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7 JANUARY 1980 — 25 April 1980

RIOTS - GENERAL

UCT

Soweto uprising had Boss all at sea

LONDON — After the revelations in The Observer last week about the operations of Boss (or the Department of National Security as it is now called), its head, Mr Alex van Wyk, denied that Dons had files on any member of a recognised political party.

This is blatantly untrue, the Observer claims. Documents from Boss's archives, now in the possession of The Observer give the number of the file on Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Party (Sic). That number is 24596.

In addition to political figures, files exist on nearly every important South African writer including Alan Paton, Laurens van der Post, Andre Brink, Nadine Gordimer and Etienne Le Roux.

It also has files on virtually all major mining company directors, including Mr Harry Oppenheimer and Mr Tiny Rowland. More bizarre still, it has files dating from the early 1970s on President Carter, identified on the computer index as Governor of Georgia, Mr Cyrus Vance, Mr Andrew Young and former-President Ford.

It also maintains files on the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations.

Files on British personalities include Sir Harold Wilson and Sir Robert Birley, former headmaster of Eton and visiting Professor of Education at Witwatersrand University.



Helen Suzman . . . file number 24596.

'Knoopgat'

Most of the mass of information filling the files comes from four quaintly-named continuous operations:

● Operation Knoopsgat (Buttonhole) is the interception of mail. Priority suspects have virtually all their incoming mail intercepted, and outgoing mail as well if it can be identified either from the envelope or from the suspect's habitual use of the same post box. Failure to put the sender's name and address on the back of air-letter forms ensures opening. Occassionally an entire mail-bag is opened at random — the contents are photographed and returned.

● Operation Hanslam (Pet Lamb) is the tapping of telephones and telex lines, usually at exchanges where tape recorders are installed

● Operation Rystoel (Wheelchair) is the installation of electronic bugs, a favourite being a device that converts a telephone into a microphone which will operate even when the phone is not in use.

● Operation Ompik (Pick Over) covers a variety of rougher activities ranging from breaking into premises to photograph documents to fake muggings which enable agents to search a suspect person.

In contrast to all this attention on the white side, observation of what South Africa's blacks has been at once patchy and obsessive.

Agitators

The Soweto uprising on June 16, 1976, took Boss by surprise. Before then it was believed that nothing could stop the divinely ordained spread of Afrikaans and that any resistance was due to white agitators

Early in 1976, a meeting of all evaluators took place Those present were asked to suggest topics for research in depth by Division J (a research division which was disbanded soon afterwards).

The idea was to determine what were the greatest threats to the security of South Africa. Only one man came anywhere near to being right when he drew attention to new methods of literacy training being used by liberal educationists to raise blacks' awareness of their disadvantaged position.

In the following months there were increasing schoolchildren protesting against the requirement that half their courses should be taught in Afrikaans. In reality, says the Observer, their protests were against the poor standard of education they received from the Department of Bantu education.

But the growing dissatisfaction received little attention at Boss headquarters — Rhodesia was on the boil again, Mr Ian Smith had appealed to Britain for aid in finding a settlement, and the Prime Minster, Mr John Vorster, was going to meet Mr Henry Kissinger in Geneva.

Then Soweto erupted.

No advice

The first telex reports started coming in just before lunchtime. At an emergency meeting the top brass tried to formulate advice for Mr Vorster but in fact they had none to give.

For some weeks, while unrest spread from one black township to another, culprits. At first it was suggested that the CIA had been running a destabilisation operation to put South Africa at a disadvantage during the Kissinger talks.

The spotlight was then turned on the Black Consciousness movement and efforts were made to determine where it got its ideas from Among others, Stokely Carmichael, and Herbert Marcuse were read and discussed.

Meanwhile the Security Police detained one black student council after another, only to see immediate replacements appear, says The Observer.

It took months for Boss to understand that a whole generation of black students had come to think along the same lines. When it did so, it instinctively decided that there was a subversise network to be eliminated. This led to a "banning" spree.

One of the first victims was the largely white Christian Institute because it had encouraged black theology. Another

RIGHT: Mr Arthur Mc Given (seated second from left) on the Wits SRC in 1973, his second year as Boss informer. Another security spy was Mr Derek Brune (seated third from right) who declared himself in the 1976 trial against Glenn Moss (standing third from left) who together with ex-Nusas presidents Charles Nupen and Karel Tip were acquitted of charges under the Suppression of Communism and Unlawful Organisations Acts. The SRC president, Mr Adam Klein (seated centre), said during 1973 several students had told him the Security Branch had asked them to become informers.

7/11/80 Star C14



World which had been publishing a series called People's College, prepared by the South African Committee on Higher Education (Sached) in an attempt to fill the gaps in the Bantu education syllabus

Sached received funds from the world university service in Geneva, and its Scandinavian, German and Dutch finance sources, including Government ministries, were considered to be "anti-South African."

The refusal to consider black grievances continued, reinforced by the convention that Boss must never embarrass other State departments.

Ignored

Time and again warnings were ignored. A German lecturer in Sociology at the (Coloured) University of the Western Cape, Wolfgang Thomas, undertook research of the conditions in the squatter camps around Cape Town.

He even offered full assistance to the authorities in dealing with what However, before this he saw as a crisis. could be done the Minister of the Interior, Dr Connie Mulder, deported Thomas on the strength of an accusation from another lecturer that he was a trouble-maker, and a report by a young evaluator with only two months' experience

Thus, besides straining relations with Germany, South Africa lost the services of an expert.

Another German researcher, Theo Hanf of the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute, had earlier written about a number of problems perceived by blacks in Soweto. The attitude at Boss headquarters to Hanf's efforts was predictable

Who was Hanf? Who did he think he was, try to teach us our own business? Who was he working for? The Soweto uprising occurred just before Hanf was due to conduct another survey, so the problem of what to do about him could be shelved.

A Swiss organisation, the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF), channels funds from organisations and Governments in Europe to educational and developmental bodies in developing countries.

IUEF funds played a major role in the projects set up by the Black Consciousness movement, which in turn helped develop a new mood of independence and self-pride among blacks.

Dangers

As a result Boss started research into the dangers of community development over which the Government had no control. In-depth investigations have taken place into cottage industries, literacy courses, clinics and creches Attempts have also been made to find out who is "behind" the IUEF, starting with the CIA and moving on to the Socialist International.

A second cause of concern is about Americans who become involved in the South African legal system. The Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law (LCCRUL) is a Boss target Set up by President Kennedy as a counter to the far-left dominated National Lawyers' Guild, it has often provided defence funds in political trials, as well as sending observers to such trials.

Target

South African blacks who are offered bursaries to study overseas are a further target for Boss investigations. No black is granted a passport until Boss has checked his background.

Keeping tabs on South Africans overseas is part of the duties of the two external operations divisions, Division C has men at embassies and consulates overseas. These are highly prized posts for both prestige and financial reasons. They are frequently filled on an "old boy" or seniority basis, sometimes with ludicrous results.

Thus in the early seventies a former head of catering was given charge of the Washington station, where he began by submitting reports about a fantastic new source he had recruited

The source turned out to be the editor of a political periodical known as the Intelligence Digest who writes long diatribes against American liberal and leftwing organisations and personalities and then backs them up with extracts from his own magazine.

Blackmail

Boss also recruits South African Blacks who have gone overseas and got themselves into money difficulties Once they have accepted money from Boss (receipts must be signed and photographs taken) they can be blackmailed into spying if necessary.

After the collapse of Portuguese rule in Angola, Boss found itself without sources of information in that country to replace its previous co-operation with Salazar's Pide.

Consequently it was decided to set up a new operational division — Division V — for covert operations within black Africa.

Unlike Division C which uses the system of handlers and sources in the same countries, V adopted the more orthodox idea that the handler should where possible be placed in an adjoining country.

Operation Timmerwerk (Carpentry) is an intelligence pipeline through Botswana into Zambia.

Operation Indiaman reaches into Mozambique, using parts of the old Pide network. Its function is to spy on members of the South African Communist Party in Maputo and on East Europeans on reconstruction and development projects.

	W		A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	0,51	0,54	2,10	1,24	7,00	6,86	19,69	19,83
1-4	0,04	0,04	0,21	0,35	0,75	0,77	2,58	2,48
5-24	0,01	0,01	0,09	0,06	0,08	0,03	0,21	0,23
								0,78
1-4	0,49	0,21	0,31	0,27	0,63	0,61		
5-24	0,71	0,22	0,68	0,20	1,40	0,38	0,68	0,12
25-44	1,18	0,30	1,43	0,37	3,32	0,70	1,22	0,26
45-64	1,25	0,42	1,55	0,40	2,89	0,76	1,10	0,31
65+	1,26	0,71	1,34	0,91	2,19	0,90	1,02	0,53
ALL	0,95	0,33	0,95	0,29	1,91	0,56	0,89	0,20
NO.	1973	677	333	104	2175	652	1868	324

Survey shows literate blacks reject violence

Staff Reporter

MOST literate blacks in urban areas reject violence as a means of bringing about significant social, political and economic change in South Africa.

This was one of the findings of a survey by Professor John Simpson, director of UCT's Graduate School of Business, into attitudes of literate urban blacks towards South Africa's socio-economic system.

Professor Simpson found that very few respondents felt that violence was the only means of bringing about significant results and reaction from others in the interviewed groups where this was suggested "quickly indicated the belief that violence was futile."

The survey was conducted in Pretoria, Springs, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Johannesburg (including Soweto and other black townships) and Cape Town. It involved interviews with 230 people over two months.

Without exception, the respondents agreed that "blacks' views were not taken into account in any meaningful way in the determination of the policies of the country.

White attitudes towards blacks were perceived as basically hostile, though this was generally under the surface, hidden under a veneer of politeness.

Blacks saw most of the changes, for example multiracial restaurants and hotels, as

no more than mere window-dressing

On the subject of black leaders it was found that there was no leader who enjoyed the support of a wide cross-section and there were suggestions that potential leaders were either in detention or out of the country.

"Those are the people who have been banned, who have left the country unwillingly. We are not interested in the Gatshas and the Thebehalis," was a typical response.

To a large extent support for suppressed leaders appeared to be symbolic and they were respected for the fact that they were suppressed rather than for their actual views.

Inferior education was another area of major concern. It was felt that the education system was not nearly sufficient to prepare blacks for the job-market and education on the same level as that of whites was sought.

"At present, blacks believe that a combination of white prejudice and lip service to the concept of equal opportunity, coupled with the real restraint of inferior qualifications, make it very difficult for blacks to achieve success in the work-place."

Professor Simpson concludes: "A major finding of the research was the remarkable consistency of black views irrespective of age, sex or geographic location."

ALL CAUSES

	W		A		
	M	F	M	F	
0-1	21,76	16,18	40,44	27,11	13
1-4	1,17	0,94	2,42	2,39	1
5-24	1,05	0,46	1,31	0,74	
25-44	3,02	1,47	4,33	2,48	
45-64	17,46	9,49	26,27	18,72	
65+	73,62	54,55	92,20	82,93	
ALL	9,44	7,40	8,03	5,51	
NO.	19600	15374	2828	1967	

Demand for unrest findings

BLACK leaders yesterday demanded an immediate tabling of the findings of the Commission of Inquiry into the 1976 disturbances and described as an excuse the reason given for the delay by the Minister of Justice, Mr A L Schlebusch.

In a Press statement yesterday, Mr Schlebusch said the report of the commission of inquiry into the 1976 unrest at Soweto and other places might not be tabled before the second half of the coming parliamentary session.

He said this was because he only received the Afrikaans text of the report on January 21 this year and that the report could not be tabled until the English translation was available in printed form

The chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, called on Mr Schlebusch to "issue the report without any further excuses"

In a statement to POST, Dr Motlana said the accepted purpose of a commission of inquiry was to take an .ndepth look "at a pressing problem by . considering expert evidence from eye-witnesses with a view of producing a report as soon as possible."

He said: "This report must contain recommendations for the solution of the said problem. We find it incredible therefore that an inquiry into the traumatic events of 1976 and 1977 are so ridiculously protected and the pressing recommendations so unduly delayed

"We, therefore now demand that the minister responsible for the delay, issue the report without any further excuses," Dr Motlana added

The suspended president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Curtis Nkondo, said it was obvious that the authorities do not take the events of the 1976 and 1977 seriously.

Nkondo said the delay might be that the recommendations of the commission did not need any attention. He said: "The fact that the minister says the report is in Afrikaans proves that it is intended for the benefit of the volk."

Mr Tom Manthata, a member of the Committee of Ten, said commission "was a white product to serve white interest". He said the commission was in fact meaningless to blacks.

Another member of the Committee of Ten, Mr Leonard Mosala, said the findings of the commission were outdated because blacks aspiration "has escalated far beyond the recommendation contained in the report."

Soweto report delayed

CAPE TOWN. — The report of the commission of inquiry into the 1976 Soweto unrest will probably not be tabled before the second half of the coming Parliamentary session.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, said this in a statement yesterday.

He said he had received the Afrikaans text on January 21, but the report could not be tabled until the English translation was available in printed form.

The statement said:

"From time to time inquiries have been made about when the report of the Commission of Inquiry into the unrest at Soweto and other places in the Republic during and after June 16, 1976 will be available.

The Afrikaans text is in the hands of the translators and it will not be possible to table the report before the English translation is available in printed form.

"It now appears that tabling can possibly not take place before the second half of the session." — Sapa.

The Star

Thursday January 31 1980

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Keeping cool over the schools

THERE'S a sense of déjà vu about current events at Soweto schools, a feeling that we travelled down that road in 1976. Then the issue was compulsory instruction in Afrikaans. We still do not know for certain whether that was the root cause of the June 16 flare-up or the spark, although we can make intelligent guesses. The one-man commission appointed to investigate the causes of the unrest has only recently submitted its findings, and they are still not public.

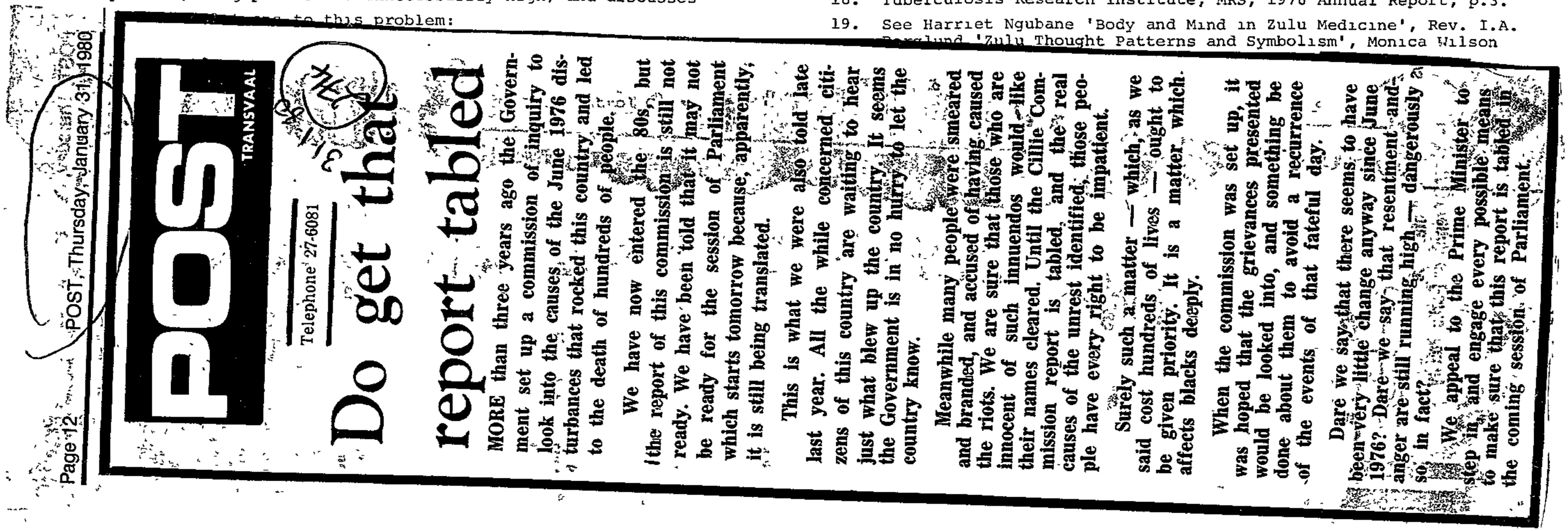
It seems, however, that in 1976 the ominous rumblings in the schools were allowed to develop into full-scale riots partly because of pig-headedness. It was a case of irresistible forces and immovable objects. Bitter lessons must have been learnt from the mishandling of the situation. However, identifying the problems should be comparatively simple; providing overnight solutions is not so easy. Decades of an inequitable system cannot simply be wished away, however hard one may wish. Grievances that were first mentioned in this round of complaints included the cost of schooling and uniforms. The Department of Education and Training has said uniforms are not essential and Senator Horwood, in a BBC-TV interview, hinted that more money was to be spent on black education. Surely there is a basis for compromise.

A new element in the pupils' grievances concerns the admission of adults or pupils who have failed. The authorities contend that the failures should make way for pupils coming up behind them in the already overcrowded schools and that grown-ups should attend adult education classes. Mixing children and grown-ups may well cause psychological problems, especially if the older pupils sense an inadequacy because they are under-educated. Nevertheless their schoolmates have declared a solidarity and the situation is sensitive.

The next two days leading up to the protest meeting scheduled to be held in Soweto on Saturday are crucial. Diplomacy and cool heads will be vital on both sides.

10.2 Economics of the Drug Industry

Brodie (Vol.2) shows that a large part of the ethical drug industry in South Africa is controlled by overseas firms. He discusses whether the high price of pharmaceutical products is related to the structure or to the practices of the industry. He concludes that, although there are no 'excess' profits, drug prices are unnecessarily high; and discusses [illegible] to this problem:



POST, Thursday, January 31, 1980

POST TRANSVAAL

Telephone 27-6081

Page 12

Do we get that report tabled

MORE than three years ago the Government set up a commission of inquiry to look into the causes of the June 1976 disturbances that rocked this country and led to the death of hundreds of people.

We have now entered the 80s, but the report of this commission is still not ready. We have been told that it may not be ready for the session of Parliament which starts tomorrow because, apparently, it is still being translated.

This is what we were also told late last year. All the while concerned citizens of this country are waiting to hear just what blew up the country. It seems the Government is in no hurry to let the country know.

Meanwhile many people were smeared and branded, and accused of having caused the riots. We are sure that those who are innocent of such innuendos would like their names cleared. Until the Cillie Commission report is tabled, and the real causes of the unrest identified, those people have every right to be impatient.

Surely such a matter — which, as we said cost hundreds of lives — ought to be given priority. It is a matter which affects blacks deeply.

When the commission was set up, it was hoped that the grievances presented would be looked into, and something be done about them to avoid a recurrence of the events of that fateful day.

Dare we say that there seems to have been very little change anyway since June 1976? Dare we say that resentment and anger are still running high — dangerously so, in fact?

We appeal to the Prime Minister to step in and engage every possible means to make sure that this report is tabled in the coming session of Parliament.

13. South Africa '77: Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa, p.650.
14. R. Roland 'Some Aspects of the 1912-1914 Tuberculosis Commission, B.A. Honours Essay, University of Cape Town, 1978. p.70.
15. *Ibid*, p.70.
16. *Ibid*, p. 42.
17. *Ibid*, p. 37.
18. Tuberculosis Research Institute, MRS, 1976 Annual Report, p.3.
19. See Harriet Ngubane 'Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine', Rev. I.A. Berglund 'Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism', Monica Wilson

8. This is described [illegible] as difficulty in deriving a social welfare function.

9. National Health Services Commission Report (1944): Union Government No. 30: Pretoria: Government Printer.
10. V. Knutzen & D. Bourne, S.A.Med.J. G.ter Haar, Transkei and Ciskei Research Society Biennial Conference, Umtata, March 1978.
11. See, e.g. O. Gish & G. Walker, 'Mobile Health Services'. TriMed, London, 1977.
12. See 'The Village Health Worker', Ministry of Health & Social Welfare, Lesotho, Maseru, 1977.

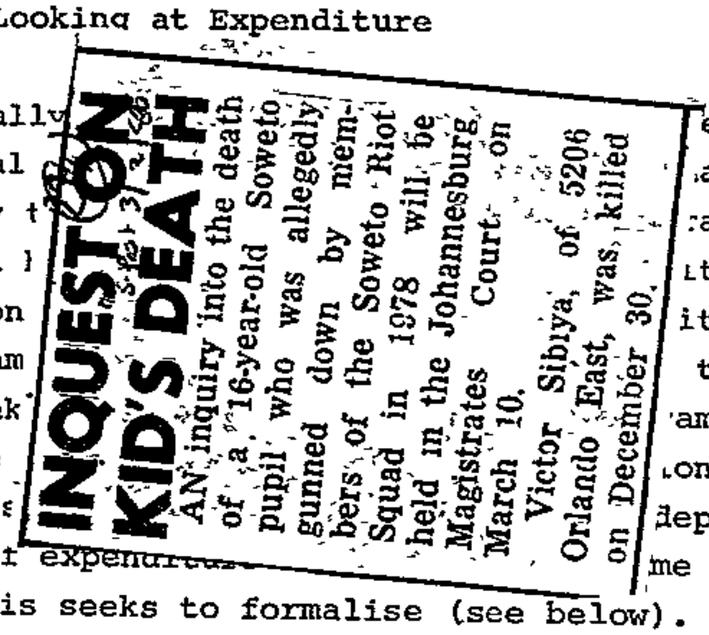
processes is essential; and the division will have to be more fine the more discriminating public decisions can be.[10]

The results of programme budgeting may be valuable in themselves, although the mere procedure does not necessarily ensure that better decisions will be made. Their potential is realised only if there follows an assessment of the value of expenditure in each programme.

2.2 Programme Evaluation

Methods of evaluation range from simple procedures for looking at costs, where the conclusions are left largely to intuition, to highly complicated processes which present more or less clear-cut solutions. For these more precise methods, most of the value judgements have to be made explicitly in advance. Some points on the spectrum between these two extremes are analysed below.

2.3 Looking at Expenditure



Basically ... encies. It was noted that a logical ... at a rand should yield approximately ... amme it is spent. If the net social ... iture on one programme much exceeds that on ... ithdrawing funds from the second programme ... the first. By simply looking at a break... ammes, the amounts spent on each may be ... ons of how much 'ought' to be spent on thes... depend on what we consider the benefits of expenditure ... me to be, a process which cost-benefit analysis seeks to formalise (see below). For example, if it can be shown that expenditure on preventive medicine constitutes approximately 2% of all expenditure on health,[11] it may be felt that the benefits from this kind of provision warrant an increase in the share of the budget allocated to it.

Unfortunately, such intuitive processes can pick out only the grossest incongruities which are recognised by all, whatever criteria of 'value' are used. The optimum level of expenditure on a particular objective is, from the point of view of intuitive judgement, highly uncertain, because of the wide variation in benefits attributable to a particular type of spend-

ing. This is partly due to a deficiency in information on the results of the programmes which can be resolved by recourse to appropriate data. Nevertheless, there will also be differences of judgement which cannot be resolved without prior agreement on the relative valuation of different benefits which have to be fed into the analysis; and in the intuitive process, these two factors may not be differentiated.

A very large proportion of decisions are now taken with no further analysis than this. Any further steps involve a way of systematically valuing the benefits of different programmes to render them comparable to one another.

2.4 An Informal Method for Setting Objectives

The following method for guiding the choice of priorities has been described by John Bryant.[12] It has been used by medical and nursing students in Thailand, and one of its advantages is that it can be used where no numerical data is available. It, therefore, lends itself to discussion, to draw on the experience of a group of people.

Potential health problems are first listed, and then given a score (from one to four pluses) under each of four headings:

Diagram 1: A method of ranking health problems

Problem	Prevalence	Severity	Community concern	Vulnerability to management	Total
Large & poorly spaced families	++++	++++	+++	++	96
Inadequate ante-natal & obstetric care	++++	++	++	+++	48
Malnutrition	+++	+++	++	++	36
Need for medical care	++	++	++++	++	32
Specific diseases:					
V.D.	++	++	++	++	16
Dental problems	++++	+	++	++	16
TB	+++	+++	+++	++	54
Common cold*	++++	+	+	-	0
Yaws*	-	++	+++	++++	0

* Added to test scoring method

is consistently worse than that of the whites. The 'coloureds' have higher mortality rates for all the major causes of death apart from cardiovascular diseases and neoplastic diseases in men over 65 years of age, neoplastic diseases in women in this group, and cardiovascular disease in men 45-64 years of age during 1960 and 1970. Clearly the rate of 5/1 000 which has been chosen is entirely arbitrary but a similar pattern of mortality emerges if lower or higher levels are selected.

Two aspects of these age-cause specific mortality rates require emphasis. Firstly, whilst being affected by the incidence of the diseases in question, these rates are also influenced by their fatality rates, for example, a decrease in the mortality related to Tuberculosis will not only be influenced by a decreasing incidence of this disease but also by improved prevention at



Cillie Commission

MR JUSTICE Cillie's report on Soweto, 1976 was at long last handed to the Minister of Justice on January 21. But it is in Afrikaans and must be translated into English and printed. So it probably will not be released until the second half of the parliamentary session. That means that close to four years will have elapsed between the appointment of the one-man commission, in August, 1976, and publication of its findings.

Even in a country where the reports of commissions quite frequently tend to take time, before appearing, the Cillie Commission has proved to be a phenomenon: for speed of inquiry and reporting were surely of great importance.

With these lost, other events must inevitably have overtaken those being investigated.

The extraordinary delay in the commission's operation has other implications: Mr Justice Cillie has now been off the bench for nearly 3½ years; he is also now chairman of the Delimitation Commission and this job will presumably take him well into the year, keeping him away from judicial duties for still longer.

Yet, late last year, he was also appointed to the Appellate Division.

In all these circumstances, his elevation is bound to lead to comment.

vention which will consequent- the associated mortality.

h the calculation of rates is ake into consideration the lth care the actual numbers true for those groups which the total population, for e different demographic pronted in Fig. I, and this prowhites and 'coloureds'. between 1941 and 1970 are, ive unimportance.

ites are presented in Fig. 6. this is speculative and is to warrant inclusion. Two led: (1) e_o - the expectation of life at 45 years of age. ion of life than men, and es and 'coloureds'. In fact, oured' females have a better s perhaps of some concern is or males and females is widenes and the 'coloured' communi- latter for whom Male:Female ,9 years in 1970. For whites 7,0 years in 1970.

Both white and 'coloured' females have shown an increasing life expectancy at the age of 45, and although this has been small, it contrasts with the downward trend of both white and 'coloured' males.

Although it is apparent that the Expectation of Life at birth for the 'coloureds' has shown a marked improvement between 1941 and 1970, it is salutary to note that neither 'coloured' males nor females, at either e_o or e_{45}, have reached expectations of Life in 1970 which are as high as the whites were in 1929. What also gives some cause for concern is that although the expectation of Life cannot be expected to improve indefinitely, it would appear that the 'coloured' life expectancy is levelling off at a much lower age than has occurred in the white community.

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EBRUARY 1980

78

Soweto riots: Committee examining claims

*2. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether the committee appointed under the chairmanship of the Acting Judge President of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court for the purpose of examining the claims arising out of the Soweto riots has completed its investigations,

(2) whether the committee has made any recommendations; if so, what are the recommendations?

The MINISTER OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS (for the Minister of Justice).

(1) Yes

(2) Yes. I received the recommendations of the committee on 6 February this year. I have already decided to make certain recommendations and the Government will probably make a decision on the recommendations shortly. A list in which is indicated what claims were laid before the committee, and in which cases *ex gratia* payments are recommended by the committee, will be tabled.

Civil defence organizations

274 256 CT 27/2/80.

Riot damage to black schools has all been repaired — report

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — All damage caused to black schools in the 1976 riots has been repaired.

Since 1976, the Department of Education and Training, which is responsible for black education, has made "special attempts" to upgrade standards "to a level comparable with those of other population groups".

As a result of the purposeful development programme by the department, which was also initiated in 1976, healthy relations with the black communities had been established, the department said in its annual report for 1979, tabled yesterday.

The department said security fences had been put up at about 150 schools.

"As a result damage to schools has declined drastically. All riot damage has also been repaired," the report said.

A further 48 new schools would be completed by the beginning of April this year.

During the 1979/80 financial year, 77 new community schools, comprising 1 040 classrooms, a further 814 classrooms at existing schools, 37 laboratories, 25 libraries and 48 centres were erected.

The report said: "The department can rightly claim that the purposeful development programme which was initiated in 1976 to provide in the urgent need for school accommodation has resulted in the establishment of healthy relations with the black communities.

"Concerted efforts have been made to execute successfully the programme for the renovation and upgrading of existing schools and the erection of new school buildings.

"Special attempts are being made to upgrade standards to a level comparable with those of other population groups."

Good progress had been made with the planning of secondary-school facilities and this had made it possible to transfer a greater number of Std 6 pupils from primary school to secondary school.

The report disclosed that the number of black matriculants was expected to top 50 000 in 1980 for the first time after a 117 percent increase in the number of Std 9 pupils in 1979.

The number of private candidates for matric had also increased, from 59 000 to 98 000.

The department said it was encouraging that a large number of teachers were busy improving their academic qualifications with the aid of adult-education centres — 5 826 teachers were studying for matric, 1 514 more than in 1978.

By last year, 84 adult-education centres and 94 remote campuses or satellites had been created

Cillie report tomorrow

Star 23/2/60
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CAPE TOWN — The report of the Cillie Commission of Inquiry into the 1976 Soweto riots is to be tabled in the House of Assembly tomorrow morning.

The Minister of Justice and the Interior, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, will table the report.

Mr Justice P M Cillie was appointed as a one-man commission of inquiry into the riots on June 24, 1976.

The Star will provide detailed coverage in all its editions tomorrow of this report on one of the most traumatic events in South African history.

Treurnicht may take a battering

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Political Staff

THE Transvaal Nationalist leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, could take a battering in the parliamentary debate on the findings of the Cillie Commission.

Dr Treurnicht was Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education when riots broke out in 1976. He was an important figure in the enforcement of a policy which, the Cillie Commission has found, was the immediate cause of unrest.

Although Dr Treurnicht escapes direct criticism in the commission's report, Opposition MPs can be expected to focus on the role he played in events leading to June 16 1976. They may accuse him of 'fiddling while Rome burned.'

OFFICIALS BLAMED

A full day is due to be set aside for debate on the commission's report.

The commission blames education officials in Soweto for not having properly informed the Minister, Mr M C Botha, and his deputy, Dr Treurnicht, of growing black unrest

However, Opposition spokesmen can be expected to point out that dissatisfaction with the policy of equal treatment for Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools had received a great deal of Press publicity before June 16

ON STRIKE

Homeland leaders had been drawn into the issue, there was growing unrest in schools and persistent appeals from parents, while at one point in May, there were about 1 600 scholars on strike.

Dr Treurnicht's attention was drawn to the problem by questions tabled in Parliament and a telegram sent to him by the director of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr Fred van Wyk, warning him of the dangerous situation in Soweto.

Only a few days before unrest broke out, Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of The World at the time visited Dr Treurnicht and appealed to him to suspend the language policy.

DISCREDITED

Dr Treurnicht gave a reply which was the same as that given by the regional director of education for Soweto, Mr W C Ackermann, who emerges as a discredited figure in the commission's report.

Mr Qoboza recalls (and this is not mentioned in the Cillie report) that Dr Treurnicht said: 'Surely Mr Qoboza if we pay for your people's education, then surely we must be given the right to decide what and how they are taught.'

Mr M C Botha and the former Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, are also likely to come in for criticism for their departments' poor handling of a delicate issue.

Coloured welcome

continue

By Hugh Roberton

COLOURED politicians and academic leaders today cautiously welcomed some of the findings of the Cillie Commission's report on the 1976 riots

But Professor R E van der Ross, Rector of the University of the Western Cape, which the commission described as having been the 'combustion point' of the riots in the south, said he felt it was wrong to generalise about the university's role

TOOK ISSUE

He took issue, too, with the finding that the riots had been the 'evil fruit' of planning and incitement on the UWC campus, although he conceded that there had been widespread solidarity at UWC 'with the cause of opposition to discrimination'

Emppasising that he was commenting on only a general outline of the commissions report, Professor van der Ross said 'We should be careful about generalising in such a way as to infer that the whole university was involved in plotting and organised activity.

'To my knowledge some of our students and staff were detained, but I cannot recall any student or staff member having been charged in court with this sort of subversive activity.

'There may be a few people involved, but if this is so they should be brought to book in the courts.'

He added: 'There were a few individual cases of students having been involved in acts of violence, such as the stoning of cars, but this is a different thing from actively planning public disorder and deliberately spreading it.

ITS SUPPORT

'There was, it is true, widespread demonstration of solidarity with the cause of opposition to discrimination It was out of this solidarity that violent action drew its support'

The Leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said he did not support the 'singling out' of UWC in the report but felt that in general terms he supported many of the other findings.

'I appreciate the fact that the background causes to the riots have been identified For so long we have been hearing about so-called

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cautiously illie report



Professor van der Ross

communist infiltration and influence and so one is pleased to note that the report underlines the effects of Group Areas, separate education, discrimination and the destruction of community life.

A point I would have liked to have seen made is that the younger generation, which was largely involved in the riots, is the first true apartheid generation which has grown up isolated from the whites and with no common feeling. They were reacting to the older generation's experience of dispossession, hardship and even death.'

The chaplain of UWC, the Rev. Alan Boesak, said the commission was correct in pointing out the impact of the whole system of separate development on the coloured people and said this had led over many years to anger.

'The riots were an expression of that anger. It is quite correct that solidarity with the people of Soweto was one of the main causes of the riots, though not the root cause. It was just the spark that let loose the anger.'

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Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...

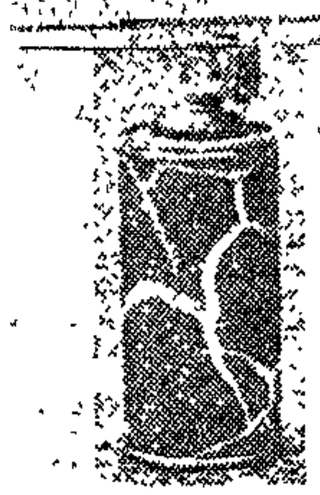
Grievances caused by apartheid

Political Staff

GOVERNMENT apartheid policies and discrimination contributed greatly to the fuse of violence being lit in Soweto, the Cillie Commission has found.

Although the immediate cause was the question of Afrikaans-medium instruction in black schools, the commission's report lists a number of other grievances that to a greater or lesser degree added to anger and hate or provided fertile ground for incitement.

Among the factors named are some of the cornerstones of apartheid, such as influx control



laws, and the hurtful way they are applied, the Group Areas Act, especially as it affects the coloured people, the homelands system, the rule of administration boards and the citizenship prescriptions applied to urban blacks.

Those

The commission found that organisations such as the ANC, the SA Communist Party and the PAC played an active role in inciting and encouraging the riots.

The Black People's Convention's greatest contribution was to awaken black consciousness and solidarity.

Members of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) were closely involved in incitement during the riots and organised unrest at black universities.

The Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), which was a 'sub-committee' of the South African Students' Movement (SASM), organised the marches that first sparked the violence in Soweto on June 16, and was largely responsible for the continuation of unrest.

'Visitors'

Other factors listed by the commission as contributing to the climate of unrest included:

● The breaking up of families in urban areas because of section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, the 72-hour restriction on 'visitors' to controlled areas and the dominating manner in which white officials applied the influx control laws;

The report quotes a witness before the commission as remarking on influx control: 'Once you have seen a group of blacks with the hate they carry with them, one can understand why they acted as illogically and destructively as they did;'

● Resettlement caused by the Group Areas Act which usually affected a black or a coloured community. Dissatisfaction about Group Areas decisions were the direct cause of unrest in Stellenbosch and Mossel Bay.

● Opposition to the homeland system was sometimes reason for actions that led to unrest. Dissatisfaction about the policy led to frustration and opposition to authority.

● Urban blacks found they had no say in their own affairs, they feared the loss of their South African citizenship, they were unhappy about lack of home ownership and they felt the sting of discrimination.

Although none of these matters caused any disturbances, they created a spirit of dissatisfaction and resistance.

Great hate

● Discrimination, not only by authority but by whites generally, not only caused dissatisfaction, but also a great hate, which was one of the most notable contributors to the spirit of unrest.

● The administration boards, which were seen as unrepresentative lawgivers, caused such dissatisfaction that black people were easily activated to riot.

● There was general dissatisfaction with housing, the wage gap, shortcomings in train and bus services and lack of everyday facilities.

● There was a lack of parental and teacher discipline over black children to curb their activities.

● A role was played by 'liberation movement' successes in Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and Namibia to engender the feeling that the blacks' 'hour' had come.

Nearly 6 000 arrested

POLICE made nearly 6 000 arrests in the period of unrest from June 16 1976 to February 28 1977.

The commission emphasises the difficulty it had in obtaining accurate statistics but, according to the figures at its disposal, 3 024 people were arrested for public violence, 1 562 for offences related to riotous assemblies, 283 for sabotage, 818 for arson and 293 for wanton damage to property.

Of the males arrested, 56 percent were above the age of 18 — while 45 percent of the females arrested were above the age of 18

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R45-m damage to buses, cars and buildings

THE total cost of the damage caused during unrest throughout South Africa which started in June 1976 could be higher than R45-million.

This emerges from the report of the commission which gives details of the staggering amount of damage caused in riots.

Biggest losers were the administration boards, which suffered damages totalling R29-million. The West Rand Administration Board alone suffered R6,3-million worth of damage.

The commission heard evidence that private persons and concerns suffered damage of more than R10-million.

By the end of 1976, a total of 599 buses had been damaged or burnt out, while 764 private vehicles had been damaged or destroyed.

BOTTLE STORES

During the unrest, 114 beerhalls, 74 bottle stores and 124 administration board buildings were destroyed or damaged by fire. A total of 222 board vehicles were wrecked.

Many schools were damaged a total of 265 throughout the country, with 158 in Soweto, 44 in the Cape Midlands, 20 on the East Rand, 24 in the Central Transvaal and 18 on the Cape Peninsula. Total cost of damage to schools was more than R800 000.

Damage amounting to more than R600 000 was caused in various homelands, while police suffered damage of nearly R800 000. Damage totalling R1,5-million was done to property belonging to the Department of Public Works



FLASHBACK . . . A woman flees a cloud of teargas as a canister explodes near Electricity House on the corner of Strand Street and St George's Street, Cape Town.

News coverag did not spark unrest

THE Cillie Commission has found no evidence that any actions of the Press were directly responsible for the unrest.

It has, however, found that publicity given to the unrest by the Press and radio did impress some people so much that they could rebel as a result of slight provocation

'The commission believes that the publication of riot reports in itself could have consequences which were not intended or desired.

Wide publicity was given to unrest and it appears from evidence that the news reports about the unrest were read in newspapers and heard on the radio by youths throughout the country.'

RECEPTIVE

After considering all the evidence, the commission concludes that it cannot be said that the distribution of news about the unrest directly caused any unrest or helped it persist.

'The commission is, however, convinced that this distribution influenced young people to such an extent that they would listen to an agitator with receptive minds. They could even of their own accord have gone over to unrest as a result of another provocation.'

The commission refers to the difficulties involved in covering riots and says newspapers sometimes also give different versions about the same event.

SCENES OF PLUNDER AND DEATH

gave evidence

ONLY 15 blacks below the age of 18 were among the 563 people who testified to the Cillie Commission.

A total of 340 whites, 184 blacks and 39 coloured people testified to the commission according to statistics contained in its report.

Fewer than 10 percent of the witnesses were women.

The largest group of witnesses were policemen: 127 white, black and coloured members of the force gave evidence.

In addition to the 563 people who appeared before the commission, the chairman of the commission had informal talks with 44 people

A total of 69 witnesses testified in camera and the chairman of the commission ordered that the names and addresses of 48 witnesses who testified in public should not be published.

PHOTOGRAPHS

The evidence of all the witnesses taken in 126 sittings came to about 9 000 pages. In addition, nearly 500 documentary exhibits were dealt with. These included photographs, banners, placards, letters, books and memorandums

Copies of newspapers dealing with unrest were also sent to the commission It also read foreign periodicals.

The commission also studied the 178 court cases which arose from the disturbances and reports of former commissions which dealt with matters relevant to its work

PROFESSORS

Among the people who testified were dozens of university lecturers and professors, school inspectors, headmasters and teachers, 26 journalists, 12 detainees, 36 administration board officials, 20 ministers of religion and many black political figures.

Only 15 blacks below the age of 18 and one university student testified

The commission's report stresses the efforts which were made to attract witnesses.

All evidence given in camera was, if possible, put to people whom it affected.

Political Staff

NIGHTMARE scenes of arson, plunder and death in Soweto are set down in the cold matter-of-fact officialese of the Cillie Commission report tabled in Parliament today.

The lawless days that shook South Africa nearly four years ago are described in detail on a day-by-day hour-by-hour basis.

The language of the report however barely captures the horror of the chaos that gripped Soweto and other black areas for days and nights, the murder of officials by mobs and the shooting of scores of rioters.

It started with protest marches at 8 am on June 16, 1976.

The first white man to feel the black anger was Mr D D Smit, inspector of black schools, whose car was attacked near Jabulani.

He escaped with 'no notable injuries.'

By 8 30 am huge crowds of schoolchildren bearing placards and giving the black power salute were moving through Soweto.

Soon stones were being thrown at police who had to retreat.

The first serious outbreak of violence that lit the torch took place at 10 30 am at Orlando West High School where a crowd of between 5 000 and 6 000 was gathered.

The report says:

'Colonel Kleingeld (the officer commanding Orlando police station) and his men were attacked with stones and it was not possible for him to address the crowd.

'The patrol comprised about five police cars, three heavy vehicles and two patrol vans with dogs. Four black men were busy inciting the scholars. Among those present were adults and others not in school uniform.

'The teargas used to disperse the crowd was ineffective Only one teargas grenade exploded. A baton charge was also not successful.

'The police were attacked from the flanks and could have been surrounded. Members of the police were hit by stones.

'Colonel Kleingeld fired five shots with his pistol over the crowd without any effect. After that he fired 20 shots with an automatic rifle in front of and over the crowd.

'Other members also fired shots with their pistols and revolvers although Colonel Kleingeld had not ordered them to fire.

'A black boy, H Ndhlovu, who incited the crowd, was killed.

Two police dogs were killed and mutilated by the crowd One of the dogs was sprinkled with petrol and set alight.

'Police vehicles were damaged by stones. Hector Peterson, a black boy, was fatally wounded by the police.

'A woman reporter took his body to the Phomolong Clinic.'

