers as happening in Cape Town. I took it up with the SSRC where I pointed out that we should do the same as the people in Cape Town. It was at this meeting that the 23rd September, 1976, was chosen for the demonstration.

What had you read in the newspapers? -- I had read that students were demonstrating in Cape Town.

Whereabouts? -- In the city. (30)

In the city. Do you know the name of the street? --

Adderley/...

Adderley Street.

And that gave you an idea to get the students in Soweto to do the same in Johannesburg? -- Yes.

All right. Now you made the suggestion that the students should do the same in Johannesburg. -- Yes.

Were there stages arranged? -- Pardon?

Did you arrange certain stages of the demonstration? What was to be done: stage 1, stage 2, stage 3? -- No, we had no stages.

No stages at all? -- Simply a demonstration. (10)

Simply a demonstration. -- Yes.

Right, now paragraph 105, let us see what you did or proposed for Johannesburg. -- Two streets were chosen, one being Commissioner Street and the other being Eloff Street in the city. The students were to be informed that they should be in town by 7,30 a.m. and then start demonstrating at 8 a.m. Schools were divided by the cardinal points, that is those in the east and south of Soweto were to be at Commissioner Street and those on the north and west of Soweto were to be in Eloff Street and the students were to use all means of transport (20) available to them and to put on ordinary clothes other than school uniforms. It was accepted by members, but it was not specified exactly where to meet in Eloff Street or Commissioner Street.

At this stage where was Mashinini? -- Mashinini was no longer with us.

I beg yours? -- He was no longer in the country.

When did he leave? -- He left after the first stay-at-home. In September.

Was that the 13th September? -- I do not quite remember (30) the date well, but I think it is after the first stay-at-home.

The/...

The house agreed in September to stay away on the 13th September to the 15th September. -- Yes, it was during the month of September.

That he left? -- Yes.

Alone? -- Well, I just read it from the newspapers and on further seeing the newspapers that he was with two other people.

Did you know he was leaving? -- Pardon?

Did you know beforehand that he was to leave? -- Well, we were also surprised when we found out that he was no longer (10) around, that is reading from the newspapers.

And when did you first hear that Mashinini had left the country? -- I think it appeared in the newspaper that he was in Botswana.

When you organised these demonstrations in Johannesburg, at that stage did you still think Mashinini was here or had you already read in the papers he had left? -- At that stage I had the idea that perhaps he had left the country.

You had an idea perhaps he had left the country? -- Yes.

So here we have two people now who took an active (20) part in activating the students, Mashinini and Koka, left the country and left the work to you and others. -- Yes.

All right. Paragraph 106. -- On the 23rd September, 1976, I took a train to town from Orlando Station at about 7 a.m. The trains were not running normally and when the train arrived at Park Station I alighted and got out of the station into Hoof Street and met face to face with police in camouflage attire blocking the street leading from the station and it became apparent to me that they were aware of the demonstration and were stopping everybody leaving the station. I did (30) not manage to leave the station as I heard that police were looking/...

looking for students. I then returned to the platform and took a train to Orlando and went home. The same afternoon I read in the newspaper that police had stopped the demonstration and scores of people were arrested.

Now you were one of many that came to Johannesburg by train. -- Yes.

What about those who in fact got to Commissioner Street and Jeppe Street and Eloff Street, how did they get there? Do you know? -- Well, as I have stated that the students were told to use every available means of transport into town. (10)

Buses, taxis. -- And trains.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS FOR LUNCH.

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

AFTERNOON SESSION:

9th FEBRUARY, 1977.

VOLUME 103

(Pages 4 935 - 4 975)

THE COMMISSION RESUMES AT 2 P.M. ON THE 9th FEBRUARY, 1977.

MAFISON MOROBE: still under oath:

DR YUTAR: Now we had reached the stage, when we adjourned, where the projected march to the streets of Johannesburg, Eloff Street and Commissioner Street, were stopped by the police; that those who went obviously by other means of transport were dispersed by the police and numbers were arrested. We have dealt with that. Now that was on the 23rd September, 1976. Now according to your statement there seems to have been a lull until October, 1976. In the interval did (10) anything take place, was anything planned? -- No, personally I do not know of anything which was planned by us during that interval.

You personally did not plan anything or do anything or participate in anything. -- Yes.

Then we come to paragraph 107 on page 16. -- In October, 1976, I and Gotso Siyasholo, Michael Tsagae and Samuel Mokoena went to Mr Koka's house in response to a message he had sent through Tsagae and found him indoors. We were all introduced by Tsagae to Mr Koka as his colleagues and he then greeted (20) us all by shaking hands. Mr Koka then told us that he wants another stay-at-home to be staged again. I was very much against the idea of a stay-at-home. I also put it to him that he must not forget about the Mzimhlope Hostel incident for it might occur again. He said that he would do something about that because hostel people need to be informed too.

Just a moment. I also put it to him that he must not forget about the Mzimhlope Hostel. Is that the hostel of the Zulus? -- Yes.

Right. -- He further said that it was not going to be (30) a problem because he was going to make pamphlets in such a way that/...

that the hostel people are catered for by way of having pamphlets written in the two main African languages, that is in Zulu and in Sotho in addition to English. He said that this stay-home campaign he had in mind was going to last for 5 days. He further said that people should go into a period of mourning towards and until the festive season ended.

He was the first one to mention or to suggest about this period of mourning during the festive season? -- Yes.

Of course he was referring there to the holy days in December. -- Yes. (10)

Did he tell you who was going to print the pamphlets? -- Well, as I am going to read here, he was going to do everything.

He was going to do it. You do not know who actually did the printing of the pamphlets. -- Printing?

Printing, yes. -- Well, he used to bring the pamphlets ready to us.

And how were they going to be distributed in Soweto, Alexandra and other places in the Transvaal? -- Well, he gave us some pamphlets to do the distribution.

Right, paragraph 110. -- He said that we should pay (20) our respect to all people who died during the disturbances by suspending all festive season activities. He said that it would be very much effective since one of the aims in this venture would be to stop people from buying in town or boycott the shops in town. Mr Koka had said he was going to issue some pamphlets about these things he had told us about and wanted an agreement from us as he had said that he was doing all this for the benefit of the Black people and that the pamphlets would be issued in the name of the SSRC and we all agreed that he should issue such pamphlets. The stay- (30) at-home began on the 1st November, 1976, and as the week went

by/...

by, the whole affair turned to be a flop. The workers ignored the call to stay home and went to work. To my mind I thought that perhaps it is because the workers were fed-up of having to be told not to go to work.

Don't you think that is a fact that the workers, the parents of Soweto were keen to go to work, they wanted to earn to be able to provide for their families? -- It is a fact.

And don't you think they had had enough of this nonsense, if I may put it that way? -- Yes.

Right. Paragraph 112. -- Gotso Siyasholo accompanied (10) us to Mr Koka's house because he was now chairman of the SSRC. He had taken over from Mashinini after Mashinini had left the country. I did not meet Mr Koka again until I learned through the newspaper that he had left the country.

This is the second so-called leader who has left the country after inciting and instigating you and others to do what I may term all this dirty work. How do you feel about it? -- Well, I feel quite bad about it.

You feel quite bad about it. -- Yes.

And looking back on all that has happened, the (20) burning and the looting and the destruction, do you feel it has achieved any good at all? -- Well, I would not say it has achieved anything good at all.

And it is a pity that these so-called leaders who were so brave when they were here, did not stay here to face the music as you and others in your position. Sad, isn't it? -- It is.