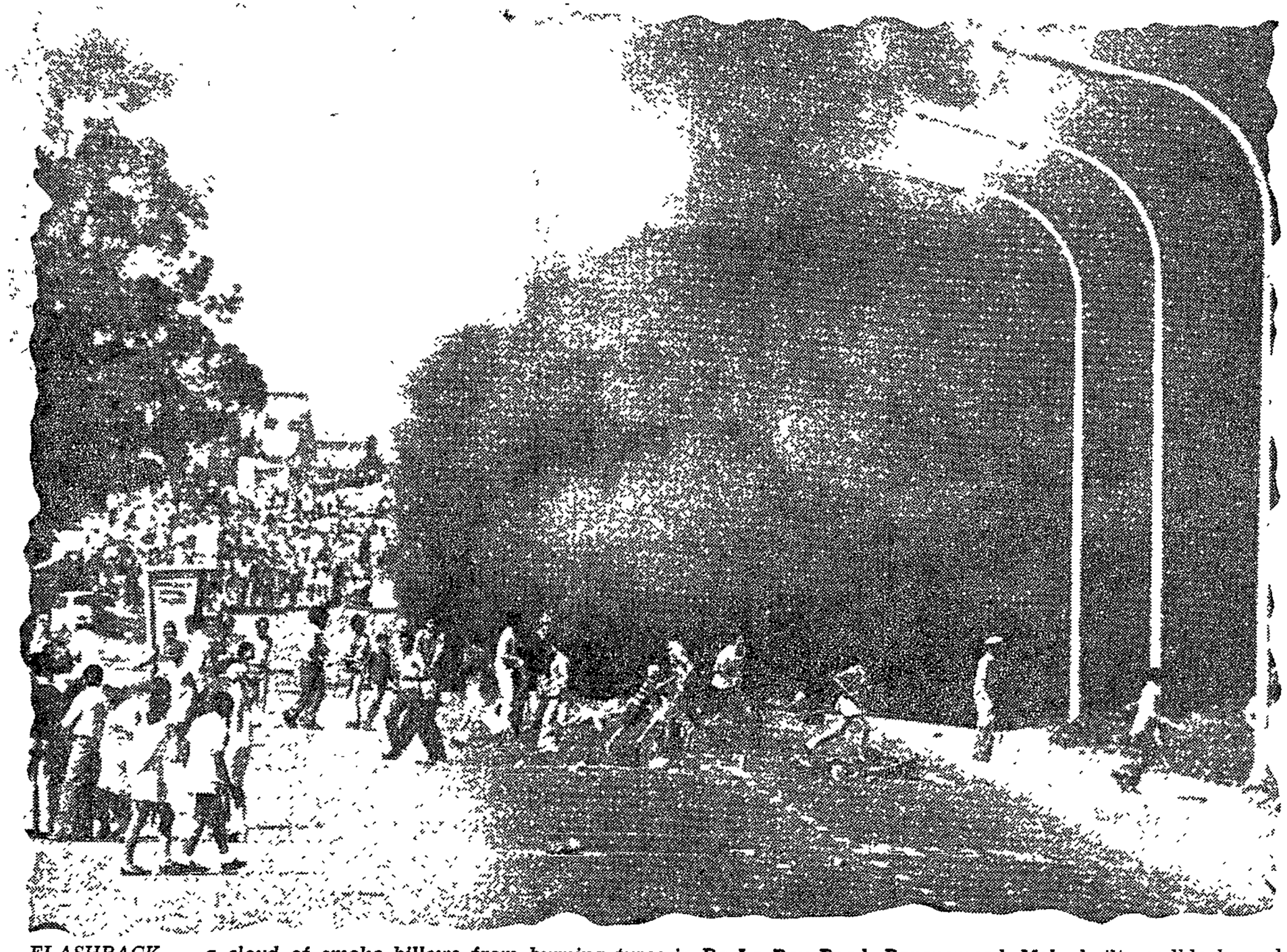
The death of the first official, Mr J N B Esterhuizen, of the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB), a few minutes later is described:

'Mr Esterhuizen was travelling in his car along Khumalo Street when he was attacked by youths at the Phomolong Clinic.

'Pupils of Morris Isaacson High School took part in the assault. Mr Esterhuizen jumped out of his car but was surrounded by youths and beaten to death in a side street opposite the clinic.

'Judging by marks on his clothing and body it appeared that attempts had been made to set fire to the body.

'Members of the police travelled up Khumalo Street but did not see the incident, probably because of the chaos that reigned. Mr Esterhuizen's body could be removed only about four hours later.'



FLASHBACK — a cloud of smoke billows from burning tyres in De La Rey Road, Ravensmead. Mobs built roadblocks and stoned cars when the Soweto uprisings spread to some Peninsula townships.

Police ignored the signs

SOWETO POLICE ignored clear signs of gathering unrest before June 16, 1976 and when trouble broke out they were unprepared in terms of manpower, equipment and attitudes.

The first time that the Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, Brigadier S W le Roux, heard that an exceptional gathering was being planned was early on the morning of June 16.

And in the first confrontation between scholars and the police, several — possibly as many as 10 — teargas grenades were thrown. Only one exploded.

The commission says it keeps in mind how easy and unfair it can be to be wise after the event and to criticise police action.

RESPONSIBLE

However, it concludes that the police to a great extent were responsible for their lack of knowledge about what was being planned and therefore also for their lack of preparedness.

Clear signs of gathering unrest in the last few weeks before June 16 were ignored. The commission points to some of these and says that because the police disregarded them they were unprepared in terms of manpower, equipment and attitudes when the trouble did break out.

DEFECTIVE

The commission points out that most teargas canisters were defective and that police did not have proper launchers for them.

Dogs were also of no use on the morning of June 16 — in fact two were killed.

An officer in charge of the unit which confronted a large crowd did not have a loudspeaker and was unable to give the crowd an effective command to disperse.

When reinforcements, equipment and helicopters finally arrived, four people were dead, many injured and various buildings were in flames.

The commission does however praise the police for trying their best to preserve peace and for not becoming panic-stricken. It points out that they rescued many white people and, at one stage, herded a group of very young children out of a dangerous area.

They fired out of desperation and a young boy died

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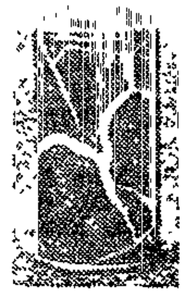

Political Staff

POLICE involved in the first confrontation with demonstrating Soweto students on June 16, 1976 found themselves in mortal danger and fired their guns out of desperation.

And it appears that 12-year-old Hector Peterson, who died in this incident, was killed by a bullet not intended for him.

Hector Peterson's death was probably the most highly publicised of the hundreds of deaths in the unrest which started on June 16 Many black people saw him as a martyr — a symbol of an uprising by black youngsters against a hated system.

DIVERSITY

The commission found there was a great diversity of opinion among witnesses over who committed the first violent act in that first confrontation.

'After considering all the evidence concerning that morning's incidents, the commission cannot accept that the police used firearms when everything was still quiet and calm,' says the report of the commission.

'After an evaluation of all the evidence, the commission accepts the following on their arrival the police were taunted by the crowd which threw stones at them.

ENCIRCLED

'After the use of teargas the stone-throwing became heavier and Colonel Kleingeld fired two warning shots and called for reinforcements. When the police returned from the (baton) charge, they were encircled by the crowd and stones were thrown at them from all sides.

'Because they were in mortal danger, Colonel Kleingeld tried to keep the crowd away from them with gunfire. Without him having given any order, his men also began to fire in a desperate attempt.'

However, it does not believe that there were reports which were deliberately false or that there was any aim behind them. There is no evidence that faulty reporting was a direct cause of unrest.

LEADING ARTICLES

The commission looked at a large number of leading articles and commentaries published in newspapers and found that those dealing with the unrest were usually marked by a sense of balance, impartiality and clear insight.

In two instances, newspapers hampered the commission in its efforts to obtain witnesses, but these difficulties were overcome.

It does give examples of what it judges to be inflammatory reporting.

Both are reports on speeches. One was by the Transkei Consul, Mr H T Mpunzi, who said among other things that Bantu education had been developed to keep blacks as slaves of the whites.

The other was by the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, who said among other things that he could not condemn youths for their actions because he was proud of what they had done.

EMPHASIS

The commission regards these reports as inflammatory, but says it does not want to generalise and say that newspapers published inflammatory reports.

The commission does believe, however, that in some cases too much emphasis was placed on the grievances of black people, as important as they might be.

The commission believes that some newspapers criticised the Department of Bantu Education and the police so severely that their image was damaged.

However, it should be added, says the commission, that members of the public actively contributed to this criticism. It would be difficult to determine to what extent the newspapers' criticism contributed to unrest.

Riots report out today

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Post 29/2/80

POST REPORTER

THE long awaited report of the Cillie Commission, set up soon after the riots in June 1976, will be tabled in Parliament this morning — more than three years after it was set up.

The appointment of the one-man commission was formally gazetted on July 2, 1976.

Mr Justice P M Cillie, formerly Judge President of the Transvaal and now a judge of the Appellate Division, heard evidence from various people over the unrest which swept the country from June to February of 1977.

The findings

Since the appointment of the commission, blacks, in particular, have been waiting to hear what the findings are. This was particularly so with blacks and organisations who had been accused of having stirred up the unrest.

Mr Justice Cillie had appointed a number of adviser to help him. Among them were officials of the Department of Justice.

Early this year, it was indicated in Parliament that the report may not be ready to be tabled during this session of Parliament. However, the report will now be tabled in the Afrikaans version only, and the English version is expected to be published within the next few months.

POST will publish a special edition later today, which will be on sale as soon as the report is tabled

Do not miss this special edition to find out what the Cillie Commission has reported.



FLASHBACK TO JUNE 16, 1976 . . . students during a march.

Newspapers editorials found to be objective and balanced

By Tom Duff
Political Reporter

The Cillie Commission has found no evidence that any actions of the Press were directly responsible for the unrest.

But it has found that publicity given to the unrest by the Press and radio did impress some people so much that they could rebel as a result of a slight provocation.

"The commission believes the publication of riot reports in itself could have consequences which were not intended or desired.

"Wide publicity was given to unrest and it appears from evidence that the news reports about the unrest were read in newspapers and heard on the radio by youths throughout the country."

After considering all the evidence, the commission concludes that it cannot be said the distribution of news about the unrest directly caused any unrest or helped it persist.

"The commission is, however, convinced that this distribution influenced young people to such an extent that they would listen to an agitator with receptive minds. They could even, of their own accord have gone over to unrest as a result of another provocation."

The commission refers to the difficulties involved in covering riots and says newspapers sometimes do give different impressions about the same event.

But it does not believe that there were reports which were deliberately false or that there was any aim behind them. There is no evidence that faulty reporting was a direct cause of unrest.

The commission looked at a large number of leading articles and commentaries published in newspapers and found that those dealing with the unrest were usually marked by a sense of balance, impartiality and clear insight.

In two instances, newspapers hampered the commission in its efforts to obtain witnesses, but these difficulties were overcome.

It does give examples of what it judges to be inflammatory reporting. Both are reports on speeches one a speech by the Transkei Consul, Mr H T Mpunzi, who said, among other things, that Bantu education had been developed to keep blacks as slaves of the whites.

The other speech was by the Rev Abel Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, who said, among other things, that he could not condemn youths for their action, because he was proud of what they had done.

The commission regards these reports as inflammatory, but says it does not want to generalise and say that newspapers published inflammatory reports.

The commission does believe however that in some cases, too much emphasis was placed on the grievances of black people, important as they might be.

The committee believes that some newspapers criticised the Department of Bantu Education and the police so severely that their image was damaged.

However, it should be added, says the commission that members of the public actively contributed to this criticism. It would be difficult to determine to what extent the newspapers' criticism contributed to unrest.

Apartheid led to violence



'Police ignored signs of unrest'

Soweto police ignored clear signs of gathering unrest before June 16 1976 and when trouble broke out they were unprepared in terms of manpower, equipment and attitudes.

This is among the findings of the commission.

The first time the Divisional Commissioner of Soweto, Brigadier S W le Roux, heard that an exceptional gathering was being planned was early on the morning of June 16.

And in the first confrontation between scholars and the police, several teargas grenades were thrown and only one exploded.

The commission says it keeps in mind how easy and unfair it can be to be wise after the event and to criticise police action.

But it concludes the police to a great extent were responsible for their lack of knowledge about what was being planned and therefore also for their lack of preparedness.

DIFFICULT

Clear signs of gathering unrest in the last few weeks before June 16 were ignored. The commission points to some of these and says:

"It is difficult to understand how a group of young people can prepare for three days for a demonstration by 15 000 or

Education policy was immediate cause

Government apartheid policies and discrimination contributed greatly to the fuse of violence being lit in Soweto, the commission has found.

Although the immediate cause was the question of Afrikaans-medium instruction in black schools, the commission's report lists a number of other grievances that to a greater or lesser degree added to anger and hate or provided fertile ground for incitement.

Among the factors named are some of the cornerstones of apartheid such as influx control laws, and the hurtful way they are applied — the Group Areas Act, especially as it affects the Cape Coloured people, the homelands system, the rule of administration boards, and the citizenship prescriptions applied to urban blacks.

The commission found that organisations such as the ANC, the SA Communist Party, and the PAC played an active role in inciting and encouraging the riots.

UNREST

The Black People's Convention's greatest contribution was to awaken black consciousness and solidarity, [illegible] been paid, resulted in

Many reasons for riots

Political Reporter

A variety of incidents triggered off rioting in black areas in 1976, according to evidence.

A power failure at a hostel for single men led to the death of two people near Dundee.

In the Free State, the stopping of a film show by a police reservist because permission had not been obtained for the use of the hall and entertainment tax had not

Group areas decisions blamed

Group areas decisions were a direct cause of a riot in Stellenbosch and contributed to one in Mossel Bay in 1976, says the commission.

The general dissatisfaction among black and coloured people about group areas had definitely contributed to a state of mind that was receptive to a stimulus to riot.

In Stellenbosch coloured pupils had to evacuate their school because it fell in an area that had been declared white. The building was then apparently prepared for white children.

During the unrest the coloured pupils held a procession to the school and demanded that the school be given back to them. The police stopped the procession.

STOOD EMPTY

In Mossel Bay the commission had evidence that dissatisfaction about an old school standing empty had been an important factor leading to the unrest.

The school building was situated in the white residential area and was standing empty because the pupils had been transferred to a new school.

At the local coloured school facilities were insufficient and a request to use the old school was refused.

The report said that group areas legislation

throughout Soweto, and that the police should receive the first incomplete reports about it only on the night before the demonstration was to take place."

Police officers got information from two sources on the night before and the headquarters which had to correlate information only heard about it after the demonstration had begun.

"There was no plan of action for combating unrest and patrols had to be sent out to report on what was happening."

WITNESSES

Some witnesses believed the divisional commissioner's order that scholars should be kept at their schools could have prevented the unrest, or markedly reduced it But it was impossible to carry out this command because virtually all the scholars had already left their school's grounds.

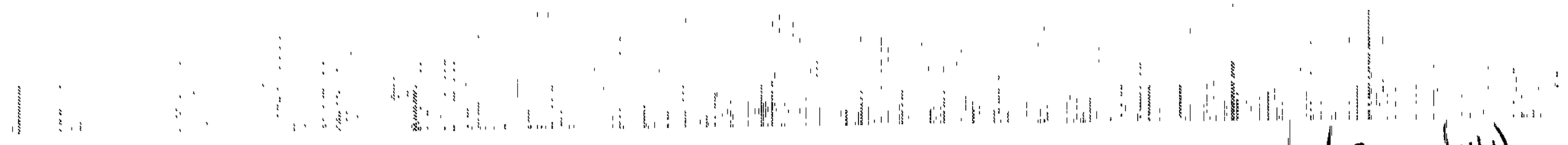
"There were also not enough men to carry out such a command effectively."

The commission points out that most teargas canisters were defective Dogs were also of no use on the morning of June 16 — in fact two were killed.

An officer in charge of the unit which confronted a large crowd did not have a loudspeaker and was unable to give the crowd an effective command to disperse.

When reinforcements, equipment and helicopters finally arrived, four people were dead, many injured and various buildings were in flames.

The commission does however praise the police for trying their best to preserve peace and for not becoming panic-stricken. It points out that they rescued many white people and at one stage herded a group of very young children out of a dangerous area.



An unidentified youth pours water over a tear gas grenade during the Soweto unrests

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'Attitudes virtually The same'

Except for young urban blacks and a few other groups, relations between blacks and whites are now virtually the same as they were before the unrest, says the commission.

The commission has found there was an exceptional deterioration — especially in urban areas — of young blacks' attitudes towards whites.

However, the attitudes of black adults — if they had changed — returned to what they were before the unrest.

"With the exception of the black youth in the urban area, and a few other groups, the commission believes relations between the white and black races is virtually the same as it was before the unrest."

The commission did receive evidence that because the police had to enforce unpopular and irritating laws, any good relations which existed between the community and the police had deteriorated. This led to poorer relations with the white community.

Evidence of bungling by school officials

Political Reporter

Evidence of bungling by intransigent Bantu Education officials who could not understand the rising anger in black schools in Soweto is contained in the report of the Cillie commission.

The commission has found the application of the policy of equal treatment of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black high schools was a prime cause of the black unrest which broke out on June 16 1976.

It criticises education officials in Soweto for not having properly informed the then Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Mr M C Botha, his deputy, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and the Secretary of the Department of Bantu Education, Mr G J Rousseau, of the badly deteriorating situation.

The commission gives an account of the many appeals for changes to the policy, of early warnings by well-informed people of impending trouble, and of newspaper reports about the ferment in some Soweto schools.

The Regional Director of Bantu Education, Mr W C Ackermann, is portrayed in evidence given to the commission as being unsympathetic to black demands.

"The regional director's attitude was that the equal use of mediums of instruction was introduced because the white taxpayer financed Bantu Education," says the report.

It says Mr Ackerman's "take it or leave it" attitude definitely did not help to cool things down. It also criticises his attitude that a chain reaction would result from giving in to scholars' demands.

"The officials believed there were agitators behind all the rebelliousness and also that the scholars were being used as a so-called pressure group. They did not realise that the scholars were so dissatisfied and inspired that they could easily revolt."

This approach of the officials had important consequences· It closed the door for communication, there was no exchange of ideas and the impression was created that the authorities were unapproachable and relentless.

Furthermore, the officials did not know what was going on and how implacable the resistance had become

"They were not in a position to warn the Minister and the Secretary of the threatening danger and could not supply on demand the important details for answers in Parliament."

The report says their actions did not to any extent contribute to preventing or delaying the unrest.

Even without contact, says the report, there were enough warnings to put the officials on the alert. Time after time there were problems with schools boards which ignored the policy.

"Already from February scholars started trouble in their schools over Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Various schools had boycotts of classes. At one stage 1 600 scholars refused to go to school . Homeland leaders visited Soweto over education troubles In Parliament and outside questions about exemption and boycotts were put to the Minister.

"The officials were asked for details, but advised the Secretary that the troubles still existed at a very low level It was according to them, still not necessary to call in the secretary's help"

The commission is reluctant to speculate about what would have happened if the secretary and the Minister had been properly informed

However, it says: "But if they had all the information which they should have had, they could have evaluated the situation more accurately and then all the steps to prevent a tragedy would not nave been excluded."

The commission reviews the history of attempts to enforce the equal use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools and points to the problems encountered.

There were uncertainty, misunderstanding and dissatisfaction over the grounds for exemption from the policy

One departmental circular gave the impression that no exemptions would be allowed. This resulted from the words "where possible" being accidentally excluded from the English version.

The total cost of the damage

Political Reporter

The total cost of the damage caused during unrest throughout South Africa which started in June 1976 could be higher than R45-million.

This emerges from the report of the Cillie Commission which gives details of the staggering amount of damage caused in riots.

Biggest losers were the Administration Boards, which suffered damages totalling R29 662 870. The West Rand Administration Board alone suffered damages of R16,3-million.

The commission heard evidence that private persons and concerns suffered damage of more than R10-million. It did not make its own estimate.

By the end of 1976, 599 buses had been damaged or burnt out, while 764 private vehicles had been damaged or destroyed.

During the unrest 114 beerhalls, 74 bottle stores and 124 Administration Board buildings were destroyed or damaged by fire. A total of 222 Board vehicles were wrecked.

Many schools were damaged: 265 throughout the country, with 158 in Soweto, 44 in the Cape midlands, 20 on the East Rand, 24 in central Transvaal and 18 on the Cape Peninsula. Total cost of damage to schools was more than R800 000.

Damage amounting to more than R600 000 was caused in various homelands, while police property suffered damages of nearly R800 000. Damage totalling R1,5 million was done to property belonging to the Department of Public Works.

Black Consciousness meant black power

Black Consciousness meant black power and black solidarity to most people — especially schoolchildren — who took part in riots, the commission has found.

It says the Black Consciousness movement is not an organisation, but a philosophy, virtually a religion, which is found in almost all black political or community organisations.

The purpose of Black Consciousness was to make each black person aware and proud of his blackness This would result in solidarity between him and other black consciousness adherents.

Some witnesses alleged that Black Consciousness did not mean black power, but the commission has found to the contrary. It also believes that the exercise of Black Consciousness led to a polarisation of black and white.

Black Consciousness created a mood which was useful to an agitator.

The commission believes that the banned African National Congress was continually active in the unrest and that it played a role in the origins of the riots and in keeping them going.

The South African Communist Party also distributed inflammatory pamphlets and collaborated with the ANC, but there was no evidence of active participation in the riots by it as an organisation.

The banned Pan Africanist Congress played a role in the unrest through the Young African Christian Movement and later the Young African religious movement.

The commission finds that the greatest contribution made by the Black People's Convention at the start of the unrest was its attempts to make young blacks aware of their blackness.

The commission emphasises connections between the BPC and the South African Students' Organisation

It says there is evidence that BPC members attended meetings and had discussions with Saso members and incited scholars.

Members of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) were closely involved in incitement during the riots and organised unrest at black universities

The Soweto Students' Representative Council, which was a 'sub-committee" of the South African Students' Movement, organised the marches that first sparked the violence in Soweto on June 16, and was largely responsible for the continuation of unrest

LIST

Other factors listed by the commission as contributing to the climate of unrest included

- The breaking up of families in urban areas because of Section 10 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, the 72-hour restriction on "visitors" to controlled areas. and the dominating manner in which white officials applied the influx control laws.

The report quotes a witness before the commission as remarking on influx control: "Once you have seen a group of blacks with the hate they carry with them, one can understand why they acted as illogically and destructively as they did."

- Resettlement caused by the Group Areas Act which usually affected a black or a coloured community. Dissatisfaction about group areas decisions were the direct cause of unrest in Stellenbosch and Mossel Bay.

- Opposition to the homeland system was sometimes reason for actions that led to unrest Dissatisfaction about the policy led to frustration and opposition to authority

- Urban blacks found they had no say in their own affairs, they feared the loss of their South African citizenship, they were unhappy about lack of home ownership, and they felt the sting of discrimination.

Although none of these matters caused any disturbances, they created a spirit of dissatisfaction and resistance.

- The administration boards, which were seen as unrepresentative lawgivers, caused such dissatisfaction that black people were easily activated to riot.

The Commission's report says there were suspicions that somebody had set fire to a school in kwaZulu to cover up the theft of school funds.

Students at one training college set fire to the college because of personal resentment towards the principal.

A pupil set fire to a typewriter to avoid writing exams, while some pupils planned a fire to mislead their parents about why they had been suspended from school.

The Commission has found that the activities of the Soweto Students' Representative Council were among the reasons for the continuing unrest in black areas

The organised strikes which followed the riots did not achieve the aim of paralysing the economy or causing the downfall of the Government — in fact says the Commission, they were a total failure.

ACT OF THEFT

Dealing with the evidence given to it, the commission says group areas often meant that groups had to be resettled and it was usually blacks and coloureds who had to move.

Such moves brought about a loss of the right to own property.

Urban blacks were the worst hit because they could not be houseowners in other urban areas, but the coloured people also felt angry

The report says one of their leaders described the particular legislation as "an act of theft"

Resettlement usually meant that those who had been moved lived further away from their work and had to use additional transport.

Natal 'had less trouble'

Agitators and the desire to identify with the students of Soweto were the main reasons for the spread of the 1976 unrest to Natal, the commission has found.

Although there was considerably less trouble in Natal than in the Transvaal or the Cape the Commission found one of the worst single incidents of vandalism occurred in Natal

The "unbridled vandalism" happened at the University of Zululand and where the administration block and the church were destroyed

The Commission is strongly critical of the University authorities which it says in the past had not exercised firm control.

"It appears as if because previous offenders were not firmly dealt with it made them more undisciplined and uncontrollable."

On the other hand there had been no serious trouble at the University of Durban/Westville because of the firm discipline exercised in the past.

Much of the trouble in Natal stemmed from work done by agitators particularly those belonging to the South African Students Organisation who had used the "magnetic influence of black power"

The Commission found there were numerous reasons for the comparatively low scale of unrest in Natal. These included

- The Zulus were a conservative, traditional nation who disciplined their children

- There were good relations between the Zulus and the authorities.

- The influence of aid centres.

- The influence of urban Bantu Boards.

- Discussions between school principals, teachers and parents arranged by kwaZulu officials

The two people who died were both from Dundee One Thembani Madonsela (26), was fatally wounded by the police during the theft of a cash register from the Bantu Administration Board offices and the other, Petrus Zwane (13), died after running into an anchor during a riot.

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Star

Arson plunder and death

Death toll was 575 with 3 907 hurt

By Tom Duff, Political Reporter

Police involved in the first confrontation with demonstrating Soweto students on June 16, 1976 found themselves in mortal danger and fired their guns out of desperation.

And it appears that 12-year-old Hector Peterson, who died in this incident, was killed by a bullet not intended for him.

These are the findings on two of the most controversial questions left in the wake of the first confrontation.

Hector Peterson's death was probably the most highly publicised of the hundreds of deaths in the unrest which started on June 16. Many black people saw him as a martyr — a symbol of an uprising by black youngsters against a hated system.

The commission found there was a great diversity of opinion among wit-

A total of 575 people died in the unrest which swept through various parts of South Africa from June 16, 1976 to February 28 1977, the commission found.

Police estimate that 3 907 people were injured in the unrest — 2 389 of them by the police — but the commission does not regard these figures as complete. It points to the difficulty of obtaining accurate figures because so many people were either treated by private doctors who did not keep records, or did not seek medical aid.

Of the people killed in the unrest, 494 were blacks, 75 coloureds, five whites and one Indian.

A total of 451 died as a result of police action and 124 as a result of the actions of other people.

Of all the 575 who died, 258 were killed in Soweto. The commission reports that 134 of the dead people were under the age of 18 and 431 were over 18.

A total of 137 people were killed in the Western Cape.

The commission says there were many difficulties involved in compiling a list of dead people. There was a fairly long list of people who died as a result of accidents or crimes which had nothing to do with the unrest.

However, the commission is confident that its

By Hugh Leggatt, Political Correspondent

Nightmare scenes of arson, plunder and death in Soweto are set down in the cold, matter-of-fact officialese of the Cillie Commission report.

The lawless days that shook South Africa nearly four years ago are described in detail on a day-by-day, hour-by-hour basis.

But the language of the report barely captures the horror of the chaos that gripped Soweto, and other black areas, for days and nights, the murder of officials by mobs and the shooting of scores of rioters.

It started with protest marches at 8 am on June 16, 1976.

The first white man to feel the black anger was Mr D D Smit, inspector of Black Schools, whose car was attacked near Jabulani.

He escaped with "no notable injuries."

By 8.30 am huge crowds of schoolchildren bearing placards and giving the black power salute were moving through Soweto.

Soon stones were being thrown at police who had to retreat.

The first serious outbreak of violence that lit the torch took place at 10.30 am at Orlando West High School where a crowd of between 5 000 and 6 000 was gathered.

ATTACKED

The report says: "Colonel Kleingeld (the officer commanding Orlando police station) and his men were attacked with stones and it was not possible for him to address the crowd.

"The patrol comprised about five police cars, three heavy vehicles and two patrol vans with dogs.

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Star

Migrant workers opposed gang, but did not work with police

Allegations of collusion between the police and the "migrants" during the bloody riots in Nyanga at the end of 1976 are rejected in the report.

In the black areas of the Peninsula as a whole 37 people died in the December riots. The police were responsible for 14 of the fatalities.

The report lays the main blame for the riots on the "Comrades" group.

The commission finds that the fundamental and direct cause of the Christmas 1976 riots in Nyanga was the militant action of the Comrades and the young people activated by them.

The Comrades stepped up their campaign against shebeens in the weeks before Christmas. They went to reputed shebeens, burnt down buildings and destroyed or sometimes drank the liquor and robbed shebeen owners of their money.

They called strikes and wanted to paralyse the economy. Migrant workers had to have police protection.

They prohibited Christmas celebrations, humiliated migrant workers who did not want to obey and took away Christmas presents and liquor on the streets.

The Comrades ordered everyone to attend a memorial service on Christmas Day, but the migrants refused.

The migrants did not agree with the activities of the Comrades.

29/7/80 Star (24)

White

CILLIE COMMISSION

Shots fired because of 'mortal danger'

nesses over who committed the first violent act in that first confrontation.

The most diverse points of view were the following:

● The crowd threw stones because the police had opened fire, as opposed to police opening fired because the crowd had thrown stones.

● Various witnesses took up a position somewhere between these two extremes.

"After considering all the evidence concerning that morning's incidents, the commission cannot accept the police used firearms when everything was still quiet and calm," says the report.

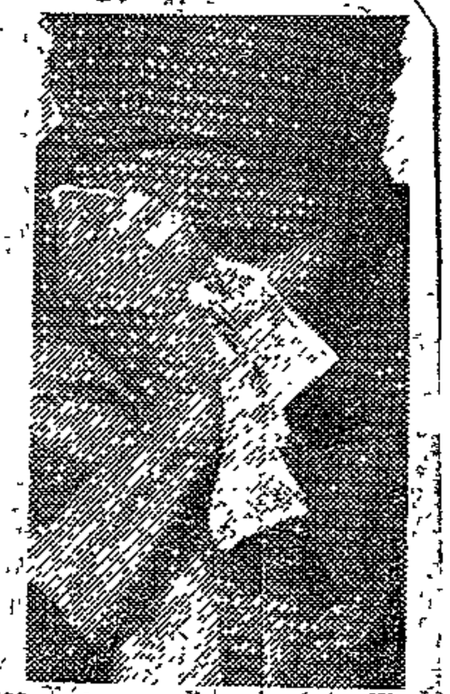
"After an evaluation of all the evidence, the commission accepts the following: on their arrival, the police were taunted by the crowd, which threw stones at them.

"The processions or everyone who took part in them, were not peaceful and orderly at all times. It was an uncontrolled, or poorly controlled advance. Before the shooting, there was already public violence and it was highly likely that it would occur again.

"The procession was illegal and the police were forced to let the crowd disperse or to force it to disperse and later to curb the unrest."

Two youngsters — Hector Peterson and Hasting Ndhlovu — were killed in this confrontation. Ndhlovu, according to evidence before the commission, was shot when he charged a policeman.

The commission says that it appears that Hector Peterson died from a bullet not intended for him. It rejects an allegation that he was shot in cold blood by one of five black policemen in a car.



Weeping into a handkerchief . . . Mrs Dorothy Peterson whose son was killed.

Most of the witnesses were SAP personnel

Only 15 blacks below the age of 18 were among the 563 people who testified to the commission.

A total of 340 whites, 184 blacks and 39 coloured people testified to the commission according to statistics contained in its report.

Less than 10 percent of the witnesses were women.

The largest group of witnesses were policemen: 127 white, black and coloured members of the force gave evidence.

In addition to the 563 people who appeared before the commission, the chairman of the commission had informal talks with 44 people.

IN CAMERA

A total of 69 witnesses testified in camera and the chairman of the commission ordered that the names and addresses of 48 witnesses who testified in public should not be published.

The evidence of all the witnesses, taken in 126 sittings, came to about 9 000 pages. In addition nearly 500 documentary exhibits were dealt with. These included photographs, banners, placards, letters, books and memorandums.

Copies of newpapers dealing with unrest were also sent to the commission, which also studied foreign periodicals.

The commission also studied the 178 court cases which arose from the disturbance

It studied reports of former commissions which dealt with matters relevant to its work and obtained reports of relevant statements made in parliament.

Among the people who testified were dozens of university lecturers and professors, school inspectors, headmasters and teachers, 26 journalists, 12 detainees, 36 Administration Board officials, 20 ministers of religion and many black political figures

Only 15 blacks below the age of 18 and one university student testified

The commission's report stresses the efforts which were made to attract witnesses

All evidence given in camera was, if possible, put to people who it affected.

Police were diligent

There is no known case of a policeman. who used a firearm during the unrest, being criminally responsible for the death of anyone, the commission has found.

The commission says there was considerable criticism of the police's handling of unrest. But it of hand and this did not happen.

It adds that there might have been exceptional cases where a member of the force fired too soon or before he was certain that innocent people would not be hit

"In these cases, as in many others, they acted diligently and purposeful-

Unrest inquiry took 32 months

The appointment of the one-man commission of inquiry into the unrest in Soweto and elsewhere was formally gazetted on July 2 1976.

Now its report has been tabled in Parliament — but so far only an Afrikaans edition is available. The English version should be published within the next few months.

Mr Justice P M Cillie, formerly Judge President of the Transvaal and now a judge of the Appellate Division, appointed a number of advisers to help him with his task.

ADVISERS

Three people advised him during his investigations into the unrest in the Cape Peninsula. Mr J F Malherbe, an attorney, Mr D Ringo, a former teacher and now a public relations officer for a Cape Town company, and Mr P M Sonn, a retired headmaster.

Mr A B Colenbrander, a former Bantu administration official advised the judge on the Natal investigation.

A number of senior officials in the Department of Justice also helped the commission at various stages.

Mr Justice Cillie presided over the trial of David and Charles Protter, who were jailed for their actions in the Fox Street Siege.

He also heard the case

Coloured people were dissatisfied

Bitter feelings among the coloured people about discrimination are highlighted in the report of the 1976 and 1977 riots

The coloured people felt that most of their grievances were caused by discrimination

The report says a large part of the coloured people had the following viewpoint:

"Separate development is the greatest cause of discrimination The policy and the legislation laying down its principals and their implementation causes an unfair division between coloured and white

"The community was harmed by such institutions as race classification, group areas and even separate universities

"The classification is degrading they reject not only the word coloured' but also the idea of a separate coloured identity and 'non-white' is an unacceptable definition in the language of the dominating white group

Separate group areas have caused misery, discomfort and damage to many

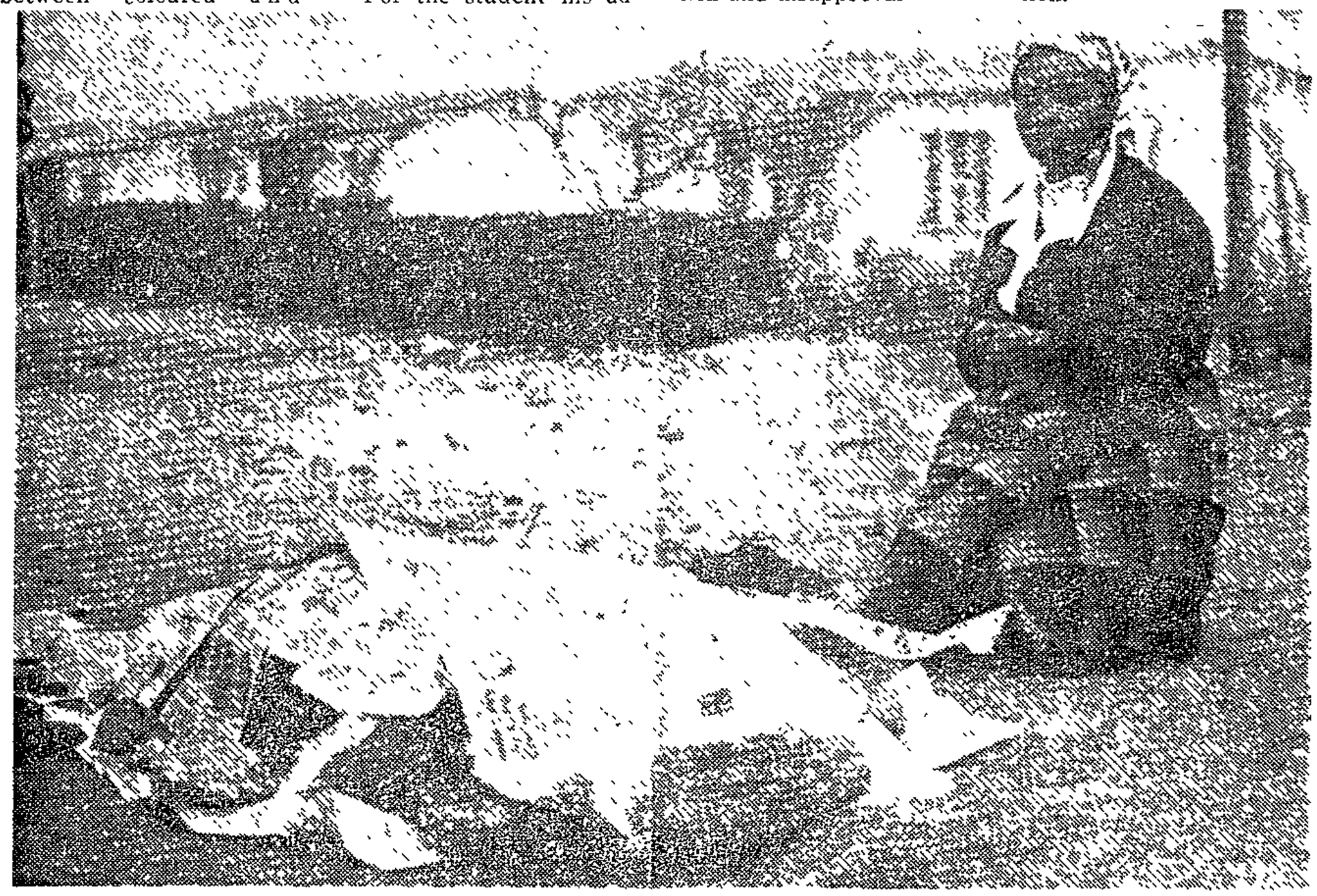
For the student his admission to other universities is made impossible or extremely difficult and his feeling of frustration is aggravated by the paternalistic attitudes of some white lecturers

As a result of the unnatural division of population groups being enforced by the white Government, the view has taken root that the white man has cast aside the coloured as a friend and a fellow citizen

The affinity of earlier times had to make way for a feeling of being offended and of frustration and disapproval

The coloured became anti-white and investigated the various facets o the struggle of the blacks He linked up with the black community to eliminate grievances and obtain his rights through a joint struggle

The commission's attention was also drawn to the fact that rebellious elements, including th students, were often wrongly informed or had incorrect facts Sometimes the had little or no information on a matter but they nevertheless believed that it hid harmful discrimination.



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Some police acted 'over-hastily' in Peninsula riots

The commission has found that police action in the Peninsula during the riots was not excessive or wrong and had not caused riots or worsened them, but it concedes there were over-hasty actions.

The report says the finding does not exclude the possibility that policemen individually sometimes acted more harshly than was necessary.

It is also possible that some pupils may have regarded justified police action as an invasion of their right to demonstrate.

In some instances, because of factors such as wrong appraisal of the situation and pressure, policemen had fired too quickly.

The report points out that fatalities were investigated by magistrates.

The commission made the following general findings about the police action:

● The police force had acquitted itself well of its task to control rioters, in spite of extremely difficult and dangerous circumstances.

● The policy of the police was to use only as much force as was necessary to restore order, to protect life and property and to carry out arrests. Exceptions did occur in some circumstances.

● The policy was to handle rioters firmly but not harshly. In this regard it happened that specific policemen, as a result of what the report describes as their "spiritual composition," had acted excessively.

● It was not police policy to shoot rioters summarily, and this did not happen.

● There were exceptional cases where a few members of the force, as a result of a wrong evaluation of the situation, excitement, exaggerated reaction, the pressure of circumstances and even fear, fired too quickly.

● There were several cases where policemen had fired before they could be sure that people not involved would not be hit. This happened especially in the case where buckshot was used.

● Police action was not the cause of the first riots and violence in the Peninsula.

6 000 were arrested

Police made just under 6 000 arrests in the period of unrest from June 16 1976 to February 28 1977.

The commission emphasises the difficulty it had in obtaining accurate statistics, but according to the figures at its disposal 3 024 people were arrested for public violence, 1 562 for offences related to the Riotious Assemblies Act, 283 for sabotage, 818 for arson and 293 for damage to property.

Of the males arrested, 56 percent were above the age of 18 and 45 percent of the females arrested were above the age of 18.

From June 16 to August 31 the following number of accused appeared in magistrate's courts on the Witwatersrand. 348 in Soweto and Dobsonville, 154 in Alexandra and 426 on the East Rand.

In Port Elizabeth, Magistrates heard 95 cases involving 2 004 accused between August 7 and December 15.

Threats the main force

Intimidation was possibly the largest driving force behind the riots, the commission says.

"Even before June 16 intimidators were active and during the riots they forced people on all levels of the black community through threats or violence to take part in riots and insurrection in some way or another."

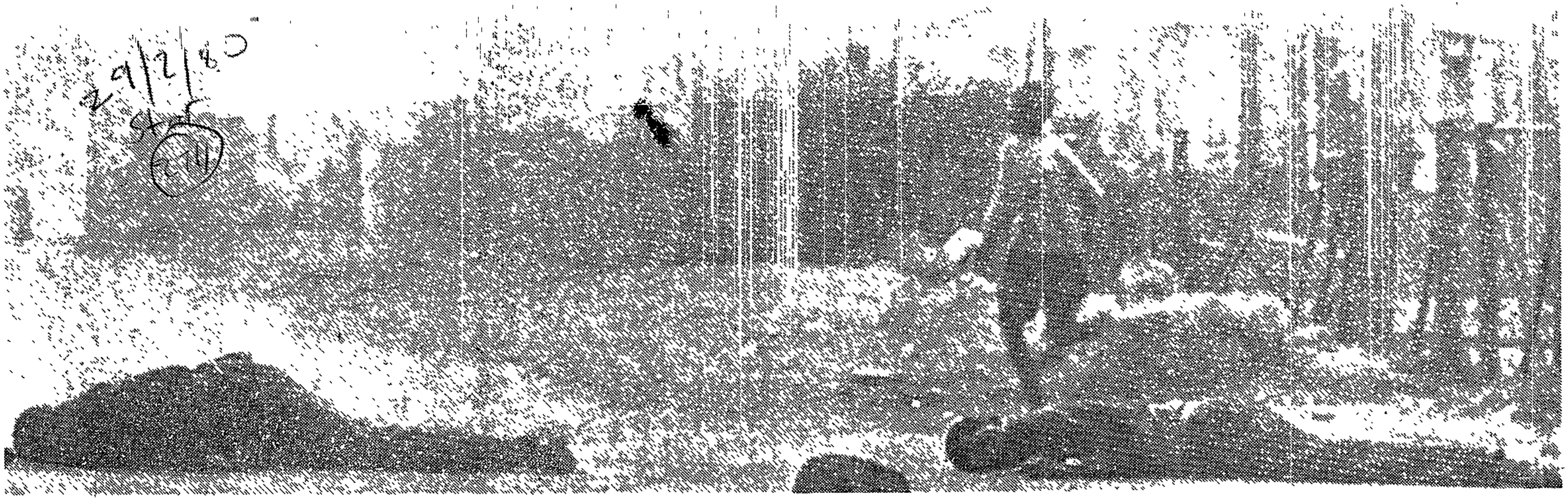
Naturally, says the commission, not all people who took part did so because they were forced to.