Carry on - 113. -- In December, 1976, I was in Rockville, Soveto, with Robert Masetla of Dube Village. It was in the evening. We met Roller here, he was with a woman. He came to us and requested us to meet him the following day at Mofolo (30) Village near the Ayeto Bioscope and we both agreed to meet him

in/...

in the morning. On the following day in December, we met Roller at Mofolo Village as previously arranged. He was alone. I know Roller Masinga, he was a student at Morris Isaacson High School during 1975. He asked us whether the Soweto Students Representative Council still existed. I said yes. He then suggested that it will be wise thing for the SSRC to operate underground. He further said that if this could be done, then something constructive could be achieved and said that he could make arrangements for us to leave the country and undergo what he termed as a crash programme outside (10) the Republic, and said this would only be done outside the Republic.

Did he perhaps explain to you or give you some idea what this crash programme entailed, what all went into it? -- Yes, it is in the statement.

All right. -- He said that all other necessary arrangements for training could be made if we reach Swaziland. I and Robert Masetla agreed to this suggestion that we will go with him to Swaziland to get the necessary training in this crash programme and then come back to the Republic as we could not stay (20) outside the country permanently. He then promised us to make arrangements for us to leave the country and the day upon which we agreed to leave the country was a Friday. He arranged that he will meet us at Mogetla's Garage at Orlando West in the morning. On Friday we met with Robert Masetla at Mogetla's Garage and waited for Roller Masinga to come. Later Roller Masinga arrived and told us that he was unable to get transport for that day. We arranged that we will leave the next day, on Saturday, December, 1976, and we departed. On Saturday we came again with Robert to Mogetla's Garage, Orlando West, (30) and between 11 a.m. and 12 midday we found Roller Masinga here waiting/...

waiting in a motor car driven by an unknown man whom I later came to know as Inch and then drove out of Soweto, heading for Swaziland.

What kind of car was it? What make? -- A Toyota.

Right. -- At about 4 p.m. we arrived at the border post called Nerston between the Republic and Swaziland and before we reached the gate, I, Robert Masetla and Roller Masinga alighted from the car and Roller Masinga then led us to a footpath which took us to a fence between the Republic and Swaziland, whilst the driver, Inch, went to the border (10) gate. When we were inside Swaziland, we found Inch waiting for us at the garage in Swaziland and we all got into the car and Inch drove off further in Swaziland and headed for Manzini, which was our destination. We arrived at Manzini about 7,30 p.m. and then drove to a place outside Manzini and here came to a house. There was an old man in the house and was alone. After greeting him, this old man showed us a bedroom in which he said we could sleep if we are tired. Then we agreed that we were tired and we all four went to bed in this house. The old man said he will see us the following morning, which was (20) Sunday. Before we left for Swaziland, I had asked Roller Masinga how we could get to Swaziland as I did not have a passport. He said that was no problem, as he could go out of the country without a passport. So I went to Swaziland without a passport and also came back to the country the same way. On Sunday morning we got up and were given some breakfast by a woman who was then in the house. The old man was not introduced to us, as he said it was not necessary to know each others names, but could call him 'comrade'. He did not speak to us most of the time, but was only busy with Roller Masinga (30) and we were busy playing radio in the house. Between 11 and 12 midday/...

midday on Sunday, December, 1976, two men arrived at the house and were sitting in the sittingroom. This old man then said to them: please meet our comrades from Soweto. They greeted us as comrades, without giving each other's names, except one who said he was comrade Stan, another one did not give his name. None of us gave his name. It was also at this stage that I learned this old man was a Mr Zwane. Then as we were all seated in the sittingroom, Mr Zwane said to all of us the only liberation movement for South Africa was the ANC and then referred to one called Stan to explain on what he said (10) and Robert Masetla asked Mr Zwane what does he mean by that. It is then that he referred to Stan to explain. Stan said that no other movement except the ANC is going to free Blacks in South Africa. He further said that the PAC was a dead organisation and said the whole movement was in shambles and divided and said PAC was so divided that its members in other countries did not know what others were doing in another country; everyone did as he liked. He said members of PAC in Swaziland were trapped and had no chance whatsoever, as they were not on good terms with the Mozambique Government. (20) And this meant there was no passage for them through Mozambique. He said that the only way for them was through Botswana. Mr Zwane said that he will be very pleased if students could work with the ANC and was leaving that with us to think it over and at this stage the other two men left the house and went away. Then Mr Zwane said that he was told by Roller about our case and that he had told Roller everything and that Roller would tell us and before the conversation started Inch had left and was not there during the discussion and did not come back. I, Robert Masetla and Roller Masinga remained at this (30) house the whole day and afternoon. I at one stage called

Roller/...

Roller Masinga and asked him what was happening. He said I must not worry, everything has been fixed, but did not elaborate. I then kept quiet. On Monday Roller told me and Robert Masetla that we shall undergo military training in South Africa and said that on arrival he will have to make the necessary arrangements and he also at this stage told us that we are to go back to South Africa. At about 2 p.m., Monday of December, 1976, a car came to take us to the border. Only the driver was in the car. I, Robert Masetla and Roller Masinga got to the car and were driven as far as the (10) garage near the border gate and dropped us here. We crossed the border on foot across the fence, not at the border gate, and Roller Masinga said someone was waiting for us. He meant Inch, but Inch did not come. We thereafter had to seek a lift to Johannesburg. We all got a lift and arrived in Johannesburg on Tuesday. I again saw Inch in Soweto late in December, 1976, again, but I cannot recall speaking to him. I spoke to Roller who also said that he had seen Inch and Inch had said that he came out of Swaziland and could not find us at the spot arranged to pick us up. On the Saturday following (20) the week of our return from Swaziland I went with Roller Masinga to Alexandra Township, where he said we were going to meet the person who was going to give us training and he said we were to meet this person at the shopping complex near the bus terminus. Here nobody came until we went back to Soweto.

M'Lord, I have just been advised that there is a case pending against certain accused arising out of this evidence and that perhaps it might be only fair to the accused in that case not to publish this evidence and therefore might I apply that although the witness will continue, that all evidence (30) relating to his leaving the country for Swaziland, coming back and/...

and the training that followed, be not published so that it should not prejudice the accused nor the State for that matter, in the criminal prosecution that is pending.

CHAIRMAN: Well, would it be sufficient if the names of the people that he had gone with and the people who looked after him and who had advised him, if that be left out?

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, that suggestion of Your Lordship does find favour if then the names at any rate with whom he went and who came back, are not mentioned.

CHAIRMAN: Obviously if there is any possible possibility (10) of any prejudice at the trial, then it should not be led, but if it is thought that it would not be prejudicial to anybody if the evidence merely is led and not the names of the particular people be published, then I think perhaps it would be advisable if the evidence is published without the names.

DR YUTAR: Without the names. Does Your Lordship then direct accordingly?