It cites evidence of intimidation in many parts of the country. Parents were intimidated in some regions, while school principals and teachers were frequently the targets of intimidation.

Attacks were also made on shebeens and shop-owners who refused to close their businesses during periods of mourning.

The commission says a marked aspect of the promotion of a climate of fear during the unrest was the intimidation of members of the police force.

The commission has found that liquor was a factor in the riots. About 20 percent of the people killed in the unrest had alcohol in their systems.



Two young men lie dead in a street near Mzimhlope station. They were shot by police after the group in which they were marching ignored warnings to stop.

Four black men were busy inciting the scholars. Among those present were adults and others not in school uniform.

"The tear gas used to disperse the crowd was ineffective Only one tear gas grenade exploded

"A baton charge was also not successful.

"The police were attacked from the flanks and could have been surrounded Members of the police were hit by stones.

DOGS KILLED

"Colonel Kleingeld fired five shots with his pistol over the crowd without any effect After that he fired 20 shots with an automatic rifle in front of, and over, the crowd

"Other members also fired shots with their pistols and revolvers although Colonel Kleingeld had not ordered them to fire.

"A black boy, H Ndhlovu, who incited the crowd, was killed Two police dogs were killed and mutilated by the crowd. One of the dogs was sprinkled with petrol and set alight

"Police vehicles were damaged by stones Hector Peterson, a black boy, was fatally wounded by the police

'A woman reporter took his body to the Phomolong Clinic"

The death of the first official, Mr J N B Esterhuizen, of the West Rand Board a few minutes later is described

BEATEN

'Mr Esterhuizen was travelling in his car along Khumalo Street when he was attacked by youths at the Phomolong Clinic

Pupils of Morris Isaacson High School took part in the assault Mr Esterhuizen jumped out of his car but was surrounded by youths and beaten to death in a side street opposite the clinic

'Judging by marks on his clothing and body it appeared that attempts had been made to set fire to the body.

"Members of the police travelled up Khumalo Street but did not see the incident probably because of the chaos that reigned Mr Esterhuizen's body could be removed only about four hours later"

According to the report the death of Dr L M Edelstein, the chief welfare officer of Soweto, took place when he returned to his office after an opening function for a new workshop, attended by the chairman of Wrab, Mr Manie Mulder, and the chief director, Mr J C de Villiers

'At about noon he arrived at the youth centre His car was already damaged by stones. He ran into his office and locked the door

"An official of Wrab, Mr R E Hobkirk, was trapped in another office in the centre The stoning of the building gained in intensity and it was clear that some people in the crowd wanted at least to kill the white men in the building

"They eventually gained entrance to the building, broke down the office door of Dr Edelstein, attacked him and dragged him out

MUTILATED

"There was a short interruption in the attack when tear gas was thrown in the vicinity by a helicopter. Mr Hobkirk took the opportunity to flee

"He saw Dr Edelstein's body in the entrance of the building and thought he was already dead. In fact he was either unconscious or was pretending he was dead.

"He (Dr Edelstein) got to his feet again, but his attackers dragged him outside and eventually beat him to death. Shortly after 1 pm his mutilated body was removed by helicopter.

''Mr Hobkirk, who found shelter in nearby Sizwe stores, was brought to safety"

Among the scores of descriptions of anarchy in the next few days the following is typical.

"Thursday June 17, 0900. Five white members of the police force were surrounded and threatened at the Indinghze Bottle Store in Dobsonville by a riotous crowd of about 500.

"After reinforcements had arrived, the crowd grew to about 1 500. Among them were many scholars and youths

"The stoning increased The police fired shots over the heads of the rioters without effect Three men and one woman repeatedly incited the crowd with gestures and the black power salute.

"The four inciters were wounded by police One later died. The crowd dispersed and the police found two more wounded. The police were not responsible for their wounds."

Caught in the crossfire later that day were Mrs O Mithi and two of her children, Lily and Martha, who were walking past Diepkloof Hotel to Baragwanath Hospital

"In the vicinity of the hotel the police fired on a group of rioters (who had thrown firebombs into the hotel). Both children were hit by bullets, and in the case of eight-year-old Lily, with fatal results."

LAWLESS

The climate of lawlessness that prevailed is shown by a policeman's account of how he saw a man driving a Wrab tractor which he aimed at a house and jumped off before the tractor struck the wall.

The detailed synopsis of events runs for 347 pages of an appendix in a separate volume of the report

It covers the period from June 16 to February 1977 and shows how the violence spread from Soweto to hundreds of black areas around the country and in the homelands.

The report is available from the Government Printer in Pretoria for R32,03.

Treurnicht must go—Opposition

From Page 1

the commission's terms of reference did not include the making of recommendations, and because so few young blacks gave evidence to the commission.

"One is left with the impression that the commission seems to have taken pains to place responsibility at the level of officials rather than at ministerial level for the initial cause of the riots."

Only a few days before unrest broke out, Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of The World, visited Dr Treurnicht and appealed to him to suspend the language policy.

Dr Treurnicht gave a reply which was the same as that given by the Regional Director of Education for Soweto, Mr W C Ackerman, who emerges as a discredited figure in the commission's report.

Mr Qoboza recalls (and this is not mentioned in the Cillie report) that Dr Treurnicht said: "Surely, Mr Qoboza, if we pay for your people's education, then surely we must be given the right to decide what and how they are taught."

Minister of Bantu Administration at the time, Mr M C Botha and the former Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, are also likely to come in for criticism for their department's poor handling

KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, today rejected the main reasons advanced by the Cillie Commission for the low scale of unrest in Natal and said he found it "incredible" that Inkatha's role in stopping violence was not even mentioned,

Coloured politicians and academic leaders cautiously welcomed some of the findings of the report.

But Professor R E van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, which the commission described as having been the "combustion point" of the riots in the south, said he felt it was wrong to generalise about the university's role.

Apartheid injustice blamed

From Page 1

found that no actions of the Press were directly responsible for the unrest. However, publicity given to the unrest by Press and radio did impress some people so much they could rebel as a result of a slight provocation.

It found that leading articles published in newspapers were usually marked by a sense of balance, impartiality and clear insight.

The report will be discussed in the Assembly on Friday March 7.

Grievances eased since riots

Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY — A number of improvements to the way of life of many blacks in Soweto have occurred since the riots, the commission says.

It was not within the commission's terms of reference to make a finding on whether the improvements were a result of the 1976 disorders

Nevertheless, evidence of grievances had brought certain unsatisfactory conditions to the attention of the authorities.

Changes made since the riots included:

- Compulsory use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was scrapped.
- A start was made with compulsory education and free education.
- Community councils replaced advisory bodies and took over certain functions of administration boards.
- Improvements were made in respect of home ownership, and in the financing, building and planning of houses.
- Arrangements were made for the provision of electricity.
- The elimination of sports discrimination was speeded up.
- Restrictive trade regulations were considerably modified.

Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...

UWC PAMPHLET TRIGGERED RIOTING

(274) 29/2/80 Argus

A PAMPHLET drawn up by students of the University of the Western Cape was one of the main triggers of bloody rioting in the Peninsula, the Cillie Commission reported today.

After two months of tense quiet following the Soweto riots, widespread and bloody rioting broke out in the Peninsula. It came on the same day that a pamphlet, 'UWC-Soweto,' was distributed to black schoolchildren in the black townships of Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga.

UWC students and their pamphlets were also observed in other riot areas in the south-western Cape where they played an important role in rioting.

The solidarity with Soweto theme became strongly established among students of UWC and spread from there to other restless people.

Their posters and the pamphlet which 'contributed much to the triggering of rioting in this area and elsewhere, had the theme of solidarity.

Broke out

Violent rioting was preceded by a fire at the Good Hope Primary School on August 9 1976. Three of the four persons responsible for the arson were UWC students and were later tried and convicted of sabotage.

On the same day lectures at the university were disrupted and lecturers intimidated. Rioting broke out at the University of Durban-Westville.

The first reaction to the Soweto riots in the Peninsula came on Friday morning, June 18, two days after Soweto erupted. Signs of a break-in and attempts at arson were found at the coloured Nassau High School in Mowbray, a white suburb. There were black power slogans on the blackboards.

University of Cape Town students demonstrated with posters reading 'Soweto bleeds' and 'Solidarity with Soweto,' and two fires were started in Langa and Nyanga that night.

On the Saturday the UWC's staff association, to which coloured lecturing staff belonged, declared solidarity with the people of Soweto in a Press statement.

On June 24 there were two instances of stone-throwing in Langa and two days later an attempt was made to burn down the local post office. An uneasy calm set in for the next month.

The walls

Meanwhile, UWC students had held mass meetings, decided to boycott and disrupt lectures and had painted slogans on campus walls such as 'the revolution is coming'. On the roof of one building, fully visible from the road, were painted the words 'burn UWC.'

On Monday, August 2, a student meeting confirmed the previous decision to boycott lectures for a week and to hold a symposium 'UWC onder die soeklig' (UWC under scrutiny).

On Wednesday, approximately 1 000 students demonstrated on the campus after a decision by the Rector Professor R E van der Ross, to cancel lectures for a week.

Stones were thrown and the next morning serious damage was caused when buildings of the law faculty were set alight. In subsequent days other buildings were burnt and damaged.

UWC students had compiled a pamphlet 'UWC-Soweto,' had 25 000 copies printed and had them distributed in the Peninsula and as far afield as Port Elizabeth

The pamphlet described the suffering of their people, and said that coloured people had no say over their employment conditions It said the Coloured Representative Council, the Indian Council and homeland governments had been established not to benefit blacks but those who wished their suffering and suppression to continue Students were committed to fight for their freedom and for that of their people.

Called in

At the end of a week without lectures a mass meeting was called where the Government was attacked and solidarity was declared with those who were being held or were banned A laboratory was besieged and the police called in, but they were asked to leave when Dr van der Ross investigated the matter.

The commission reported that 'after hardly any cases of rioting in nearly two months in the Peninsula, the pamphlet "UWC-Soweto" was distributed on August 9 and 10 to black schoolchildren in Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga On the same day serious and bloody rioting broke out in the area'

The first day of rioting produced a total boycott of black schools, four major marches, six incidents of stoning, 19 fires accompanied by looting and robbery and 13 cases of public violence. A body was recovered from under the debris of a burnt-out building and 21 more died after police action. Ten died the following day as the rioting continued.

The riot situation spread Mass meetings, demonstrations and marches followed at the University of Cape Town, UWC and the Bellville Training College In Modderdam Road, cars were stoned

First day

Riots during the rest of August were mainly confined to coloured areas. With a single exception, every day brought incidents of rioting, disruption of schools and training institutions and attempts to derail suburban trains.

Rioting subsided in black townships and was confined to a few incidents of stoning, arson and one or two protest marches.

During the first eight days of September, unrest flared in the white areas but was mainly confined to marches in the city centre by black and coloured children Two people died, one from a wound inflicted by the police and the other inflicted by a civilian.

Heavy rioting continued in the coloured areas in the first 17 days of September. One person was killed by a civilian and 38 by police action.

The September rioting in coloured areas reached a peak on the 16th when eight people died and 80 incidents of rioting were reported. Three people died in the black townships on that day and one each on September 9, 14 and 17.

The number of incidents decreased during September and riots started again in the black townships on October 5. These were characterised by the violent youth campaigns against shebeen owners. Two people died that month as a result of police action

October saw unrest in the coloured areas and only a few incidents in white areas, and it seemed as if the rioting had come to an end.

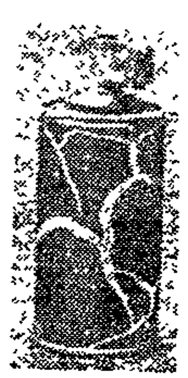
But on October 28, black youths started a campaign against shebeens after a meeting at the Apostolic Church in Nyanga.

Bungling by Bantu Education men blamed

Political Staff

EVIDENCE of bungling by intransigent Bantu Education officials who could not understand the rising anger in black schools in Soweto is contained in the report of the Cillie Commission.

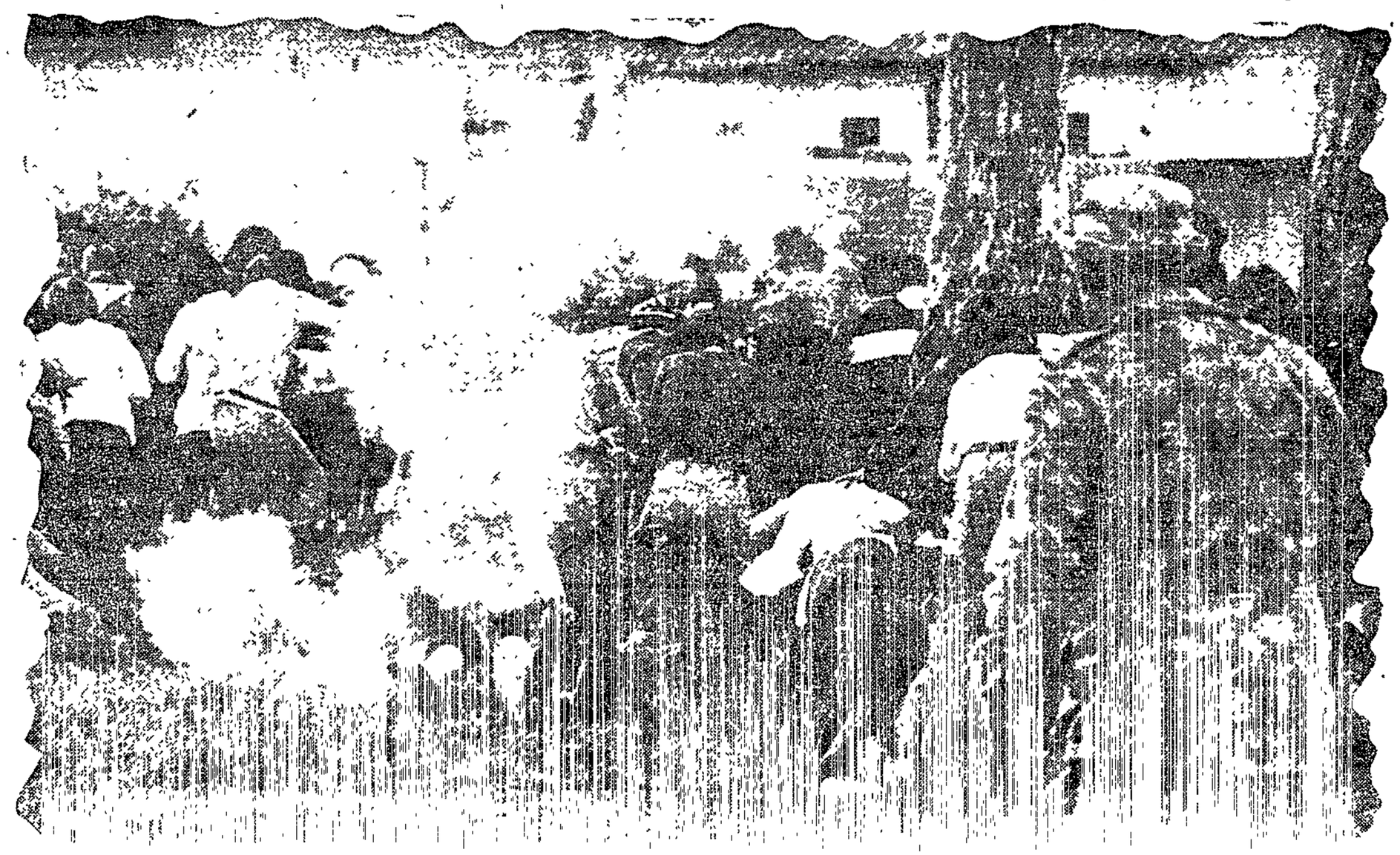
The commission has found that the application of the policy of equal treatment of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black high schools was [illegible] the black



attitude was that the equal use of mediums of instruction was introduced because the white taxpayers financed Bantu education . . .' says the report.

It says Mr Ackermann's 'take it or leave it' attitude definitely did not help to cool things down. it also criticises his attitude that a chain reaction would result from giving in to scholars' demands.

'The officials believed that there were agitators [illegible] bel[illegible]our-



Riot-torn Christmas in Nyanga

Political Correspondent

THE Cillie Commission report gives graphic descriptions of riot scenes in Nyanga during the Christmas weekend in 1976.

On Christmas Day there were many fights. More than seven fires were started and many properties damaged. Two people died.

December 26 started with the 'din of combat' and belligerent crowds on either side of a street throwing stones and petrol bombs at each other.

Shortly after midnight there were still 3 000 people in the street.

TEAR GAS

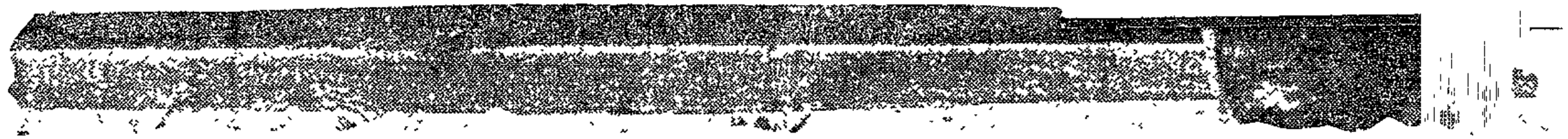
An hour and a half later the police again had to fire teargas grenades when houses were set on fire

Millions damage

Political Correspondent

THE damage caused by the 1976-77 riots in the Peninsula ran into millions of rands, according to the Cillie Commission.

Most of the damage was caused by fires and the destruction of supplies.



FLASHBACK: Pupils flee as a teargas canister explodes. But minutes later they reassembled and were dispersed a second time by police firing teargas from moving vehicles.

Police reaction 'not excessive'

Political Correspondent

THE Cillie Commission has found that police action in the Peninsula during the riots, was not excessive or wrong and did not cause riots or worsen them, but it says that there were over-hasty actions.

The report says that the finding does not exclude the possibility that policemen individually sometimes acted more harshly than was necessary.

It is also possible that some pupils may have regarded justified police action as an invasion of their right to demonstrate.

In some instances, due to factors such as wrong appraisal of the situation and pressure, policemen fired too quickly.

COMPLAINTS

On the instructions of the commission all complaints about police action were investigated by senior police officer, Colonel C v R Mouton.

One allegation was that the police had often entered school grounds uninvited.



According to the report, Colonel Mouton could not find a single case where the police entered such grounds in order to dampen riots without a request from a principal or a staff member.

One principal, who alleged that this had happened, did not want to give evidence or have his identity disclosed. A statement by him was read out in camera and its truth could not in the circumstances be verified.

Schools were given the assurance that the police would visit their grounds only when asked to do so, provided teachers undertook to control their pupils themselves and to call the police if they could not do so.

At Salt River High School on October 6 damage amounting to R15 000 was caused, but the police were not called in, nor next day when the children continued their destruction.

In one case the police entered the grounds of a school only after it had become apparent that the principal could not bring his pupils under control.

POLICE ATTACKED

The policemen were attacked and the commission found that the use of tear gas and batons were justified in this case. There were cases of severe provocation.

Proof could not be found for allegations that coloured youths had been taken to a police station and caned.

All fatalities were investigated by a magistrate.

575 died, 3907 injured in unrest

A TOTAL of 575 people died in the unrest which swept through various parts of South Africa from June 16 1976 to February 28 1977, the commission has found.

Police estimate that 3 907 people were injured in the unrest — 2 389 of them by the police — but the commission does not regard these figures as complete.

It points to the difficulty of obtaining accurate figures because so many people were either treated by private doctors who did not keep records, or did not seek medical aid.

Of the people killed in the unrest, 494 were blacks, 75 coloureds, five whites and one Indian.

A total of 451 died as a result of police action and 124 as a result of the actions of other people.

Of all the 575 who died, 258 were killed in Soweto

WARNINGS

The report says their actions did not to any extent contribute to preventing or delaying the unrest.

Even without contact, says the report, there were enough warnings to put the officials on the alert. Time after time there were problems with school boards which ignored the policy.

'Already from February, scholars started trouble in their schools over Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Various schools had boycotts of classes. At one stage 1 600 scholars refused to go to school . . . homeland leaders visited Soweto over education troubles. 'In Parliament and outside questions about exemption and boycotts were put to the Minister'

ness and also that the scholars were being used as a so-called pressure group. They did not realise that the scholars were so dissatisfied and inspired that they could easily revolt.'

OFFICIALS

This approach of the officials had important consequences. It closed the door for communication, there was no exchange of ideas and the impression was created that the authorities were unapproachable and relentless.

Furthermore, the officials did not know what was going on and how implacable the resistance had become.

'They were not in a position to warn the Minister and the secretary of the threatening danger and could not supply on demand the important details for answers in Parliament'

Damage to the buildings of the Peninsula Bantu Administration Board amounted to R2 538 686.

In the Bellville area the damage to buildings and supplies at 56 schools amounted to R548 677 and in the 80 schools in the Wynberg area to R221 644.

The Cape Town City Council suffered damage of R47 606 and the University of the Western Cape R68 200.

By 6 am 18 houses had been burnt down and during the day another 77 houses and 15 motor vehicles went up in flames.

Young blacks broke concrete waterpipes with iron bars and used the pieces as missiles.

In the fights sticks, knobkieries, knives, pangas, garden forks, spades, iron bars and similar weapons were used.

On that day 17 died.

unrest which broke out on June 16 1976

It criticises education officials in Soweto for not having properly informed the then Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Mr M C Botha, his deputy, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and the secretary of the department of Bantu Education, Mr G J Rousseau, of the badly deteriorating situation.

The commission gives an account of the many appeals for changes to the policy, of early warnings by well-informed people of impending trouble, and of newspaper reports about the ferment in some Soweto schools.

UNSYMPATHETIC

The regional director of Bantu education, Mr W C Ackermann, is portrayed in evidence given to the commission as being unsympathetic to black demands.

'The regional director's

Abuse of liquor 'influenced rioting'

Political Correspondent

EXCESSIVE use of liquor influenced the intensity and the duration of some of the riots in the Cape according to the Cillie Commission.

The commission is sceptical of the explanation that liquor stores were attacked because pupils resented their parents' drinking habits and because these stores were seen as symbols of an authority and policy opposed by the pupils.

LOOTED

The report says rioters who attacked liquor stores and shebeens also looted and drank some of the liquor.

There was alcohol in the blood of the bodies of 39 of the 137 people who were killed in the riots.

According to police, most of the rioters who were arrested were under the influence of liquor.

Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...Cillie... Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...Cillie...

Group Areas decisions a direct cause of Stellenbosch riot

29/2/80 (274) Argus

Political Correspondent

DECISIONS made under the Group Areas Act were a direct cause of a riot in Stellenbosch and contributed to one in Mossel Bay in 1976, the Cillie Commission has found.

The commission says in its report that dissatisfaction among black and coloured people about group areas had definitely contributed to a state of mind that was receptive to a riot.

In Stellenbosch, coloured pupils had to evacuate their school because it fell in an area that was declared white. The building was then apparently prepared for white children.

During the unrest the coloured pupils marched to the school and demanded that it be given back to them. The police stopped the procession.

In Mossel Bay the commission had evidence that dissatisfaction about an empty school was an important factor leading to unrest.

NEW SCHOOL

The building was situated in the white residential area and was empty because the pupils had been transferred to a new school.

At the local coloured school, facilities were inadequate and a request to use the old school was refused.

The report said that group areas legislation and its implementation caused great and constant dissatisfaction among black and coloured communities.

Dealing with the evidence given to it, the commission said group areas often meant that people had to be resettled. Usually, blacks and coloured had to move.

Such moves brought about a loss of the right to own property.

Urban blacks were the worst hit because they could not become house-owners in other urban areas, but the coloured people were also angry.

This was possibly because they had to leave their houses without their permission.

The report says one of their leaders described the legislation as 'an act of theft.'

Another serious objection was that the proclamation of group areas was often injudicious. In this regard mention was made of the town of Sir Lowry's Pass.

NO FACILITIES

According to the evidence, only three white families lived in the town. It was, however, proclaimed white and the coloured community had had to move, with the loss of the post office, the railway station, the hall and other facilities.

Resettlement usually meant that those who had been moved lived further away from their work and had to use additional transport.

The application of the policy retarded the development and progress of communities.

One witness said it did not solve old problems, but created new ones.

DISTRICT SIX

In this regard particular emphasis was laid on the proclamation of District Six.

According to another witness, the coloured people felt aggrieved about this resettlement because they had not been consulted and because they were uprooted from a historic, cultural and social milieu they had valued highly.

Other witnesses pointed out that the work of churches among them was affected by the application of the Act.

A LACK

It was also pointed out that the Group Areas Act had estranged both blacks and coloured from the whites This had led to a lack of communication.

There was evidence that, in cases of resettlement, officials had some cases been help and obliging.

The commission says is not evaluating the c rectness of the quoted jections, and the facts which some were based.

The objections we however, an indication what many blacks a coloured thought of se rate group areas and t effect certain matters h on them.

A feeling of solidarity with the people of Soweto

By TOS WENTZEL,

Police collusion rejected

Political Correspondent

THE main cause of the riots in the Peninsula in 1976 and 1977 was a feeling of solidarity with the people of Soweto — and the students of the University of the Western Cape played a major role, the Cillie Commission has found.

Major role played by UWC students

29/2/80
74
Argus

The commission's report, which was tabled in Parliament today, states that the efforts of coloured and blacks in the Peninsula to build up a community of interests, feelings and action with blacks elsewhere in the country was often obvious.

The idea

According to the evidence, the idea of solidarity took strong hold on the students of the University of the Western Cape and they carried this over to other restless elements.

The report finds that the UWC was the 'combustion point' of the riots in the south.

From the UWC campus 'the inspiration, the incitement and the know-how of violence spread to all other teaching institutions.

'Thus the riots spread not only through the Peninsula but to other towns in the Southern Cape.'

137 died

From August 11 1976, to February 14 1977, 137 people died in the riots.

The report largely dismisses accusations of excessive police actions, but says that there could have been cases where policemen acted more harshly than was necessary.

It contends that the police were on occasions subject to severe provocation.

Dealing with what it regards as the root cause of events in the Cape, the report says that witnesses who gave attention to the matter said the feeling of solidarity was the main cause of the riots. They explained why coloured people who had previously identified with whites changed in such a way that they now regarded the black as a compatriot in the battle for improvement.

Main reason

Although the possibility of outside influence could not be discounted, most witnesses thought that the main reason for the change was discrimination.

Among the factors that could have led to the continuation of rioting the detention of demonstration leaders and police action were mentioned as contributory factors.

Referring to the reading of news about the rioting which could have affected its duration, the report says that there was no evidence that any section of the Press or individual newspapers was directly responsible for the riots.

Some publicity in the Press and radio could, however, have impressed some readers and listeners in such a way that they could, as a result of a minor stimulus, have rioted.

The report deals with events in Nyanga in a separate chapter in the report.

Referring to UWC, the report says that on June 19 1976, the staff association to which coloured lecturers belonged issued a statement that the association stood by the people of Soweto.

Two members of Saso at UWC were called to Johannesburg by their organisation and returned six days later.

In camera

In evidence given in camera by witnesses whose names are not being divulged, accusations were made against Professor R E van der Ross, rector of UWC, that his actions had created a climate of unrest at the university.

One of these accusations was that a circular to the staff could have created the impression among students that their boycott of lectures had the approval of the staff.

The commission found that, after considering all the evidence and allegations, it was convinced that the rector had not been responsible for any unrest at UWC and that he had, on the contrary, done everything in his power to combat it.

The report also points out that in spite of statements on issues, there was no evidence that staff members of UWC actively took part in the riots or incited students to do so.

Staff members had, in various ways, helped to subdue unrest.

They had also helped to protect university property, although they were sometimes in serious danger. Some lecturers were even assaulted.

There was also evidence that on September 13 1976 a few senior lecturers had called a small police unit to the campus and that peace was restored.

The report says the role of the students of UWC could not be underestimated.

Their show of solidarity with Soweto and the aims of the blacks made their institution the combustion point of the riots in the south.

After the boycott of lecturers the next aim was riots and violence.

The evidence showed that the rioting did not start spontaneously. It was the 'evil fruit' of planning and incitement.

In the three weeks from July 26 1976 there were six mass meetings and a number of demonstrations.

Threw stones

For nearly two months boycotts, demonstrations, arson and attempts at arson were rife and when the students rioted they did not hesitate to throw stones.

One of their main weapons was a pamphlet, UWC-Soweto, which was widely distributed

Wherever the pamphlet was distributed riots broke out. After the pamphlet had been distributed in Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga — relatively quiet at that stage — riots broke out.

In Paarl and Stellenbosch coloured schoolchildren rioted after students had encouraged them to do so.

At the University of Cape Town, the report says, the action of students was limited to meetings and demonstrations and the distribution of pamphlets.

Central city

In the case of coloured schools the general view was that teachers had looked on passively, but the Director of Education of the Department of Coloured Relations gave evidence that teachers systematically cultivated resistance among children. The children grew up with an aggrieved feeling.

A detective gave evidence that at the Salt River High School two teachers incited pupils by teaching the 'freedom songs' and by telling them to use violence when confronted by the police.

This witness also stated that four teachers from the school had joined marching pupils in the central city.

The commission found, however, that on the whole teachers rarely took an active part in riots.

The report says that in contrast to earlier examples, it had to point to the case of the Spes Bona High School where, under the then principal, Mr F Sonn, there was, with one exception, no rioting or violence.

The staff won the confidence of the children by showing them that they shared their grievances.

On one occasion discussions between parents and children solved the problem.

The holidays

Other principals did a great deal to protect their schools during the holidays and others collected money from parents to have damage to the schools repaired.

The report points out that teachers were in a difficult position.

Had they given their unqualified support to the pupils they would have clashed with the law. If they had gone against the pupils they could have been subject to revenge.

Referring to the role of parents, the report says that the commission has no evidence that parents actively took part in riots or incited their children to do so.

They helped

Parents often helped to combat riots and to punish children.

The report also deals with the difficulties coloured and black parents had in maintaining discipline.

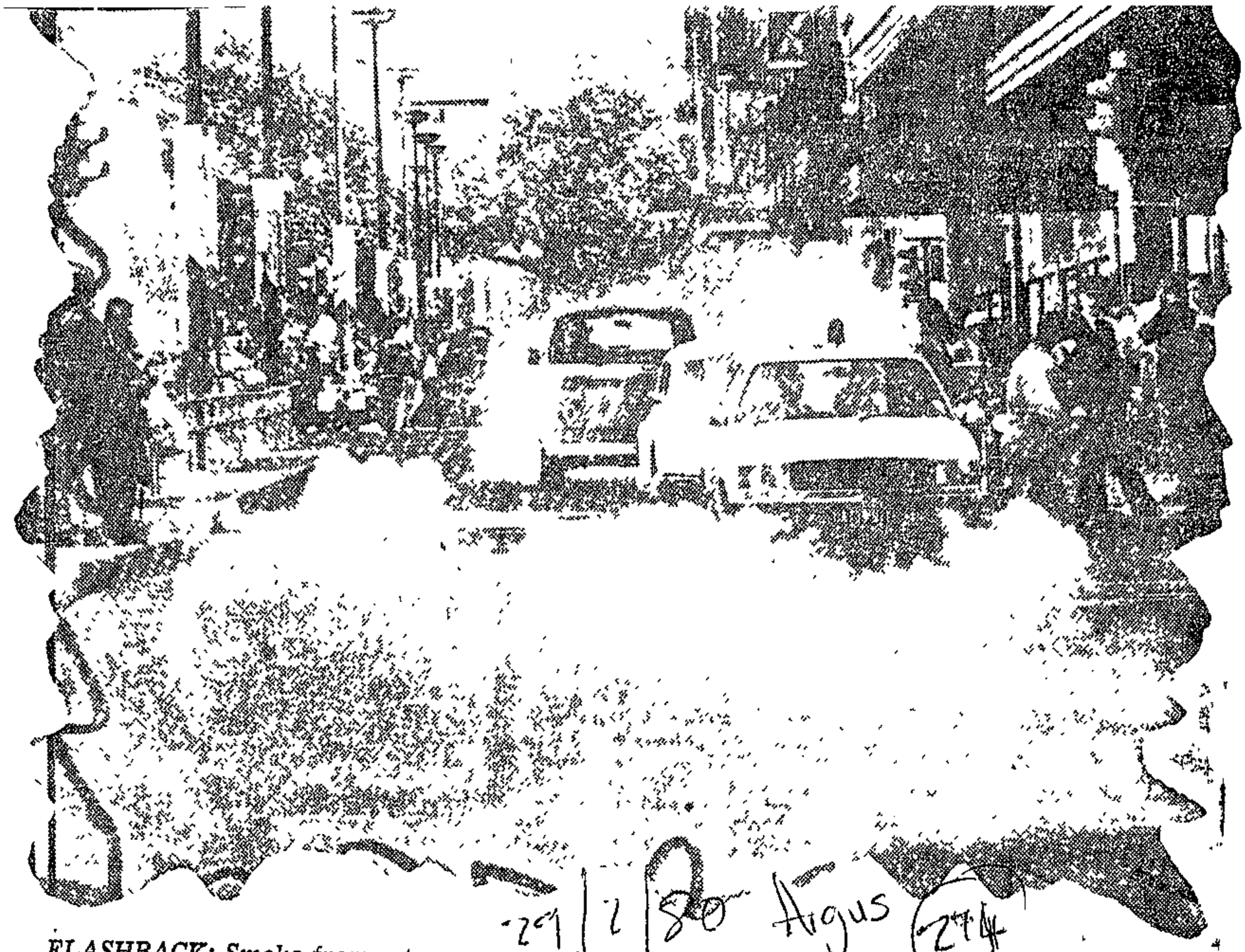
One of the reasons given was that, because children had sound school training, they were often intellectually better developed than parents. In the home they therefore set the pace and parents feared confrontation.

Parents were often reproached by their children and others for not improving the conditions against which the children were rebelling. The guilt that was caused in this way undermined the ability to maintain discipline.

The groups

According to some witnesses, parents were sometimes intimidated and were then afraid to oppose their children. The presence of skollies in the groups that took part in the riots made children cheeky, brutal and defiant.

Some parents, in the presence of their children, were addressd in a humiliating way by officials, the police and whites and in this way parental control was undermined.



FLASHBACK: Smoke from a teargas grenade rises in Adderley Street during the 1976 riots.

Discrimination the root of grievances among coloured

Political Correspondent

BITTER feelings among the coloured people about discrimination are highlighted in the report of the Cillie Commission on the 1976 and 1977 riots.

They felt that most of their grievances were caused by discrimination.

The report says a large part of the coloured people had the following viewpoint:

'Separate development is the greatest cause of discrimination; the policy and the legislation laying down its principles and their implementation causes an unfair division between coloured and white.

'DEGRADING'

'The community was harmed by such institutions as race classification, group areas and even separate universities.

'The classification is degrading; they reject not only the word "coloured" but also the idea of a separate coloured identity and "non-white" is an unacceptable definition in the language of the dominating white group.

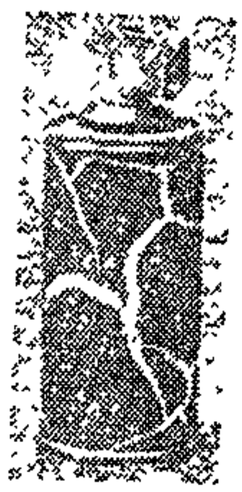
'Separate group areas have caused misery, discomfort and damage to many.

PATERNALISTIC

'For the student his admission to other universities is made impossible or extremely difficult and his feeling of frustration is aggravated by the paternalistic attitudes of some white lecturers.

'As a result of the unnatural division of population groups being enforced by the white government the view has taken root that the white man has cast aside the coloured as a friend and a fellow citizen.

'The affinity of earlier times had to make way



for a feeling of being offended and of frustration and disapproval.

'The coloured became anti-white and investigated the various facets of the struggle of the blacks.

'He linked up with the black community to eliminate grievances and obtain his rights through a joint struggle.'

Other witnesses indicated what the report described as 'a shorter road'.

Dissatisfied coloured people who are said to have perceived an uneasiness among whites with regard to the rise of the black found a new brother-in-arms in the blacks.

To this could be added that coloured people could have thought that the blacks were gaining the upper hand and would rule the whites and they therefore joined the blacks.

RACIST

The report says that the coloured people are not at one in these matters.

Some feel that the black power concept is racist, aggressive and reactionary.

There are also those who think that the coloured people are a separate population group with its own identity.

The commission's attention was also drawn to the fact that rebellious elements, including the students, were often wrongly informed.

Sometimes they had little or no information on a matter, but they nevertheless believed that it hid harmful discrimina-

29/7/80 Argus (274)

ALLEGATIONS of collusion between the police and the migrants during the bloody riots in Nyanga at the end of 1976 are rejected in the report of the Cillie Commission.

29/7/80 Argus (274)

Blame laid on Comrades

The report, tabled in Parliament today, lays the main blame for the riots on the Comrades group.

The commission finds that the fundamental and direct cause of the Christmas 1976 riots in Nyanga was the militant action of the Comrades and the young people activated by them.

The Comrades stepped up their campaign against shebeens in the weeks before Christmas. They went to reputed shebeens, burnt down buildings, destroyed liquor, sometimes drinking it, and robbed shebeen owners of their money.

Called strikes

They called strikes and wanted to paralyse the economy and migrant workers had to have police protection.

They prohibited Christmas celebrations, humiliated migrant workers who did not want to obey and took away Christmas presents and liquor on the streets.

The Comrades ordered everyone to attend a memorial service on Christmas Day, but the migrants refused.

The migrants did not agree with the activities of the Comrades.

The report gives as the incident that started the riots an attack on Christmas Day by a group of Comrades on a migrant's car that was full of liquor and the fact that another armed group of Comrades had in a provocative way gone to ask some migrants why they had not attended the memorial service.

suring peace and protecting life and property.

The police arranged a dividing line, kept the residents and migrants apart, stopped fights and held peace indabas.

The report says the police did their duty impartially, in spite of personal danger.

The report specifically rejects serious allegations made against the police by the Ministers' Fraternal of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga in a report Role of the South African Riot Police in Burnings and Killings in Nyanga, Cape Town, Christmas 1976 and a memorandum by the Rev D Russell, The Riot Police and the Suppression of Truth.

The commission points out that the clergymen stated that they regarded it as unwise to advise people to lay charges against the police because of the difficulty of identification and because of the lack of confidence in the police and the fear of victimisation.

Mr Russell declined to disclose the identity of his informants.

Outbursts

After this, the report says, there was more than one outburst — 'and the Christmas riots had begun.'

The Comrades and some young people were, more than once, responsible for the continuation of the riots as when, on December 26 1976, after a 'peace treaty' had been arranged, they went with a group from Guguletu to attack the migrants.

They also repeatedly attacked patrolling police with stones and petrol bombs and put up road blockades.

According to available pamphlets, the Comrades were strongly opposed to whites, the Government and Bantu education.

They also seriously disrupted school attendance.

These aspects of their political views, the report says, did not contribute to actions which led to the riots.

The report also blames another group of Nyanga inhabitants, the residents, for the start and continuation of the riots, because they did not control or oppose their children or other militant youths.

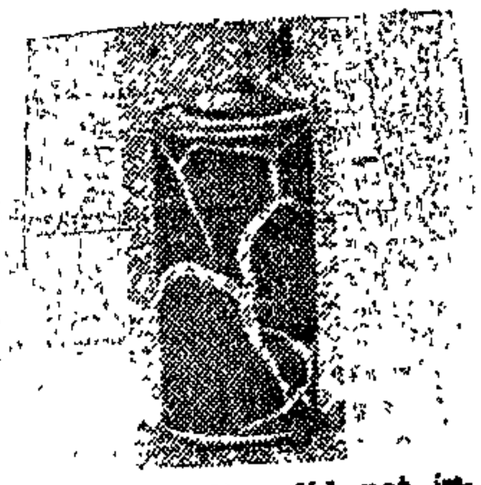
They, in fact, protected the youths and became involved in fights along with them against the migrants.

On the other hand, the role of the migrants was not purely defensive. On several occasions they organised punitive and revenge attacks.

Petrol bombs

Their actions, like those of other rioters, are described as 'sometimes merciless and cruel. They also fought with stones and petrol bombs across the dividing line.'

The police action in Nyanga over the Christmas weekend is described as being aimed at en-



● The police did not incite inhabitants of Nyanga to riot, did not spread incorrect reports about residents planning attacks and did not advise migrants to arm themselves.

● The police did not mislead migrants into thinking that residents would stop them if they went to work during a planned strike and did not train migrants in the making of petrol bombs.

● Leaders of police patrols sometimes used hand signs to call their men during the riots and migrants misinterpreted this as signs to come nearer and attack residents.

Wounded

● The police did not point out wounded people on the ground or drag them out of houses, allowing migrants to attack them. The pointing-out and bringing out of people probably had something to do with taking such cases to hospital.

● There was no agreement whatsoever between the police and the Migrants to act together against the residents or the Comrades and where circumstances made it necessary the police shot on rioters regardless of the faction they belonged to.

● People who were not involved in fights or riots could have been shot unintentionally, especially where the police used shotguns.

● A comparison between the number of people killed and the number of shots fired supported a statement that the shots were used mainly to frighten off rioters.

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Reasons for Boland rioti

Political Correspondent

THE causes of the 1976 rioting by coloured and black schoolchildren in the Boland and other parts of the Cape were largely political, the Cillie Commission has found.

Local grievances about school conditions were mentioned as a contributory factor in some areas.

In the case of the south-west Cape the commission does not rule out indoctrination, intimidation and incitement as factors.

In three schools, pupils demonstrated their solidarity with Soweto with placards and black power salutes.

WHITE TEACHERS

In Paarl, salary differences and the presence of white teachers were the major reasons for dissatisfaction.

Elsewhere pupils were under the wrong impression white teachers at their schools received an allowance for the discomfort they had to suffer by serving in a coloured school.

Dissatisfaction with the present system of government emerged in many of the demonstrations by pupils.

The commission said it could not say how widespread the feelings were or to what degree incitement had led to it.

In many areas the detention of pupils and leaders had led to dissatisfaction.

In contrast to Soweto the commission found the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was not a serious factor, even in the Eastern Cape and East London.

AGITATORS

It found that agitators were at work in Ciskei, but pointed out that Chief Lennox Sebe had said there were conditions for agitators to exploit, such as the lack of capital to develop the homeland and to provide work.

ng 'largely political'

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Bantu education was unacceptable to many younger teachers and many pupils.

The conviction that this form of education was aimed at turning blacks into 'good slaves' of the whites was fairly general.