CHAIRMAN: I will ask the press to, they can publish all this evidence, but not the names of the particular people the witness has referred to. (20)

DR YUTAR: Right, now we come to paragraph 135, the bottom of page 19. -- On the Saturday following the week of our return from Swaziland, I went with Roller Masinga to Alexandra Township, where he said we were going to meet the person who was going to give us training and he said he had to meet this person at the shopping complex near the bus terminus. Here nobody came until we went back to Soweto. On the second occasion, the beginning of December, I again borrowed a car from my friend, Ernest, of Orlando East, and drove with Roller Masinga to Alexandra Township and came to a house at (30) 10th Avenue, Alexandra Township and here Roller went out of

the/...

the car and got into a certain yard. He came back accompanied by an unknown woman and both got into the car. She was not introduced to me and I was told to drive on to another street and at the tarred road I stopped and the woman got out of the car and went into a yard here. I do not exactly know the place. It was the first time for me to be in Alexandra Township. She later came back to the car and said hard luck, referring to Roller and some distance in this tarred road she got off. We then drove back to Soweto. On the third occasion, about the middle of December, we went back with the same (10) car to Alexandra Township, that was myself, Roller Masinga, Robert Masetla and Super Maloyi and drove to the same house in 10th Avenue, Alexandra, and found the same woman in her kitchen. She let us into her sittingroom and here she gave us some cooldrinks. Whilst we were sitting here, a tall, hefty fellow came in. He was alone and he greeted us as 'comrades'. He then said: so, you are the chaps who have to be trained. We replied; yes. He then told us that he was fully trained in the use of arms and that he was prepared to impart to us and teach us how to use weapons. It was then agreed that this (20) fellow will come over to Soweto to train us and it was also arranged that he will start on the following Tuesday and that we will meet him at Baragwanath Hospital at the bus and taxi terminus at about 8 p.m. He agreed and we left the house with him and he got into our car. We dropped him somewhere in a street in Alexandra Township and the four of us drove back to Soweto. On Tuesday, as arranged, Super Maloyi went to Baragwanath bus and taxi terminus alone to meet this man and brought him to us at Mofolo North. I was waiting at Mofolo North with Robert Masetla and Roller Masinga. I had arranged with a certain (30) Mongesi of Mofolo North to use a spareroom for the night where

we/...

we could all sleep in. I only know the place by sight and cannot remember the number of the house. I told him that we want to use this room for accommodation as we have no other place to stay. This man's name was never mentioned to us and when he arrived with Super we were already in this spareroom and he was referred to as comrade as well as ourselves. After his arrival at Mofolo North, we sat in this room. He said he was first going to train us in the use of weapons. He then produced an automatic pistol as he told us and said it carries 20 cartridges. He then taught us as follows how to dis- (10) mantle it; (2) how to reassemble it; (3) how to load it and offload it; (4) the meaning of different parts in it. He in turn handed each of us the weapon to do as stated above and we all did it. We later slept in this room and got up the next morning and left. Before we slept, he promised us that he would bring more weapons and named them as hand grenades and a gun called a Scorpion. I then went to Ernest who is staying in Orlando, number unknown, and borrowed his car and drove back to Mofolo North where I picked this man up and drove him to Alexandra Township. I arranged with him to meet him that (20) night at Baragwanath bus and taxi terminus. I dropped him in a street in Alexandra Township and went back to Soweto. On that evening I went to Baragwanath and fetched him again with the same car and drove to Mongesi's house and then parked the car in the yard. We got into the same room again and also the same people were there again. He then showed us a gun called the Scorpion and said it was semi-automatic and the hand grenade and then taught us as follows: the dismantling of this gun; to reassemble the gun; how to load the gun and how to unload the magazine; the names of the various parts of the gun. (30) Thereafter each one was given a turn to do as mentioned above

and/...

and we all acted as instructed by this man. He then showed us that night what he called a hand grenade which he said was a defensive one. He showed us how to use it and said there are two types of hand grenades. One was offensive and the other one defensive. He did not show us the offensive one as he told us that the mechanism is the same. He also did not let us handle this hand grenade as he said it was dangerous. He then said he will bring us what he called an A.K. gun the following Sunday. I then took him back to Alexandra Township that night and dropped him at the same corner as in the morning when (10) I took him there. On Sunday I went to Baragwanath to meet him, but he did not turn up. Thereafter I saw him for the first time at John Vorster police when they asked me to identify him. On the 21st December, 1976, I was arrested at a house in Jabulani together with Robert Masetla, Roller Masinga and Super Maloyi and we were detained.

That is the statement which you yourself dictated freely and voluntarily and which you signed and you also took the oath and swore to the correctness of it. -- Yes.

And as I said earlier, this was the statement which (20) we discussed when we had our consultation. -- Yes.

Is there anything else you would like to add to what you have said, and feel free to say what you like. -- Well, what I would like to say is that at this stage I could be very much happy and pleased if the situation back home could return back to normal.

To return to normal before as it was, before these riots started? -- Yes, meaning that all the trouble should stop.

And rather proceed by way of dialogue and negotiation for whatever improvements or betterment the Black people (30) want. -- Yes.

That/...

That is your wish. -- Yes.

I take it you and some of those with you regret everything that has taken place. -- Yes.

And you realise a lot of damage has been done, a lot of money has now got to be spent to repair and remedy what has been broken down, money which could have been used to improve the facilities that had been offered to the Black people. -- Yes.

Anything you would like to say? -- At this stage I haven't got anything else to say. (10)

M'Lord, I have no further questions.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, this will be the last witness of today, a young student of 16.

SETH SENDILE MAZIBUKO: sworn states:

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, may I in this case too apply that the name of this young witness be not disclosed, nor anything that may lead to his identification.

CHAIRMAN: An order is made that his name and his identity be not disclosed. (20)

DR YUTAR: You made a statement. Did you write it out yourself or did you dictate it to the police? -- For the first time I wrote the statement myself and then for the second time the policeman was the one who was writing the statement, I was telling the policeman.

You were dictating to him. -- Pardon?

You were speaking to him. -- Yes.

And as you were speaking, he wrote it down. -- That is so.

And then you read it over or did he read it to you? -- No, he did not read it to me, because the last time he came (30)
to the cell where I was enclosed in Brixton and as he came

there/...

there, he only took the paper because he said to me - when he wrote this for a second time, he came, it was on a Friday, and when he came on the Friday, he said I must write the statement, he wrote the statement as I was telling him and then during the weekend he did not come at all and then on Monday he came to me in the cell and then during the weekend I was still writing my statement so that I must try to make things fast for him. So he only took the paper the way I wrote the statement.

And did you sign it? -- Not. (10)

You did not sign it? -- No.

Did you take an oath? -- He only took the statement and then he did not tell me that whether he is going to come back and tell me to go and sign. That is the statement that I made for the second time. For the first time when I made the statement to Captain Cronwright, I swore the matter of swearing and then the colonel read the statement for me and then also swore to Mr Cronwright.

You swore that it was the truth. -- Yes.

And is this the statement that you made? -- Must I (20)
read it over?

No, is that the statement you made? -- Yes.

And that is the statement that I spoke to you about and my colleague, Mr Van Graan, also spoke to you about it? --
Pardon?

Is that the statement that I spoke to you about? Remember I spoke to you this morning. -- This morning you did not talk to me this morning.

I did not speak to you? -- No, you only greeted me this morning. (30)

And Mr Van Graan, did he speak to you? -- No.

Did/...

Did he not see you yesterday? -- No.

Oh, I thought he saw you yesterday. Now, you have made this statement quite voluntarily, you were not forced to make it. -- Yes, I was not forced to make the statement.

And you have got it in front of you now and I would like you to read from paragraph 1. First of all, how old are you? -- I am 16.

And you stay in Orlando East, Soweto. -- Yes.

Now will you read from paragraph 1? -- I attended school at Phefeni Secondary School, Soweto. I am presently in (10) Form 2. I am also a prefect at the school and as much I am assistant to the head prefect who is known to me as Anthony. Must I continue?

Would you please. -- Through early May, 1976, a female pupil of Form 2.B handed me at school a letter which I was to hand over to the head prefect. I do not know the pupil's name. 3. The contents of the letter read more or less as follows: We as students of Phafeni Junior Secondary School we feel that the subjects that are taught in Afrikaans are difficult for us, because even the teachers who are responsible for these (20) subjects, they are also difficult for them. They cannot teach them to the perfection. So we will be glad if the principal can call Mr De Beer so that we can explain to him.

Who is Mr De Beer? -- He is the circuit inspector of the Zulu schools in Soweto. I took the letter to the head prefect, who ignored the letter as he claimed that it was too late for the students to complain about this. The students kept on asking me when they would get a reply to their letter on which I would reply that the principal was still trying to solve the problem. This letter was signed by monitors. A (30) Bantu male, Ernest, I do not know what his surname is. On a Monday/...

Monday following this episode of the letter, it was still during May, 1976, just after all the students had attended the assembly, and were told to return to their classes by the principal, they stood firm. I could see the principal and the teachers were surprised at the action which the students followed up by raising placards which read: "We do not want social studies and mathematics in Afrikaans." The same wording was written on the back of the shirts of some of the students. The name of one of these students is Saul Mashinini.

Who is Saul Mashinini? -- He is one of the students (10)
at our school.

Do you know Donald or Tsitsi Mashinini? -- Yes.

Is Saul in any way related to him? -- No.

They are not related? -- No.

Right. -- The students also said that they wanted to see Mr De Beer, that is our circuit inspector. Our principal, Mr F.Simbulo then called me to the front where he handed to me a minute book which he claimed was a message from Mr De Beer. This was written in Afrikaans. As I started reading the message, I was shouted down by the students. I therefore (20)
discontinued the reading. Mr Simbulo then explained to the students that Mr De Beer could not come quickly, as he was in Pretoria. The students reacted by staying away from class for the rest of May, 1976. On the 11th June, 1976, pamphlets were distributed at school, inviting the pupils to attend the SASM meeting at the DOCC Hall, Soweto, on 13.6.76 at 2 p.m. I did not see who brought the pamphlets to school, but I received a copy from one of the Phefeni Junior Secondary School pupils, who had received one. On the 13.6.76 I attended this meeting. Various Black schools of Soweto were present at this (30)
meeting, therefore there was a large attendance of the meeting.

What/...

What do you mean by a large attendance? How many? -- I do not know the number.

More or less. -- It can be about 100, somewhere there.

The main speaker. -- The main speaker at this meeting was a man called Aubrey who explained to us what the aims and objects of SASM were. He also discussed the use of Afrikaans as a means of the tuition or language and called upon the prefects of our schools to come forward and to explain what the position was there. I stood up and told the congregation that the Phefeni School refused to use Afrikaans and (10) they had boycotted the classes during May, 1976. Aubrey then enquired how could the other schools support us in our stand as they were all writing exams and Phefeni was not.

Do you know the surname of this Aubrey? -- No.

You do not know his surname? -- No. Can I say something as far as this Aubrey is concerned?

Yes, sure. -- For the second time when I made the statement, I told the person to whom I made the statement, that I made a mistake by the word 'Aubrey', that the name of the person who was the chairman of the meeting was not Aubrey. (20)

Who was it? -- I said I do not know the name, I only described the man, so as I described the man then he promised me that he knows the name.

Right. -- I stood up and told the congregation that the Phefeni School refused to use Afrikaans and had boycotted the classes during May, 1976. Aubrey then further explained that for only one school to take this stand, it would not impress the Black and White educationalists and that he requests all other Black schools to support us. Aubrey then asked for suggestions from the floor. Don Mashinini then suggested (30) that a mass demonstration should be held on the 16.6.76 by all
the/...

the Black schools.

Now this Don Mashinini, is that Tsitsi Mashinini? -- That is Tsitsi.

Right. -- It was then decided that this decision should be carried over to all schools by the prefects at the meeting. Aubrey also explained that all the prefects and the monitors would be formed into an action committee. Somebody then asked from the floor what action the students would take should the police interfere with the protest. Then Mashinini stated that he did not foresee the police interfering if the protest (10) was kept as a secret, but should the police interfere they should be stoned by the students. The election for the new committee for SASM was then held. The following members were then elected to the committee: President: Don Mashinini of Morris Isaacson; vice-president: Seth Mazibuko - myself; secretary: a female student of Naledi High School - I do not know what her name is. I was proposed by a female student of our school and they unanimously accepted.

They must have liked you. -- They must have liked me?

Yes. -- To be ... (inaudible - witness speaks very (20) fast and somewhat indistinctly)

To be elected unanimously. -- The Naledi student said my name and then it was put to the vote and then everybody raised up his hand and then they accepted me.

You returned unopposed. Paragraph 10. -- On Monday, 14.6.76 Anastasia Zulu and myself informed all the students at school of the outcome of the SASM meeting which was held on 13.6.76 and further instructed them that all the students were to partake in the protest which would take place on the 16.6.76. I also told them that other schools would also be joining (30) us on Wednesday in the protest.

Now/...

Now just before you go on there. That was on Monday the 14th June. -- Yes.

Now before we come to the day of the protest, Wednesday, 16th June, was a meeting held at your school on Tuesday, 15th June in order to make the final arrangements for the demonstration? -- On the Tuesday?

Yes. -- The Tuesday there was no meeting at our school. The only meeting for the final arrangements for the meeting is when we had the meeting on the 16th in the morning. Because we did not have anything to prepare because all (10) the Sotho(?) schools were going to con.. - to meet at our school.

So there was no meeting on the 15th? -- On the 15th there was no meeting unless the meeting that was at the DOCC on the 15th.

Of what? -- At DOCC.

Yes? -- That was a meeting for the action committee that was elected on the 15th, not for the students, meaning the other students.

All right, we go on to paragraph 11. -- On 16.6.76 (20) during the early morning, other school students were arriving at our school to join the protest. They were Orlando North Junior Secondary School, Orlando High School, Empangeni High Primary School, Themba Sizwe Higher Primary and the Silele(?) Junior Secondary. A police van with police arrived. There were about 4 or 5 policemen, White and Black. They also had a police dog with them. When they got out of the police van, we all started throwing stones at the police dog until we killed it. The police got back into the police van and raced off. With this we all then threw stones at the police van. At (30) this stage there were students from other Black schools coming towards/...

towards us to join in the demonstration. They were too followed by other police vehicles. As these students were swallowed up by our crowd the police stopped their vehicles, formed a line and started shooting teargas at us to disperse us. Because of the effect of the teargas on me, I ran away to school. On my way to school I saw Dr Matlhare in his car with a young Black man. It appeared this person was ill or injured. I did not stop to find out. At school I rested in the domestic science room where I eventually fell asleep. When I woke up, I went home as I wanted to have nothing (10) further to do with the protest as I saw that it had got out of control. I remained at home during the remainder of the riots and had nothing further to do with it. I have nothing more to say.

And I have no more questions to ask you.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Calls the next witness.

DAVID LISIWE KUTUMELA: sworn states:

ADV. VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, I want to apply for the application that the witness's name should not be disclosed in the (20) press or any details that will lead to his identification.