One of the reasons why there had not been excessive violence in Ciskei was that the police had been 'extremely helpful.' At no stage were firearms used and according to witnesses they acted with great self-control.

In the case of Fort Hare the commission found the 'old spirit of revolt and the black students' resistance to the present political system' were the causes of riots on the campus.

Grievances, objections or requests were not submitted to the university authorities, nor were they given the opportunity to make changes or concessions in order to prevent the riots.

In Port Elizabeth and the midlands, solidarity and sympathy with the victims of Soweto, political indoctrination by organisations such as the Black People's Convention (BPC) and the South African Students' Organisation (Saso), political grievances and irritating legislation were given as some of the causes.

DETENTION

In the Kimberley area, the causes given were the detention of a pupil, a demonstration of solidarity, the uproar in the rest of the country and resistance to the Government as personified by the then Prime Minister, Mr B J Vorster.

The report said there were undoubtedly agitators and inciters in Kimberley especially in the Galeshewe township.

In the case of Upington the report said the desire to show solidarity, and local grievances such as pupils' dissatisfaction with arrangements at school, the behaviour of teachers, insufficient recreational and sports facilities and poor housing, led to rioting.

Report on riots out today

Political Correspondent

THE ASSEMBLY. — The Cillie Commission's report on the Soweto riots will be tabled in Parliament today — three years and eight months after the outbreak of rioting on June 16, 1976.

The report, in more than 1 000 pages, covers one of the most traumatic events in South Africa's history and makes findings on it.

The report is the work of Mr. Justice Piet Cillie, Judge-President of the Transvaal, who was appointed during the six months of sporadic unrest to inquire into the riots, which spread from Soweto to townships throughout the country.

The Rand Daily Mail will carry extensive coverage of the commission's report in all editions tomorrow.

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The riot toll: how 575 people died

SOWETO
People killed by police

Amatende Elias
1 bullet wound in stomach Maratha Sept 8 shot in house near Mapetla Secondary chool during unrest no finding.

Barran, James
8 bullet wound, Meadowlands June 18 rcumstances unknown no finding

Bogale, Meshark
6 bullet wound in head, Aug 26 shot by SA olice during unrest no finding

Buthelezi, alias Nkosi, Elliot
7 bullet wounds. Soweto June 16 circum tances unknown no finding.

Buthelezi, Joyce
6 bullet wounds in chest and head Sencane September 17 shot by SAP when olice were stoned no-one to blame

Cebekulu, Christopher
7 bullet wound in head Orlando West Aug 6 shot by SAP when police and public oned no-one to blame

Dladla, Baby Sophie
7 bullet wound in head, Soweto, June 17 rcumstances unknown no finding.

Dlamini, Emmanuel
1 bullet wound in chest Diepkloof June 18 rcumstances unknown no-one to blame

Dlamini, Felix
1 bullet wound in abdomen Diepkloof, June circumstances unknown no finding.

Dlamini, Michael
6 bullet wound Nancefield Sept 24 shot by ailway Police in self defence no one to lame

Dlamini, Ruphus
4 bullet wound Wrab premises, Zondi June 9 circumstances unknown no finding.

Folile, Enoch
1 bullet wound in back, Soweto, June 18 rcumstances unknown no finding.

Gendwe, Jeffrey
1 bullet wound in chest and abdomen hlawelo Bottle Store June 18 circumstances nknown no finding

Guis, Petros
1 bullet wound in head Emdeni, Aug 26 ot by police during unrest no finding.

Hlalele Tyrone
3 bullet wound in chest, Roodepoort, June circumstances unknown no finding.

Kalakahla, Samson
8 bullet wound in head, Dube Aug 26 shot police during assault on police no-one to ame

Kaokome Marshall
4 bullet wound, Central Shops Dobsonville, une 18 no finding.

Kgapule, Edward
0 bullet wound Mzepeto Drive Dobsonville une 18 circumstances unknown — there was rrest at the time no finding

Kgaye, Kabelo Sydney
8 bullet wound in chest Doornkop Ceme ry Oct 24 shot by SAP during stoning of olice no-one to blame

Kgongoana, Ariel
0 bullet wound in head, Soweto June 18 resumed killed by a ricochet bullet when SAP red on rioters no finding.

Kgupise Herbert
1 bullet wound in chest, Central Shops obsonville June 18 circumstances unknown - unrest in progress no finding.

Kgwadi, Gustav
2 bullet wound in head Meadowlands Aug 8 shot by the police during stone throwing o finding.

Khalane, George
3 bullet wound, Dobsonville June 17 body und in Dobsonville no finding

Khambula Godfrey
1 bullet wound in neck Kwezi Railway tation. Aug 24 killed by Railway Police hen police and public were stoned no-one o blame

Khumalo, Ephraim
3 bullet wound in back Soweto June 19 rcumstances unknown no finding

Khumalo, Zolile
1 bullet wound in abdomen Zola offices, ne 17 circumstances unknown no finding

Koalane Doctor
1 bullet wounds in chest and abdomen rlando West, Aug 24 killed while attacking lice with axe no-one to blame

Kubeka, Johannes
1 bullet wound Meadowlands June 17 no nding.

Kunene Norman
1 bullet wound Diepkloof June 17 circumances unknown no finding.

Kwinana, Gregory
1 bullet wound in neck, Soweto June 17 rcumstances unknown no finding

Laaka, Eric
1 bullet wound Dobsonville Sept 17 killed police in Dobsonville no finding.

Langwathi, Patrick
1 bullet wound Zondi June 19 circum tances unknown — presumably killed by AP no finding

Lepota, David
1 bullet wound in head Molapo June 16 rcumstances unknown no finding

Mbatha Clements
21 bullet wound in abdomen and chest Doornkop Cemetery Oct 24 killed by SAP when police were stoned no-one to blame

Mbebe, Frank
16 bullet wound in abdomen Diepkloof June 18 circumstances unknown no finding

Mbeki, Princess
15 bullet wound White City Jabavu Sept 17 killed by SAP when police were stoned no finding

Mbeli, Simon
19 bullet wound in head and chest Zondi Soweto, Oct 24 killed by SAP when police were stoned, no one to blame

Mda John
32 bullet wound in chest Meadowlands June 17 circumstances unknown no finding.

Menwe, Peter
25 multiple bullet wounds Orlando June 17 circumstances unknown — killed during the night no finding.

Mevane, David
20 bullet wound Mofolo Bottle Store June 17 circumstances unknown no finding

Mgemane, Morris
18 multiple bullet wounds White City Jabavu June 20 circumstances unknown no finding

Mkhi, Lily
8 bullet wound Diepkloof June 17 killed while police were firing at rioters no finding

Mkwanazi, Lindiwe
17 bullets wound in abdomen Klipspruit June 17 circumstances unknown no finding.

Mlangeni, Lea
22 bullet wound, Dobsonville June 17 cir cumstances unknown no finding.

Mlangeni, Mbogiso
18 bullet wounds Diepkloof Sept 14 killed by SAP when police and public were stoned and assaulted no one to blame

Mlotswa Derick
23 bullet wounds Diepkloof Sept 14 killed by SAP when police and public were stoned and assaulted no-one to blame

Mmutle, Dennis
14 bullet wound in chest Orlando West. June 17 circumstances unknown no finding.

Mncube, Mantombi
54 bullet wound and multiple injuries White City Jabavu June 17 circumstances un known no finding.

Mnguthudi, Agnes
10 bullet wound in chest Meadowlands Nov 22 deceased was a spectator and was acci dentally struck by a bullet when police fired on rioters no-one to blame

Modisane, Samuel Oupa
19 bullet wound from left in chest. Meadow lands, Aug 24 killed by SAP when police were stoned no-one to blame

Mofokeng, Raymond
14 bullet wounds in chest and neck Meadow lands Aug 25 killed by SAP after a riot incident when he was fleeing with a group of blacks from the police no finding.

Mogape Joes
22 bullet wound in head Meadowlands Aug 25 killed by SAP while assaulting public and police no finding

Mogapi, Samuel
4 bullet wound Moletsane Aug 26 circum stances unknown no finding.

Mogotsi, Nathaniel
39 bullet wound Mzimhlope Hostel Orlando West Aug 26 body found in street after police and public attacked and assaulted no finding

Mohapi, Jacob
16 bullet wound in back Mzimhlope Hostel Orlando West, Sept 23 deceased killed by SAP during attempted arson no one to blame

Mohlabane Solomon (Mphefe)
38 bullet wound in abdomen Soweto, June 17 circumstance unknown no finding.

Mokabi, Cornelius
24 bullet wound in chest Orlando Aug 30 circumstances unknown no finding.

Mokoena Justice
21 bullet wound in back Naledi Station June 17 presumed killed at shopping centre Klips pruit, when a shop was burnt down no finding.

Mokoena, Amos
13 bullet wound Klipspruit Shopping Centre June 18 no finding

Mokoena, Moses
23 bullet wound in abdomen Meadowlands June 17 circumstances unknown no finding.

Mokoena, Vincent
11 multiple bullet wounds White City June 16 no finding.

Molapo, Lobian
14 bullet wounds Orlando East, Sept 14 circumstances unknown — there was unrest no finding.

Ngwenya Aaron Vusi
24 bullet wound Sept 7 investigation in complete

Nhlapo, Timothy
31 bullet wounds Avalon Oct 24 killed by SAP during funeral when police and public stoned. no-one to blame

Nkhambule, David
26 bullet wound and multiple injuries Rock ville June 17 no finding.

Nkofu, Jacob
24 bullet wound Klipspruit. Aug 29 shot while threatening police with knife during stone throwing no-one to blame

Nkome, Eric
17 bullet wound Ntsele June 16 circum stances unknown no finding.

Nkosi, Dladla Patrick
20 bullet wound in neck Orlando East Aug 23 killed by SAP during stone throwing attack on public and police no-one to blame

Nkozi, Patrick
19 bullet wound in head Aug 24 (?) shot in Mzimhlope Phamelong area no finding.

Nkwane, Peter
20 bullet wound in abdomen June 18 cumstances unknown no finding.

Nkwe, Joseph
18 bullet wound June 18 circumstances unknown — body taken to Dobsonville Police Station no finding.

Ntanzi, Egu
20 bullet wound in abdomen Soweto June 17 circumstances unknown — body taken to Meadowlands Police Station no finding.

Ntsabele, Francis
17 bullet wound in chest Naledi Sept 23 killed by SAP during stoning of police no finding.

Nthite, Isaac Ronnie
13 bullet wound Rockville Bottle Store June 17 circumstances unknown no finding.

Nthoreane, Basabo M
19 bullet wound, White City Aug 6 circum stances unknown no finding.

Ntsie, Alex
16 bullet wound in chest Mersfe Station Sept 15 killed by SAP during stoning of police no-one to blame

Ntsele, Fraser
20 bullet wound Kwezi Station June 17 circumstances unknown no finding.

Ntshabele, Daniel
27 bullet wounds in chest and abdomen Soweto, June 17 circumstances unknown no finding.

Ntuli, Samuel
18 bullet wound White City Aug 23 killed by SAP during stoning of police no-one to blame

Nyathe, Elliot
35 bullet wounds Jabulani Sept 14 killed by SAP while placing objects on railway line no-one to blame

Nyati, Johanne
17 bullet wound in neck, Meadowlands, Zone 8 June 17 no finding.

Nzumelo, Alfred
57 bullet wound in abdomen Zola Aug 25 circumstances unknown — there was nothing no finding.

Nyalele, Michael
18 bullet wound in neck, Meadowlands. Aug 25 circumstances unknown — there was unrest no finding

Unknown male
approx 23 bullet wound in head, Doornkop Cemetery Oct 24 killed by SAP during stoning of police no-one to blame

Unknown male
24 bullet wound in chest, Soweto June 17 no finding.

Unknown male
approx 25 bullet wounds Mapetla Oct 23 killed by SAP while he was stoning members of public no-one to blame

Unknown male
28 bullet wound in head, Moroka Sept 17 killed by SAP during stoning of police and vehicles no-one to blame.

Unknown male
approx 26 bullet wound in head, Mersfe Aug 25 killed by SAP during attack on police and members of public no-one to blame

Unknown male
27 bullet wound, Soweto, June 17 no finding.

Unknown male
28 bullet wound in chest Soweto, June 16 circumstances unknown no finding

Unknown male
29 multiple bullet wounds Soweto June 17 circumstances unknown no finding

Unknown male
31 bullet wound, Soweto June 17 no finding.

Unknown male
31 bullet wound in chest Soweto, June 18 no finding

Unknown male *

Tekeia, Kenny
17 bullet wound in head Diepkloof June 17 killed by SAP — circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Teeeka, Robert Thabiso
19 bullet wound in head Central Western Jabavu Aug 6 circumstances unknown no finding.

Tshabalala, Christopher
21 bullet wound in chest Phefeni Station, June 17 circumstances unknown no finding

Tshabalala, Martin
16 bullet wound Zola Aug 28 killed by SAP during stoning of police no finding.

Tshabalala, Sarah
48 bullet wound in thigh Soweto June 18 circumstances unknown no finding

Tshabalala, Veronica
23 kidney failure as result of bullet wound Senaoane June 16 circumstances unknown — killed by SAP no finding.

Tshekedimane, Lawrence
16 bullet wounds Diepkloof Sept 15 killed by SAP during stoning of police no-one to blame

Tshwaele (Shwaele), Victor
17 bronchial pneumonia as a result of bullet wounds. Jabavu, Aug 28 killed by SAP during unrest no finding.

Tshwene, Titus
13 bullet wounds Dube Aug 28 killed by SAP during stoning of police no-one to blame

Twala, Amos
37 bullet wound in chest Meadowlands, Aug 28 killed by SAP during stone throwing no-one to blame

Twala Thomas
22 bullet wound in abdomen Rockville June 18 circumstances unknown no finding.

Tyiki, Robert Zenzele
15 bullet wound in chest Mofolo South, June 17 circumstances unknown no finding.

Khoza Maxwell
15. bullet wounds Orlando East. Aug 30 killed by SAP during stoning of police no finding.

Yiba, Mandy
19 bullet wound in chest Zone 6 Diepkloof June 17 circumstances unknown no finding.

Zazayabwe, Israel
bullet wound Aug 6 killed by SAP during unrest while he was robbing members of the public no-one to blame

Zungu, Phillip
19 multiple bullet wounds Mamlantu Bottle Store, June 17 circumstances unknown no finding.

Zwane, John Wandile
23 bullet wound in abdomen, Dube June 17 circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Zwane, Samson
26 bullet wound in chest, Mapetla Sept 13 killed by SAP during stone throwing no finding.

Other cases

Duze, Christopher
18 multiple injuries Mzimhlope Hostel. Or lando West. Aug 29 killed in fight. no-one blamed.

Edelstein, Melville Leonard
56 multiple injuries and haemorrhage Jabu lani June 16 attacked and killed by private persons during riots two black men found not guilty of murder

Esterhuizen, Johannes Hendrik Benjamin
60 multiple injuries Orlando West June 16 stoned to death by unknown rioters who then

Unknown male
41 multiple injuries Meadowlands Aug 28 body found in veld no-one blamed

Phiri, John
29 multiple injuries Orlando West. Aug 25 killed in fight no-one blamed

Rabeiffi, Isaac
18 bullet wounds Mapetla June 18 killed by private person during theft at Mapetla Supply Store no finding.

Schamotte, Lucretia Ann
30 head injury Golden Highway June 20 killed by stone thrown at motorcar by un known persons. no-one blamed

Shumeng, Andrew
30 multiple injuries Orlando West. Augt 24 killed in fight no-one blamed.

Sefole, Stephen
65 multiple injuries Orlando West. Aug 27 killed in fight, no-one blamed.

Sibanyoni, Seuntjie
5 burns Zola Nov 8 killed by unknown private persons when home in which he was sleeping was set alight no-one blamed.

Sibanyoni, Thomas
10 burns Zola Nov 8 killed by unknown private persons when home in which he was sleeping was set alight no one blamed

Sibiya, Magidela
50 multiple injuries Dube, Aug 27 killed by unknown private person/s while on duty as night watchman at business premises no-one blamed.

Sithole, Makhosana
26 multiple injuries Mzimhlope Station, Or lando West Aug 29 killed in fight no-one blamed

Strydom, Jan Harm
27 multiple injuries Commando Road, New Canada Aug 4 knocked down while on duty as traffic officer at roadblock by two black men in stolen car two men found guilty of robbery and culpable homicide

Zulu, William
22 multiple injuries Klipspruit, Sept 2 killed when rioters threw a stone through front window of car no-one blamed

WITWATERSRAND
People killed by police

Chule, Bekameva
33 bullet wound in chest Alexandra, June 18 killed by SAP while attempting to escape after looting incident no-one to blame

Kekane, Shadrack
12 bullet wound Alexandra June 18 presumably killed by police no finding.

Kgampe, Malaka, Phillemon
25 bullet wound Alexandra, June 18 presumably killed by police circumstances unknown no finding.

Ledwaba Jacob
19 bullet wound. Alexandra June 18 acci dentally shot when the car in which he was a passenger was fired at. No-one blamed.

Magodani, Florence
16 bullet wound Alexandra June 18 killed by police circumstances unknown no finding.

Magazi, Jacob
62 bullet wound Alexandra June 8 shot by SAP and found dead near a bottle store after the rioting no finding.

Mahape, Godfrey
13 bullet wound Alexandra June 18 presumably killed by police no finding.

Majola, Boy (alias Dick Shabangu)
21 bullet wound Alexandra, June 18 presumably killed by police no finding.

unknown private person during unrest unknown person liable

EAST RAND
People killed by police

Buthelezi, Leonard
28 bullet wound in neck Vosloorus June 18 killed by SAP while inciting rioters to commit arson no-one to blame

Dlamini, Churchill
12 bullet wound Kwa Thema June 21 killed during incitement of stone throwers no-one to blame

Kgokong, Linda (alias Petrus)
17 bullet wound in head Daveyton, June 21 killed by SAP while inciting youths to stone the police no-one to blame

Mabena, Thamba
14 bullet wound in head Daveyton June 21 presumably killed while police were using firearms to disperse rioters no-one to blame

Mafolo Kwapeng Phineas
22 bullet wound, Tembisa June 18 killed by SAP circumstances unknown no one to blame

Maluka, Godfrey
28 bullet wound Tembisa June 18 killed by SAP during stoning of police no-one to blame

Mdala Oupa Phineas
20 bullet wound, Tembisa June 19 killed by SAP during looting of a bottle store no finding.

Moleko, Patrick
19 bullet wound Tembisa June 18 killed by SAP during looting of a bottle store no-one to blame

Monaheng, Jabulane Reuben
18 bullet wound in chest Natalspruit, June 18 presumably killed by SAP circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Ndlavu Joseph
18 bullet wounds Daveyton, June 21 killed during stoning of vehicles and police no-one to blame

Petula, Boykie Sanco
14 bullet wound in head Wattville June 21 died in hospital after being wounded in police action in Wattville no finding.

Radebe, Alfred
19 bullet wound in abdomen Duduza June 21 killed during stoning of police no finding.

Rapulang, Mokone Sidney
19 bullet wound in head and abdomen, Thokoza June 18, killed by SAP during incitement of stone throwers no-one to blame

Sibanyoni, September
20 bullet wound, Tembisa June 18 killed by SAP circumstances unknown no one to blame

Songo, Lucky
18 bullet wound in head Daveyton, June 22 killed by SAP after looting of a beerhall and stoning of police while he was trying to avoid arrest no-one to blame

Themane, Mathilde
17 bullet wound Sedibeng Bottle Store Tembisa June 18 killed by SAP circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Vilakaz, Moses
13 bullet wound in back Wattville June 21 body found at a post office where police had earlier acted against stone throwers. no finding.

Other cases

Koza, Charlie
60 bullet wound Oakmoor Station June 18

Khoza, Jan
18 bullet wound in head Vuma Bottle Store June 22 killed by SAP during looting no-one to blame

Kokoma, Ina
13 bullet wound in neck Winterveld June 21 presumably killed by SAP circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Kolanga, David
19 bullet wound in head Mamelodi Aug 24 killed by SAP during stoning of vehicles on Cullinan by-pass no finding.

Lekeri, Benjamin
28 bullet wound in chest Attandgeville June 21 killed by SAP during incident when ob jects thrown at police no-one to blame

Maake, Joel
29 bullet wound Temba Oct 16 killed by SAP during stoning of police no one to blame

Mabunda, Sam
45 bullet wound in head. June 21 killed by SAP during looting of his shop — he was mistaken for a looter no-one to blame

Mabuza, Shadrak, Linda
17 bullet wounds Mamelodi, June 21 killed by police circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Madiba, Themy Joel
18 bullet wound in neck Attandgeville June 21 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store in Mamelodi East no-one to blame

Majoka Daniel
21 bullet wounds in head, Mamelodi June 22 killed by SAP during looting of a shopping complex, no-one to blame

Malikane, Daniel
8 bullet wound Mamelodi June 21 presum ably killed by SAP — he was apparently struck by a stray bullet no-one to blame

Mashiwane, Mamphka Abia
23 bullet wounds Mamelodi, June 21 killed by SAP circumstances unknown no-one to blame.

Mathabathe, Aaron
25 bullet wounds in abdomen, Mamelodi June 21 killed by SAP during stoning of police no-one to blame

Matlhakgane Mphale Elias
22 bullet wound Mamelodi, June 21 killed by SAP circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Matimele, Lazarus
31 bullet wounds Mamelodi June 22 killed by SAP circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Mbatha, Amos
16 bullet wounds Mamelodi June 22 killed by SAP circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Makgwadube, Simon
23 bullet wounds Mabopane Block A, June 21 killed by SAP during looting of a beerhall no-one to blame

Molobela, Elias Meye
17 bullet wounds Mamelodi June 21 killed by SAP circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Monyathare Michael (Jacob Nkosi)
19 bullet wounds Mamelodi June 21 killed by SAP circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Namane, Monki Joseph
22 bullet wounds Mamelodi, June 21 killed by SAP circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Nare, Michael
23 bullet wounds Mamelodi June 21 killed by SAP circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Daniels, Patrick John
28 bullet wound in head Epping. Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of a shop no-one to blame

Davids, Mogamat Rushaad
25 bullet wound in chest and stomach Athlone Sept 16 killed by SAP during erec tion of road barricade and stoning of police no one to blame

Dawids, John
16 bullet wound in head Mannenberg, Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of Mustapha Store no-one to blame

Dlanga, Dennis Bantu
23 bullet wound in chest Langa Dec 27 killed by SAP during incitement of crowd no finding

Dzeri, Sidwell Tandikosi
19 bullet wounds in head, chest and abdo men Guguletu, Sept 16 killed by SAP during stoning of vehicles no-one to blame

Dunga Apton Gladize
20 bullet wound in head Guguletu Dec 1 killed by SAP during stoning of vehicles no one to blame

Elliot, Charles Merwin
16 bullet wound in abdomen Mannenberg, Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of Cash and Wear Shop no-one to blame

Essop, Dawood
19 bullet wounds in chest and abdomen Bonteheuwel, Aug 25 killed by SAP during looting of shop no-one to blame

Ferguson, Henry A J D
30 bullet wound in back, Hanover Park Sept 2 killed by SAP during looting of a shop no one to blame.

Finck, Alfred Andrew
15 bullet wound in chest Retreat, Sept 9 killed by SAP during stoning of vehicles at roadblock no finding.

Fish, Edward
25 bullet wounds in chest and abdomen Ravensmead, Sept 7 killed by SAP during burglary of shop no finding

Fisher, Ivy
32 bullet wound in head Langa Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of a bottle store no finding

Gasnola, Sulelman
17 bullet wound in chest Landsdowne Sept 9 killed by SAP during pursuit of suspected arsonists no-one to blame

Gaya, Mava
20 bullet wound in head Nyanga Dec 27 killed by SAP during arson no-one to blame.

Genu, Petras
18 bullet wound in chest Guguletu Aug 12 killed by SAP during damaging of businesses and stoning of police no-one to blame

Gobile, Christopher
26 bullet wound in abdomen Guguletu. Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Gushman, Mhlangabezi Edwin
28 bullet wound in head Guguletu. Aug 12 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Harris, Ronald
25 bullet wound in chest Silvertown Sept 16 killed by SAP while trying to throw petrol bomb at police vehicle no one to blame

Hlankula, Stanley Mlampi
26 bullet wound in back Nyanga Dec 27 killed by SAP during arson no-one to blame

Isaacs, Colin
28 bullet wound in head. Retreat Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of Pep Stores no-one to blame

Jacobs, John
15 bullet wound in chest Mannenberg, Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Jacobs, Mervyn
16 bullet wound in back Elsiesriver Sept 8 killed by SAP during looting of shop no-one to blame

Jacobs, Shahied
16 bullet wounds in chest and neck Cape Town, Sept 3 killed by SAP while stoning police and private property and inciting others to do the same no-one to blame

Jobe Tunli
19 bullet wound in back Nyanga Dec 17 killed by SAP during arson and damage to business premises at single quarters no-one to blame

Johnson, Errol
26 bullet wound in abdomen Mannenberg, Sept 9 shot by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Kamesi, Andries
25 bullet wound in head Guguletu. Aug 12 killed by SAP during looting and arson at BAR offices no-one to blame

Kamfer Christiaan Benjamin
16 bullet wound in chest Ravensmead, Sept 7 killed by SAP during stone throwing no finding.

Kuhn Norman

Ngabani, Johannes
31 bullet wounds Mabopane June 21 killed by SAP during incitement and stoning of police no-one to blame

Nkosi, Jacob
18. bullet wounds in abdomen Mamelodi June 21 killed by SAP- circumstances un known no-one to blame

Ntlateng, Tlake Johannes
28 bullet wound in chest Mamelodi. June 21 killed by SAP — circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Unknown male
20 bullet wounds. Mamelodi June 21 body found on parking lot near Lulu Beerhall no one to blame

19 bullet wound in chest Guguletu Dec 4 killed by SAP in self defence during stoning of vehicles no-one to blame

Ndzunga, Nicolas Sipho
22 bullet wound in chest Guguletu Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no one to blame

Nkuley, Basil William
35 bullet wound in back Manenberg Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of Green Dolphin Bottle Store no-one to blame

Nodada Virginia
17 bullet wound in abdomen Guguletu Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Nokosa, Victor Mzwandile
18 bullet wound in head Guguletu. Sept 16 killed by SAP while sabotaging railway line no-one to blame

Nongxeka, Sydney
18 bullet wound in head Langa Dec 27 shot by SAP during stoning of police no finding.

Ntlantsana Vuye Howard
26 bullet wound in back, Nyanga Dec 26 killed by SAP during arson. no-one to blame

Ntseke, Gelford
17 bullet wound in back Guguletu Aug 11 killed by SAP during arson and looting of shop no finding

Nzubi, Joseph
25 bullet wound in chest Guguletu Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no finding.

Nzayiya, Pathic
23 bullet wounds in chest and abdomen Langa Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame.

October, Ronald Godfrey Charles
19 bullet wounds in chest and head Heide veld Sept 18 killed by SAP during damage to vehicles at a roadblock in Vanguard Road no one to blame

Oliphant, Harrison
16 bullet wound in back Guguletu Oct 25 killed when he attacked a policeman no-one to blame

Olivier, Christopher
49 bullet wound in chest Kuilsriver Sept 10 killed by SAP pursuing stone throwers no-one to blame

Opperman, Michael John
20 bullet wound in abdomen Hanover Park. Sept 9 killed by SAP during a stone throwing attack on police vehicle no-one to blame

Paulse, Alanthine
45 bullet wound in back Sherwood Park Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no one to blame

Peters, Phyllis
32 bullet wound in head Athlone Sept 16 killed by SAP during stoning of private vehicle no-one to blame

Peters, Sandra
12 bullet wound in head Athlone Sept 1 killed by police during stoning of vehicles and looting of shop no-one to blame

Pietersen, Glen
20 bullet wound in chest Retreat. Sept 9 killed by SAP during stoning of private vehi cles on Military Road no-one to blame

Rula, Benjamin Desmond
34 bullet wound in chest Guguletu Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Sidanti, Greyton
38 bullet wound in chest Langa Aug 12 killed by SAP during looting of Meedi Store while he was fleeing with stolen goods no one to blame.

Sithengaye, Maxwell
34 bullet wound in head Guguletu Aug 11 killed by SAP during the throwing of objects at roadblocks no-one to blame

Tabalanza, Sithembiso Michael
29 bullet wound Guguletu Dec 11 killed by SAP during arson no one to blame

Truter, Christopher
16 bullet wound in head Bonteheuwel Aug 25 killed by SAP during stone throwing at taxi on police no-one to blame

Tshoya, Tamsanqa Michael
19 bullet wound in head Guguletu Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of shop no one to blame

Van de Ross, Nova
22 bullet wounds in chest and head Retreat. Sept 8 killed by SAP during stoning of vehicles no finding.

Van Zyl, Alec
23 bullet wound in chest Retreat Sept 8 killed by SAP during looting of Paholomker Store no-one to blame

Vermeulen, Jeffrey Andrew
19 bullet wound Bonteheuwel Sept 16 killed by SAP during unrest no-one to blame

Williams, George
16 bullet wound in back Retreat, Sept 9 killed by SAP during stoning and bottle throwing at the police no-one to blame

killed in fighting bet
grants no-one blame

Van Ke
10 bullet wound Re
by private person dur
no one to blame

Xakesi
41 blunt instrument
in attack by black vo

Yassien
25 bullet wound in I
Sept 7 killed by s
was inciting stone th

EASTERN
People kill

Buyambo
17 bullet wound
killed by SAP while
slight no-one to bla

Dlelaphantsi
17 bullet wound u
18 circumstances u

Fani, M
21 bullet wound in
Aug 20 killed by S
market no-one to bl

Grootboom,
34 bullet wound
SAP during stoning
fence no-one to bla

Jilingisi, Ten
25 bullet wound in
Aug 19 killed by SA
slight no-one to bla

Kakeze, Tol
36 bullet wound
killed by SAP during
to blame

Kondile, Vict
16 presumably bulle
Aug 18 body foun
police action agair
blame

Lam
57 bullet wound
killed by SAP dur
Mdize store no-one

Mabuya, A
18 bullet wound f
killed by SAP dunn
one to blame

Mbalo M
24 bullet wound Z
killed by SAP while
shop no-one to bla

Mfekeio
17 bullet wound
Aug 18 killed by
known no-one to b

Mji, Ma
34 bullet wound
stances unknown -
Livingstone Hospital

Mkefe, Ki
20 bullet wound
Kwezakele Aug 18
to throw petrol bo
blame

Mlotywa,
21 bullet wound
killed by SAP dunn
no one to blame

Mnyasi, C
20 bullet wound u
Aug 18 killed by
violence no-one to

Mutsi,
16 bullet wound u
Aug 18 killed by
public violence and

Ntlongenise
30 bullet wound u
Aug 19 killed by
shop no-one to bl

Ntsilatsana
26 bullet wound
killed by SAP dunn
to blame

Qolinge,
34 multiple injur
killed by SAP whe
Attorney General n

Swelani,
34 bullet wound
Aug 19 killed by
shop no-one to bl

Thye, Z
11 bullet wound u
18 circumstances
shot by police whe
and arsonists no-o

Tub
21 bullet wound
Aug 19 killed by
shop and when he

THE Cillie Commission has given the first official account about the people killed during the country-wide 1976 riots

The report's information is given in this order Name, age, cause of death, place and date of injury or death, circumstances, legal proceedings — finding

The findings have been summarised as follows:

- **No finding — responsibility cannot be determined.**
- **No-one blamed — the responsible person cannot be determined**
- **No-one to blame — no person is responsible.**

st, Zone 4 Diepkloof
running away from
mess. during an incl
ere carrying beer
n by eyewitness no
no finding
es King
ati Dobsonville June
am no finding
Inah
est Naledi Aug 24
luring not no finding
Jan
st Soweto June 18
no finding
Thembe
b Offices Klipspruit
inknown no finding
Erik
st and hip Meadow
y SAP during stone
he
ithabeni
slo Bottle Store June
AP during looting of

Nable
men Naledi Aug 24
toning of police no

lennett
n, June 18 killed by
Jabulani market no

e Dawid
loof Sept 14 found
he lived no finding
e, Patrick
men Chiawelo June
en no finding
Daniel
men Merafe Station
uring stone throwing

Pauline
f multiple injuries
mstances unknown
o finding
ead Dalukolo
ta, June 18 circum
ting
e Maxwell
men Dube June 18
no finding
Iman
, June 18 presumed
y no-one to blame
shington
ndo West Aug 25
— there was nothing

s Petrus
hest and abdomen
e 16 killed by SAP
tore no finding
ther Percy
west, abdomen and
, Oct 26 killed by
public attacked by

Dawid
d killed by SAPdur
n responsible cannot
).
Aakhosi
omen Meadowlands
when police were

erbert
chest and stomach
mstances unknown

Sydney
t, Mapetla Aug 27
hicle collided with a
ing to force off the

Morris
d Soweto Sept 15
stone throwing no

William
Orlando West Aug
police were stoned

David
ns Post Office June
n no finding
ba Ames
: Jabulani Aug 26
stone throwing no

akanzie
to June 19 circum
ing
Elizabeth
ast Naledi Railway
tances unknown no

affrey
ad Diepkloof Post
is found with bullet
to finding
Richard
s Store at Klipspruit
t while shop was

y Charles
Naledi and Inhlazane
shot by SAP while
ng signal cables and
lway line no-one to

Hall June 18 no finding

Molosi, Doctor
17 bullet wound in chest Emdeni Aug 26 killed by SAP during stone throwing no-one to blame

Molosi, Kerabe Joseph
15 bullet wound Meadowlands Aug 25 killed by SAP when police were stoned no finding

Molomo David
47 bullet wound in head Meadowlands Aug 25 killed by SAP during a stone throwing no-one to blame

Molubi, Solomon
25 bullet wound in abdomen Meadowlands June 17 presumed killed at Meadowlands Bottle Store no finding

Monanyane, Joseph
60 bullet wound Dobsonville June 18 circumstances unknown no finding

Montjane Elijah
21 bullet wound in head Merafe Station June 17 presumably killed by Railway Police during an attack on station no-one to blame

Mosebi Albert
18 bullet wound in neck Orlando West Aug 25 body found in Orlando West no finding

Moshiane Frederick
18 bullet wound in abdomen and chest Meadowlands Aug 20 killed by SAP during stoning of public and buses no finding

Mothutsane Petrus
25 bullet wound in abdomen Meadowlands Aug 25 killed by SAP when police stoned no finding

Motswenyani, Charles
18 bullet wound in chest Central Western Jabavu Aug 26 circumstances unknown — there was violent rioting no finding

Mphetha Laurence
18 bullet wound in head Meadowlands June 17 circumstances unknown no finding

Mposula Simon
26 bullet wound in chest Main Road Soweto June 16 circumstances unknown no finding

Mputha Joseph
17 bullet wound Inhlazane Station June 17 killed by Railway Police during looting of ticket office no-one to blame

Mqakuyi Jeffrey
21 bullet wound, White City June 16 circumstances unknown no finding.

Mqimangu Mbeksani
17 bullet wound Wrab offices Zola June 17 killed by SAP during looting of Wrab offices in Zola no finding.

Mthembu John
31 bullet wound in head Soweto June 21 circumstances unknown no finding

Mthembu Mzimono
27 bullet wounds Diepkloof Sept 14 killec by SAP during stoning of police no-one to blame

Mtileni, Daniel
43 bullet wound Sept 14 killed by SAF while placing objects on railway line no-one to blame

Mtweni, Daniel Nathan
32 bullet wound in chest Mofolo Village Aug 25 killed by SAP during stoning of police no-one to blame

Muller, Lord
14 bullet wounds in chest Orlando East Sept 13 killed by SAP during arson incident no-one to blame

Mutia, Hezia
18 bullet wound Senaoane, June 17 circumstances unknown no finding

Ntube Daniel
23 bullet wound in chest and stomach Klipspruit June 17 circumstances unknown no finding.

Ndala, Hector
20 bullet wound in neck Tshbatsela Garage June 16 circumstances unknown no finding

Ndhlovu, Hastings
17 bullet wound in head Orlando West June 16 killed by SAP during an attack on police and the incitement of a crowd of stone throwers no-one to blame

Ndhlovu, Jimmy
12 bullet wound in abdomen store in Soweto. June 17 presumed killed during looting of a Klipsprut shop no-one to blame

Ndibenge, Michael
26 bullet wound Kliptown June 19 circumstances unknown no finding

Ngaba, Wellington
18 bullet wound in chest Zondi June 17 circumstances unknown — taken injured from a house to Baragwanath Hospital no finding

Ngcobe, Eric
18 bullet wound in head Mofolo South Aug 25 killed by SAP during stoning of police no-one to blame

Ngobeni, Harry
27 bullet wound in back Chiawelo Bottle Store June 17 circumstances unknown no finding

Ngema, Tennyson
20 bullet wound in abdomen Jabulani Amphitheatre June 18 circumstances unknown no finding

Ngubane, Aaron
11 bullet wound in head Thabasie School Diepkloof June 17 circumstances unknown no finding

Ngubane, Solomon
20 bullet wound Soweto Aug 25 killed by SAP during stoning of police no finding

finding

Unknown male
43 bullet wound Soweto June 17 circumstances unknown no finding.

Unknown male
51 bullet wounds in abdomen and chest Soweto June 17 no finding

Pendela, Nelson
22 bullet wound in neck Zola June 18 no finding.

Phakathi, Charles
22 bullet wounds in abdomen and chest, Zola Bottle Store June 17 killed by SAP during storing of police at the bottle no-one to blame

Pietersen Hector
12 bullet wound — entry wound in back, exit wound in neck. Orlando West High School June 16 shot dead by SAP during confrontation at Orlando West Secondary School no finding

Pose Abie Johannes
30 bullet wound in abdomen Meadowlands Aug 26 killed by SAP during stone throwing no-one to blame

Radebe Wilson
12 bullet wounds Zola Aug 26 killed by SAP during assault on police no-one to blame

Radilithale Alfred
19 bullet wounds in abdomen and chest Soweto June 18 circumstances unknown — body taken to Meadowlands Police Station no finding

Ramashala Robert
22 bullet wounds Meadowlands, Sept 14 killed by SAP during stoning of police and arson no-one to blame

Rasmen, Jeremiah
18 bullet wounds in head. Zola Sept 15 presumed killed by SAP at night during not ing no finding.

Rasmeni, Hurwitz
21 bullet wounds in head and chest Zondi Oct 24 killed by SAP during stoning of police no-one to blame

Seakatse, Cecil
30 bullet wound. Aug 25 killed during fights that broke out while the police were being stoned. no finding.

Sekekete Jan
19 bullet wound Orlando Station June 18 circumstances unknown no finding.

Sekhukhuni, Peul
bullet wound. Sept 7 investigation incomplete.

Seleka Martha
30 bullet wound Mapetla Aug 23 killed by SAP during unrest no-one to blame

Semene, Johnny
16 bullet wound in head. Diepkloof Zone 4 Sept 14 presumably killed at night during unrest no finding.

Shabangu, Doctor
21 bullet wound in neck, Chiawelo June 17 body found in open veld no finding.

Shihlomelo, Sam (alias Shihlomule Samuel)
23 bullet wound in head, Central Western Jabavu Aug 26 killed by SAP during assault and stoning of police and public no-one to blame

Sibeko Johannes
46 bullet wound, Sept 8 circumstances unknown no finding

Sibeko, Titus
bullet wound. Orlando West. Aug 6 killed by SAP during stoning of police no-one to blame

Sibiya, John
18 bullet wound, Diepkloof, Zone 2 June 17 circumstances unknown no finding.

Simelane, Enoch Mduduzi
21 bullet wounds Soweto, June 20 circumstances unknown — body taken to Moroka Police Station no finding.

Sithole Joseph
18 bullet wound in neck Zola Aug 26 killed by SAP during stoning of police no-one to blame

Sithole, Samuel
20 bullet wound in head. Soweto. June 18 circumstances unknown — body taken to Meadowlands Police Station no finding

Sithole, Vusumuzi Andrew
37 bullet wound in chest Soweto June 17 circumstances unknown — body taken to Orlando Police Station no finding

Sitshoti, Charles
17 bullet wounds Soweto Aug 26 circumstances unknown — there was noting no finding

Taoka, Louis
18 multiple bullet wounds Soweto June 17 circumstances unknown — body taken to Meadowlands Police Station no finding.

Taune, Freddie
21 bullet wound in back, Tladi Aug 24 killed by SAP during stoning and assault on public and police no-one to blame

Taunyane, David
21 bullet wound in abdomen Bogare Store Dobsonville June 18 circumstances unknown no finding

Thebeta, Vivian
bullet wound Meadowlands Aug 4 deceased stole a car from S Sibeko was pointed out to the police fled and was fatally wounded

Thebe, Linda
15 bullet wounds Zola Aug 26 killed by SAP during stone throwing no-one to blame

Mabaleka (Mabaleka, Mary), Christina
38 multiple cuts Orlando West. Aug 29 killed by unknown private person during unrest, no-one blamed.

Leepo, Junia
6 burns Central Western Jabavu Jan 9 killed when unknown person set room alight with petrol no-one blamed

Leepo Paulina
47 burns Central Western Jabavu Jan 9 killed when unknown person set room alight with petrol no-one blamed.

Lesuma J
25 multiple injuries Soweto. Aug 25 killed by unknown hostel inmates during fights no one blamed

Letsolo Peter
21 multiple injuries Meadowlands, Aug 25 killed in fight no finding.

Mabandlane, Selby
58 multiple axe wounds Orlando West, Aug 24 killed in fights no one blamed

Mabena, Peter
43 axe wounds on head Mzimhlope Orlando West. Sept 8 killed in fights no-one blamed.

Makhanya John
41 multiple injuries. Meadowlands Aug 28 killed in fights no-one blamed

Makhumtsha, Ntsinda
30 multiple cuts Orlando West Aug 20 killed in fights no-one blamed

Makare Robert
21 bullet wound in head and chest Orlando West. Sept 17 circumstances unknown no one blamed

Mankayi, Benjamin
22 multiple injuries Orlando West Aug 23 killed in fights no one blamed.

Mankayi, Gideon
39 multiple injuries. Orlando West, Aug 24 killed in fights no-one blamed

Mankayi, Mxwandile Arthur
24 multiple injuries. Aug 24 killed in fights no-one blamed

Marule, Jacob
2 burns Mapetla Nov 19 killed when unknown person set room on fire with petrol no-one blamed.

Maseko, Amos
20 bullet wounds Diamond June 19 killed by private persons during unrest no-one blamed.

Masile, Ephraim
38 multiple injuries. Orlando West. Aug 24 killed in fights. no-one blamed.

Mathebula, Josiah
54 injury Zondi June 17 hit by a stone thrown at his vehicle by unknown person no-one blamed.

Matsabu, Jan Abel
60 multiple injuries. Orlando West. Aug 28 killed in fight no-one blamed.

Mavuso Sidwell
40 head injury Meadowlands Hostel Aug 25 killed in fight no-one blamed

Mbembe, Joshua
29 burns Zola Oct 26 killed when private persons set his house on fire no finding.

Mdunge Mthokeni
23 multiple injuries. Dube Hostel. Sept 9 killed in fight no-one blamed.

Mhlabi Alfred
40 burns Diepkloof Aug 24 burnt when petrol bomb he was making exploded no-one to blame

Milio, Moses
39 multiple stab wounds Orlando West, Aug 24 killed in fight no-one blamed.

Mogotsi, Philemon
58 multiple injuries Orlando West. Aug 29 killed in fight. no-one blamed.

Mohamme, Jacob
33 multiple injuries Orlando West. Aug 25 killed in fight. no-one blamed.

Molai, Alfred
20 stab wound. Orlando West. June 18 killed by member of group entering premises with illegal meters during an investigation by SA POlice reservists no-one to blame

Molete, William
44 multiple stab wounds Orlando West. Aug 6 killed in fight no-one blamed.

Motsemeyi, Elias
45 stab wound Orlando West Aug 23 killed in fight no-one blamed

Maitshwu, Mbaleka
22 multiple stab wounds Orlando West, Aug 29 killed by private person/s during unrest no-one blamed

Ntembu, Reuben
39 stab wound. Orlando West. Aug 1 killed in fight no-one blamed

Mzeudi, Gwabityale
29 multiple injuries Orlando West. Sept 12 killed in fight no-one blamed.

Nakwana, Namvula
13 multiple injuries Alexandra June 18 killed by unknown person — hi jacked bus pushed her pushed against wall no-one blamed

Ndhlovu, Obed
18 bullet wounds in abdomen and chest Mofolo Aug 26 fired on by unknown private person from a vehicle unknown person found liable

Ngcobe, Obed
18 head injury Mofolo South Oct 1 run over by driver of bread van after he d thrown a brick through van s windscreen no-one to blame

Nkuna, Edmund (Molambu)
28 multiple injuries Klipsprut Jan 7 killed in house in explosion apparently caused by hand grenades no-one to blame

18 presumably killed by police no finding

Memani, Magelina
34 bullet wound, Alexandra June 18 presumably shot dead by police no finding

Mhlange, Felix
21 bullet wound. Alexandra June 18 presumably shot by police — circumstances unknown no finding.

Modukanele, Isaac Rasebate
22 bullet wounds Alexandra June 18 killed by police no finding.

Nkutha, Peter Harrison
26 bullet wound Alexandra June 18 shot dead by police when the car he was driving failed to stop no finding

Noge Cornelius
39 bullet wound Alexandra June 18 presumably shot by police no finding

Unknown male
25 bullet wound June 18 killed by police — body taken to Alexandra Police Station no finding.

Unknown female
28 bullet wound in chest Vasco de Gama St. Alexandra June 18 killed by police during looting and arson at a store she ignored a command to halt no-one to blame

Pitse, Ntsimane Peter
20 bullet wound Alexandra June 18 shot by police no finding.

Radebe, Jeremia Mpiketeli
50 bullet wound in abdomen Alexandra June 18 shot by police during theft at a store no finding

Ruiters, Harry
35 bullet wound Alexandra June 18 shot by police no finding

Seeletsa, Samuel Ntsema
23 bullet wound Alexandra June 18 shot by police no finding

Seeletsa, Victor
39 bullet wound in abdomen Alexandra, June 18 shot by police no finding

Sebeela Jabulani Ephraim
24 bullet wound Alexandra Aug 7 killed by SAP to save the life of a policeman no-one to blame

Senatle, Kgangetsile Vincent
22 bullet wound Alexandra June 20 shot by police no finding.

Serobe Lawrence
17 bullet wound Alexandra Aug 9 killed by SAP during looting of a crowd and an attack on police no-one to blame

Shilangu Elizabeth
36 bullet wound Alexandra, June 18 killed by SAP during looting and arson no finding.

Sithole, Benjamin
34 bullet wound Alexandra June 18 presumably killed by police circumstances unknown no finding.

Sithole, Sikhati Douglas
28 bullet wound. Alexandra June 18 shot by police no finding.

Tefu, Madimetye Lucas
32 bullet wound Alexandra June 18 killed by SAP during looting of a bottle store no-one to blame

Thobejane, Lele Ida
31 bullet wound in chest Alexandra June 18 shot by SAP during looting of shops no finding.

Van Reenen, Aubrey Vincent
13 bullet wound in chest Alexandra, June 18, presumably hit by ricochet bullet when police fired on rioters no finding.

Vilankulu, Mangoene Joseph
23 bullet wound Alexandra June 18 shot by police no finding.

Wilson, Margaret
35 bullet wound Alexandra June 18 killed by SAP during looting of a shop no-one to blame

Xaba, Elias
35 bullet wound in chest Rifle Range Road, Robertsham, June 18 killed in a confrontation with alleged rioters during an investigation by SA POlice reservists no-one to blame

Other cases

Chauke, James
30 head injury Alexandra June 18 murdered during unrest by unknown person unknown person to blame

Mangenyi, Victor
16 bullet wound in head Alexandra, June 21 killed by Indian during arson in a shop no-one to blame

Mashall, Bhekizense Simon
34 head injuries Alexandra June 18 killed during unrest by unknown private person circumstances unknown no finding

Ndlovu, Willie
42 head injuries. Alexandra June 18 killed by private person during unrest accused found not guilty

Nokwane (Nokwane) Cecilia Namvula
13 multiple injuries Alexandra June 18 knocked down by private person in hi jacked bus unknown person liable

Shangase, Petrus
18 stab wound Alexandra Aug 9 killed by unknown private person during unrest unknown person liable

Sibanda, Kennath
25 stab wound Alexandra June 18 killed by unknown rioters unknown person/s liable

Sikakane, Makoni
26 stab wound Alexandra June 18 killed by unknown private person during unrest unknown person liable

Thalaze Selwyn
26 stab wound Alexandra June 18 killed by

22 neck fracture and damage to spinal marrow Tembisa June 19 run over by unknown person while vehicles were stopped and stoned no finding

Masila, Philip
24 various stab wounds Vosloorus June 18 killed by private person during looting of shop Lucas Mputle 19 found guilty of culpable homicide and sentenced to one year suspended.

Mathabula, Solomon
12 subdural brain haemorrhage Tembisa June 18 killed by unknown person during looting of shop no-one blamed

Mofokeng, Francis
21 head injuries. Tembisa June 20 killed by unknown person during riots no finding

Molatwa, Paules Tlefe
64 internal haemorrhage as a result of nb penetration into left lung Sotho Home Vosloorus June 18 killed by unknown person/s fighting among themselves no finding police investigation proceeding.

Meremi, Max
30, stab wound Tembisa June 19 killed by unknown private person during riots no finding

Ndlevu, Lucky
19 stab wound Tembisa June 18 killed by unknown private persons no-one blamed

Ntphesa (Maphesa), Lucas
18 bullet wound Dalmoor Staion. June 18 killed by private person during looting of shop no-one to blame

Ntombela (Ntombela) Stanley
23 brain damage and subdural brain haemorrhage Tembisa June 18 killed by private person during riots circumstances unknown no finding

Sekgaisle, Paul
39 stab wound Tembisa June 19 killed by unknown private person during riots no-one blamed.

Sibanyoni, Lucas
20 subdural brain haemorrhage Tembisa. June 18 killed when vehicles stopped and stoned during riots no-one to blame

Sidu, Albert
26 stab wound Tembisa, June 19 killed by unknown private person presumably during arson and looting of shop no-one blamed.

Tshidi, Zacharia
34 brain damage caused by subdural brain haemorrhage Tembisa June 18 run over by unknown person when vehicles stopped and stoned responsible person not traced.

Xaba, Daniel
23 asphyxia as result of foreign object in trachea found dead during riots. no-one blamed.

WEST RAND
People killed by police

Dithipe, Elfas
19 bullet wound in abdomen Chamdor June 18 killed by SAP during looting of a shop and storing of police no-one to blame.

Jele, Vuzumuzi Moses
20 bullet wound in neck. Sebokang, Aug 12 killed by SAP during stone throwing no-one to blame

Metsisi, Patrick
25 bullet wound in head Mothlakang, June 18 killed by SAP during stone throwing incident while he was throwing a petrol bomb no-one to blame

Ntanga, Paulus
23 bullet wound in head. Chamdor June 18 killed by SAP while looting no-one to blame.

Ntese, Michael
17 bullet wound in chest, Sebokang, Aug 11 killed by SAP while he was inciting stone throwing youths no-one to blame.

Ngema, Sigbey Lazarus
19 bullet wound in head Munsville June 18 killed by SAP after setting fire to a clinic and during stone throwing. no-one to blame

Vilakazi, Emily
85, bullet wound in head Evaton, Aug 15 killed by SAP when they fired at the fleeing car in which she was a passenger no-one to blame

Other cases

Qunsu, Pavite
27 bullet wound Munsville June 18 killed by unknown person body found after arson and stone throwing no-one to blame

Simelane, Obed T
17 throat cut Kagiso June 17 killed by unknown person body bound near bottle store no finding

NORTHERN TVL
People killed by police

Chibodi (Shibori), George
20 bullet wounds Mabopane June 21 body taken to Mabopane Police Station no-one to blame

Ditshego, Kgomotso Tebogo
15 bullet wound in head Attandgeville Sept 11 no-one to blame

Kekana, Makatsaane Andries
17 bullet wounds Mamelodi June 21 killed by SAP — circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Khoza Amos
42 bullet wound Rietgat June 21 killed by SAP during looting of private residence no-one to blame

18 meningitis as result of bullet wound Attandgeville, Aug 12 investigation incomplete

Raleka, Margaret
20 bullet wound Winterveld June 21 killed by SAP during attack on police after a bus was hi jacked by rioters had been forced to a halt no-one to blame

Shoke, Samuel
26 bullet wounds Mabopane June 21 killed by SAP while he was leading group of rioters who were stoning vehicles, barricading roads and burning buses no finding.

Sinenda, Selle
18 bullet wounds Mamelodi, June 22 killed by SAP circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Tendane, Fane Patrick
21 bullet wound Mamelodi June 21 killed by SAP — circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Thubane Selknah
25 bullet wound in back Rietgat June 21 killed by SAP during looting of a private residency no-one to blame

Tshebeebe, Boy George
28 bullet wounds Mamelodi June 21 killed by SAP — circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Zwane, Patrick
16 bullet wounds Mamelodi, June 21 killed by SAP — circumstances unknown no-one to blame

Other cases.

Pitse, Robert (Keeze)
21 multiple head and chest injuries University of the North, June 18 fatally injured when jumping out of hostel building during unrest no-one to blame

EASTERN TVL
People killed by police

Mkhabela, Hendrik
22 bullet wound in chest Lynnville Witbank July 20 killed during storing of police no-one to blame

WESTERN PROVINCE
People killed by police

Adams, Sandra Joyce
18 bullet wound in head, Kaw Town, Sept 18 hit by a ricochet bullet when SAP fired at stone throwers no-one to blame

Adriaanse, Neal John
13 bullet wound: Sept 2. killed by SAP during looting of a shop after he ignored an order to halt no-one to blame.

Alben, Basil David
16 bullet wound in abdomen Elsies River Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of a bottle store when he ignored an order to halt no-one to blame

Allie, Abdurageman
24 bullet wound in chest, Ravensmead, Parow Sept 7 killed by SAP during stone throwing, no-one to blame

Appalie, Christopher
16 bullet wound in head Mfanenberg. Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of a bottle store no-one to blame.

Bam, Sitembise Richard
15, bullet wound in neck Guguletu. Feb 24 killed by SAP during attempted arson of a building no-one to blame

Barnes, Isaac
16 bullet wound in chest Bonteheuwel Aug 16 killed by SAP during looting of a store no-one to blame.

Bernarde, Gary Sandy
19- bullet wound in back, Grassy Park, Sept 16 killed by SAP during stone-throwing attack on police at road block, no-one to blame

Bete, Michael
58 bullet wound in chest Nyanga, Dec 26 killed by SAP during arson no finding

Botha, Neville James George
20 bullet wound Sept 8 killed by police during looting of Buy Cheap Store no-one to blame

Bothe, Willem
50 bullet wound in lower body Nyanga. Dec 25 killed by SAP during arson no finding.

Buba, Lawrence
14 bullet wound in chest Philippi Sept 9 killed by SAP during stoning of buses and police vehicles no finding.

Carelissen, Gesant
21 bullet wound in chest Hanover Park, Sept 2 killed by SAP during arson and looting of library no-one to blame

Cloete, Joseph Edward
30 bullet wound in back Manenberg. Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of Green Dolphin Bottle Store no-one to blame

Cook, Ferial
18 bullet wound in neck. Manenberg. Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of Green Dolphin Bottle Store no-one to blame

Cooke, Rodney Edward
24 bullet wound in back Bonteheuwel Aug 25 killed by SAP during attempted arson at post office no-one to blame

Dajee, Bhandey
37 bullet wound in chest Retreat. Sept 8 killed by SAP during looting of a shop no finding

Daniels, John
35 bullet wound in chest Retreat. Sept 8 shot by SAP during looting of shop no-one to blame

15 bullet wound in chest and abdomen. Manenberg. Sept 16 killed by SAP during looting of buildings and damaging of vehicles at roadblock no-one to blame

Khumalo, Joseph
22 bullet wound Guguletu. Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no finding

Kleinschmidt Angeline
31 bullet wound in head Elsenenver Sept 8 killed by SAP during looting of shop no-one to blame

Komani, Brain
25 bullet wound in head Nyanga Dec 26 killed by SAP during arson no-one to blame

Lee, Ralph Ronald
25 bullet wound in neck Retreat Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of shop no-one to blame

Lesele, Tutu John
45 bullet wound Langa Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Limba, Cyrel Ivan
18 bullet wound in back. Manenberg. Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of Vistula Tavern no-one to blame

Louw Samuel
42 bullet wound in chest Guguletu. Aug 12 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Lutiya, Wiseman
22 bullet wound in abdomen Guguletu. Aug 11 killed by SAP during arson and looting of shop no-one to blame

Magasane, Jee Patamile
39 bullet wound in neck Nganga East. Dec 27 killed by SAP during arson no-one to blame

Majembela, Archibald
23 bullet wound in chest Guguletu. Aug 12 killed by SAP during arson at BAR offices. no-one to blame

Majembu, Douglas
20 bullet wound in back. Nyanga Aug 12 killed by SAP member in self-defence during storing of police no-one to blame

Majeka, Rebecca
37 bullet wound in neck Langa Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Marney, Alfred James
18 bullet wound in back Retreat. Sept 8 killed by SAP during looting of Buy Cheap Shop no-one to blame

Masibe, Nukululu Solomon
22 bullet wound Guguletu Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store and shops no-one to blame

Matheson, Reginald Charles
18 bullet wound in back Retreat Sept 8 killed by SAP during looting of shop no-one to blame.

Mary, Nicholas
19 bullet wound in back Retreat. Sept 8 killed by SAP during burglary and looting of shop no-one to blame

Mba, Mzwamadoda
25 bullet wound in back Langa Aug 11 killed by SAP during arson and looting of shop no-one to blame

Mbali, James Mphutumi
15 bullet wound in chest Guguletu. Dec 1 killed by SAP during storing of vehicles. no-one to blame

Mdayi, Dambile Sidwell
24 bullet wound in chest Langa Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Meyer, Ezrel
45 bullet wound in abdomen Sherwood Park, Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Mfafula, Cajule
36 bullet wound in chest Langa Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Moses, Phillip
35 bullet wound in abdomen Ravensmead. Sept 7 killed by SAP during stone throwing no-one to blame

Msele, Ezekiel Xolie
18 bullet wound in head Langa Aug 12 killed by SAP when he threw a brick and other objects at a policeman no-one to blame

Mxwebi, Daniel
23 bullet wound in abdomen Guguletu. Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Mzhudulu, Wallil Reginold
23 bullet wound in head, Guguletu Aug 12 killed by SAP during arson at BAB offices. no-one to blame

Mzete, Vuklle Abraham
26 bullet wound in chest Guguletu. Aug 12 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Muller Juvie
18 bullet wound in head. Elsiesriver Sept 8 killed by SAP during looting of shop no-one to blame

Mvukaza, Robson
19 bullet wound in chest Guguletu Sept 17 killed by SAP during storing of vehicles no-one to blame

Ndingane, Mzimkulu Crosby
11 bullet wound in chest Guguletu Sept 14 struck by ricochet bullet when police fired on stone throwers no finding

Nduna, Sifarele Kennath
38 bullet wound in back. Langa Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting and storing at bottle store no-one to blame

Ndzube Norman

Xipa, Richard Mutsdisi
17 bullet wound in back. Manenberg. Sept 9 killed by SAP during looting of Vistula Bottle Store no-one to blame

Zantsi, Sonnyboy
17 bullet wound in head Guguletu. Sept 16 killed by SAP during storing of vehicles. no-one to blame

Zondani, Vuyisile Wellington
24 bullet wound in chest Manenberg. Sept 9 killed by police during looting of Vistula Bottle Store no-one to blame

Zuba, Godfrey Phetelo
23 bullet wound in abdomen Guguletu. Aug 11 killed by SAP during looting of bottle store no-one to blame

Other cases

Bakubaku Golden Winter
60 blunt instrument (stompgeweld). Nyanga East. Dec 26 killed in fight between residents and migrants no-one blamed.

Barnes, Sydney
42 blunt instrument Nyanga East. Dec 26 killed in fight between residents and migrants no finding

Bugile Putasha
30 blunt instrument Nyanga East Dec 27 killed in fight between residents and migrants no one blamed

Dantsa, Mellville Myathi
44 blunt instrument Nyanga. Dec 26 killed in fight between residents and migrants no-one blamed.

Gingqini, Rubin Mase
31 blunt instrument Nyanga Dec 5 killed in fight between residents and migrants. 8 Mfanta and seven others charged with murder but found not guilty

Gishi Jackson
67 blunt instrument Nyanga Dec 26 killed in fight between residents and migrants no finding

Guwa, Mxlumeli Nelson
48 blunt instrument Nyanga East. Dec 26 killed in fight between residents and migrants no-one blamed.

Jelemsi, G Nomthatsumane
19 blunt instrument Nyanga East. Dec 27 killed in fight between residents and migrants no-one blamed.

Jonas, Vapi Lawrence
26 blunt instrument Nyanga East Dec 26 killed in fight between residents and migrants no finding

Juta, Khehle
40 blunt instrument Nyanga East. Dec 26 killed in fight between residents and migrants no-one blamed.

Kwisomba, Henry
30 blunt instrument Nyanga East. Dec 27 killed in fight between residents and migrants. no-one to blame

Leukes, Owen
17 bullet wound in chest Bonteheuwel. Sept 11 killed by C Jordaan during stoning of latter s car charged with murder

Makuluso, Elias
35 blunt instrument Nyanga Dec 27 killed in fight between residents and migrants no-one blamed.

Makundayi, Monica
5 blunt instrument Nyanga Dec 26 killed in fighting between residents and migrants, no-one blamed.

Manana, Cesa
35 blunt instrument Nyanga East. Dec 5 injured in an attack by black youths no-one blamed.

Mbametwi, Nelson
28 blunt instrument — exposed to intense heat: Nyanga East, Dec 27 killed in fight between residents and migrants no-one to blame

Mgwali, Selakupetwa
22 blunt instrument Nyanga East Dec 27 killed in fighting between residents and migrants no-one blamed.

Mofutsoe, Timothy Tefs
27 blunt instrument Nyanga Dec 5 killed in fighting between residents and migrants. 8 Mfanta and seven others acquitted of murder

Nkangana, Mkululi Zacharia
18 blunt instrument Nyanga East. Dec 26 killed in fighting between residents and migrants. no-one blamed

Nthabathi, Sabelo
20 blunt instrument Nyanga East. Dec 26 killed in fighting between residents and migrants no-one blamed.

Unknown male
burns Langa Aug 12 body found in Langa Bazaar after it was burnt down during riots no-one to blame

Unknown male
28 blunt instrument Nyanga Dec 26 killed in fighting between residents and migrants no-one blamed.

Peter Rere Mantle
50 blunt instrument Nyanga Dec 26 killed in fighting between residents and migrants no-one blamed.

Prince, Moses
22 bullet wound in chest Bishop Lavis. Sept 12 killed by private person Dr M A Alle when a shop was looted and he was attacked no-one to blame

Segibeg, Setwa
11 bullet wound in chest Philippi Oct 12 killed by traffic officer during attack on Philippi filling station no-one to blame

Steurman, Jeffrey
44 blunt instrument Nyanga East Dec 26

one to blame

Yawa, Tembile Soloman
23 bullet wound Kwazakele Aug 18 by SAP during incitement of stone thro no-one to blame

Zuba, Fezile Hermans
39 bullet wound in abdomen and leg K kele Aug 18 circumstances unknown n to blame

Other cases

Botha, George
30 head injuries Sanlam Building. Pon beth. Dec 15 broke away from escort detention and jumped to his death no-blame.

Dlakavu Singatha (alias Deakan)
14 stab wound Kwazakele Aug 18 by private person no finding

Richardt Sheetia
approx 18 months burns and carbonmor poisoning Gelvandale Oct 3 killed private persons threw petrol bombs th window of house 12 people found not of murder

Mahatuba, Afrika
23 strab wound Kwazakele Aug 19 st by private person private person found Attorney General refused to prosecute

Meintjies, Vuyisile Reynold
24 stab wound New Brighton Aug stabbed by private person circumstance known no finding

Mnqaqi, Mathews Mabusela
24 stab wound. New Brighton Aug stabbed by private person during looti shop no-one to blame

Peres, Lionel Ledle
21 bullet wound. West End. New Brig Sept 10 fatally wounded when he att the guard at Community Centre no-o blame

S W DISTRICTS
People killed by polic

Bezuidenhout Isaac
32 bullet wound Mosselbay Sept 10 during storing of buildings and police n to blame

Harris, Abida
14 bullet wound George Sept 13 kil SAP while in a crowd of stone thrower rioters no-one to blame

Lucas, Cornelius
44 bullet wound Mosselbay Sept 10 during damage to property arson and st of police no-one to blame

Other cases

Plaatjies, Antoni
16 bullet wound Oudtshoorn Sept 18 by private person while stealing from storing that person no-one to blame

BOLAND
People killed by polic

Afrika, Pieter
23 bullet wound Montagu Sept 11 kil SAP after a car in which he was a pass failed to stop at a roadblock and attempt run over a policeman no-one to blame

Daniels, Kammies
34 bullet wound in head Stellenbosch, 7 killed by SAP during throwing of s and petrol bombs at police no-one to bl

Dube, Yvonne
45 bullet wound in lung artery Pearl Se shot by SAP while stoning police and in crowd no-one to blame.

Hoogaard? Spesine Carolina
18 bullet wound in right kidney and Pearl Sept 9 killed by SAP when a gro coloureds stoned a police vehicle and tra set it alight, no-one to blame

Karelissen Ronald Charles
24 bullet wound in chest Stellenbosch 8 killed by SAP when he tried to se policeman s weapon no-one to blame

Viljoen, Sarah Sophia
51 bullet wound in abdomen Pearl Se fatally hit by a ricochet bullet when the fired at a coloured man who rolled bu tyres onto a police vehicle no-one to bl

Other cases

Fortuin, Thomas Johannes
30 bullet wound? Franschhoek. Sc killed by private person during stoning and private car no one to blame

NORTHERN CA

Victor, PHF
42 coronary thrombosis as r Montshiwa Aug 8 died afte a stone thrown by a pupil School when he went th petrol no investigation h

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People kille

Madensela, Themb
26 bullet wound killed by SAP du at local BAB ce

13 stab fell on a

RAND DAILY MAIL, Saturday, March 1, 1980

Education officials get much of blame

THE Cillie Commission charges officials responsible for black education with joint responsibility for causing the first outbreaks of violence in Soweto on June 16, 1976

It castigates them for arrogant attitudes and singles out the former Regional Director of Education in Soweto, Mr W C Ackermann, for particular censure.

Mr Ackermann, transferred from Soweto shortly after the riots began, is accused of adopting a "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude towards objections to the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction on a 50/50 basis with English in black secondary schools.

The commission finds that the cause of the first unrest was the application of the language policy, the organised resistance in Soweto against the policy, the ineffective handling of opposition by officials and the failure of education and police officials to anticipate threatened violence and to take counter-measures.

"The officials believed there were agitators behind all the rebelliousness and also that students were being used as a so-called pressure group," the commission says.

"They did not realise that students were so dissatisfied they could easily become riotous.

"This attitude had the following important consequences:

"First, avenues of communication were closed. There was no opportunity to discuss policy and to explain reasons for the policy,

"There was no exchange of ideas and the impression was created that the authorities were inaccessible and forbidding;

"Further, officials never knew what was going on among rebels or how determined their opposition was;

"They could also not establish the nature of objections against the policy;

"They were not in a position to warn the Secretary or the Minister (of Bantu Education) about the threatened danger, and when requested, they could not supply the important details for answers in Parliament."

The commission says that even without having contact with Soweto, there were sufficient danger signals to put officials on their guard Already in February 1976, students were causing trouble over Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. At one point 1 600 students boycotted schools.

Questions were also being asked in Parliament on boycotts and on applications by schools for exemptions from the language policy.

"Officials were asked for details but advised the Secretary (of Bantu Education) that the problems were still at a very low level," the commission says.

The report explains it appeared that implementation of the language policy by officials became more rigid, an impression bolstered partly by increasing applications for exemption from the policy and a subsequent increased number of refusals.

Officials felt that only the policy-makers in the Government had any say over the language issue and they therefore felt it was unnecessary to discuss the issue with parents and other people involved in education.

Students' actions were a matter for the black school boards which had been given instructions to negotiate on the dispute over the language issue and to ensure that students returned to school.

"It is not clear what room for manoevre school boards had in such negotiations because concessions on the policy were out of the question," the commission says.

As examples of how officials handled the language issue, the commission sites two meetings attended by Mr Ackermann on June 7 and 8.

At the first meeting, organised by the Chief Director of the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB), Mr Ackermann spoke to a delegation from the Urban Bantu Council.

The Chief Director of WRAB, unnamed in the report, came under the impression that Mr Ackermann was unwilling to meet the UBC delegation.

The second meeting was organised by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner and attended by Mr Ackermann, WRAB's Chief Director and three police officers.

Mr Ackermann believed that the meeting was organised to criticise his department's handling of opposition to the language issue, but the commission says this was not the case

At the first meeting, Mr Ackermann declared that school boards accepted responsibility to end boycotts of classes and that his department could therefore do nothing about the issue.

His attitude was that the policy of equal use of Afrikaans and English was instituted because white taxpayers financed Bantu education and that tax paid by urban blacks went to the homelands.

"This attitude of take-it-or-leave-it could decidedly not calm down feelings," the commission says.

At both meetings, Mr Ackermann also said students' demands could not be met because this would create an unending chain-reaction.

"Other officials showed this same attitude in the period before the outbreak of violence," the commission says

The Urban Bantu Council also requested that Department of Education should be sent to the UBC's committee on education The request was turned down because the education department did not regard the committee as a part of the education system.

"In conclusion, it is clear that officials' actions did not in any way help to avoid rebellion or to postpone it," the commission says.



DR TREURNICHT
... then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education



MR KRUGER
... then Minister of Police and of Justice

. . . and police get a large portion too

POLICE had to collectively bear responsibility for the first outbreak of violence in Soweto on June 16, 1976, the Cille Commission has found.

The commission says that although the direct cause of the riots was the organisation by students of an illegal mass protest march, the inability of police to anticipate the threatened rebellion on June 16, and to take counter measures, was a "concurrent circumstance" causing unrest.

"This means that the police must collectively bear responsibility for this special incident," the commission says.

It discloses that, while students were widely organising for at least three days, police first got to know of the planned June 16 protest march late on the afternoon of the 15th.

At about 4pm, Major G J Viljoen, commanding officer at Jabulani police station, received information that students at Naledi high school were going to protest the following day.

At the same time, a black lieutenant unnamed in the report, told Colonel J A Kleingeld, commanding officer at Orlando police station, of a rumour that students were planning to hold a meeting at one of the high schools in Orlando.

Later in the evening a black sergeant, unnamed in the report, told Col Kleingeld that he had spoken to a student from Orlando North high school.

The student had said that five scholars from Matsike high school arrived at his school in a green Kombi and told scholars they should first go to school the following day and should then march. People other than students should be off the streets and cars on the streets would be burned.

"All this information, no matter how vague and incomplete it was, was never conveyed to the divisional commissioner or headquarters," the commission says.

It was only at 7 45am on June 16 that Col Kleingeld told his men to ready themselves at his police station.

Later, he patrolled the area and realised he needed reinforcements as students massed on their protest march

"The Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, Brigadier S W le Roux, gave evidence that until that morning he had still not received any report on the planned demonstrations," the commission says.

It explains the SAP argued that because there was no compulsory education, it could not take action when children boycotted classes.

"It should be accepted that the force in Soweto should be informed about matters regarding possible unrest in the area," the commission comments.

"Nevertheless, clear signs of simmering unrest were ignored in the last few weeks before the outbreak.

"There were numerous cases of violent opposition testifying to growing tension, but the police did not realise the importance of the warning signals.

"It would appear that the police did not make further or sufficient investigations.

"For this reason, a group of young people could, for at least three days, make intensive preparations for a demonstration involving 15 000 or more students in schools throughout Soweto."

The commission says police were "completely unprepared" when they received first reports of trouble.

"The police had no plan of action to combat the first day of unrest and patrols first had to go out to establish what was happening," the commission says.

"The divisional commissioner's orders that students should be confined to their school grounds were incapable of execution because most of them had already left their school grounds.

"The police halted the demonstration but they could not control the rebellious crowds Unrest started and spread through Soweto

"It was not long before there was unrest in many parts of the country."

The commission adds that excluding police failure to anticipate unrest, and to take counter measures, there was no acceptable evidence that police action was responsible for the further development of rioting or for riot incidents.

There were, however, cases in which police action led to unrest becoming more intensive.

The hour-by-hour saga of Soweto's eruption

THE Commission has attempted to reconstruct the events in Soweto on June 16, 1976, when the first clashes between police and students took place. According to the commission, this is what happened:



7h00: Col J A Kleingeld, officer commanding Orland police station, places all available policemen on standby. A policeman reports back on marching students.



7h50: Brig S W le Roux, divisional commissioner in Soweto, sends out patrols after receiving information on the march.



8h00: Students meet at Naledi high. Tebello Motapanyane leads them to Orlando West high, passing Thomas Mofolo and Morris Isaacson schools. Other students join in. Morris Isaacson students march to Thesele high in White City. Students force motorists to give black power salute.



8h10: A school inspector in a car is attacked by marching students. Col J J Gerber, Divisonal Commander of Soweto, investigates conditions in Naledi. He reports to Brig Le Roux that 800 to 1 000 students are marching to Orlando, attacking cars and stoning police. He finds too few policemen at Jabulani police station to disperse the students. Brig Le Roux learns from other station commanders that many youths are assembling, overturning cars and setting them alight. He orders them to mobilise all available policemen and to restrict students to schoolgrounds.



08h20: Another 600 students join the 900 marching from Naledi to Orlando. Maj G J Viljoen, station commander at Jabulani, tells Wrab officials and other whites to leave the area. Those marching to Orlando West High are joined by others. A procession in the direction of Orlando West High is followed by Col Kleingeld and two sergeants. When the students notice the police, they begin throwing stones. Col Kleingeld returns for reinforcements and issues guns.



09h15: A black and a white journalist arrive at the Phefeni Junior Secondary School. Teachers warn them to leave the area because of the approach of the Naledi students. The white journalist is threatened and leaves.



09h30: A black crowd greets a white journalist with black power salutes at the Orlando police station. He senses the atmosphere is tense.

10h00: Police are stoned by about 600 students when they arrive at the Tshabalala garage. Teargas has no influence. Another 600 join the group. The police are withdrawn as they are; to few to cope with the situation.



10h30: Several thousand students gather around a koppie at Orlando West High. Col Kleingeld's party is stoned and he cannot address the crowd. Four blacks are inciting the students. Tear gas and a baton charge is ineffective. Police are attacked and some are hit by stones Col Kleingeld fires five pistol shots over the crowd, with no effect He then fires 20 shots with an automatic rifle in front of and over the crowd. Others fire shots with their revolvers and pistols although Col Kleingeld did not give an order to fire.

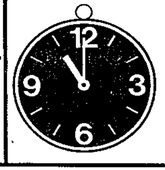
A black youth, H Ndhlovu, who was inciting the crowd, is killed. Two police dogs are maimed and killed A Black youth, Hector Petersen, is fatally wounded by the police. A woman reporter takes his body to the Phomolong clinic.



10h45: Four white women in a car are stoned and injured by a riotous crowd, but manage to drive through. They reach the Orlando bridge and are taken to hospital.



10h55: A WRAB official, Mr J N B Esterhuizen, is attacked by youths at the Phomolong Clinic ,in Khumalo Street. They include pupils of the Morris Isaacson High School. Mr Esterhuizen jumps out of his car but is surrounded and beaten to death. His body is brought out four hours later.



11h00: Drivers of various vehicles are attacked but manage to escape. A truck transporting liquor is plundered and set alight. Two policemen are stoned at the Phefeni bottle store. One is lightly injured.



11h10: A train driver reports that his train was stoned and windows broken. After investigating, a railways police officer reports serious disorder. Police man trains and protect stations.

Tsietsi Mashinini addresses students at the Morris Isaacson High School and orders them not to go to school for the next two days. He asures them he and others leaders will see to it that Afrikaans will not langer be used at the high schools and announces that the police had shot two students dead and wounded 11 others.



11h20: A large crowd gathers at the offices of the youth centre in Jabavu. In Orlando East, anew WRAB workshop is opened at 11am. WRAB's chairman, Mr M Mulder, his chief director, Mr J C de Villiers, and his chief welfare officer, Dr L M Edelstein are there. They learn of the unrest and Dr Edelstein drives to the youth centre He arrives at about 12, runs into his office and locks the door. A WRAB official, Mr R E Hobkirk, is trapped in another office. The stoning intensifies; the crowd breaks down Dr Edelstein's office door, attack him and drag him out

The attack is briefly interrupted by tear gas. Mr Hobkirk escapes. He sees Dr Edelstein's body in the lobby The doctor is unconscious or pretends to be dead. He rises again but his attackers drag him out and beat him to death. Shortly after 1pm his mutilated body is removed by helicopter.



12h00: Police prohibit white reporters from entering the danger area and they must get information from black colleagues.



12h15: A black social worker of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and a white student visits parts of Soweto during the morning. They are stopped at the Phefeni bridge and the white student is threatened with assault but she is removed by well-disposed pupils and given in the care of a clergyman Police later remove her from the area.



12h30 to 13h00: A television newsman who accompanies police on patrols in Soweto observes looting and arson by youths and adults.

Bottle stores in Phefeni and Dube are broken into, looted and burnt down. WRAB offices are also set alight. Police are stoned and teargas is used with limited success. The office of the station commander at Orlando is set up as an operational office to co-ordinate police action.



14h00: Police reinforcements arrive from Johannesburg, Pretoria and the West Rand. According to observers, the disorder is being exploited by tsotsis. There is general drunkenness. More adults than youths take part in the looting. A vehicle loaded with liquor is looted in Phefeni Maj Viljoen finds a crowd of about 300 students and adults at the Morris Isaacson High School They are aggressive and threatening but they are dispersed. Brig Le Roux flies in a helicopter over Soweto, which appears chaotic. Thick smoke hangs over parts of the area.



14h30: WRAB's bottle store at Phefeni and its offices and bottle stores in Orlando East are set alight.



15h00: WRAB's offices at Phefeni are set alight by the same group that destroyed the bottle store. WRAB's offices in Diepkloof are set alight. When the police arrive two groups of blacks start stoning them. Two private vehicles are already burnt out. Two blacks inciting the crowd are shot at on the order of a police officer. The WRAB offices in Meadowlands are set alight.



15h00 to 17h00: Arson and looting takes place at bottle stores at Nhalanzane, Moroka, Mofolo, Chiawelo, Senaoane, the Molapo post office, the library in White City and the clinic in Senaoane. The Mapetla hostel is set alight, the windows of the Phiri Hall are broken, the Etikeng and Vukani schools are burnt down. The police use firearms at these incidents. Arrests are made and several looters are wounded. The bottle stores in Zola and Moletsane in Jabulani are looted. The police use teargas and firearms. At Zola seven people are arrested.

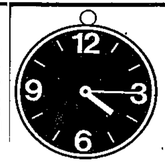


15h30: Col T J Swanepoel, three officers and 58 men arrive as reinforcements and divide into two task forces Col Swanepoel's force run into a crowd of 4 000 to 5 000 blacks at Uncle Tom's Hall in Orlando West, turning over vehicles, starting fires and throwing stones. Warning shots are fired but then shots are fired at the agitators, whereupon the crowd flees. One black is hit

No bodies are found at this stage



16h00: Maj-Gen W H Kotze, Divisional Commissioner of the Witwatersrand, joins the Divisional Commissioner of Soweto to assist him until Monday, June 21. The crowds have split up into smaller groups and vandalism is rife.



16h15: A black man is shot dead by police at the Mofolo Centre bottle store. Minutes later the clinic and administrative offices in White City are set alight, as well as several vehicles.



17h00: About 40 blacks try to set taxis in Jabavu alight. The crowd attacks the police with stones, there is rifle fire and two blacks are hit. Later it is established that a black man, K Tokota, has died. About 20 vehicles have been burnt out.



17h30: Two Putco buses are set alight near the Mapetla Garage near the Orlando West-Meadowlands crossroads. A crowd of 5 000 to 6 000, in an ugly mood.



17h50: A Putco bus and another vehicle is burnt out near Uncle Tom's Hall. A control room is set up at WRAB's headquarters in Albert Street in the city.



18h00: A classroom at the Naledi High School is set alight. A bottle store in Klipspruit is looted. 400 blacks are dispersed with tear gas and firearms. The Urban Bantu Council building in Jabulani is set alight but the fire is put out, as is a fire at the Sebokeng Garage. Two wrecked cars are placed on the Phefeni railway line but are removed by railways police.





19h00: The police split up into smaller groups with specific tasks. Brig Le Roux travels from Moroka to Jabulani police station by car with a few armed men and stones are thrown at their vehicle.
19h45: About 300 men loot the Phomolong bottle store. The police shoot an agitator among the bystanders.
19h50: 400 rioters gather at the Mapetla Garage in Orlando West and throw petrol bombs at vehicles and petrol pumps. The police are attacked on arrival and fire on the crowd. Two wounded or dead are carried away.
20h00: About 200 rioters cause rioting, looting and arson at the Dube bottle store. Cries such as "kill the whites" are shouted. Five people are believed shot by the police.
Two men, including a youth, are shot by police at the Mofolo bottle store.



21h00: The Soweto Parents Association meet and a mass funeral of victims is proposed for Sunday, June 20.
– This service is later banned.
22h45: Police find the Barclays Bank and library in Dube burning The WRAB offices are already burnt down when police arrive
23h00: A black man, Mr V Nkwanazi, is apparently shot in front of a nursery school in White City.
23h10: The Phomolong bottle store is attacked with fire bombs. Police fire on the attackers
It is later established that 11 people have died during the day. Two of the wounded die later.

Verwoerd decided, Treurnicht echoed him

THE Cillie Commission has made no mention of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's famous statement on Bantu Education; often quoted by opponents of the system as proof of its inherently discriminatory nature.

Contradictions between Ministers' versions of the cause of the June 16, 1976 riots and the Commission's findings have also emerged from the Cillie Report.

However, it does not specifically examine the Ministers' statements which were extensively reported in newspapers

According to the Cillie Commission, Bantu Education was not a direct cause of unrest leading to the riots, but it was to an extent a cause of dissatisfaction, encouraged and exploited by people who wanted to cause unrest.

The imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools under the Bantu Education system was, however, a direct cause of riots, according to the commission.

In his statement on Bantu Education, Dr Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs and later Prime Minister, told Parliament in 1953

"If the native in South Africa today, in any kind of school in existence, is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake."

Dr Verwoerd was introducing the Bantu Education Bill bringing black education under one State department. Until then, black education, like that of other races, was under the control of the provinces

Opponents of the system have also claimed that Dr Verwoerd's attitude in 1953 still underpins black education today

In his speech in Parliament, Dr Verwoerd questioned the usefulness of teaching blacks about the kings of England and Canada's wheat exports and added. "What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd"

Dr Verwoerd also said: "If my department controls native education it will know for which type of higher profession the native can be trained, where he will be able to make a living with his knowledge, instead of choosing his own path in a direction where he cannot find a sphere of activity, thus turning him into a frustrated and dissatisfied being.

"But apart from these persons who can serve their own people, there is the much greater number of natives who have to find a future in other forms of work

"The latter should have a training in accordance with their opportunities in life, and no department will know better where and how great the opportunities are for the bantu child in various directions, than the Department of Native Affairs"

Dr Verwoerd added. "For that reason, it will be wise to entrust that department with this type of education which will prepare the people for the battle of life"

He went on to say that black education should not clash with Government policy

"Racial relations cannot improve if the wrong type of education is given to natives," he said earlier.

A Labour Party MP, Mr Leo Lovell, warned of the danger should Dr Verwoerd have thought the object of education was that "the natives should be trained entirely for vocational purposes, that they should be trained, shall I say, as hewers of wood and drawers of water"

Mr Lovell said black labour was traded as a commodity "like a bag of mielies or a bag of corn, and if that is the way you want to treat native labour, then of course we must logically educate our native people to become a commodity to be bought and sold in the markets of our country"

That was exactly what the Bill meant, Mr Lovell said.

The following year, Dr Verwoerd said that under his proposed system it would be possible to give all blacks a fundamental education without an increase in expenditure.

By fundamental education he meant a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic, a sound knowledge of their mother language, and a knowledge of both English and Afrikaans up to Standard Two — "the standard of education necessary for a native child in the present society".

In 1957, addressing the Free State congress of the National Party, Dr Verwoerd said education of "natives" in the Western way of life had led some of them into wanting to become part and parcel of the "European community". The Government intended, within the ensuing five to 10 years, to put an end to "that class of native"

In introducing the Bantu Education Bill in 1953, Dr Verwoerd said that if the State paid for Bantu education, it should also control it.

This view was to be echoed 23 years later by Dr Andries Treurnicht.

On the day violence erupted in Soweto on June 16 1976, Dr Andries Treurnicht, then deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, told an Afrikaans newspaper the policy that Afrikaans should take place side by side with English in black schools had been applied with great tolerance

"In white areas where the Government provides the buildings, gives the subsidies and pays the teachers, it is surely our right to decide on the language dispensation," he said.

"Here the matter concerns schools where there is no compulsory education Why are pupils sent to schools where the language dispensation does not suit them?"

Dr Treurnicht said he had been aware that dissatisfaction was brewing in Soweto Nobody knew better than the Afrikaner about forcing people to use another language But it had been felt that a knowledge of both English and Afrikaans would be to the pupils' advantage.