CHAIRMAN: The same order applies to this particular witness. His name must not be disclosed nor any facts about his identity be revealed.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Can you start reading from paragraph 1 in your statement? -- I am an adult Bantu male born on the 19th April, 1956, at 264 Mofolo Village, Soweto, Johannesburg. I am in possession of a reference book, but I have forgotten the number. My father's name is Lambert Kutumela and my mother's name is Doreen Kutumela. We are 4 children in my family (30) and we are all born of the same parents. I am presently a

Form 4 (Std. 10) student at Naledi High School in Soweto, Johannesburg.

Form? -- Form 4.

Isn't that Std. 9? -- Std. 10.

Paragraph 2. -- In March, 1976, I do not remember the exact date, Isaac Motapanyane went from classroom to classroom through our school, Naledi High School and told all the students that there would be a meeting at 15h00 that day at the school hall.

Go on. --- At 15h00 we all gathered at the school (10) hall and Isaac Motapanyane told us that a new organisation will be formed at the school and this organisation will be called SASM - South African Students Movement. He then proceeded to read us the constitution of SASM. I do not remember what the constitution consisted of. He said that SASM would only operate amongst secondary and high school students whereas SASO - South African Students Organisation - also operated at universities. He said we as students must be members of SASM.

4. Isaac Motapanyane did not make a list of students who wanted to join SASM, but he told us that meetings of (20) SASM would be held every Friday at school. 5. Consequently SASM meetings were held at our school every Friday and issues like the run of the school, the misuse of liquor, the relationship between teachers and students, communalism, which meant the practising of old customs, were discussed. This went on for a period of about 5 weeks because the principal was against this organisation until before the 11th June, when Isaac Motapanyane told us about the issue of Afrikaans and that there were some schools who were forced to do subjects through the medium of Afrikaans and it was a few days (30) thereafter that Isaac Motapanyane distributed some pamphlets

at/...

at school which called for a meeting at DOCC, to discuss the issue of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. 6. I wish to add that I personally took part in most of the SASM meetings at school and also said a lot concerning the aforementioned issues. 7. On the 11th June, 1976, at about 14h00 I was standing next to my classroom outside. As it was lunch time I saw Isaac Motapanyane, giving other students who were also standing outside their classroom, some pamphlets and when he came to me he gave me a bundle of pamphlets and told me to distribute them among other students and at that time (10) the school bell rang and I gave the pamphlets to other students who were standing near me and I went into the classroom, but I kept one pamphlet for myself and I read it when I was already seated in the classroom. 8. The contents of the pamphlet were calling a SASM meeting at DOCC on the 13th June, 1976, at 14h00.

Did they tell what will be discussed at that meeting? -- Actually he did not say what was to be discussed in that meeting because he said at the meeting this is a very important meeting, we must attend. He never said what was going (20) to be discussed in that meeting.

Paragraph 9. -- 9. The same afternoon at 16h00 on my way to Naledi Station I again saw Isaac Motapanyane giving some pamphlets to other students who were also going towards the station and thereafter I did not see Isaac Motapanyane because the train came and I went home. At this stage I want to mention that this was the first time that I actually took part in any political activities or the Afrikaans issue. On Sunday, 13th June, 1976, at about 13h45 I left my home and went to DOCC and when I arrived there, I found about 50 other (30) students already gathered there and they were singing the national/...

national anthem, Nkosi Sikalele Afrika. I noticed that Isaac Motapanyane and ... (inaudible) .. were sitting in front of the audience. 10. Isaac Motapanyane first addressed the meeting and told us that the meeting was called to elect the regional committee of SASM and he said that we must realise that the meeting was not a UBC - Urban Bantu Council - meeting, but an important students meeting and he started choosing the people who were to act as office bearers. The regional committee was elected as follows: President: A girl known to me as Sibongile who was a student at Naledi High School. (10) Excuse me, this is a mistake. She is presently a student at Naledi High School. The vice-president: Tsitsi Mashinini. I do not remember who the other people were elected. After the election Isaac Motapanyane asked the people elected to address the meeting. Sibongile first stood up and said that her future aim was to keep the fires burning of the movement and told us that we would be told on time about the future SASM meetings and thereafter she stood up and raised her right clenched fist and shouted 'Power!' and the whole audience stood and raised clenched fists and shouted 'Power' and she (20) sat down. 12. Tsitsi Mashinini thereafter stood up and spoke about his wish and aim to uphold the struggle of the future Black Africa and promised his loyalty in assisting the president, Sibongile, and keeping the fire burning. He went on to say we must also try to take part in the activities of the organisation. He thereafter also raised his right hand like this and shouted 'Power' and we all responded. 13. Isaac Motapanyane told us that there were some schools that were boycotting the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and he called a student from Orlando West Secondary School (30) to tell about the situation at his school. His name was Seth

Mazibuko. 14. Seth Mazibuko went forward and told us that at his school the Form 1 and the Form 2 students were boycotting Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and they were forced to do certain subjects in Afrikaans. He told us that the Form 3 students were not prepared to join the boycott and he requested all the students present in the meeting from different schools to see what we could do about the situation and he went on to say at their school students had approached the principal and asked him about the forced use of Afrikaans at the school and he had told them to write a letter to (10) the Department of Bantu Education. He told us that they had written a letter and had not yet received any reply. 15. After Seth Mazibuko had told us about his school, Isaac Motapanyane asked the audience to give suggestions about what Seth had just said about his school and he asked us not to forget other schools which were not represented at the meeting when making those suggestions. 16. Many suggestions were made by the audience and some of the suggestions were: a letter must be written to the Department of Bantu Education, stating that we do not want Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. (20) The second suggestion: we must not write examinations and not attend classes, but we must come to school and just stand outside in the yard. I then stood up and suggested that we must go to the principals and ask them why are students taught certain subjects through the medium of Afrikaans. I told this meeting that I personally was ready to write examinations, but I was prepared to do whatever was decided on the line of action to be taken concerning the forced issue of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. 18. Simon Mokoena said we must all decide to change to Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. (30) There were also so many suggestions that at last Tsitsi

Mashinini stood up and said that we must demonstrate, carrying placards, writing anything that will make the Department of Bantu Education see that we do not want Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and the two chairmen agreed. 20. Isaac Motapanyane then stood up and said demonstrating was the best thing we could do and said that it will be done. He went on to say we must choose an action committee which will organise the children for the demonstration. He said that we must choose two people from each school and so the following people were chosen: I and Sibongile from Naledi High School (10) were chosen. Isaac Motapanyane said he would assist us. Tsitsi Mashinini and Mafison Morobe were chosen from Morris Isaacson. Seth Mabibuko and a boy I do not know, were chosen from Orlando West Secondary School. Simon Mokoena and a boy I do not know were chosen from Orlando High School. Other students were chosen from other different schools, but I do not remember their names. Tsitsi Mashinini was chosen by Isaac Motapanyane as the chairman of the action committee and nobody in the meeting disputed it. In closing the meeting, Isaac Motapanyane said that we would be addressed by (20) Tsitsi Mashinini on the 16th June, 1976, between 12h00 and 13h00 at Orlando West grounds. On the 14th June, 1976, I was picked up by Tsitsi Mashinini at about 18h30 at home and we took a taxi to Orlando West where a meeting was to be held at Winnie Mandela's house. I asked him on the way why a meeting was held at Winnie Mandela's house and he replied that they were working with her. Actually her reply was: we are working with her, not they were working with her.

What must it be? -- Her reply was that: we are working with her, not they were working with her. I think that (30) is a mistake 'they'.

That we are working with her? -- Yes. I think 'they' is a mistake.

Did you get the impression that Winnie Mandela suggested the demonstration to Mashinini beforehand? -- I got the impression that this thing was suggested by Winnie Mandela on the fact that Tsitsi is taking me now to Winnie Mandela's place, where he said: we are working with her. Now which means that the words that, we are working with her, convinced me that she actually suggested this. Because even in the meeting of the 13th, Tsitsi Mashinini was the last man to speak in that (10) meeting, who suggested the demonstration and yet others suggested a demonstration, the chairman agreed to that and we did not comment or object to that. We just said that that will do. So that is why I think that this Winnie Mandela suggested to Tsitsi.

Yes, proceed. -- 23. This meeting was attended by myself, Tsitsi Mashinini, Mafison Morobe, Simon Mokoena, Isaac Motapanyane, Winnie Mandela and other students from other schools whom I do not know, and we amounted to about 10 to 15 people. In the meeting - there is a mistake again in (20) paragraph 23. I think there is something I would like to add.

Yes. -- Here in this sentence which says: and other students from other schools - here there were other students from other schools, but there were people who looked not like students. You see there is somebody you can see that he is a student and there is somebody whom you can see that he is not a student, because thing was something for the high schools to the lower primaries.

Are you perhaps referring to a person like Aubrey Mokoena? -- Actually here on the 14th Aubrey Mokoena was not in. (30) I am referring to somebody whom I saw. I do not know him and I was/...

was seeing him for the first time.

Paragraph 24. -- 24. In the meeting Winnie Mandela first asked Tsitsi Mashinini to tell about the procedure of the last meeting that was held on the 13th June, 1976, at DOCC, and Tsitsi Mashinini told her that the students had decided to boycott Afrikaans and they had come to the conclusion of demonstrating to show that they were against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and he introduced all of us to Winnie Mandela as members of the action committee.

Did she ever mention the subject that the demonstra- (10)
tion would be unlawful? -- I would not say that she mentioned that it would be unlawful. On this day Tsitsi told her about that we come to a condition of demonstration and if she was - I mean if I was to tell you that we had a meeting at DOCC and that we came to a conclusion of a demonstration, it would be something telling you because you do not know about it, but she was not surprised about it.

Was she not surprised? -- She was not surprised at this. She was not surprised about this. She was actually happy, because you know, when somebody said we can say it now (20)
here. 25. Winnie Mandela urged us to speak to our school colleagues about the demonstration and mention to them that this issue of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was wrong. She said that we must arouse the feeling of the children and said that this thing starts at lower classes and it is being gradually taken to higher classes or high schools. She said that as long as subjects are done in Afrikaans, we will never pass our examinations. She went on to say we will never go find(?) Afrikaans in universities outside in the world, so we must never accept Afrikaans as a medium of instruction (30)
in our schools.

When Mrs Mandela used that word 'thing' and said that this thing starts at lower classes and it is being gradually taken to higher classes or high schools, what did she mean by that word 'thing'? -- Thing?

Yes. -- I think I would not - to be what she meant is that she said this thing starts, it means that this problem of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. 26. Tsitsi Mashinini said that whilst children were given the opportunity of choosing from their medium of instruction either Afrikaans or English so why does the Department of Bantu Education (10) have to choose for us. He said the only solution was to demonstrate by using placards. He went on to say we have been failing Afrikaans as a subject, what more if Afrikaans is used as a medium of instruction. So Tsitsi Mashinini asked us whether we agree with the idea of the demonstration and we all agreed. We all agreed that we would go back to our school and arouse the feelings of the other children.

Do you want to elaborate on this? -- I would not like to elaborate. I think that is all. 27. Tsitsi Mashinini had told us that an action committee meeting would be held on (20) the 15th June, 1976, at DOCC, at 14h00 and so I went to the meeting. Tsitsi Mashinini told us that we would all have to gather at Orlando West grounds at about 12h00 on the 15th June, 1976, and he would then further tell us what to do and he would address us as the chairman and tell us what further steps to take about the issue of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Tsitsi Mashinini was very militant in his speech when he said we must fight back for our rights because if we did not want Afrikaans, we did not want it. He further said stressing his words by banging the table with his clenched (30) fist, when confronted by the police we must use stones because they/...

they were not bought but were everywhere, so we must use them. He went on to say he was aware that some of the parents were policemen, so the police were already informed and would try to stop us but he would address the students whether there were police that day or not. He quoted from a poem by William Wordsworth called Charge of the Light Brigade and he used words like 'forwards to the valley of death'. He said that this was not only a Soweto issue but a national issue.

28. The people who were present at this meeting were myself, Simon Mokoena ..(?) ... Sugar Moloyi, Isaac Motapanyane, (10) Mafison Morobe, Tsitsi Mashinini and other students I did not know. There were about 10 to 15 of us gathered there.

CHAIRMAN: This using of the stone, did he call the stone by any particular name or described it? -- No, he just said stones, stones are not bought. He did not use any name for the stones.

He did not say anything about a bomb? -- No, he did not say anything about a bomb.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Proceed. -- 31. When the meeting started, Winnie Mandela ... paragraph 30. On the 15th June, 1976, at about 18h30 I attended a meeting at the house of Winnie (20) Mandela. Present at the meeting were myself, Mafison Morobe, Mashinini, Motapanyane, Mandla Matimba, Aubrey Mokoena and other students unknown to me. 31. When the meeting - I would like to elaborate on paragraph 30 please.

Yes. -- In this paragraph, the people who were present, there were these people I have read here and the other students and the other people whom I did not know, who were actually present at the meeting of the 14th.

Were they there again? -- There were some of the same people who were there on the 14th. (30)

And they were not scholars. -- No, those are the same people/...

people who were not scholars.

Had they anything to say at that meeting? These other people that you did not know. -- No, they said nothing actually, these people. They were people who were like an audience.

They were not tsotsis? -- No, actually I would not say they were tsotsis, they just looked like gentlemen, although some of them you can be frightened looking at them. There was one guy, I was frightened when I looked at him.

Why? -- No, you know, that guy I do not know how he looked like, I do not know whether he looked like an (10) animal or what, I do not know. I felt that that guy was just somebody whom I never met before.

CHAIRMAN: Did they have school uniforms? -- No, actually, they were without school uniforms.

You people also did not have school uniforms. -- Yes, we did not have school uniforms when we went to her place.

Couldn't you see from their clothes whether they were different from the others? -- We could see from them they were different from us because now that is why I said there were some I could just see that they were not students. (20)

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Paragraph 31. -- 31. When the meeting started, Winnie Mandela first asked us how we were getting on with the planning of the demonstration of the 16th June, 1976, and Tsitsi Mashinini answered and told her that the planning was going on very well.

Did Mrs Mandela ask a similar question about the planning on the previous day? -- On the 14th?

Yes. -- On the 14th she asked that how was the procedure on the 13th.

Go on. -- When the meeting started, Winnie Mandela (30) first asked us how we were getting on with the planning of the/...

the demonstration of the 16th June, 1976. Tsitsi Mashinini answered and told her that the planning was going very well. Winnie Mandela told us that we must make sure that the demonstration succeeded, then we would go on to the next step. I do not know what she first meant by the next step because she never explained. She said that if the demonstration succeeded, the next step would be workers staying away from work which meant that they would be sympathising with the students being forced to do subjects through the medium of Afrikaans. And I would like to elaborate on that. (10)

Did you ever hear during the riots that people referred to the demonstration on the 16th as phase 1 or stage 1 or step 1? -- I would not say that because as she spoke to us, I had doubts whether this thing was going to succeed or not. Now as soon as she went on with her statement, it is what I .. (inaudible) .. Now I did not have the actual light that whether this thing of the demonstration was the stage 1 or the stage 2, but she said the next thing would be the workers staying away from work. .