The commission, however, said he had not been fully aware of the nature and extent of the buildup in tension among blacks on the language policy which it singled out as a direct cause of the 1976 riots

The Minister of Bantu Administration in 1976, Mr M C Botha, said the tragedies in Soweto were caused by misunderstanding and confusion over the application of the "50-50" Afrikaans language tuition principle.

The statement was issued after a meeting held in Pretoria just three days after the eruption of violence in Soweto on June 16.

Dr Andries Treurnicht was not invited to the meeting

Two days after the unrest started, the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, issued a warning in Parliament that the Government would not allow itself to be intimidated

Mr Vorster said the riots were obviously not a spontaneous eruption, but a purposeful attempt to polarise people in which various organisations played a role

The then Minister of Police, Mr J T Kruger, now President of the Senate, told Parliament the Government had not expected the riots in Soweto to result from school strikes against Afrikaans medium instruction.

Two days later, a Sunday newspaper quoted Mr Kruger as saying he had been expecting an outbreak for some time. He had seen the undercurrents and he was prepared It was precisely for this reason he had armed himself with the new internal security legislation.

A few days later, Mr Kruger accused the then Progressive Reform Party of "smearing" the police and furthering the aims of the "Black Power movement"

But the commision finds, however, that police had to bear collective responsibility for causing the first outbreak of rioting by failing to anticipate violence and to take counter-measures

Later, giving the official police version of how the riots started, Mr Kruger told foreign newsmen it would definitely appear that the riots were planned to coincide with Mr Vorster's meeting with the then United States Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger.

He said an armed white officer and 30 black policemen, not all armed, had tried to talk the group of about 2 000 angry students into dispersing. "They adopted a very threatening attitude indeed and the crowd's leader was shot dead then," Mr Kruger added.

He turned out to be a "non-student" aged about 25 or 30.

The Cillie Commission has found that the first two people to die were aged 17 and 12.

Now school and parents choose

By SOPHIE TEMA

PARENTS can now decide on the language to be used as a medium of instruction for their children in black schools.

A ruling was made shortly after the 1976 outbreak of violence in Soweto that the choice of the medium of instruction from standard five onwards was entirely the decision of the school and the parents.

Until then Afrikaans had to be used as a medium of instruction in black secondary schools on a 50/50 basis with English with virtually no exemptions allowed.

This issue, according to the Cillie Commission report, was a direct cause of the 1976 riots.

A spokesman for the Department of Co-operation and Development said yesterday the new rule was one of many meaningful changes and improvements the department believed had been made in black education since 1976.

He said the increase in the budget between 1976 and 1980 for black education has been higher than the average increase taken from all State departments.

The percentage of schoolgoing children in 1948 was 2,5% which rose to 13% in 1979.

There was also a notable rise in registered full-time matriculants There were 957 candidates in 1960 and 23 240 by 1979.

Although the department is viewing these as notable changes, some teachers in Soweto and on the Reef have expressed the need for a complete change in the black educational structure, based on a sound economic background.

One principal said. "Promises have been made as have indications of changes the Government wants to bring, but nothing concrete so far has come off the ground."

A lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Mpiyake Basil Kumalo said: "There has been some change in the educational structure which is not easily recognisable. Much has still to be done"

Treurnicht speech 'tipped the scales'

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Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — A statement by Dr Andries Treurnicht in Parliament a few days before the Soweto riots started "tipped the scales towards unrest" because it showed the door had been closed to concessions on the Afrikaans language issue

The Cillie Commission quoted two witnesses as saying this but found that the former minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr M C Botha, and Dr Treurnicht as his deputy, were unaware of the extent of the buildup in tension in Soweto before the June 16 riots

It said they and the secretary for Bantu Education, Mr J Roussouw, were not kept informed by their officials who were in turn charged by the commission with joint-responsibility for causing the first outbreaks of violence through their failure to assess the situation and take countermeasures

The commission credited Mr Botha with removing the root causes of the riots by meeting black school board members three days after violence started and resolving objections to the imposition of Afrikaans a a medium of instruction on a 50/50 basis with English

Although Dr Treurnicht was warned by the Institute of Race Relations that tensions were reaching danger point, the commission said his response in Parliament when he understated the extent and nature of tension was justified because his officials had not kept him informed of feelings on the language issue

But in reaching its conclusions, the commission disclosed that as early as April 1976, the African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA) met the secretary for Bantu Education and handed him a memorandum dealing with the Afrikaans language policy

A month later — on May 25 when students were boycotting classes at a number of schools — the then director of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr Fred van Wyk, spoke to the regional director of education in Soweto about the authorities' lack of action on the language issue.

Mr Van Wyk was not satisfied with the answer that the language issue was being used for "other purposes" and then sent the following telegram to Mr Rene de Villiers, former Progressive Federal Party MP for Parktown.

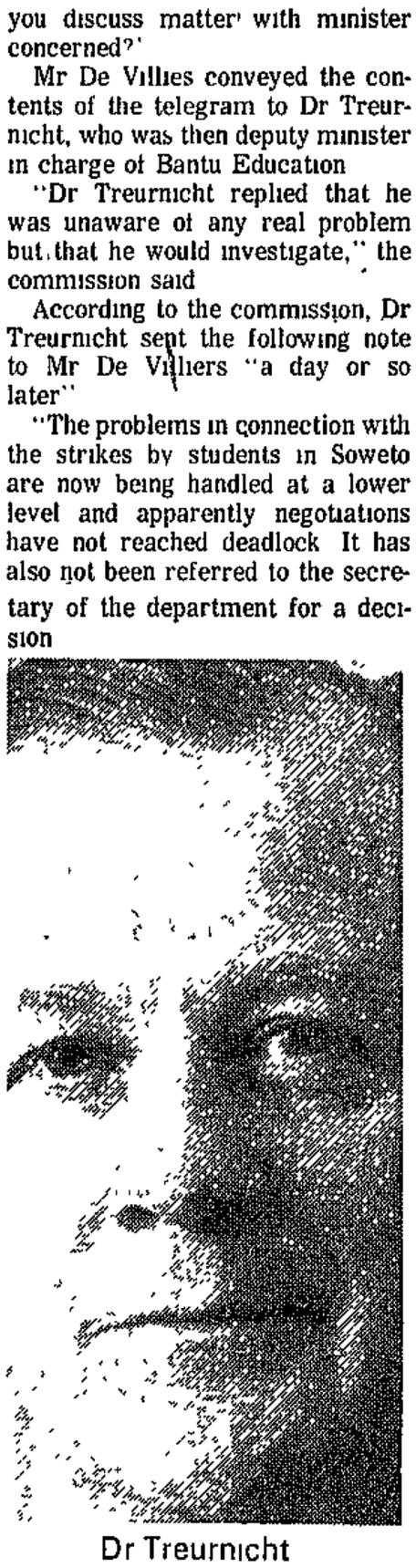
"Deeply concerned Afrikaans medium controversy black schools. Position Soweto very serious. Could you discuss matter with minister concerned?"

Mr De Villiers conveyed the contents of the telegram to Dr Treurnicht, who was then deputy minister in charge of Bantu Education

"Dr Treurnicht replied that he was unaware of any real problem but that he would investigate," the commission said

According to the commission, Dr Treurnicht sent the following note to Mr De Villiers "a day or so later"

"The problems in connection with the strikes by students in Soweto are now being handled at a lower level and apparently negotiations have not reached deadlock It has also not been referred to the secretary of the department for a decision



Dr Treurnicht

"Later perhaps, we will establish what the contributing causes are, but at the moment it can be mentioned that children are striking because teachers (according to the children?) are not qualified to instruct in Afrikaans. Perhaps it is not that simple."

The commission added: "According to the secretary, he (the secretary) knew about the students actions, but that school boards had been instructed to negotiate with students for them to return to school. He understood that some children had already returned to school

"The information available to the deputy minister therefore was that a solution was being sought at the local level and that there had been a measure of success.

"In fact, six schools were at that stage involved. At two of them, students went back to school but were being threatened On that evening windows at Belle School were damaged"

Outlining the buildup of tension in Soweto, the commission said that by May 31 there were not only newspaper reports on class boycotts but general articles on the language issue and unrest

The commission singled out a report in Beeld, headlined "Don't Force Afrikaans on Black Schools", and quoted the Rev Sam Buti, scribe of the black Ned Geref Kerk, as saying that there were still good race relations but it should be remembered that the time for unilateral decision-making was over

By June 4 unrest at Belle School had still not calmed down and according to the commission "the atmosphere was tense"

Stone-throwing had taken on such dimensions that police were called in

Replying to questions in Parliament on that day, Dr Treurnicht said students at five schools were boycotting classes but school boards were negotiating with them Students in Standard Five and in Form One had given as reasons for the boycotts the fact that they were opposed to the language policy By June 7 the Urban Bantu Council was discussing the unrest and emphasizing the "seriousness and danger of the situation"

On June 11 — five days before the riots started — Dr Treurnicht said in reply to questions in Parliament that five schools had applied for exemption from the 50/50 language policy

"The five schools had been named the week before as among the six where boycotts were taking place"

The commission noted, "Their applications for exemption were turned down because it had been found that after investigation teachers were qualified to give instruction in both official languages."

Referring to Dr Treurnicht's reply that applications for exemptions had been turned down, the commission says: "A witness told the commission that this answer tipped the scales towards unrest because it showed that the door had been closed and that there would be no concession

"In the Urban Bantu Council, a speaker deplored the refusal for the same reason"

The commission did not make an immediate judgment on the opinions of the witness and the UBC member, but recalled that on the same day — June 11 — the minister, unnamed in the report but presumably Mr M C Botha, said he had no knowledge of a demonstration at Naledi High School.

The commission commented "The commission investigated the circumstances relating to this and found the following The incidents enjoyed a reasonable amount of publicity, particularly because they took place on two consecutive days. The Rand Daily Mail referred to 'demonstrating students' and to the incident as a 'demonstration'."

The commission said, however, that the secretary for Bantu Education had asked officials for full details of the incident, but these were not available

"A report was made to him and he in turn informed the minister," the commission said "The minister's reply in Parliament agrees with the information the secretary gave him"

On the same day this was happening, the director of the Institute of Race Relations sent a second telegram to Mr De Villiers.

"The situation Soweto schools over Afrikaans as medium apparently deteriorates daily. Violence has already taken place and can easily be repeated Sincerely trust Dr Treurnicht is on top of situation"

The commission said Mr De Villiers conveyed the contents of the telegram to Dr Treurnicht and received the reply that he, Dr Treurnicht, was not aware of any escalation in the dispute over the language issue but that he would make inquiries

"Later he informed Mr De Villiers that he had been in contact with his officials, that he had no reason to believe that the issue could not be resolved and that talks were going on"

The commision reported "Mr De Villiers was under the clear impression that the deputy minister did not expect any violent confrontation"

The commission said that on investigation it found that Dr Treurnicht had asked the secetary for Bantu Education for information, but that the information the secretary had obtained from officials did not indicate any escalation of the dispute

"The deputy minister was therefore justified in giving Mr De Villiers the reply which he did give him

Counting the cost of the violence

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Damage estimated at R29,7 m was sustained by Bantu Affairs Administration Boards in the country-wide disturbances sparked off in Soweto in June 1976, according to the Cillie Commission

When totalling all the estimates of damage contained in the report, a figure of about R47 m is arrived at, but Mr Justice Cillie feels very strongly that these figures should not be added together to determine a final bill for the nation-wide unrest.

"The amounts listed in the report cannot be regarded as complete and accurate for two reasons.

"Firstly, not all persons and instances reported their losses, and in cases where they did, flaws were found in some of the returns The second reason is that estimates of damage are not and sometimes cannot always be exact.

"The losses of private individuals and instances are virtually impossible to determine, although evidence before the commission estimates these at more than R10 m.

"Throughout the country the property of Bantu Affairs Administration Boards was the target of vandals and its not surprising that these 22 boards suffered more damage as a group than any other group

"During the disturbances, 114 beerhalls, 74 bottlestores and 124 BAAB buildings were gutted or damaged by fire. The contents of the buildings were destroyed In all, 222 board vehicles were destroyed.

"The Department of Co-operation and Development sets the total damage to the boards at R29 662 870.

"To ascertain the final damage figures for Soweto as a separate area would have been too costly, but the damage figure for the West Rand Administration Board, under which Soweto falls, is R16 338 525.

"Losses sustained by the Department of Education and Training total R650 000.

"Damage done by rioters to schools and official buildings in the black states totals R632 250. This amount excludes the damage done in the Moretele district of Bophuthatswana and damage to the University of Zululand in Kwazulu.

"A total of 224 police vehicles were damaged or destroyed at a cost of R33 182. The operational expenses incurred by the police in trying to curb the riots came to R782 435

Damage to trains, station buildings, tracks and signal boxes cost the Railways R934 600. In addition, protection which had to be afforded to trains, lines, installations and buildings, set the railways back another R160 224 in extraordinary administrative costs.

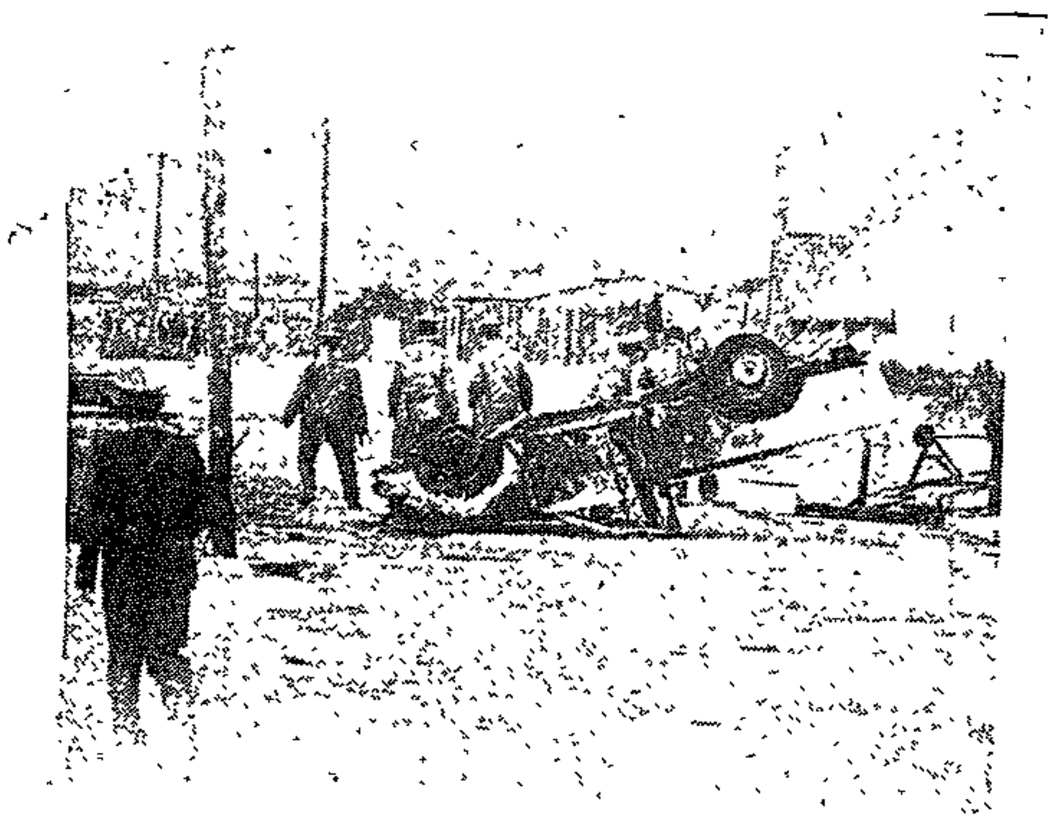
"Damage to official vehicles of the Department of Transport came to R7 965.

"Within the first six months of the disturbances, 37 post offices were damaged, most of them in black and coloured residential areas. One was damaged by a petrol bomb in the white residential area of Kalk Bay and another was damaged by fire in Kimberley. Total damage to the Department of Posts and Telecommunications was R168 000.

"Losses totalling R1 587 831 were sustained by the Department of Public Works mainly as a result of damage to coloured schools and colleges.

"The Administration of Coloured Affairs had to pay R926 915 for damage to buildings at 164 coloured schools throughout the country.

"A survey covering the period to the end of 1976 shows that 264 private concerns were damaged or destroyed. Of these, 43 were in Soweto and 86 were in the Cape Peninsula. Among them were 10 factories, five commercial banks, five cinemas, four petrol stations and several hotels." — Sapa





Buildup to riots began in fifties

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — The buildup to the Soweto riots took place over a period of 20 years, starting with the imposition in black schools of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and culminating in the outbreak of violence in June 1976

The Cillie Commission takes up the history of confrontation on the language issue in the fifties when the government took over black education from the provinces and churches

Its initial language policy was that the mother tongue would be the medium of instruction up to standard six The mother tongue would only be used for non-examination subjects in secondary schools while Afrikaans and English would be used where possible in the remaining subjects

But because of a shortage of teachers qualified in Afrikaans, the Department of Bantu Education sent the following directive to regional directors in 1959

Backlog

"Because of the backlog in Afrikaans and particularly the inability of certain Bantu teachers to use this language as a medium of instruction most of the secondary schools have asked for exemptions from this requirement during the past three years These exemptions were granted in most cases

"From 1960 exemptions from using Afrikaans as a medium will not be so easily granted and it is expected that everything possible will be done to ensure that Afrikaans as a medium of instruction will take its rightful place"

The only exception to the rule would be a lack of teachers qualified to instruct in Afrikaans

But the directive also made the following stipulations Students' lack of knowledge of, for example Afrikaans, will not be accepted as an excuse If there is a teacher on the staff who can, for example, teach agriculture in Afrikaans, then this must be done regardless of the pupils knowledge of this language It has already been shown on an experimental basis that this can be done successfully

Question

Without giving a judgment, the commission comments 'The question arises as to whether a student educated in this way could not after 15 years or more have sympathy for those people who allege that Afrikaans is being forced down their throats?'

A few weeks later, regional directors were informed in another circular that the conditions laid down in the previous circular should only be applied to form one classes in the coming year and in the higher forms on a yearly progressive basis.

The 50/50 language policy was emphasized in numerous circulars after this, but in 1973 another directive was circulated stating in "commanding language" that the medium of instruction should be exclusively in Afrikaans or exclusively in English or on a 50/50 basis

If the decision was to instruct exclusively in either Afrikaans or English, then the language not being used as a medium of instruction would have to be given two extra periods each week when it was taught

The test

The directive added "To establish whether Afrikaans or English or both should be used as medium of instruction in a specific secondary school, the test must be which one of the the two languages is the dominant language of the white community in the town, city or area in which the school is situated"

School boards and inspectors could make recommendations on the implementation in their areas of the policy but the final decisions would rest with the Secretary for Bantu Education.

A survey then showed that school boards and inspectors were overwhelmingly against instruction exclusively in Afrikaans and that the majority would choose instruction in either English or in both languages on a 50/50 basis

Faced with the survey, the minister, then Mr M C Botha, issued the following directive "That the status quo for the use of both official languages should, where possible, be maintained on a 50/50 basis at secondary level and departmental approval must be obtained for any deviation from the rule for the equal use of the official languages, and that approval will be determined mainly by the availablity of teachers qualified to teach a particular subject in an official lan-

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Police share blame

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — Police had to collectively bear responsiblity for the first outbreak of violence in Soweto on June 16, 1976, the Cillie Commission has found

The commission said that although the direct cause of the riots was the organization by students of an illegal mass protest march, the inability of police to anticipate the threatened rebellion on June 16 and to take counter-measures was a "concurrent circumstance" causing unrest

"This means that the police must collectively bear responsibilty for this special incident," the commission said

It disclosed that while students were widely organizing for at least three days, police first got to know of the planned June 16 protest march late on the afternoon of the 15th

At about 4 pm, Major G J Viljoen, commanding officer at Jabulani police station, received information that students at Naledi High School were going to protest the following day

At the same time, a black lieutenant unnamed in the report told Colonel J A Kleingeld, commanding officer at Orlando police station, of a rumour that students were planning to hold a meeting at one of the high schools in Orlando

Later in the evening, a black sergeant unnamed in the report told Colonel Kleingeld that he had spoken to a student from Orlando North High School

The student had said that five scholars from Matsike High School arrived at his school and said that scholars should first go to school the following day and should then march People other than students should be off the streets and cars on the streets would be burned

'All this information, no matter how vague and incomplete it was, was never conveyed to the divisional commissioner or headquarters," the commission said

It was only at 7 45 am on June 16 that Colonel Kleingeld told his men to ready themselves at his police station Later, he patrolled the area and realized he needed reinforcements as students massed on their protest march

'The Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, Brigadier S W le Roux, gave evidence that until that morning, he had still not received any report on the planned demonstrations'

The commission explained that the SAP argued that because there was no compulsory education, it could not take action when children boycotted classes

"It should be accepted that the force in Soweto should be informed about matters regarding possible unrest in the area," the commission commented

"Nevertheless, clear signs of simmering unrest were ignored in the last few weeks before the outbreak.

"There were numerous cases of violent opposition testifying to growing tension, but the police did not realize the importance of the warning signals

"It would appear that the police did not make further or sufficient investigations

"For this reason, a group of young people could for at least three days make intensive preparations for a demonstration involving 15 000 or more students in schools throughout Soweto"

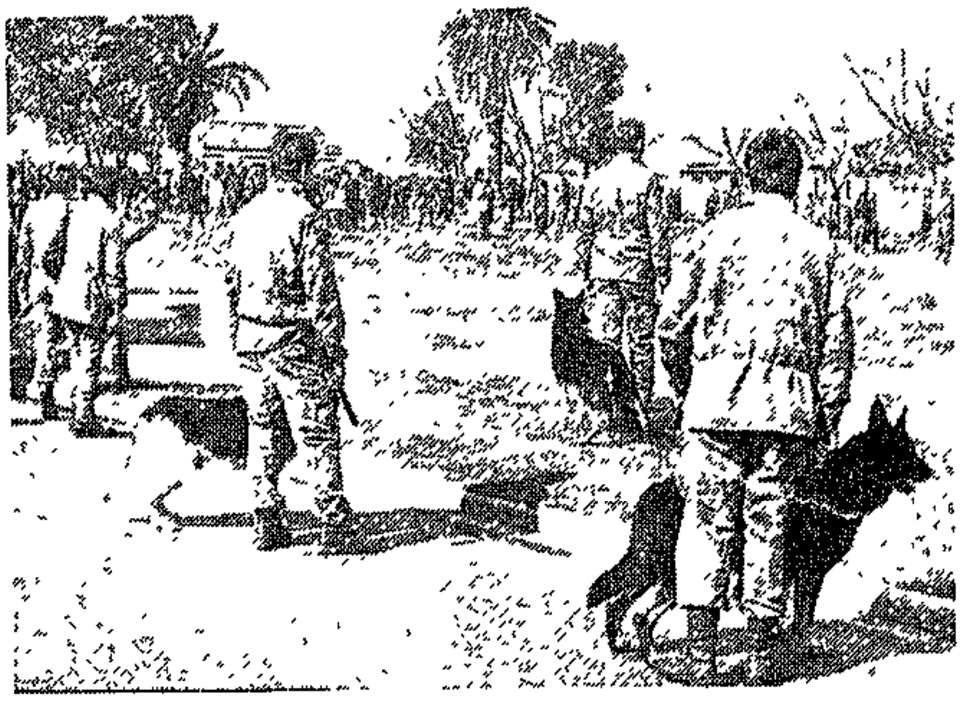
The commission said police were "completely unprepared" when they received first reports of trouble

The police had no plan of action to combat the first day of unrest and patrols first had to go out to establish what was happening," the commission said

"The divisional commissioner's orders that students should be confined to their school grounds were incapable of execution because most of them had already left their school grounds

"The police halted the demonstration, but they could not control the rebellious crowds Unrest started and spread through Soweto

'It wasn't long before there was unrest in many parts of the country"



Events of first violent clash reconstructed

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Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Cillie Commission has attempted to reconstruct the events in Soweto on June 16, 1976, leading to the dramatic first violent confrontation between police and students which culminated in 575 deaths around the country

The confrontation started early on June 16 after police had heard on the previous evening that students were planning an illegal mass protest against the imposition in black secondary schools of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

"A major point of difference is who was responsible for the first act of violence," the commission says

The confrontation took place in front of Orlando West High School where students were gathering for their protest march which, according to the report, had been planned for the past three days without police knowing about it

On his way to the protest point, the officer commanding Orlando police station, Colonel J A Kleingeld, accompanied by his men, met a crowd of students near Uncle Tom's Hall in Khumalo Street

Stones

"He climbed out of his car to talk with them," says the commission. As he approached stones were thrown at him and he had to retreat to the relative safety of his vehicle.

"He threw two teargas cannisters at the crowd and they moved away"

From Khumalo Street, the police unit drove up Pela Street and turned into Vilakazi where they came up against a crowd of students The groups moved closer together and the colonel, positioned in front of his vehicle, put his hands up in the air and shouted at the crowd to stop

It was Colonel Kleingeld's opinion that the big noise of the throng and the stone-throwing made his words inaudible.

The commission quotes a witness, Miss Sophie Tema, a reporter on World newspaper, which was later banned, as saying that students whistled and waved placards at the police, and one policeman "lost his cool" and threw a teargas cannister among the students

According to Miss Tema, the crowd stoned the police who then used their weapons

'Exceptionally dangerous'

"According to Colonel Kleingeld, the crowd moved closer and closer to the unit and vehicles," the commission says "Police were stoned It was exceptionally dangerous for members of the unit."

Colonel Kleingeld radioed for reinforcements and to win time he decided to storm the crowd with dogs and batons

Before doing so he fired two warning shots and no one was injured.

Police succeeded in driving back the crowd, but when they started returning to their vehicles they were pursued.

"Because reinforcements had still not arrived, Colonel Kleingeld decided he had to use firearms. He was afraid that indiscreet shooting could cause a bloodbath and therefore ordered his men not to shoot. He decided to act himself.

"He fired three more warning shots in front of and over the crowds. This stopped the crowd for only a moment and then they came closer again. Then several other members of the force used their firearms."

In the shooting, 17-year-old Hastings Ndhlovu and 12-year-old Hector Peterson, were killed.

No victimization

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Cillie Commission found that although potential black and coloured witnesses did fear victimization by the security police, it was convinced that there had been none

The commission also found that the arrest of two people shortly after they had given evidence was not an act of victimization. Their arrest was unconnected with their evidence, the commission said

The findings were contained in a chapter which disclosed that the majority of people who gave evidence before the commission were whites The report said 563 people had given evidence — 340 whites, 184 blacks and 39 coloured people

The total included 127 white, black and coloured policemen. Only 15 people who gave evidence on the student uprising were under 18.

Unrest: 575 killed

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Altogether 575 people were killed and at least 3 907 injured in disturbances throughout the country between June 16, 1976, and February 28, 1977, according to the Cillie Commission tabled in Parliament yesterday

Evidence before the commission was the principal source of information concerning the identity and particulars of the dead and injured The compilation of the statistics was a formidable task and many problems were encountered

"There were cases where people were reported dead and later found to be alive Some of them had been seriously wounded, admitted to hospital and later discharged.

"Names were duplicated, not only on different lists but sometimes on the same list Some people on the lists died of natural causes and others committed suicide.

"Nevertheless, the commission exercised strict control over these lists so that genuine cases were not missed"

The identification of bodies was also a problem.

"Because conditions at the place where a body was found or taken to were sometimes chaotic, the commission does not intend blaming anyone for failing to obtain certain information about the dead and for not exercising better control

"Under these circumstances, it is impossible to be 100 percent sure of the death statistics." — Sapa

Decreed

But in 1974 another directive was sent out declaring: "In the Southern Transvaal region Afrikaans and English will be used on a 50/50 basis."

However, the directive then decreed that in standard five and forms one and two English would be the medium for "general science and practical subjects", Afrikaans would be the medium in mathematics and social studies, and the mother tongue would be used in non-examination subjects.

The commission comments "It is noteworthy that this circular does not mention deviations from the rule of equal use and therefore not of previous exemptions which makes further applications unnecessary. In the formulation of the policy even the words 'where possible' have been omitted."

The commission says that when it asked the Southern Transvaal regional director why the possibility of deviations from the rule was not mentioned, he replied that inspectors were aware of the possibility of concessions.

It adds that the circular created among many people the impression that deviations would no longer be allowed and that schools which had been granted exemptions would now be forced to impose the 50/50 rule.

Misunderstandings

"The circular caused misunderstandings and dissatisfaction in Southern Transvaal resulting in a deterioration of relations between official and parent, and official and school board," the commission says

After dealing at length with confrontations on the language issue between school boards and officials, the commission states that exemptions from the language policy were in fact being made and that Afrikaans was not being used as medium of instruction in 110 of Soweto's 357 schools.


WE WANT
TO SEE
MBUGER

Cillie Commission of Inquiry into the 1976 riots

Police behaved well in danger

Chief Reporter

THE POLICE acquitted themselves well in difficult and dangerous circumstances during the outbreaks of violence in the Cape Peninsula in mid-1976, but there were certain policemen who went too far and who were too quick to open fire, says the report of the Cillie Commission tabled in Parliament yesterday

It says investigation of allegations of purposeful assault and indiscriminate shooting by law-enforcement personnel did not produce sufficient evidence on which to base a finding in this regard

The commission found that police action was not the cause of the first wave of violence and unrest in the Peninsula, and adds that evidence before the commission does not justify a finding of purposeful and unjustified assaults on people by the police

It was the policy of the police to resort to force only when this was found necessary to restore order, to protect lives and property and to effect arrests

The policy was to handle rioters firmly, not roughly In this connection it happened that certain policemen, on account of their psychological make-up or because of particular circumstances, went too far

Quick to open fire

"It was not the policy of the police to shoot rioters indiscriminately There were exceptional cases where a few members of the force, as a result of a wrong assessment of the situation, or of tension, over-reaction, force of circumstances and even fear, were too quick to open fire

There were further instances where policemen opened fire before making sure that uninvolved people would not be hit — particularly where the use of fine-shot was concerned "

The report says a coloured girl, Sandra Peters, died during the riots as a result of a bullet wound in the head At a subsequent inquest, the magistrate found Sandra was shot by police during the stoning of vehicles and the looting of a shop

According to evidence before the commission, Sandra s mother sent her and her little brother to the shop They saw looters break into the shop and ran away when the police arrived After the police had withdrawn, Sandra and her brother walked with other children back towards the shop Apparently the looting started again and shots were fired at the looters by guards who had not at first been noticed

The commission accepts that she (Sandra Peters) was not one of the looters "

Police unsure of adults' support

Chief Reporter

THE CILLIE COMMISSION says in its report that while some parents and other adults helped in efforts to stop the rioting in the Peninsula in 1976, "the police could never be certain of the support of the community in the maintenance of order"

"Cold neutrality was usually the reaction of the adults present

"Witnesses emphasized that the police must arrest those who had committed serious offences such as arson, dangerous assault, looting, public violence and sabotage

"These offenders were not alone, they were among their friends They gained more courage to resist arrest after witnessing the behaviour of others They could count on help, and they knew that if they were caught they could expect severe sentences

● On the other hand, says the report, there were cases where demonstrators did in fact heed warnings and commands and where arrests were made without violence — but this was exceptional

"When all the relevant facts are taken into consideration, and in the realization that it is easy but dangerous to condemn in retrospect, the commission took decisions concerning the correctness of the action taken by the police in the Cape Peninsula "

The report adds It was not always possible to obtain full details of cases such as this one, where it was claimed that a victim had no part in the disturbances

In the Peninsula, as elsewhere, it happened that passers-by and inquisitive people came to be wounded, even killed, by police in their efforts to contain the rioting

The commission says a number of witnesses testified to the extremely difficult circumstances in which the police had to carry out their duties

As an example, evidence was given of how the police, after being summoned to deal with the first public unrest at the University of the Western Cape, were asked by the rector, after discussions, to leave the campus

To do this the police had to drive past a crowd of students According to a witness, they were mocked, sworn at and abused As they drove by their vehicles were kicked and beaten with objects and with fists "

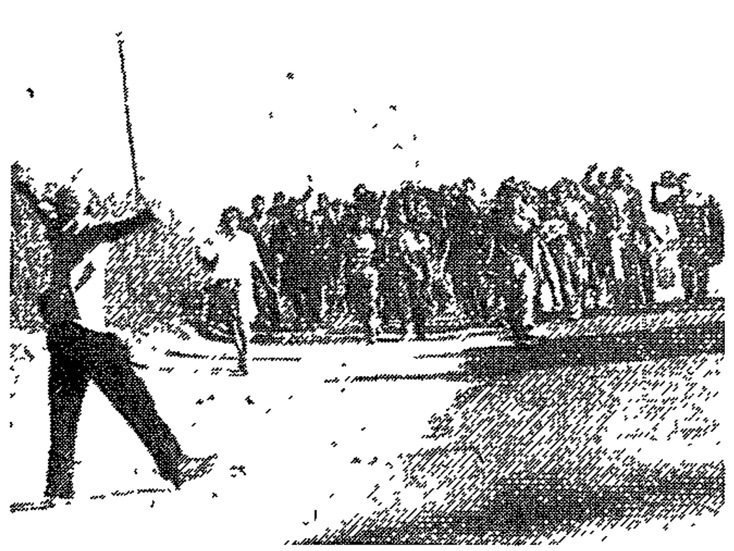
When the police wanted to restore peace and order, the report says, they had to deal not only with innocent schoolchildren, there were wilful and unruly elements who refused to heed lawful commands

Instigators popped up

The instigators popped up in many different places and when they did, the stone-throwers were always nearby The police were under constant threat Whether they were on patrol, trying to restore order, protecting workers who did not wish to strike, or arresting offenders, they did not know where the next stone was going to come from

"Among the crowds that had to be controlled there were often a large number of those who did not know the discipline of parents, teachers or of regular employment Some of them had no respect for law and order and were not prepared to heed lawful commands

"The evidence shows also that many of the rioters were under the influence of strong drink "







Education officials censured

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — The Cillie Commission charges officials responsible for black education with joint responsibility for causing the first outbreaks of violence in Soweto on June 16 1976

It castigates them for an arrogant attitude and singles out the former regional director of education in Soweto Mr W C Ackermann, for particular censure

Mr Ackermann who was transferred out of Soweto shortly after the riots began, is accused of adopting a "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude towards objections to the imposition in black secondary schools of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction on a 50 50 basis with English

The commission finds that the cause of the first unrest was the application of the language policy, the organized resistance in Soweto against the policy the ineffective handling of opposition by officials and the failure of education and police officials to anticipate threatened violence and to take countermeasures

Students 'used'

The officials believed there were agitators behind all the rebellousness and also that students were being used as a so-called pressure group the commission says

They did not realize that students were so dissatisfied that they could easily become riotous

This attitude had the following important consequences Firstly avenues of communication were closed and there was no opportunity to discuss policy and to explain reasons for the policy

"There was no exchange of ideas and the impression was created that the authorities were inaccessible and forbidding

Further officials never knew what was going on among rebels or how determined their opposition was They could also not establish the nature of objections against the policy

Danger signals

They were not in a position to warn the secretary or the minister about the threatened danger and when requested they could not supply the important details for answers in Parliament

The commission says that even without having contact with Soweto there were sufficient danger signals to officials on their guard Already in February 1976 students were causing trouble over Afrikaans as a medium of instruction At one point 1 600 students boycotted schools

Questions were also being asked in Parliament on boycotts and on applications by schools for exemptions from the language policy

Officials were asked for details but advised the secretary (of Bantu Education) that the problems were still at a very low level the commission says

The report explains it appeared that implementation by officials of the language policy became more rigid an impression bolstered partly by increasing applications for exemption from the policy and a subsequent increased numbers of refusals

Officials felt that only the policymakers in government had any say over the language issue and they therefore felt it was unnecessary to discuss it with parents and other people involved in education

Students' actions were a matter for the black school boards which had been given instructions to negotiate on the dispute over the language issue and to ensure that they returned to school

"It is not clear what room for manoeuvre school boards had in such negotiations because concessions on the policy were out of the question " the commission says

As examples of how officials handled the language issue, the commission cites two meetings attended by Mr Ackermann on June 7 and 8

At the first meeting organized by the chief director of the West Rand Administration Board Mr Ackermann spoke to a delegation from the Urban Bantu Council

The chief director of WRAB unnamed in the report, came under the impression that Mr Ackermann was unwilling to meet the UBC delegation

The second meeting was organized by the chief Bantu affairs commissioner and attended by Mr Ackermann WRAB's chief director and three police officers

Mr Ackermann believed that the meeting was organized to criticize his department's handling of opposition to the language issue but the commission says this was not the case

At the first meeting Mr Ackermann declared that school boards accepted responsibility to end boycotts of classes and that his department could therefore do nothing about the issue

His attitude was that the policy of equal use of Afrikaans and English was instituted because white taxpayers financed Bantu Education and that tax paid by urban blacks went to the homelands

'This attitude of take-it-or-leave-it could decidedly not calm down feelings,' the commission says

'Chain-reaction'

At both meetings, Mr Ackermann also said students' demands could not be met because this would create an unending chain-reaction

"Other officials showed this same attitude in the period before the outbreak of violence " the commission says

The Urban Bantu Council also requested that education department circulars should be sent to their committee on education The request was turned down because the education department did not regard the committee as a part of the education system

"In conclusion it is clear that official actions did not in any way help to avoid rebellion or to postpone it the commission says





Gang caused Nyanga riots

Chief Reporter

THE CILLIE COMMISSION, in its report tabled yesterday, found that the direct cause of the Christmas weekend riots in Nyanga in 1976 was the militant activities of a township group known as the Comrades, and of

dents for adopting a protective attitude towards their youngsters when they clashed with the Migrants, the group from the single quarters

Although the Migrants had not instigated the riots, their warring Resident and Migrant factions)

The commission says police action at Nyanga during that Christmas weekend was aimed at restoring peace and protecting lives and property. The police did not, as was also suggested, train the Migrants in the manufacture and use of petrol bombs

In the week before Christmas, the Comrades stepped up their campaign against, she-

given police protection on their way to and from work.

The Comrades forbade Christmas festivities in the township, and removed Christmas presents and bottles of liquor from people in the streets. They also ordered people to-

memorial service, there was a flare-up of violence — and the Christmas riots at Nyanga had begun

According to available pamphlets, the report adds, the Comrades were strongly op-

to the whites to the ov-

JOHANNESBURG — Key aspects of government policy caused dissatisfaction which activists exploited to create unrest in the 1976 riots, the Cillie Commission has found

It has also delivered a damning indictment of the police and education officials in its analysis of 31 possible causes of unrest which led to rioting after June 16, 1976

Summarizing its findings, the commission says the factors which jointly caused the first riot were the application of the Afrikaans language policy in black secondary schools, the organized campaign

Activists used govt

commission quotes the herbalist, Mr Credo Mutwa, as saying in evidence that the agitator does not himself create a grievance, he uses available facts and exploits a situation

● Intimidation Although intimidation of blacks by riot organizers was not a cause of unrest, rebels used this powerful instrument to create and prolong unrest Because of this, intimidation and the wide extent of it, together with the way intimidators disguised their motives and final objectives, it cannot be

fluence of this group

But, the report says, it was not clear what the Comrades' objectives were In contrast with what had happened elsewhere, there was no demonstration of black power, and it was a feature of the riots at Nyanga that there were no demonstrations against the authorities and no attempt to bring grievances to the attention of the outside world

'It can however be said that they (the Comrades) wanted to cause chaos, strengthen their position and show their solidarity with the black people of Soweto'

The commission, which conducted a separate inquiry into the Nyanga riots at a special sitting in Cape Town, also blames in part the group known as the Residents — permanent inhabitants of Nyanga — for not keeping their children and other militant youths" in check

It also criticizes the Resi-

y defensive. On different occasions they organized and implemented punishment-and-revenge attacks

Their actions, like those of the other rioters, was sometimes merciless and cruel They also used stones and petrol-bombs in the fighting across the boundary line (The dividing line drawn by the police in the township to separate the

certain witnesses, responsible for the tension between the Migrants and the Residents.

The police, says the report, carried out their duties in spite of personal danger to themselves in the steps they had to take "They fulfilled their task in an impartial manner and did not deliberately favour one group against another"

The commission says the

nto alleged shebeens and destroyed buildings, furniture and liquor. Some even helped themselves to liquor and robbed the shebeen owners of their money

The commission says the Comrades instigated strikes and set out to damage the South African economy The Migrants, who did not wish to take part in the strikes called for by the Comrades, had to be

cemetery. The Migrants refused to attend.

All this, says the commission, led to confrontation between the Migrants and the Comrades When on Christmas day a group of Comrades attacked the car of a Migrant, which was full of liquor, and another group confronted Migrants and demanded to know why they had not been at the

tion They also drastically disrupted school attendances

The commission says it is unlikely that the Comrades were not connected with another bigger organization which exerted its influence to achieve its ends through unrest and chaos

The memorial service and the period of mourning called for by the Comrades were indications that solidarity or sympathy with the people of Soweto was a contributory cause or even an excuse for the riots It was not however as important a factor as in most riots in other areas

There was no evidence that participants in the unrest were under the influence of liquor, and in contrast with what had happened elsewhere, there was no demonstration of black power at Nyanga

According to the evidence, the well-known salute and shouted slogans were noted only once or twice during the whole of December



Mr Justice Cillie, second from left, with his three Cape advisers, Mr D R Ngo, left, Mr P M Sonn and Mr J F Malherbe right

Rector spoke as community leader

Chief Reporter

CRITICS of the actions of the Rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor R E van der Ross, during the unrest seemed to have lost sight of the fact that he spoke and wrote as a leader of his community, and in the context of circumstances within the ambit of his lifework, says the Cillie Commission report

'If he did not take cognisance of the grievances and frustrations of his own community, if he did not appreciate the effect these things could have on the university community, then he would indeed have been guilty of dereliction of duty, and unfit for his high office'

The commission says one of the difficulties encountered by Professor Van der Ross was that he found himself with a divided staff, some of whom openly supported the students and others who accused him of not acting strongly enough against them

'The facts show that the rector at all times tried to maintain a rapport with his students For instance, he addressed some of their mass meetings, he replied in writing to demands contained in memoranda drawn up by students, and he undertook to convey their grievances to the authorities'

● The report says the part played by UWC students in the Peninsula riots must not be underestimated Their declaration of solidarity with Soweto and the objectives of black people in the Republic made their institution (UWC) the flashpoint of the disturbances in the south

"From them, and from their troubled campus came the inspiration, the incitement and the ability to carry the violence to other educational institutions

'This is how the disturbances occurred not only in the Peninsula, but also spread to other towns in the southern Cape'

The commission says the evidence before it shows that the disturbances at the Cape did not occur spontaneously, but were the violent outcome of planning and agitation

It adds that there was evidence that teachers at Peninsula schools played an important role in creating an atmosphere of dissatisfaction and unrest among youngsters, and there had been testimony that many teachers had in fact incited their pupils to violence, had given sympathetic treatment to trouble-makers and had closed a blind eye to happenings that were not normally permissible

Students made UWC flashpoint

Chief Reporter

THE CILLIE COMMISSION says in its report that the demonstration by students of the University of the Western Cape of their solidarity with Soweto and with the objectives of black people in the Republic made the UWC the flashpoint of the disturbances in the south, in 1976.