CHAIRMAN: Was that said, the next step would be? -- Yes, (20) she said the next step would be.

When did she say that? On which occasion? -- It was on the 15th.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Did you get the impression that they were busy with a programme? -- As I say I did get the impression now here because now this thing is as if it is a programme which is being followed because now we were told about the demonstration. Now we are told about the next step which would be the workers staying away from work. Now I thought this might have been a programme. (30)

Did you hear at any other stage during the riots that these/...

these people referred to the demonstration on the 4th August as the third step or the third phase? -- No.

Not? -- No.

Paragraph 32. -- 32. She went on to say it was possible that the following day during the march, we would be approached by the police. So when we come to a confrontation with the police, we should use anything to retaliate. She said that if the police shot at us, we should get rid of the whole so-called government.

Do you want to elaborate on that? -- Actually the word (10) 'whole' - get rid of the whole so-called government, I would not like to use that word because she did not use that word, the whole.

What words do you prefer? -- She actually said you must get rid of the so-called government.

Paragraph 33. -- 33. Tsitsi Mashinini said if we are attacked by the police, we should stone them and there are still the commodities like motor cars and buildings and it was clear to me that these commodities should also be destroyed. He also said even the police themselves were government (20) possessions. He thereafter led us in a singing of the national anthem, Nkosi Sikalele Afrika and he thereafter raised his clenched fist and shouted power and we also followed the same.

Did anybody mention the possibility that the vehicles of the authorities, or the police must be burned on the following day? -- Actually here Tsiti Mashinini then said that police - we must not forget that there are cars, buildings. Now that was actually the case that such things were government things.

And did Mrs Mandela draw your attention to the burning of vehicles and buildings? -- No, she did not actually draw (30) our attention that now we must do that. She only said we

must/...

must retaliate. Those were her words, that we must retaliate.

CHAIRMAN: Did she give that as a form of retaliation? --

Excuse me?

Was this what was suggested to you as a form how to retaliate? -- No, she did not tell us actually how to do it, but she said we must retaliate because the police would be there.

You must retaliate and then how were buildings mentioned? -- The buildings were mentioned actually by Tsitsi Mashinini.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Paragraph 34. -- 34. Isaac Motapanyane (10) said the idea of the demonstration was to make the Department of Bantu Education change from forcing the issue of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and if the government is wrong, we should correct it. He said the letter had been written to the Department of - excuse me, the word, it is - a letter.

In the singular? -- Yes, singular. He said that a letter had been written to the Department of Bantu Education, but up to date there was no reply, but it was one of the ways we could talk to the government. 35. Winnie Mandela told us that the photos would be taken of the demonstration and they (20) will be seen by overseas countries and it would be explained what the cause of the demonstration was. 36. Aubrey Mokoena said he did not see the reason why the police would shoot if we did not do anything wrong and he said he agreed with the previous speakers but we must all try and keep the feelings of the students aroused and we as the chosen action committee should lead the other students.

Did Aubrey Mokoena explain to you why the feeling of the students must be kept aroused? -- No, I do not remember him explaining that, but he said the feelings must be aroused (30) and to me it meant that the feelings were to be aroused about

the/...

the demonstration.

Paragraph 37. -- 37. Mandla Matimba said that he did not see that children at his school, although in the lower primary school, would not join this march. 38. Winnie Mandela said that the SPA - Soweto Parents Association - would contact the Minister of Education and discuss the issue of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and that we should never go back to our classes until a reply is received and it would only be accepted if it was a positive reply. She went on to say if the Department of Bantu Education did not want a verbal (10) communication then violence was the only means of bringing about change. She said should it happen that we are arrested, we must never tell the truth, we must stand the pain of being tortured by the police.

What was she referring to when she said you must never talk the truth? The truth about that? -- There the impression she gave me that we must never tell the truth when we are detained is that when we are detained we must not talk actually about the meetings and I think about how was everything - about that there was a meeting on the 13th, 14th and the (20) 15th and I think those were private meetings as I regarded them.

Did she also imply by that that you should not name the names of the people who were present there? -- Because the meeting was a secret meeting, I think that everything was secret in that meeting, so surely we were not to mention the names of the people.

Was the involvement of SASO or SASM in the demonstration ever mentioned on that night of the 15th? -- No, it was not mentioned on the night of the 15th because now - and there (30) is something I remember that I would like to add in the

statement/...

statement here. Isaac Motapanyane when he told us about the action committee, he said the action committee would be independent from SASM or any other organisations, so that is why we went to Winnie Mandela as an action committee, not under the name of SASM.

But the action committee was a committee of SASM. -- The action committee was chosen from SASM.

Yes. -- Now which means that the action committee is pulled out from SASM and it was standing on its own.

Proceed. -- She told us how she was beaten and (10) tortured by the police and how the police added lies to whatever she was supposed to have said and done, although she did not explain further, she made mention of the fact that a communist government was better than this government. She said that the demonstration would spread all over the Republic of South Africa. She now said if the police became too harsh with us, we must flee the country because we were the revolutionaries.

Did she mention the name of the ANC on the night of the 15th? -- On the night of the 15th she did not actually mention it, I do not remember her mentioning the name of the (20) ANC.

39. -- 39. Aubrey Mokoena said that the SPA was expecting money from overseas and did not specify from whom and he said we are the people who can change the present government. He went on to say another way of crippling the government was to stay away from work so that the government can be faced with a state of bankruptcy. He said that the people from outside will not be able to help us if we did not do something ourselves. He said this is the land of our forefathers, so we must take it back. After about 24h00 we started singing (30) the national anthem and some freedom songs with a raised

clenched/...

clenched fist. And a freedom song, not some freedom songs.

Who taught you the freedom songs? -- Actually the freedom songs I would not say this somebody taught us freedom songs because in the first place there was a freedom song which we always sang, Uzima Lontwala. Now that freedom song, when we attended SASM at our school, that thing was sometimes said. Now I do not remember who actually gave that freedom song, because now at our school there was no SASM. Now we came from different places, so I do not know who was in a political party and who it was. The freedom song was sung there. (10)

What is the meaning of that? -- Uzima Lontwala?

Yes. -- Uzima Lontwala is that ..

The burden is heavy? -- Yes, the burden is heavy.

Paragraph 40. -- 40. At about 01h00 Aubrey Mokoena accompanied by Tsitsi Mashinini, Mafison Morobe and Isaac Motapanyane, drove me to Mofolo and dropped me at Sizwe Stores. I do not know what they did thereafter, whether they went back to Winnie Mandela's place or not. I went home and slept until 07h00 in the morning. On the 16th June, 1976, I left home at about 07h45 and drove by taxi to school. When I got (20) to school, I found that there are already a number of students standing in the school yard and a number of them were carrying placards.

CHAIRMAN: Did you carry a placard? -- Yes, I had a placard.

What did it read? -- "Away with Afrikaans".

Where did you get it? -- I wrote it myself.

At home? -- Yes. On which were written words like "Away with Afrikaans", "Afrikaans is not an international language". 42. When the school bell rang at 08h00 the students all came together and Isaac Motapanyane started addressing (30) the students and told them which route to follow while on the march/...

march to Orlando West grounds and at that time the vice-principal, Mr Tsotetsi, actually he tried to address us as the procedure of the school, as an assembly.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: And did they chase him away? -- Yes, he was chased away. 43. After Isaac Motapanyane addressed the students, I went forward and told the students that we should move fast, hold the placards high and .. (inaudible) .. through any of them away on the way and I made a clenched fist and we all moved out of the school. 44. We first moved to Thomas Mofolo Secondary School at Naledi and when we got there, (10) the students from that school joined us and we moved towards Orlando West and students from different other schools also joined us. I and Isaac Motapanyane were leading the students.

Is the Naledi High School situated near the old Roodepoort Road, the old Potchefstroom road? -- Unfortunately I do not know the roads in Naledi.

When the procession had started, did you observe an assault on a motorist near Naledi? -- No.

Not? -- No, I did not.

CHAIRMAN: Or on a motor car. -- Excuse me? (20)

Did you see some people shaking a motor car and hitting on the car in the procession that morning? -- No, I did not see that.

It was at the crossroads. -- I did not see that.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Proceed. -- 45. When we got to Morris Isaacson High School, we found that the school was already empty and all the other schools on the way were also empty. All the time we were singing the national anthem and freedom songs. I led the students until at Sizwe Stores and I went into the shop and bought some cooldrink and when I had (30) finished, I joined the group that was coming from behind.

46. When we got near Phefeni Station near Orlando West, we found some other students already there and some of them were carrying stones and they were restless because there was a feeling that the police were around at the grounds and we proceeded towards Orlando West grounds. It is then that I first heard a shot. I do not know who fired it.

Where were you then? When you heard the first shot. -- I was just going towards Uncle Tom's Hall, in Phefeni.

It was not in front of the Orlando West High School? -- I did not use the private road, I used the main road (10) actually. I was going to come from behind.

Go on. -- Before we came to the grounds, I saw Tsitsi Mashinini standing on the roof of a motor car and he was addressing the students. I did not hear what he was saying, because there was quite a lot of noise and the students had already started stoning passing cars and heard that they were also stoning police, which I heard were nearby. Thereafter I heard some shots and a group of us started running away and it is then that I saw a white motor car approaching and the students that were stoning it and I also threw some stones (20) at the car.

Was that near the Phomelong Clinic? -- Yes, just near the Phomelong Clinic.

Just opposite the clinic. -- Yes.

In a T-junction. -- Yes. I also threw some stones at the car. I threw a stone, not stones.

Only one stone? -- Yes, I threw a stone, I do remember. It is then that I noticed that the driver of the car was a White man who was wearing a white dustcoat and he jumped out of the car and tried to run away, but he was stoned and (30) fell down. I noticed Tsitsi Mashinini taking a pick-axe and

Mafison Morobe was carrying a spade, running towards the fallen White man, but I did not see them striking the man, but many students were already gathered around the fallen man and they were stoning him. I later heard during the day that the White man was dead and that he was Dr Edelstein. I also saw a certain Raymond of Morris Isaacson High School running towards Dr Edelstein with a stone, but it was not a stone, it was a brick - but I did not see him throwing or hitting Dr Edelstein with it. Me and the group I was in now ran towards Dube and I saw police cars following us and some shots (10) were being fired and when we got to Mofolo Office we started stoning the office and damaging the building.

Who told you that that White man was Dr Edelstein? -- I do not know the name of the boy, because that boy I only met him there and it was just that we were people of different schools. Whilst we were standing there, this boy said the White man who was killed at Phefeni was Dr Edelstein.

CHAIRMAN: You saw two attacks, is that correct, on - one was on a man who got out of his car near the clinic. -- Yes.

And the other one was Dr Edelstein? -- No, this man (20) I saw running out of the car is the very man Dr Edelstein, whom I was told was Dr Edelstein, because he told me that the man who was murdered there, was Dr Edelstein. So the impression he gave me that the man whom I stoned his car at Phefeni, was Dr Edelstein.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Aren't you perhaps confusing Edelstein with Esterhuizen, because in fact Mr Esterhuizen was killed near the Phomelong Clinic in that T-junction. -- As I stated that I was told that he was Dr Edelstein.

CHAIRMAN: This is the same man you are speaking of? -- (30) Yes, this is the same man I am speaking of.

I/...

I think the clinic is some distance away from the place where Dr Edelstein was.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: That is so, M'Lord.

CHAIRMAN: At that stage when you saw this man being followed, where was Mashinini? -- At the stage when the man went out of the car I was standing opposite the street. Then I threw the stone and at the time I stood opposite the street looking at this man. Now the people were gathering there. That is when I saw Mashinini with a pick-axe running towards the man.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Proceed. -- At that time a Gilbey's (10) truck passed, carrying some liquor and it was stopped by the students and ^{they} removed the liquor that was in it.

What did they do with the liquor? -- I would say they drank the liquor because many people were drunk that day during the day.

Who instructed them to stop the truck? -- By that time I would like to draw your attention that by that time we did not have a leader by that time, we were just fleeing from the police. Now anything the people came across, they just met it, as we damaged the office, as we stoned the office. (20) Now the Gilbey's truck was just stopped by students. I would not say who was who because we were just fleeing as we would now meet, not specifically students from Naledi or students from Morris.

At what stage for the first time did you observe tsotsis? -- The first time I observed tsotsis when we were - when I was already up in White City, that was the first time I observed tsotsis that they were amongst us. When we were standing there, we were forcing people to make clenched fists who were from work in cars. Now it was when I observed a tsotsi, (30) one boy was trying to take out a watch from somebody who said

'power/...

'power, power', and this one somebody, as he did it, he tried to pull out the watch. That is when I observed that there were tsotsis.

What was the time then? -- I think it was after 2 or round about 2 - 3.

CHAIRMAN: Was this person who held up his hand and said 'power' was he in a motor car? -- No, the man was standing outside, he was standing outside, forcing the people to say power. The man who put out a fist from the car, he tried to pull out the watch. (10)

Who was the man - was the man sitting in the car, the man who had the watch? -- Yes.

ADV. VAN GRAAN:

Who told you to stop the motor cars and force the drivers to give the Black Power salute? -- By that time the situation was different in Soweto, because we saw some motorists and the only thing, when we ... (inaudible) .. just power. We just shouted it, power, power, power, and all that. Now that thing, I stopped the vehicles and forced the people to say power as I was saying power too.

So it was never discussed beforehand to stop the vehicles in that manner? -- No. (20)

Go on. -- 48. We ran towards Mofolo Golf Course because the police were chasing us and when we came to the main road, a white Anglia motor car, driven by a White man appeared, and we stoned the car and the White man came out of the car and tried to run away, but he was stoned and killed and I saw that he was dead when I arrived at the scene. I did not proceed towards .. (inaudible).. but I stood near the coal yard at White City with a few other students. It is there that I heard that the White man who was killed near Uncle Tom's Hall at Orlando West was Dr Edelstein. I only know/... (30)

know Mashinini of all the people who took the part in the killing of the White man in the Anglia. As we were standing near the coal yard, we could see smoke billowing near Morris Isaacson High School and two vehicles arrived together with many police vehicles and the police dispersed the students using teargas. A motor car passed us and we stoned it and the two occupants of the car jumped out and ran away. It was this motor car which came and passed us which we stoned, the second motor car which we stoned, it was a delivery van, a furniture delivery van. (10)

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS.