The part played by the UWC students in the Peninsula riots must not be underestimated, it adds.

The commission says it could find nothing to substantiate charges made in camera to the commission by a group of witnesses that the Rector of the UWC, Professor R E van der Ross, had through his actions created "a climate of unrest" at the university.

These witnesses, who had appeared together before the commission, had not been identified. They had said that Professor Van der Ross, through certain utterances and actions, had brought students under the impression that their unruly behaviour was acceptable.

They had said the rector had taken no steps to curb the unrest at the university after the trouble had started there.

One of the charges that had been made against Professor Van der Ross was that he had not acted on the recommendations of a commission which had investigated unrest on the UWC campus a few years previously.

He had, according to these witnesses, failed to take even minimal disciplinary action against students and lecturers guilty of certain behaviour. The names of a professor and of two students were mentioned in this connection.

The report says Professor Van der Ross, in testifying to the commission after these allegations had been made, had said that while action had been necessary against leaders of groups that were disrupting classes, he was of the opinion that precipitate and untimely action against such people could in the circumstances have aroused more anger and caused an even greater disturbance.'

The rector had in fact taken certain measures later on.

Unrest often followed religious meetings

Chief Reporter

THE CILLIE COMMISSION says in its report it is significant how often rioting and acts of violence in the unrest in the Cape Peninsula in 1976 followed the holding of prayer meetings or memorial services, where solidarity with the parents and children of Soweto was demonstrated

'At schools, this often led to a refusal to return to classrooms, demonstrations, processions and ultimately to rioting

'A number of such religious or pseudo-religious gatherings were held in the Peninsula

"The commission accepts that these gatherings were used by others to bring large numbers of people together and then to act collectively There is no direct evidence that the pamphlets and inflammatory documents found on churchgoers and sometimes in church buildings were distributed by church bodies

The commission says some people connected with churches and theological institutions clashed with the law during the disturbances and were detained Church leaders had in certain documents sent abroad used language that had not been carefully weighed, with the result that critics could conclude that the conduct of the trouble-makers was being praised

Its report deals at length with allegations made against the police in a report drawn up by certain clergymen, Role of the South African Riot Police in Burnings and Killings in Nyanga, Cape Town, Christmas 1976 and in the Reverend David Russell's memorandum, The Riot Police and the Suppression of Truth'

It says witnesses referred to in these documents all appeared to come from the same group and had a similar attitude and approach Their statements had been one-sided, and those who had drawn up the documents had not given the persons against whom the accusations were made a chance to put their side of the matter

of education and police officials to anticipate unrest and to take countermeasures

Riots were then carried on by organizers of protests, boycotts and strikes Many other factors did not cause riots but contributed to them by creating a mood of unrest

The analysis of possible causes and a summary of the findings in each case are presented in the order the commission sets them out in its report

● Imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction on a 50/50 basis with English The causes of the first riots on June 16 was the application in black secondary schools of the language policy which provoked misunderstanding and dissatisfaction among the people of Soweto, the organized resistance in Soweto against the implementation of the policy, the ineffective handling of the campaign by officials, and the failure of education and police officials to anticipate the threat of violence and to take countermeasures

● Black organizations The black consciousness movement, a philosophy, almost a religion, present in virtually all black political and community organizations has as its purpose to make blacks proud and conscious of being blacks and to create greater solidarity among blacks

African National Congress Although difficult to establish the extent of the ANC's role in the riots, the commission nevertheless has no doubt that the organization was continually active during the unrest and that its activities had a decided effect on the instigation and continuation of unrest

SA Communist Party Regarded by the ANC as a revolutionary ally in the fight to overthrow the government

Pan African Congress It attempted to revive itself by working through religious youth organizations it established and helped to plan attacks on government buildings in Kagiso for June 17, 1976

Black Peoples Convention Its greatest contribution towards unrest was its attempt to make black youths conscious of their position as blacks through the philosophy of black consciousness

SA Students Organization Established to further the cause of black consciousness, its members incited school children and helped to get coloureds to side with blacks

SA Students Movement Members were involved in school boycotts from April 1976 A SASM meeting on June 13 decided to hold the mass protest on June 16 and the Soweto Students' Representative Council, as a sub-committee of SASM, must therefore accept coresponsibility that the unrest, which began on June 16, did not calm down sooner

The Comrades Consisted mainly of black high school students on the Peninsula who caused great damage and dissatisfaction in their campaigns against shebeens and in the organization of strikes

● Political and military developments outside SA Such developments as the Frelimo and MPLA takeovers in Mozambique and Angola and events in SWA/Namibia and Rhodesia were not a direct cause of unrest But they were undoubtedly a factor which contributed to a mood conducive to a fostering of unrest

● Bantu education There was considerable dissatisfaction over Bantu education among blacks particularly in Soweto Sometimes there were good reasons for this, sometimes not

● The homeland system The policy was never a direct cause of unrest but differences of opinion over the policy were sometimes the reason for actions which gave rise to unrest

● Influx control Although influx control and issues related to it were not directly responsible for unrest they were contributing factors A mood was created which could have caused many to turn to unrest or to act illogically and vandalistically in an unrest situation Important

cause riots

Political Staff

changes in the system have taken place since the unrest, says the commission

● Group areas General dissatisfaction caused by the group areas policy among blacks and coloureds most decidedly contributed to a mood which was susceptible to a "rioting-stimulus

● Ethic grouping No evidence to show that ethnic grouping, whether enforced or chosen, was a direct cause of any unrest or give rise to unrest or which together with other factors led to unrest

● Immorality and Mixed Marriages Act No black person or black organization raised objections to the laws in evidence before the commission

● Administration and advisory boards Dissatisfaction with administration boards was of such a magnitude that many black residents wwere activated to the extent that they could turn to rioting

● Urban blacks The fact that blacks had no say in the executive and administrative functions of official bodies was a source of dissatisfaction and frustration Although most urban dwellers did not want to break their ties with homelands, many found as unacceptable the policy that they should be citizens of homelands and not of South Africa in which they want to be permanant residents and citizens The ban on ownership of land caused ill-feeling and dissatisfaction greater than that caused by compulsory residence in separate areas

Modern urban blacks are deeply affected by all forms of discrimination and they see no difference between major and petty or irritating discrimination

● Discrimination Nearly all legislation relating to relations between the three races is divisive by nature and is regarded by the black man and the coloured as injustice and discriminatory Discrimination which is always considered unjust did not only cause dissatisfaction but among many a great hate

● Housing in urban areas There was no evidence to show that housing conditions led directly to unrest The commission, however, agrees with those witnesses who said that inadequate housing facilities and related inconveniences contributed to a certain extent to frustration

● Salary discrimination Giving examples of salary disparities between groups in the Health Department, the commission says this was undoubtedly a factor in the creation



of unrest

● Transport For so long the feeling towards transport services and the people responsible for them was so bad that only limited further frustration was necessary to create unrest It is also a situation exploited by agitators

● Lack of amenities This did not in itself give rise to unrest, but to a limited extent could have contributed to dissatisfaction along with stronger factors

● Race relations Relations between the races did not cause unrest but the deep seated hatred of certain rioters against white people probably because they were regarded as the suppressors, was a direct and contributing cause of unrest

● Communications The handling of opposition to the language policy and failure to communicate adequately were direct and contributing causes of unrest

● Local grievances Local circumstances in exceptional cases, like the detention of fellow-students, could have been a direct cause of unrest Local grievances were sometimes blown up by agitators into a cause but this was mostly only a factor which contributed to a climate of resistance and revolt

● Discipline There was no case in which a lack of discipline directly gave rise to unrest but the absence of discipline undoubtedly in many cases contributed to unrest and the extent of it

● Agitation and incitement There was hardly any area of unrest where agitation and incitement was not present The purpose of agitation was to further unrest Agitation was an important immediate and contributing cause of unrest The

aces man's will or that he was raising his voice against suppression and for a more democratic system in the Republic

● Detention Detention without trial was the cause of a limited dissatisfaction among blacks and coloureds, but the extent of it could not be established

● Police action The inability of police to foresee threatened unrest in Soweto before June 16 and to take countermeasures was a concurrent circumstance which caused unrest This means that the police must collectively bear responsibility for these special incidents The force was not in a position to halt the breach of the law The direct cause of riots remains the organization of an illegal demonstration on June 16

Excluding the police failure to anticipate unrest and to take countermeasures there was no acceptable evidence that police action was responsible for the further development of unrest or any unrest incidents There were cases in which police action in halting unrest led to unrest becoming stronger and wider

● The press Publicaton of reports about unrest could in themselves have had consequences that were neither intended nor desired After examination of all the available evidence the commission has come to the conclusion that it cannot be said that the dissemination of news on unrest directly caused any unest or allowed it to continue There is not evidence that any action of the press or of certain newspapers was responsible for unrest

Publicity given to riots by the press and radio influenced some readers and listeners to the extent that they could turn to unrest after the most limited stimulus There can be no doubt that black youths did excessively use the press to bring to public attenton their grievances actions and aspirations, but there was insufficient evidence to establish whether this could be considered a cause of unrest

● Administration of justice This has not created in the black community attitudes which could give rise to unrest or which in any significant way could contribute to a climate of opposition and rebellion

● Dr Henry Kissinger Organizers were responsible for unrest in Soweto on September 17, 1976 when Dr Kissinger, former US Secretary of State visited Pretoria and also on October 22, when Mr John Vorster former Prime Minister visited Kimberley

● Labour The migrant labour system was not a cause of fights and unrest but the actions of youth organizers, who wanted to prevent labourers from doing what they were entitled, was There was no evidence to show any connection betweeen job reservation and unrest The only connection between unemployment and unrest was that a large number of vagrants who did not want to work took part in the unrest

● Attacks on liquor outlets and shebeens Reasons for these were not clear and not causes of unrest but plundered alcohol that was consumed resulted in unrest becoming more intense

● Black solidarity By using the concept of solidarity, joint and uniform action on such issues as strikes, school boycotts and Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was obtained

Parliament

W/E ARGUS 1/3/80 Z74

Unrest: Some Nat MPs showed ignorance

By Tom Duff

EVIDENCE of how ignorant some Government MPs were about unrest and anger in Soweto emerges from remarks they made in Parliament in the week after the riots started.

The Cillie Commission has found that the imposition of Afrikaans as a teaching medium was an immediate cause of the unrest and has also listed a number of contributing factors which include key Government policies such as influx control and the Group Areas Act.

Mr Tom Langley, Nationalist MP for Waterkloof, seemed to be a bit puzzled about the cause of the riots when he spoke on June 21 1976.

POSITIVE

'Where do those riots come from all of a sudden, now that we should be reaping the fruits of the years of positive work to establish a model state in South Africa?' he asked.

Mr F Herman, Nationalist MP for Potgietersrus, made it very clear that he knew who was at fault: 'The riots which recently occurred are largely due to the communist Press in South Africa.'

He referred to a caption appearing in one English-language newspaper which said: 'The Reds are not a danger, apartheid is a danger'

Said Mr Herman: 'If this is not absolute blatant incitement of those people in Soweto and of the black masses, I do not know what incitement is.'

PRACTICAL

A little later he added: 'Now it is said that the language issue caused this trouble. If one wants to use one's own commonsense and be practical, one will see that the language issue had nothing to do with it.'

Said Mr W J C Rossouw, Nationalist MP for Stilfontein: 'It is the English Press that indoctrinates these people every day and suggests things to them.'

He singled out two newspapers and said: 'They are the inciters: they are the people who fan the flames of violence.'

(The Cillie Commission has found no evidence that any actions of the Press were directly responsible for the unrest. Although it has found that Radio and Press coverage of unrest could impress people so much that they could rebel as a result of a slight provocation, it does not believe there were deliberately false reports or reports with a specific aim behind them.)

TRIGGER

Some Nationalist MPs appeared to believe that the Progressive Reform Party was in some way responsible — an opinion which is not shared by the Cillie Commission.

During a speech, Dr Alex Boraine, PRP MP for Pinelands, said he accepted that the language issue was the trigger.

Said Mr J P A Reyneke, Nationalist MP for Boksburg: 'Which one of you pulled the trigger?'

Mr P H J Krijnauw, National Party MP for Koedoespoort, said: 'The time has arrived for the policy of the party (the PRP), its public actions, as well as its actions in Soweto to be properly examined.'

Mr A J Vlok, the NP representative for Verwoerdburg, agreed: 'I think it would be a good thing if South Africa could know what the role of the PRP and certain of our Press media in South Africa was in those unfortunate events which took place in Johannesburg,' he said.

The Cillie Commission has listed several factors contributing to the unrest, among which are grievances related to a lack of civil liberties enjoyed by blacks.

RIOT SQUAD

After many months of unrest, a special riot squad was finally formed. Its members wore helmets with visors, had special clothing and carried shields and large batons.

But when he was asked in Parliament a few days after the start of the riots why such methods could not be used, the then Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, ridiculed them.

He said: '. . . to have our policemen running around like knights of the middle ages, heavily armoured with coats-of-mail and visors, and goodness knows what else — a policeman in such a garb pursuing fleet-footed little Bantu all over the veld — is something I can hardly imagine.

'Not only would it be ridiculous, it is also completely unnecessary. In any case, a police officer will hardlly be able to handle his rifle if he is also wearing a heavy flak jacket and a face guard.'

A singular feature of speeches in Parliament by some PRP and United Party MPs is how accurately they highlighted grievances both before and after the start of the unrest.

'NO RULES' MULDER STILL HAUNTS NATS

Weekly review by Frans Esterhuyse

DR Connie Mulder's 'no rules' philosophy for survival still seems to be haunting the Government in strange and diverse ways.

The ghost arose once more when the Government was confronted in the Assembly this week about official spying on its political opponents.

Stongly reminiscent of the Mulder era was the Government's reaction that it was 'not in the public interest' to disclose whether the official spying on MPs was done legally or illegally.

The official Opposition's persistent questioning which drew the response could have been put like this: Do the rules apply or do they not? That was what it amounted to and it was the curx of the matter.

The Government would not say. Opposition fears, therefore, remained that the rules (of the law) might not apply when it came to spying on politicians.

And it was 'not in the public interest' for the Opposition or the public — to know.

This was like an echo from Dr Mulder's attempted cover-up before the Information scandal was cracked wide open.

The Botha Government's attitude to its political opposition was shown during a remarkable exchange between Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton), backed up by her parliamentary colleagues, and the Deputy Minster of National Security, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

The episode lasted only a few minutes.

On the surface it seemed a trivial matter.

There were questions from Mrs Suzman and answers or non-answers from the Deputy Minister. Also a few heated exchanges.

Then it was all over.

But those few minutes showed more than many hours of debate might have shown on other occasions.

It began when Mrs Suzman asked in a long question whether MPs had had their telephones tapped and their mail intercepted.

She wanted to know whether this had been done in terms of the Post Office Act, and, if so, which MPs had been affected.

She also wanted to know who had requested the surveillance, what were the grounds stated by the applicant, as required in terms of the Post Office Act, and when it had been done.

The Deputy Minister replied to the effect that it was not in the public interest to make further diclosures about the tapping of telephones and the interception of correspondence of members of Parliament.

In response to further questions from Mrs Suzman and Dr Alex Boraine (PFP Pinelands), the Deputy Minster stood by this reply and refused to budge.

At one stage Mrs Suzman asked specifically whether any interception of mail or telephone tapping had been done or was being done in trems of the relevant provision of the Post Office Act.

But again she did not get a reply.

Die loon van die skeerders is 10 sent per skaap geskeer en 'n skeerder skeer gemiddeld 50 skape per dag. Party skeer 40 skape en ander wat meer bedrewe is skeer tot 80 skape per dag.

Die] ay afhangende van die

Die e volgende -

Noor Kaapland, Die

Vrys

Die ie nl. die Karroo

en d lf versorgend

wat oeg plaaslike

skee tes te voorsien.

Die besig om te

vers - georganiseerde

skee

J.T. SEYF

BESTUURDE

Police had 'pop-guns' to duel with rioters

Crime Reporter

Police did not have enough weapons to control rioters in the 1976 violence, says the man who was in charge of Soweto police at the time.

Retired Brigadier Schalk le Roux, who was Divisional Commissioner of Police for Soweto in 1976, said from his home in Johannesburg today that he supported the Cillie Commission's statement that the police were not properly armed or prepared for the riots.

He says he has government property account figures to back what he says — that there were not enough firearms or teargas grenades to cope.

"We did not have enough stuff to control a Sunday school picnic," he said.

Brigadier le Roux said that after he had given evidence to the commission he was asked by the then Commissioner of Police General Gert Prinsloo, why he had told the commission that the police were under-supplied with arms.

He then wrote a letter — of which he has a copy — saying that he had 16 Sten guns and hand machine carbines, 310 handguns, 160 "private issue" firearms (belonging to members of the force) and 160 teargas grenades and cartridges in stock.

"Rhodesian military officers visited us and told us that our hand machine-carbines were 'pop guns' and were useless," Brigadier le Roux said.

Police had great difficulty getting their stocks replenished as there were "red-tape" snarl-ups constantly, the brigadier said.

"In November 1973 there was a request from Soto there were dated 1942 and 1943 in many cases and were so old that they would not go off.

He said the question many reasonable people would ask in the wake of the report was whether "a just and peaceful society can be built on the foundations of present State policy or whether it must be necessary to dismantle the separate development structure before creating something just and durable in its place."

Mr de Villiers was referring to the Cillie Report on the causes of the riots which was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

He said the report is the almost total absence of effective communication between the authorities and black people," he said.

CAPE TOWN — Everyone could see that little had been done since the June 76 riots to "put right what has so patently been so wrong for so long," said Mr René de Villiers, president of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Mr de Villiers was referring to the Cillie Report on the causes of the riots which was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

He said the question many reasonable people would ask in the wake of the report was whether "a just and peaceful society can be built on the foundations of present State policy or whether it must be necessary to dismantle the separate development structure before creating something just and durable in its place."

Why the riots started — and spread

KEY aspects of Government policy caused dissatisfaction which activists exploited to create unrest in the 1976 riots, the Cillie Commission has found.

It has also delivered a damning indictment of the police and education officials in its analysis of 31 possible causes of unrest which led to rioting after June 16, 1976.

Summarising its findings, the commission says the factors which jointly caused the first riot were the application of the Afrikaans language policy in black secondary schools, the organised campaign against the policy and the inability of education and police officials to anticipate unrest and to take counter measures.

Riots were then carried on by organisers of protests, boycotts and strikes. Many other factors did not cause riots but contributed to them by creating a mood of unrest

The analysis of possible causes, and a summary of the findings in each case, are presented in the order the commission sets them out in its report·

Imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction on a 50/50 basis with English

The cause of the first riots on June 16 was the application in black secondary schools of the language policy which provoked misunderstanding and dissatisfaction among the people of Soweto; the organised resistance in Soweto against the implementation of the policy; the ineffective handling of the campaign by officials; and the failure of education and police officials to anticipate the threat of violence and to take counter-measures

Black organisations

Black Consciousness Movement· A philosophy, almost a religion, present in virtually all black political and community organisations. Its purpose was to make blacks proud and conscious of their being as blacks and to create greater solidarity among blacks; black consciousness led to polarisation between black and white and created a useful climate for agitators.

African National Congress. Difficult to establish the extent of the ANC's role in the riots, but the commission nevertheless has no doubt that the organisation was continually active during the unrest and that its activities had a decided effect on the instigation and continuation of unrest.

SA Communist Party Regarded by the ANC as a revolutionary ally in the fight to overthrow the Government.

Pan Africanist Congress. Attempted to revive itself by working through religious youth organisations it established Helped to plan attacks on Government buildings in Kagiso for June 17, 1976.

Black Peoples' Convention Its greatest contribution towards unrest was its attempt to make black youths conscious of their position as blacks through the philosphy of black consciousness

SA Students Organisation. Established to further the cause of black consciousness; during unrest its members incited school children and helped to get coloureds to side with blacks.

SA Students Movement· Members were involved in school boycotts from April 1976, SASM meeting on June 13 decided to hold the mass protest on June 16; the Soweto Students Representative Council was a sub-comittee of SASM which must therefore accept co-responsibility for unrest which began on June 16.

SSRC: Largely responsible for the fact that unrest after June 16 did not calm down sooner.

The Comrades: Consisted mainly of black high school students on the Peninsula, caused great damage and dissatisfaction in their campaigns against shebeens, organised strikes.

Political and military developments outside SA

Such developments as the Frelimo and MPLA takeovers in Mozambique and Angola and events in SWA and Rhodesia were not a direct cause of unrest. But they were undoubtedly a factor which contributed to a mood conducive to a fostering of unrest

Bantu education

There was considerable dissatisfaction over Bantu education among blacks, particularly in Soweto Sometimes there were good reasons for this, sometimes not With the exception of the language issue and compulsory and free education, Bantu education was not a cause of unrest. It was to an extent a cause of dissatisfaction which was encouraged and exploited by people who wanted to cause unrest

The homeland system

The policy was never a direct cause of unrest, differences of opinion over the policy were sometimes the reason for actions which gave rise to unrest, dissatisfaction over the policy and a feeling of frustration with certain aspects of it contributed to a general mood of resistance and unrest.

Influx control

Although influx control and issues related to it were not directly responsible for unrest, they were contributing factors, a mood was created which could have caused many to turn to unrest or to act illogically and vandalistically in an unrest-situation. Important changes in the system have taken place since the unrest, says the commission

Group areas

General dissatisfaction caused by the group areas policy among blacks and coloureds most decidedly contributed to a mood which was susceptible to an "rioting-stimulus"

Ethnic grouping

No evidence to show that ethnic grouping, whether enforced or chosen, was a direct cause of any unrest or gave rise to unrest or which together with other factors led to unrest.

Immorality and Mixed Marriages Act

No black person or black organisation raised objections to the laws in evidence before the commission The laws did not cause unrest or contribute to it

Administration and advisory boards

Dissatisfaction with administration boards was of such a magnitude that many black residents were activated to the extent that they could turn to rioting

Urban blacks

The fact that blacks had no say in the executive and administrative functions of official bodies was a source of dissatisfaction and frustration. Although most urban dwellers did not want to break their ties with homelands, many found as unacceptable the policy that they should be citizens of homelands and not of South Africa in which they want to be permanant residents and citizens. The ban on ownership of land caused ill-feeling and dissatisfaction greater than that caused by compulsory residence in separate areas Modern urban blacks are deeply affected by all forms of discrimination and they see no difference between major and petty or irritating discrimination

There is no instance in which these issues, separately or jointly, caused unrest. They did, however, create a mood of opposition and dissatisfaction People in this mood easily turn to rioting particularly if they have no democratic method of redress available

Discrimination

Nearly all legislation relating to relations between the races is divisive by nature and is regarded by the black man and the coloured as injustice and discriminatory Discrimination which is always considered unjust did not only cause dissatisfaction but among many a great hate. This dissatisfaction and hate was one of the foremost creators of a spirit of unrest

Housing in urban areas

No evidence to show that housing conditions led directly to unrest. Commission, however, agrees with those witnesses who said that inadequate housing facilities and related inconveniences contributed to a certain extent to frustration which could easily become unrest and resistance.

Salary discrimination

Giving examples of salary disparities between groups in the health departments, commission says this was undoubedtly a factor in the creation of unrest

Transport

For so long the feeling towards transport services and the people responsible for them was so bad that only limited further frustration was necessary to create unrest. It is also a situation exploited by agitators.

Lack of amenities

Did not in themselves give rise to unrest, but to a limited extent could have contributed to dissatisfaction along with stronger factors

Race relations

Relations between the races did not cause unrest but the deep-seated hatred of certain rioters against white people, probably because they were regarded as the suppressors, was a direct and contributing cause of unrest. This hatred was sometimes exploited and encouraged by agitators

Communications

The handling of opposition to the language policy and failure to communicate adequately were direct and contributing causes of unrest.

Local grievances

Local circumstances in exceptional cases like the detention of fellow-students could have been a direct cause of unrest. Local grievances were sometimes blown up by agitators into a cause but this was mostly only a factor which contributed to a climate of resistance and revolt.

Discipline

There was no case in which a lack of discipline directly gave rise to unrest but the abscence of discipline undoubtedly in many cases contributed to unrest and the extent of it.

Hatred towards people and institutions

Rioters attacked whites out of hatred regardless of their positions or associations. Unfair handling by officials in certain cases filled blacks with hatred.

Agitation and incitement

There was hardly any area of unrest where agitation and incitement was not present. The purpose of agitation was to further unrest. Agitation was an important immediate and contributing cause of unrest. Commission quotes the herbalist Credo Mutwa as saying in evidence that the agitator does not himself create a grievance; he uses available facts and exploits a situation.

Intimidation

Although intimidation of blacks by riot organisers was not a cause of unrest, rebels used this powerful instrument to create and prolong unrest. Because of this intimidation and the wide extent of it, together with the way intimidators disguised their motives and final objectives, it cannot be said that the unrest expressed the black man's will or that he was raising his voice against suppression and for a more democratic system in the Republic

Detentions

Detention without trial was the cause of a limited dissatisfaction among blacks and coloureds, but the extent of it could not be established. Detentions and dissatisfaction was a contributing cause of unrest.

Police action

The inability of police to foresee threatened unrest in Soweto before June 16 and to take countermeasures was a concurrent circumstance which caused unrest. This means that the police must collectively bear responsibility for these special incidents. The force was not in a position to halt the breach of the law. The direct cause of riots remains the organisation of an illegal demonstration on June 16. Excluding police failure to anticipate unrest and to take countermeasures, there was no acceptable evidence that police action was responsible for the further development of unrest or any unrest incidents. There were cases in which police action in halting unrest led to unrest becoming stronger and wider.

The Press

Publication of reports about unrest could in themselves have had consequences that were neither intended nor desired. After examination of all the available evidence the commission has come to the conclusion that it cannot be said that the dissemination of news on unrest directly caused any unrest or allowed it to continue. There is not evidence that any action of the Press or of certain newspapers was responsible for unrest Publicity given to riots by the Press and radio influenced some readers and listeners to the extent that they could turn to unrest after the most limited stimulus. There can be no doubt that black youths did excessively use the Press to bring to public attention their grievances, actions and aspirations, but there was insufficient evedence to establish whether this could be considered a cause of unrest.

Administration of justice

This has not created in the black community attitudes which could give rise to unrest or which in any significant way could contribute to a climate of opposition and rebellion.

Dr Henry Kissinger

Organisers were responsible for unrest in Soweto on September 17, 1976 when Dr Kissinger, former US Secretary of State, visited Pretoria and also on October 22 when Mr John Vorster, former Prime Minister, visited Kimberely.

Labour

The migrant labour system was not a cause of fights and unrest but the actions of youth organisers who wanted to prevent labourers from doing what they were entitled. No eveidence to show any connection between job reservation and unrest. The only connection between unemployment and unrest was that a large number of vagrants who did not want to work took part in unrest.

Attacks on liquor outlets and shebeens

Reasons for this were not clear and not causes of unrest but plundered alcohol that was consumed resulted in unrest becoming more intense.

Black solidarity

By using the concept of solidarity, joint and uniform action on such issues as strikes, school boycotts and Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was obtained

Treurnicht's statement 'tipped the scales'

A STATEMENT by Dr Andries Treurnicht in Parliament a few days before the Soweto riots started "tipped the scales towards unrest" because it showed the door had been closed to concessions on the Afrikaans language issue

The Cillie Commission quotes two witnesses as saying this but finds that the former Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr M C Botha, and Dr Treurnicht as his on the language issue

But in reaching its conclusions, the commmision reveals that as early as April 1976, the African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA) met the secretary for Bantu Education and handed him a memorandum dealing with the Afrikaans language policy.

A month later — on May 25 when students were boycotting classes at a number of schools "The problems in connection with the strikes by students in Soweto are now being handled at a lower level and apparently negotiations have not reached deadlock. It has also not been referred to the Secretary of the Department for a decision Later perhaps. We will establish what the contributing causes are, but at the moment it can be mentioned that children are striking because teachers (according to the commission "the atmosphere was report in Beeld headlined "Don't force Afrikaans on black schools" and quoting Ds Sam Buti, scribe of the black NGK church, as saying that there were still good race relations but it should be remembered that the time for unilateral decision-making was over.

By June 4 unrest at Belle school had still not calmed down and according to the commission "the atmosphere was schools.

"The five schools had been named the week before as among the six where boycotts were taking place," the commission notes. "Their applications for examption were turned down because it had been found that after investigation teachers were qualified to give instruction in both official languages.

Referring to Dr Treurnicht's

The commission says, however, that the Secretary for Bantu Education had asked officials for full details of the incident, but these were not available.

"A report was made to him and he in turn informed the Minister," the commission says. "The Minister's reply in Parliament agrees with the information the Secretary gave him."

On the same day — June 11 — that this was happening, the director of the Institute of Race Relations sent a second telegram to Mr Rene de Villiers, former MP for Parktown.

"Situation Soweto schools over Afrikaans as medium ap-

262 is official Soweto toll

THE official death toll in the country-wide riots from June 16 1976 to February 28 1977 was 575, the Cillie Commission has found.

Damage estimated at R44-million was caused and 5 980 people were arrested. The commission said it was impossible to give an accurate figure for the number

Deadly 20-year build-up . . .

THE buildup to the Soweto riots took place over a period of 20 years, starting with the imposition in black schools of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and culminating in the outbreak of violence on the issue in June 1976.

The Cillie Commission says the immediate cause of the riots was the imposition of the language policy which caused dissatisfaction; the organised resistance in Soweto against the policy; the ineffective handling of the opposition by officials; and their failure to anticipate unrest and to take

agriculture in Afrikaans, then this must be done regardless of the pupils' knowledge of this language. It has already been shown on an experimental basis that this can be done successfully."

Without giving a judgment, the commission comments. "The question arises as to whether a student educated in this way could not after 15 years or more have sympathy for those people who allege that Afrikaans is being forced down their throats?"

A few weeks later regional directors were informed in an-

should, where possible, be maintained on a 50-50 basis at secondary level," and:

● "Departmental approval must be obtained for any deviation from the rule for the equal use of the official languages, and that approval will be determined mainly by the availablity of teachers qualified to teach a particular subject in an official language."

But in 1974 another directive was sent out declaring: "In the Southern Transvaal region Afrikaans and English will be used on a 50-50 basis."

However, the directive then

extent of the build-up in tension in Soweto before the June 16 riots.

It says they and the Secretary for Bantu Education, Mr J Roussouw, were not kept informed by their officials who have in turn been charged by the commission with joint-responsibility for causing the first outbreaks of violence through their failure to assess the situation and take counter measures.

The commission credits Mr Botha with removing the root causes of the riots by meeting black schoolboard members three days after violence started and resolving objections to the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction on a 50-50 basis with English

Although Dr Treurnicht was warned by the Institute of Race Relations that tensions were reaching danger point, the commission nevertheless says his response in Parliament when he understated the extent and nature of tension was justified because his officials had not kept him informed of feelings

tute of Race Relations, Mr Fred van Wyk spoke to the regional director of education in Soweto about the authorities' lack of action on the language issue.

Mr Van Wyk was not satisfied with the answer that the language issue was being used for "other purposes" and then sent the following telegram to Mr Rene de Villiers, former Progressive Federal Party MP for Parktown

"Deeply concerned Afrikaans medium controversy black schools. Position Soweto very serious. Could you discuss matter with Minister concerned?"

Mr De Villiers conveyed the contents of the telegram to Dr Treurnicht who was then deputy Minister in charge of Bantu education

"Dr Treurnicht replied that he was unaware of any real problem but that he would investigate," the commission says

According to the commission Dr Treurnicht sent the following note to Mr De Villiers "a day or so later"

not qualified to instruct in Afrikaans. Perhaps it is not that simple"

The commission adds "According to the Secretary he (the Secretary) knew about the students' actions, but that school boards had been instructed to negotiate with students for them to return to school. He understood that some children had already returned to school

"The information available to the deputy Minister therefore was that a solution was being sought at the local level and that there had been a measure of success

"In fact, six schools were at that stage involved At two of them, students went back to school but were threatened On that evening windows at the Belle school were damaged."

Outlining the buildup of tension in Soweto, the comission says that by May 31 there had not only been newspaper reports on class boycotts, but general articles on the language issue and unrest.

The commission singles out a

en on such dimensions that police were called in.

Replying to questions in Parliamewnt on that day Dr Treurnicht said students at five schools were boycotting classes but that school boards were negotiating with them Students in standard five and in form 1 had given as reasons for the boycotts the fact that they were opposed to the language policy. Schools involved in the protests were named as Thesane junior secondary, Belle higher primary, Thulasizwe, Emthonjeni, Khulo-Ngolwazi and Pimville schools

By June 7 the Urban Bantu Council was discussing the unrest and emphasising the "seriousness and danger of the situation"

On June 11 — five days before the riots started — Dr Treurnicht said in reply to questions in Parliament that five schools had applied for exemption from the 50/50 language policy They were Thesane junior secondary, Belle higher primary, Emthonjeni, Khulo-Ngolwuzi and Pimville

emptions had been turned down, the commission says: "A witness told the commission that this answer tipped the scales towards unrest because it showed that the door had been closed and that there would be no concessions.

"In the Urban Bantu Council, a speaker deplored the refusal for the same reason."

The commission does not make an immediate judgement on the opinions of the witness and the UBC member, but goes on to recall that on the same day — June 11 — the Minister, unnamed in the report but presumably Mr M C Botha, said he had no knowledge of a demonstration at Naledi high school.

The commission comments: "The commission investigated the circumstances relating to this incident and found the following The incidents enjoyed a reasonable amount of publicity, particularly because they took place on two consecutive days. The Rand Daily Mail referred to 'demonstrating students' and to the incident as a 'demonstration'"

Violence has already taken place and can easily be repeated. Sincerely trust Dr Treurnicht is on top of situation."

The commission says Mr De Villiers conveyed the contents of the telegram to Dr Treurnicht and received the reply that he, Dr Treurnicht, was not aware of any escalation in the dispute over the language issue but that he would make inquiries.

"Later he informed Mr De Villiers that he had been in contact with his officials, that he had no reason to believe that the issue could not be resolved and that talks were going on," the commission reports "Mr De Villiers was under the clear impression that the deputy Minister did not expect any violent confrontation."

The commission says that on investigation it found that Dr Treurnicht had asked the Secretary for Bantu Education for information, but that the information the Secretary had obtained from officials did not indicate any escalation of the dispute.

"The deputy Minister was therefore justified in giving Mr De Villiers the reply which he did give him," the commission concludes

"The investigation clearly shows the the Secretary himself was not on top of the situation. His officials did not inform him of newspaper reports and articles on the issue.

"The commission would not like to speculate on what would have happened if the Secretary and also the Minister had had full details.

"But if they had had all the information they should have had, they could have evaluated the position more carefully and then steps to stop a disaster could not have been ruled out."

Later in its report, the commission says the Minister held a meeting with black education leaders on June 19 — three days after rioting in Soweto started.

It also refers to another meeting attended by the Secretary for Bantu Education and, presumably, black spokesmen and says the language policy was satisfactorily explained.

The commission adds that after the meeting between the Minister and black education spokesmen "Afrikaans as a medium of instruction could no longer be a grievance or a cause of unrest"

The report does not say what the Minister decided at the meeting, but the Rand Daily Mail reported at the time that he announced that schools could apply for exemptions from the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction on a 50-50 basis with English

At the end of December 1976, says the commission, the Minister announced the gradual implementation of compulsory education, the supply of free books and the ending of double sessions in classes.

Of the 575 people on the official death list, 451 were killed by police.

Soweto was the scene of the greatest number of deaths — a total of 258 blacks and four whites.

Western Province was next highest with 137 deaths — 79 blacks, 57 coloured people and an Indian person.

Then came: Witwatersrand outside Soweto 46 (42 blacks and four coloureds); Northern Transvaal 37 blacks; East Rand 35 blacks; Eastern Province 34 (31 blacks and three coloureds); Boland 7 coloured people; Natal 2 blacks; Northen Cape one white; Eastern Transvaal one black; South Western Districts four coloured people; West Rand 9 blacks.

Of the 575 people killed, 134 were aged under 18.

The greatest amount of damage caused was to Administration Board buildings — a total of R29 662 870.

SAP operations during the riots cost R782 435 and the Railway Police operations R160 224.

With the exception of damage to banks (R60 000) and churches (R254 000), the rest of the damage was caused at Government institutions ranging from schools to railways installations.

Most of the 5 980 people arrested were held on charges of public violence. The commission does not, however, detail the number of people found guilty after prosecution.

REACTION

Black and white: how they reacted

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The Opposition yesterday called for the dismissal of Dr Andries Treurnicht for his handling of events that led up to the outbreak of rioting in Soweto on June 16, 1976.

Dr Treurnicht was Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education at the time and played a key role in enforcing the language policy the Cillie Commission found to be an immediate cause of the riots.

Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Opposition, said the former Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha, the former Minister of Police, Mr J T Kruger, and Dr Treurnicht had to share responsibility for "the greatest internal disaster in South Africa's history"

Dr Treurnicht was the only person left in active politics and he would have to resign immediately

Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party, called on the Prime Minister to dismiss Dr Treurnicht from the Cabinet.

Dr Treurnicht called the dismissal calls "absurd".

He wshed to reserve his comment for the snap debate that will take place in Parliament on FGriday "but it is clear to anyone who reads the report that the commission exonerates me."

The commission blames education officials in Soweto for not Having informed the Ministers of growing black Unrest.

However, the Opposition pointed out there had been extensive Press coverage and repeated warnings from the Institute of Race Relations, black leaders and the Parliamentary Opposition on the growing tension

Dr Slabbert said the most important lesson from the report was that key aspects of apartheid had been responsible for conditions which contributed to the riots.

"It is an extremely serious matter that the same factors that existed four years ago are still there and form the foundation of government policy.

"Such events can only be prevented by removing these factors," he said

Key aspects of apartheid, such as black education, the influx control system, the homeland policy and discrimination had been identified as contributory causes, and none had been eradicated or even substantially changed.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, declined to comment yesterday Government spokesmen will put their case during the snap debate.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Opposition spokesman on black affairs, said a visit to Soweto made it very clear that there had been no fundamental changes in Sowetans' lifestyle.

"The housing situation is as bad as it ever was. There are still severe transport problems and there is grave dissatisfaction with education. All the basic causes mentioned by Judge Cillie are still there. It is a very serious commentary, and puts recent 'changes' into perspective," Mrs Suzman said.

Mrs Suzman said that in its findings about the manner in which the riots were handled, the commission almost completely exonerated the police from the second day onwards and made no reference to the responsible minister.

It was clear, however, from the large number of people killed and injured as a result of police action, that the police force had not been properly trained and equipped to deal with riots of that nature

"The commission's analysis of the root causes of the riots, and the favourable climate created for incitement and agitation, are an echo of what has been said over and over again by many people, over many years, in and out of Parliament

"The commission merely confirms there is grave dissatisfaction with influx control, inadequate housing, transport, inferior education, unequal pay and other factors very familiar to all students of race relations in South Africa

"Nevertheless, the commission's comments are a significant indictment of the Government's policy in fundamental respects."

AMEEN AKHALWAYA reports that a leading black educationist, Mr Wilkie Kambule, whose school was a focal point of the 1976 unrest, has differed sharply from the commission's finding that Bantu education was not a cause of the riots.

Mr Kambule's view that Bantu education was one of the major causes of the unrest was endorsed yesterday by the chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, Dr Nthato Motlana, who also criticised other aspects of the commission's findings.

Mr Kambule said "Soweto is still in ferment over education today, despite the fact that Afrikaans is no longer a compulsory language for tuition Separate education is still regarded today as an inferior brand, not the real commodity"

Mr Kambule, now a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, was principal of Orlando High School in 1976.

The commission has found that with the exception of the language issue and free and compulsory education, Bantu education was not a cause of unrest. It was to an extent a cause of dissatisfaction which was encouraged and exploited by people who wanted to cause unrest, the commission said.

Mr Kambule said while the Afrikaans issue had sparked the riot, the underlying cause of black student unrest had been Bantu education "Even after the unrest started blacks called for the abolition of Bantu education. The name has now changed, but the different label has not stopped the ferment in black schools"

What the commission's finding did, he added, was to condone Bantu education and this would be used to defend the Government's policy of separatism in education. "By its finding, the commission is giving strength to Bantu education," he said. "It is of little use to say education officials did not act judiciously — the point is that the education system is not acceptable."

Dr Motlana said that by finding that Bantu education was not a cause of the unrest, the commission was giving the Government the wrong impression.

He slammed the commission's findings on the roles of movements such as Saso, BPC, the SA Students' Movement and the Soweto Students' Representative Council.

"In any given situation, if there are grievances, the people will throw up leaders who will articulate their grievances and seek redress. How on earth can they be called agitators or instigators?

"The real blame lies with the actions of the police, the utterances of people like Dr Treurnicht who said whites could dictate the education policy because they paid for it, and the utterances of Government officials like Mr M C Botha and his lieutenants, who, instead of trying to solve, the real issues, simply looked for scapegoats," he said

FOOTNOTE: Mr Kruger, the Minister of Police for the duration of the riots, said yesterday he had no comment on the report or Opposition statements that he should bear joint responsibility "I have nothing to say except that Mr Louis le Grange is now Minister of Police," Mr kruger, now president of the Senate, said.

The evidence: more whites than blacks

Cillie Commission reports by MARTIN SCHNEIDER, the Rand Daily Mail's Political Editor.

THE Cillie Commission found that although potential black and coloured witnesses did in fact fear victimisation by the Security Police, it was convinced that there had been no victimisation.

The commission also found that the arrest of two people shortly after they had given evidence was not an act of victimisation. Their arrest was not connected with their evidence, the commission said.

The findings were contained in a chapter disclosing that most people who gave evidence were whites

The report said 563 people had given evidence — 340 whites, 184 blacks and 39 coloured people.

The total included 127 white, black and coloured policemen. Only 15 people who gave evidence on the student uprising were under 18.

The commission said there were three main reasons for the refusal of many people to give evidence. Some feared victimisation by their own community, others feared victimisation by the security police, and still others believed the commission was an "apartheid institution" which would not come to any valid conclusion

But the commission said it was also convinced the Security Police did not victimise potential witnesses, although it conceded that certain actions had given rise to the impression that witnesses were being victimised

The commission said it had heard of two people who were arrested shortly after giving evidence.

A reporter on the now banned World newspaper gave evidence in public and was arrested the following day. "Investigation showed that he was detained as a result of alleged actions on the day of his arrest and that his detention was not connected with the evidence he gave," the commission said.

A person who gave evidence in camera one morning was arrested that afternoon "Acording to the investigation, the detention involved alleged previous actions elsewhere and not the fact that he had given evidence," the commission found

"Although the commission is convinced by the investgations that there was no victimisation, police actions in both cases gave malicious people an opportunity to use propaganda. By leaving out the real reasons for the arrest, it looked very probably like victimisation."

The commission takes up the history of confrontation on the language issue in the 1950s when the Government took over black education from the provinces and churches.

Its initial language policy was that the mother tongue would be the medium of instruction up to standard six. The mother tongue would only be used for non-examination subjects in secondary schools while Afrikaans and English would be used where possible in the remaining subjects.

But because of a shortage of teachers qualified in Afrikaans, the Department of Bantu Education sent the following directive to regional directors in 1959

"Because of the backlog (agterstand) in Afrikaans and particularly the inability of certain Bantu teachers to use this language as a medium of instruction, most of the secondary schools have asked for exemptions from this requirement during the past three years. These exemptions were granted in most cases.

"From 1960 exemptions from using Afrikaans as a medium will not be so easily granted and it is expected that everything possible will be done to ensure that Afrikaans as medium of instruction will take its rightful place."

The only exception to the rule would be a lack of teachers qualified to instruct in Afrikaans.

But the directive also made the following stipulations. "students' lack of knowledge of, for example Afrikaans, will not be accepted as an excuse If there is a teacher on the staff who can, for example, teach

tions laid down in the previous circular should only be applied to form one classes in the coming year and in the higher forms on a "yearly progressive" basis.

The 50-50 language policy was emphasised in numerous circulars after this, but in 1973 another directive was circulated stating in "commanding language" that the medium of instruction should be exclusively in Afrikaans or exclusively in English or an a 50/50 basis.

If the decision was to instruct exclusively in either Afrikaans or English, then the language not being used as a medium of instruction would have to be given two extra periods each week when it was taught.

The directive added: "To establish whether Afrikaans or English or both should be used as medium of instruction in a specific secondary school, the test must be which one of the two languages is the dominant language of the white community in the town, city or area in which the school is situated."

School boards and inspectors could make recomendations on the implementation in their areas of the policy but the final decisions would rest with the Secretary for Bantu Education

A survey then showed that school boards and inspectors were overwhelmingly against instruction exclusively in Afrikaans and that the majority would choose instruction in either English or in both languages on a 50/50 basis.

Faced with the survey, the Minister, then Mr M C Botha, issued the following directive:

- "That the status quo for the use of of both official languages

Forms 1 and 2 English would be the medium for "general science and practical subjects," Afrikaans would be the medium in mathematics and social studies, and the mother tongue would be used in non-examination subjects

The commission comments "It is noteworthy that this circular does not mention deviations from the rule of equal use and therefore not of previous exemptions which makes further applications unnecessary In the formulation of the policy even the words 'where possible' have been ommitted."

The commission says that when it asked the Southern Transvaal regional director why the possibility of deviations from the rule was not mentioned, he replied that inspectors were aware of the possibility of concessions.

It adds that the circular created among many people the impression that deviations would no longer be allowed and that schools which had been granted exemptions would now be forced to impose the 50/50 rule

"The circular caused misunderstandings and dissatisfaction in Southern Transvaal resulting in a deterioration of relations between official and parent, and official and school board," the commission says.

At the beginning of December 1974 the Zulu school board in Orlando-Diepkloof applied for exemption from the policy on behalf of nine schools.

The Secretary for Bantu Education replied on April 9 the next year: "The application to deviate from the 50/50 basis as medium of instruction is not approved." No reason was given

By the beginning of 1975, the policy was being more strictly applied, according to the commission, and numerous applications for exemption had been turned down as opposition to the policy increased.

Later, another directive said it appeared some school boards were under the impression that they themselves could decide on the medium of instruction

"This is totally and completely incorrect," the circular said. "This is a professional matter in which school boards have no say."

After dealing at length with confrontations on the language issue between school boards and officials, the commission states that exemptions from the language policy were in fact being made and that Afrikaans was not being used as medium of instruction in 110 of Soweto's 357 schools

The commission says, however: "That there was dissatisfaction in Soweto on the issue of Afrikaans as medium of instruction is certain."

The commission then sets out a detailed account of the mounting clashes between Soweto's residents and officialdom culminating in the outbreak of rioting on June 16, 1976.

RAND
Daily Mail

1976 and now

IT did not seem likely that the Cillie Commission would shed much light on the disturbances of 1976, particularly with its report appearing three and a half years after the events.

But, against all expectations, the report proves to be a document of significance: its recording of those traumatic and tragic happenings, and its analyses and findings, have acute relevance for where we are now and where we might be going.

Cutting through the wordiness of the report, these salient features emerge:

First, the myth about the causes of the riots, carefully cultivated by Government spokesmen at the time, is exploded: there was no sinister conspiracy by communists, agitators, the ANC, the PAC or anyone else — whatever advantage political activists might have sought later.

Second, the blame must instead be laid squarely with key aspects of Nationalist racial policy, allied with the behaviour of officials and the police.

What is striking, and depressing, in the report's description of events, is the arbitrariness with which policies were applied; the vast communication gap between the rulers and the ruled; the arrogance and blindness of officials in carrying out the decrees of their political masters.

And at the heart of it is the commission's statement on discrimination, which in summary reads:

Nearly all legislation relating to relations between the races is divisive by nature and is regarded by the black man and the coloured as injustice and discriminatory. Discrimination, which is always considered unjust, did not only cause dissatisfaction but among many, a great hate. This dissatisfaction

spirit of unrest.

Can there be any other final conclusion than that of an indictment of Nationalist rule and those who devise and implement it?

As far as the report is concerned, this relates to 1976. Yet, now in 1980, the same Government is in power pursuing the same racial policies and most of the same people are around.

Can it be said that, in the interim, there has been such change, in policy and personnel, as to relieve the Nationalists of their burden of responsibility and guilt? And which can inspire all of us with confidence in the future?

It is hard to believe it. The Cillie report tells the story — and offers the warning.

Riot judge damns ap

RDM 1/3/80.

By MARTIN SCHNEIDER, Political Editor

MR JUSTICE Piet Cillie has damned apartheid, blaming key Government policies for creating dissatisfaction and even hatred, culminating in the nationwide 1976 riots which claimed 575 lives.

The former Judge-President of the Transvaal, whose 760-page report on the rioting was tabled in Parliament yesterday, said fundamental Nationalist policies had caused frustrations which were exploited by black activists.

Discrimination had caused "great hate" said the judge, who has since been appointed to the Appeal Court bench.

"This dissatisfaction and hate was one of the foremost creators of a spirit of unrest."

Policies causing dissatisfaction included Bantu Education, the homelands system, influx control, group areas, administration boards, denial of South African citizenship to blacks, salary discrimination, labour restrictions and detention without trial.

Declaring that intimidation had not started the violence but had created further unrest, the judge quoted the Soweto herbalist Mr Credo Mutwa, a former employee of the Government's West Rand Administration Board, as saying that agitators did not themselves create grievances.

They used available facts to exploit a situation, Mr Mutwa said in his evidence before Mr Justice Cillie, who acted as a one-man commission of inquiry appointed by the Government to establish the causes of the riots.

The judge exonerated Cabinet Ministers from all blame for the rioting, but his report led yesterday to concerted Opposition calls for the dismissal of Dr Andries Treurnicht, the Transvaal Nationalist leader who was Deputy Minister of Bantu Education when the violence broke out.

Dr Treurnicht was directly involved with the imposition, in black secondary schools, of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction on a 50-50 basis with English.

The commission found that this policy was the immediate cause of rioting and that it had provoked misunderstanding and dissatisfaction leading to organised resistance, particularly by the SA Students Movement.

Equally to blame for the first outbreak of violence in Soweto was the failure by education officials and police to anticipate the threat of violence and to take countermeasures.

Police had to collectively bear responsibility for causing the first riots, and education officials had failed to keep the then Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr M C Botha, and Dr Treurnicht, informed of the extent of

● How the riots started — and spead: Page 4

● June 16 hour-by-hour: Page 5

● How 575 people died: Page 6



MR JUSTICE CILLIE

1/3/80

RDM

E 14

However, the report discloses full details of urgent telegrams sent to Dr Treurnicht by the Institute of Race Relations only weeks before the outbreak of violence, urging him to attend to black grievances over the language issue.

Judge Cillie finds that Dr Treurnicht was not properly informed by his officials when he made inquiries in response to the Institute's warnings.

But the judge quotes two witnesses as saying that a statement by Dr Treurnicht a few days before rioting started "tipped the scales towards unrest" because it showed the door had been closed to concessions on the Afrikaans language issue.

Dr Treurnicht is likely to bear the brunt of criticism when the Cillie report is debated in Parliament next Friday.

The report also clears the Press of any malicious involvement in the riots — after numerous Government spokesmen had attacked newspapers as instigators.

"Publication of reports about unrest could in themselves have had consequences which were neither intended nor desired," the commission says.

"After examination of all the available evidence, the commission has come to the conclusion that it cannot be said that the dissemination of news on unrest directly caused any unrest or allowed it to continue."

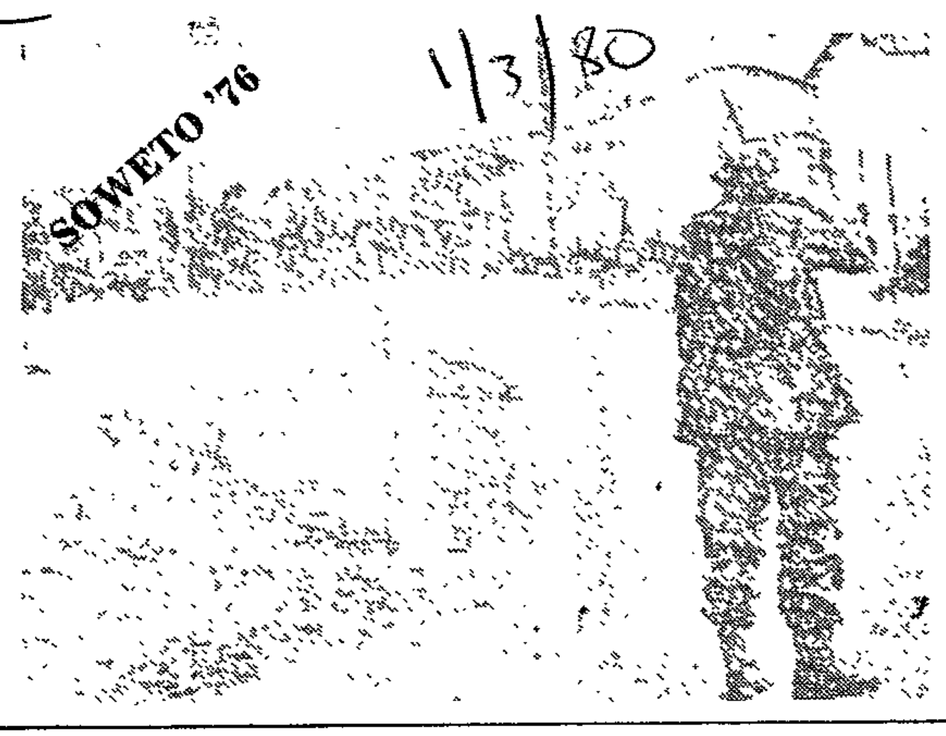
Black educationists were particularly upset by the report yesterday.

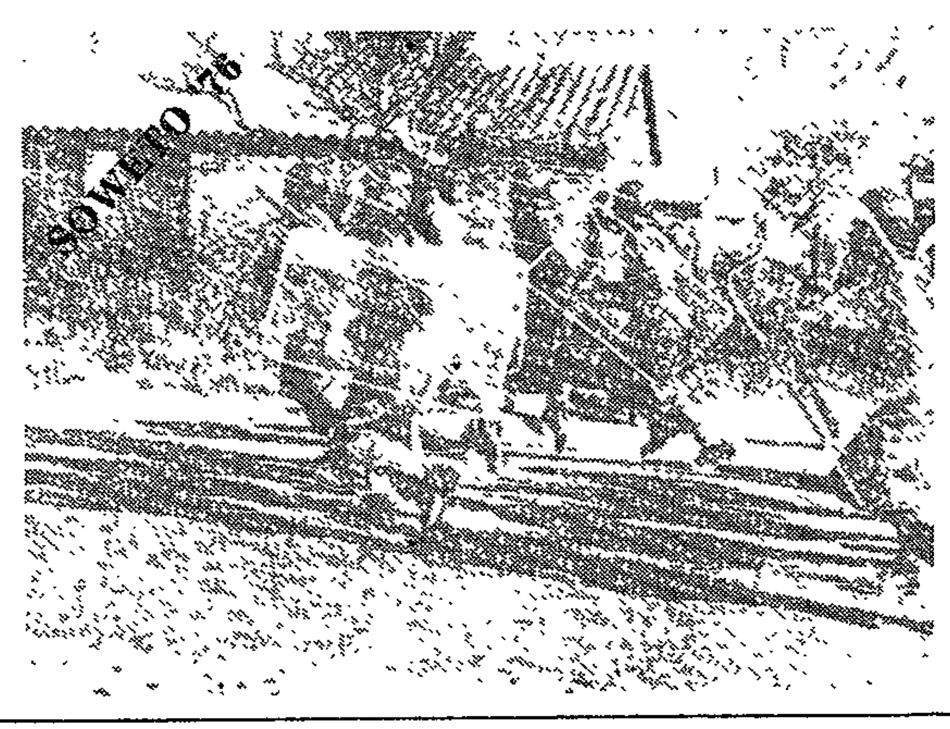
A leading Soweto school principal, Mr Wilkie Kambule, differed strongly with the commission's finding that with the exception of the language issue and free and compulsory education, Bantu Education in itself was not a cause of unrest, but had contributed to dissatisfaction leading to unrest.

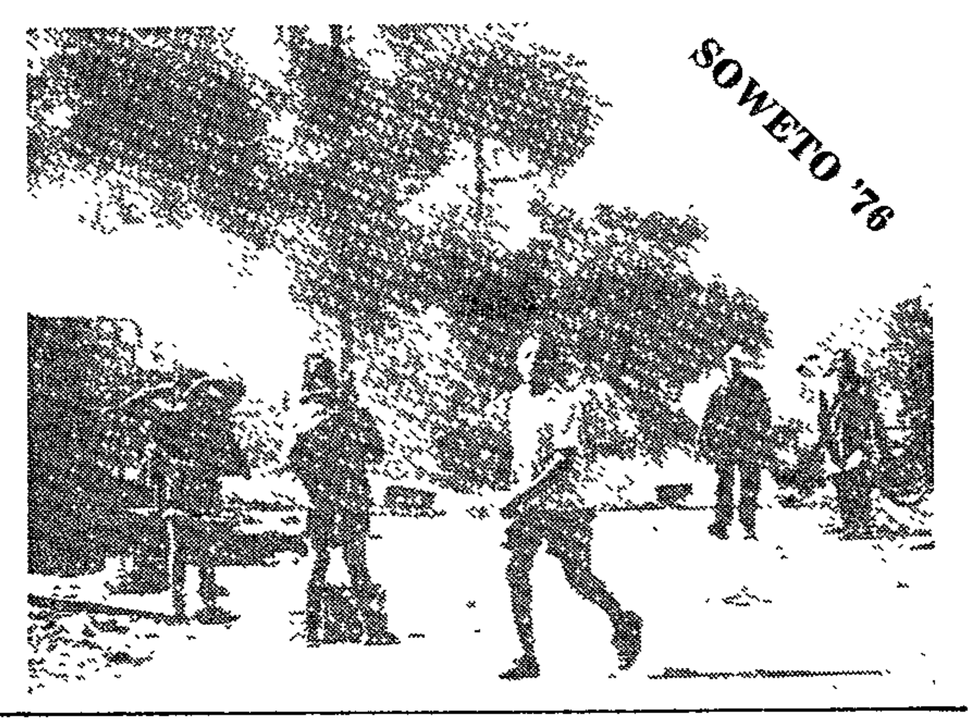
"Soweto is still in ferment over education today despite the fact that Afrikaans is no longer a compulsory language for tuition," he said.

"Separate education is still regarded as inferior."









An indictment of government policy

CAPE TOWN — Key aspects of government policy caused dissatisfaction which activists exploited to creat unrest in the 1976 riots, the Cillie Commission has found.

It has also delivered a damning indictment of the police and education officials in its analysis of 31 possible causes of unrest which led to rioting after June 16, 1976.

Summarising its findings, the commission says the factors which jointly caused the first riot were the application of the Afrikaans language policy in black secondary schools, the organised campaign against the policy, and the inability of education and police officials to anticipate unrest and to take counter measures.

Riots were then carried on by organisers of protests, boycotts and strikes. Many other factors did not cause riots but contributed to them by creating a mood of unrest.

The analyses of possible causes and a summary of the findings in each case are presented in the order the commission sets them out in its report.

● **Imposition of the Afrikaans as a medium of instruction on a 50/50 basis with English:** The cause of the first riots on June 16 was the application in black secondary schools of the language policy which provoked misunderstanding and dissatisfaction among the people of Soweto: the organised resistance in Soweto against the implementation of the policy: the ineffective handling of the campaign by officials: and the failure of education and police officials to anticipate the threat of violence and to take counter-measures.

● **Black organisations: black consciousness movement:** A philosphy, almost a religion, present in virtually all black political and community organisations.

Its purpose was to make blacks proud and conscious of their being as blacks and to create greater solidairity among blacks: black consciousness led to polarisation between black and white and created a useful climate for agitators.

African National Congress: Difficult to establish the extent of the ANCs role in the riots, but the commission nevertheless has no doubt the organisation was continually active during the unrest and that its activities had a decided effect on the instigation and continuation of unrest.

SA Communist Party: Regarded by the ANC as a revolutionary ally in the fight to overthrow the government.

Pan Africanist Congress: Attempted to revive itself by working through religious youth organisations it established. Helped to plan attacks on government buildings in Kagiso for June 17, 1976.

Black Peoples' Convention. Its greatest contribution towards unrest was its attempt to make black youghts conscious of their position as blacks through the philosphy of black consciousness.

SA Students Organisation: Established to further the cause of black consciousness. during unrest its members incited schooll children and helped to get coloureds to side with blacks.

SA Students Movement: members were involed in school boycotts from April 1976. SASM meeting on June 13 decided to hold the mass protest on June 16: the Soweto Students Representative Council was a sub-committee of SASM which must, therefore, accept coresponsibility for the unrest.

The Comrades: Consisted mainly of black high school students on the peninsula: caused great damage and dissatisfaction in their campaigns against shebeens: organised strikes.

● **Political and military developments outside SA:** Such developments as the Frelimo and MPLA takeovers in Mozambique and Angola and events in SWA and Rhodesia were not a direct cuse of unrest, but they were undoubtedly a factor which contributed to a mood conducive to a fostering of unrest.

● **Bantu education:** There was considerable dissatisfaction over Bantu education among blacks, particularly in Soweto. Sometimes there were good reasons for this, sometimes not.

With the exception of the language issue and compulsory and free education, Bantu education was not a cause of unrest. It was to an extent a cause of dissatisfaction which was encouraged and exploited by people who wanted to cause unrest.

● **The homeland system:** The policy was never a direct cause of unrest: differences of opinion over the policy were sometimes the reason for actions which gave rise to unrest: dissatisfaction over the policy and a feeling of frustration with certain aspects of it contributed to a general mood of resistance and unrest.

● **Influx control:** Although influx control and issues related to it were not directly responsible for unrest they were contributing factors: a mood was created which could have caused many to turn to unrest or to act illogically and vandalistically in an unrest situation. Important changes in the system have taken place since the unrest, says the commission.

● **Group areas:** General dissatisfaction caused by the group areas policy among blacks and coloureds most decidely contributed to a mood which was susceptible to a "rioting-stimulus"

● **Ethic grouping:** No evidence to show that ethnic grouping, whether enforced or chosen, was a direct cause of any unrest or gave rise to unrest, or which together with other factors led to unrest.

● **Immorality and Mixed Marriages Act:** No black person or black organisation raised objections to the laws in evidence before the commission. The laws did not cause unrest or contribute to it.

● **Administration and Advisory Boards:** Dissatisfaction with Administration Boards was of such a magnitude that many black residents were activated to the extent they could turn to rioting.

● **Urban blacks:** The fact that blacks had no say in the executive and administrative functions of official bodies was a source of dissatisfaction and frustration. Although most urban dwellers did not want to break their ties with homelands, many found as unacceptable the policy that they shoudl be citizens of homelands and not of South Africa in which they want to be permanent residents and citizens.

The ban on ownership of land caused ill-feeling and dissatisfaction greater than that caused by compulsory residence in separate areas.

Modern urban blacks are deeply affected by all forms of discrimination and they see no difference between major and petty or irritating discrimination.

There is no instance in which these issues, separately or jointly, caused unrest They did, however, create a mood of opposition and dissatisfaction. People in this mood easily turn to rioting, particularly if they have no democratic method of redress available.

● **Housing in urban areas:** No evidence to show that housing conditions led directly to unrest. Commission, however, agrees with those witnesses who said inadequate housing facilities and related inconveniences contributed to a certain extent to frustration which could easily become unrest and resistance.

● **Salary discrimination:** Giving examples of salary disparities between groups in the health departments, commission says this was undoubtedly a factor in the creation of unrest.

● **Transport:** For so long the feeling towards transport services and the people responsible for them was so bad that only limited further frustration was necessary to crease unrest. It is also a situation exploited by agitators.

● **Lack of amenities:** Did not in themselves give rise to unrest, but to a limited extent could have contributed to dissatisfaction along with stronger factors.

● **Race relations:** Relations between the races did not cause unrest but the deep seated hatred of certain rioters against white people, probably because they were regarded as the suppressors, was a direct and contributing cause of unrest. This hatred was sometimes exploited and encouraged by agitators.

● **Communications:** The handling of opposition to the language policy and failure to communicate adequately were direct and contributing causes of unrest.

● **Local grievances:** Local circumstances in exceptional cases, like the detention of fellow-students, could have been a direct cause of unrest. Local grievances were sometimes blown up by agitators into a cause but this was mostly only a factor which contributed to a climate of resistance and revolt.

● **Discipline:** There was no case in which a lack of discipline directly gave rise to unrest bt the absence of discipline undoubtedly in many cases contributed to unrest and the extent of it.

● **Agitation and incitement:** There was hardly any area of unrest where agitation and incitement was not present. The purpose of agitation was to further unrest. Agitation was an important immediate and contributing cause of unrest.

Commission quotes the herbalist Credo Mutwa as saying in evidence the agitator does not himself create a grievance, he uses available facts and exploits a situation.

● **Intimidation:** Although intimidation of blacks by riot organisers was not a cause of unrest, rebels used this powerful instrument to create and prolong unrest Because of this intimidation and the wide extent of it, together with the way intimidators disguised their motives and final objectives, it cannot be said the unrest expressed the black man's will or that he was raising his voice against suppression and for a more democratic system in the Republic.

● **Detentions:** Detention without trial was the cause of a limited dissatisfaction among blacks and coloureds, but the extent of it could not be established. Detentions and dissatisfaction was a contributuing cause of unrest.

● **Police action:** The inability of police to foresee threatened unrest in Soweto before June 16 and to take countermeasures was a concurrent circumstance which caused unrest. This means the police must collectively bear responsibility for these special incidents. The force was not in a position to halt the breach of the law.

The direct cause of riots remains the organisation of an illegal demonstration on June 16 Excluding police failure to anticipate unrest and to take countermeasures, there was no acceptable evidence that police action was responsible for the further development of unrest or any unrest incidents. There were cases in which police action in halting unrest led to unrest becoming stronger and wider

● **The press:** Publication of reports about unrest could in themselves have had consequences that were neither intended nor desired After examination of all the avialable evidence the commission has come to the conclusion it cannot be said the dissemination of news on unrest directly caused any unrest or allowed it to continue.

There is no evidence that any action of the press or of certain newspapers was responsible for unrest.

Publicity given to riots by the press and radio influenced some readers and listeners to the extent they could turn to unrest after the most limited stimulus

There can be no doubt that black youths did excessively use the press to bring to public attention their grievances, actions and aspirations, but there was insufficent evidence to establish whether this could be considered a cause of unrest.

● **Administration of justice:** This has not created in the black community attitudes which could give rise to unrest or which in any significant way could contribute to a climate of opposition and rebellion.

● **Dr Henry Kissinger:** Organisers were responsible for unrest in Soweto on September 17, 1976, when Dr Kissinger, former US ecretary of State, visited Pretoria, and also on October 22 when Mr John Vorster, former Prime Minister, visited Kimberley.

● **Labour:** The migrant labour system was not a cause of fights and unrest but the actions of youth organisers who wanted to prevent labourers from doing what they were entitled. No evidence to show any connection between job reservation and unrest. The only connection between unemployment and unrest was that a large number of vagrants who did not want to work took part in unrest.

● **Attacks on liquor outlets and shebeens:** Reasons for this were not clear and not causes of unrest, but plundered alcohol that was consumed resulted in unrest becoming more intense.

● **Black solidarity:** By using the concept of solidarity, joint and uniform action on such issues as strikes, school boycotts and Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was obtained. P.S.

Police failed to heed the warning signals

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1/3/80

CAPE TOWN — Police had to collectively bear responsibility for the first outbreak of violence in Soweto on June 16, 1976, the Cillie Commission has found.

The commission says although the direct cause of the riots was the organisation by students of an illegal mass protest march, the inability of police to anticipate the threatened rebellion on June 16 and to take counter measure was a "concurrent circumstance" causing unrest.

"This means the police must collectively bear responsibility for this special incident," the commission says.

It discloses that while students were widely organising for at least three days, police first got to know of the planned June 16 protest march late on the afternoon of the 15th.

At about 4 pm Maj G. J. Viljoen, commanding officer at Jabulani police station, received information that students at Naledi High School were going to protest the following day.

At the same time, a black lieutenant, unnamed in the report, told Col J. A. Kleingeld, commanding officer at Orlando police station, of a rumour that students were planning to hold a meeting at one of the high schools in Orlando.

Later in the evening a black sergeant, unnamed in the report, told Col Kleingeld he had spoken to a student from Orlando North High School.

The student had said that five scholars from Matsike High School arrived at his school in a green kombi and said scholars should first go to school the following day and should then march. People other than students should be off the streets and cars on the streets would be burned.

"All this information, no matter how vague and incomplete it was, was never conveyed to the Divisional Commissioner or headquarters," the commission says.

It was only at 7.45 am on June 16 that Col Kleingeld told his men to ready themselves at his police station.

Later, he patrolled the area and realised he needed reinforcements as students massed on their protest march.

"The Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, Brig S. W. le Roux, gave evidence that until that morning he had still not received any report on the planned demonstrations," the commission says.

It explains the SAP argued that because there was no compulsory education, it could not take action when children boycotted classes.

"It should be accepted that the force in Soweto should be informed about matters regarding possible unrest in the area," the commission comments.

"Nevertheless, clear signs of simmering unrest were ignored in the last few weeks before the outbreak.

"There were numerous cases of violent opposition testifying to growing tension, but the police did not realise the importance of the warning signals.

"It would appear the police did not make further or sufficient investigations.

"For this reason, a group of young people could for at least three days make intensive preparations for a demonstration involving 15 000 or more students in schools throughout Soweto."

The commission says police were "completely unprepared" when they received first reports of trouble.

"The police had no plan of action to combat the first day of unrest and patrols first had to go out to establish what was happening," the commission says.

"The Divisional Commissioner's orders that students should be confined to their school grounds were incapable of execution because most of them had already left their school grounds.

"The police halted the demonstration but they could not control the rebellious crowds. Unrest started and spread through Soweto.

"It wasn't long before there was unrest in many parts of the country."

The commission adds that excluding police failure to anticipate unrest and to take counter measures, there was no acceptable evidence that police action was responsible for the further development of rioting or for riot incidents.

There were, however, cases in which police action led to unrest becoming more intensive. — PS.

Education officials were arrogant says Cillie

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DS 4/3/80

CAPE TOWN — The Cillie Commission charges officials responsible for black education with joint responsibility for causing the first outbreaks of violence in Soweto on June 16, 1976.

It castigates them for arrogant attitude and singles out the former Regional Director of Education in Soweto, Mr W. C. Ackermann, for particular censure.

Mr Ackermann, who was transferred out of Soweto shortly after the riots began, is accused of adopting a "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude towards objections to the imposition in black secondary schools of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction of a 50/50 basis with English.

The commission says that even without having contact with Soweto there were sufficient danger signals to officials on their guard. Already in February 1976 students were causing trouble over Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. At one point 1 600 students boycotted schools.

Questions were also being asked in parliament on boycotts and on applications by schools for exemptions from the language policy.

"Officials were asked for details but advised the Secretary (of Bantu Education) that the problems were still at a very low level," the commission says.

The report explains it appeared that implementation by officials of the language policy became more rigid.

Officials felt that only the policy-makers in government had any say over the language issue and they therefore felt it was unnecessary to discuss it with parents and other people involved in education.

Students' actions were a matter for the black school boards which had been given instructions to negotiate on the dispute over the language issue and to ensure they returned to school.

"It is not clear what room for manoeuvre school boards had in such negotiations because concessions on the policy were out of the question," the commission says.

As examples of how officials handled the language issue, the commission cites two meetings attended by Mr Ackermann on June 7 and 8.

At the first meeting, organised by the Chief Director of the West Rand Administration Board, Mr Ackermann spoke to a delegation from the Urban Bantu Council.

The chief director of WRAB, unnamed in the report, came under the impression Mr Ackermann was unwilling to meet the UBC delegation.

The second meeting was organised by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner and attended by Mr Ackermann, WRAB's chief director and three police officers.

Mr Ackermann believed the meeting was organised to criticise his department's handling of opposition to the language issue, but the commission says this was not the case.

At the first meeting, Mr Ackermann declared that school boards accepted responsibility to end boycotts of classes and his department could therefore do nothing about the issue.

His attitude was that the policy of equal use of Afrikaans and English was instituted because white taxpayers financed Bantu education and tax paid by urban blacks went to the homelands.

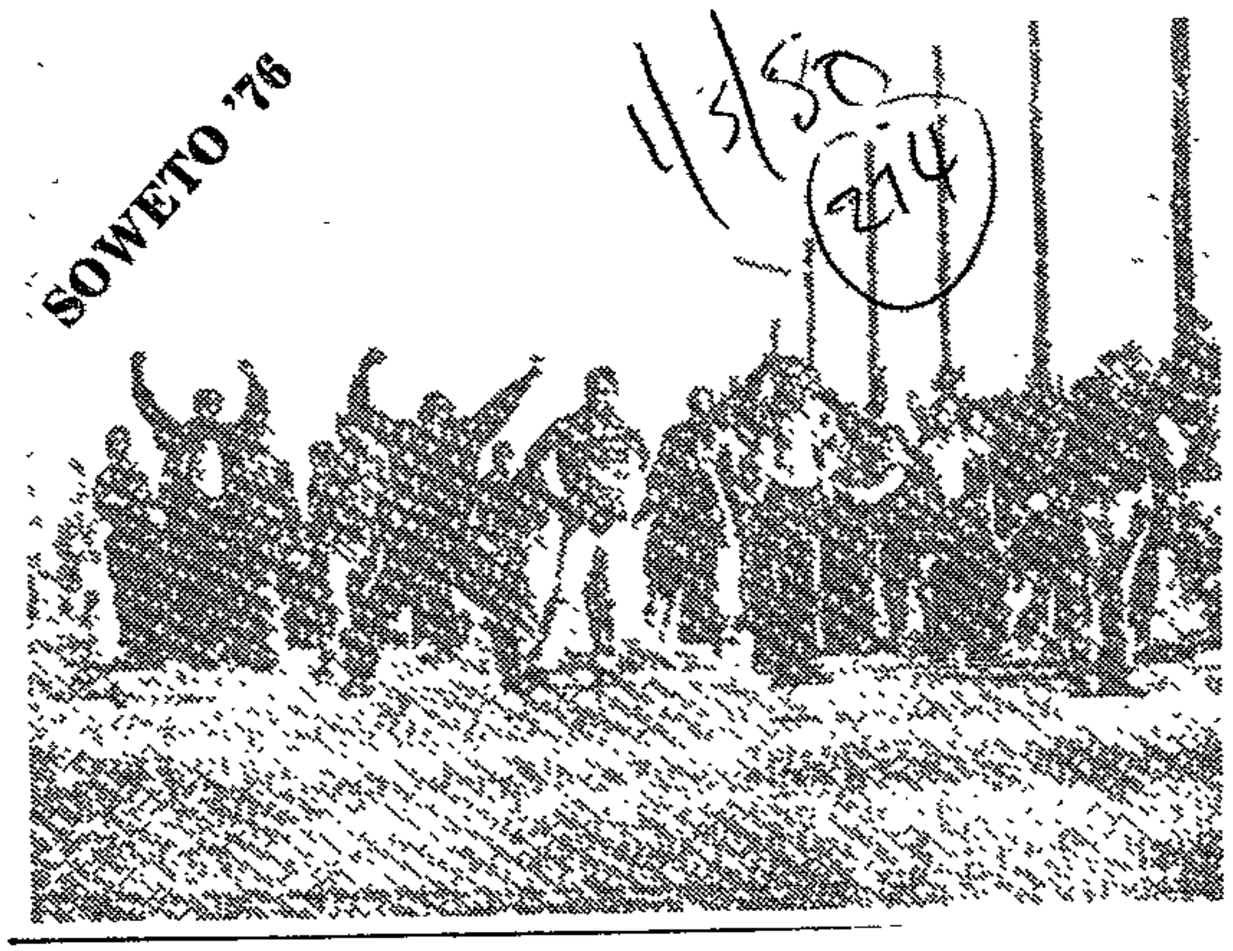
"This attitude of take-it-or-leave-it could decidedly not calm down feelings," the commission says.

At both meetings, Mr Ackermann also said students' demands could not be met because this would create an unending chain-reaction.

"Other officials showed this same attitude in the period before the outbreak of violence," the commission says.

The urban Bantu Council also requested that Education Department circulars should be sent to the UBCs committee on education. The request was turned down because the Education Department did not regard the committee as a part of the education system.

"In conclusion, it is clear that officials actions did not in any way help to avoid rebellion or to postpone it," the commission says. — PS.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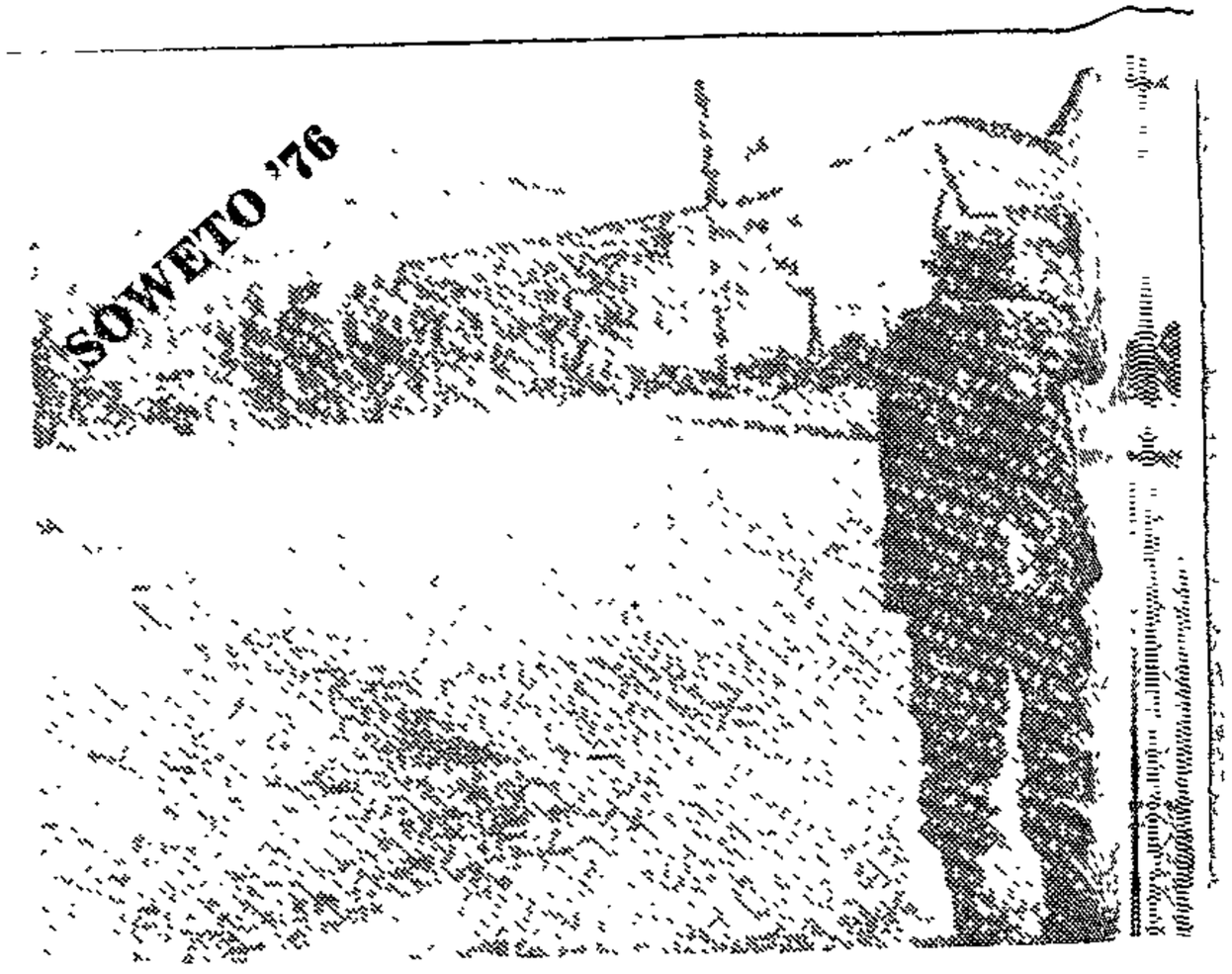
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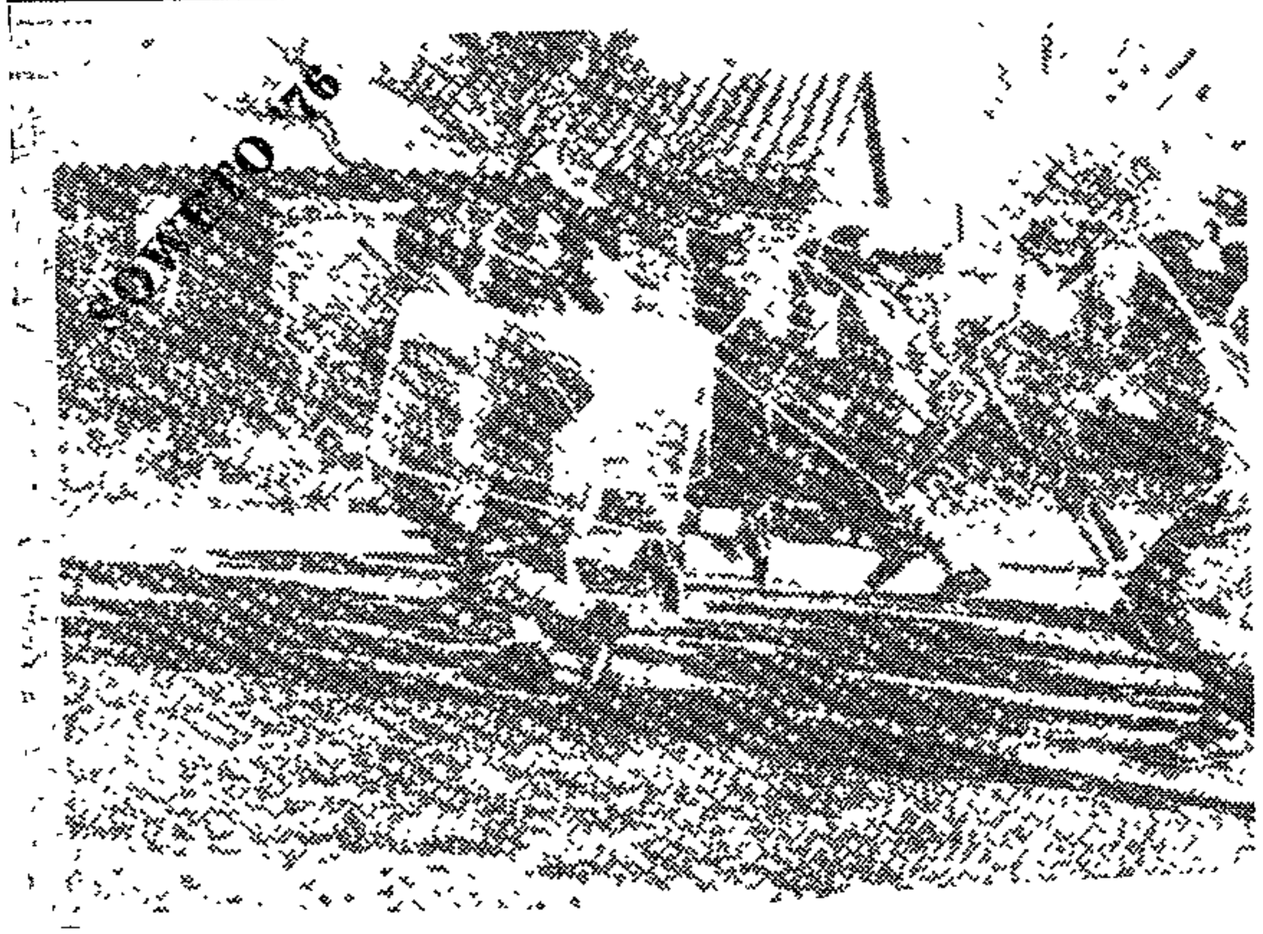
SOWETO '76


SOWETO '76

575 died; 3 097 injured

274 DS 274 1/3/80

THE ASSEMBLY — Altogether 575 people were killed and at least 3 097 injured in disturbances throughout the country between June 16, 1976, and February 28, 1977, the Cillie Commission reported.

"Of those killed, 494 were blacks, 75 were Coloureds, five were whites and one was an Indian.

"Of the total, 451 died as a result of police action and 124 as the result of actions by other people."

Soweto had the highest number of deaths, namely, 262. Of these, 208 blacks died as a result of police action and 50 blacks and four whites through the actions of other people.

The second highest number of fatalities, 117, occurred in the Western Province. Here police action claimed the lives of 54 blacks, 53 Coloureds and one Indian. A total of 29 people were killed through the actions of other people.

Statistics showed that of the total of 575, 134 were under 18 and 431 were over 18. The ages of ten of the dead could not be determined.

"The commission was informed by the South African Police that 2 389 people were injured in the riots as a result of action by members of the force A further 1 518 were injured by other people."

A total of 262 people died in the riots in Soweto.

Of these, 208 were killed as a result of police action and 54 as a result of actions of private individuals.

Of the 208 killed by the police, 106 died in the first three days of the initial riot which started on June 16. The remainder died in subsequent incidents.

From August 4-8 five blacks died; 48 were killed from August 23-26' and 18 from September 13-15. During the rest of the trouble period, 31 people died.

The report says the 208 died from bullet wounds.

Altogether 234 black men, 22 black women, two blacks of unknown sex, three white men and one white woman died.

Of those killed, 199 were over 18 and 59 under 18. The ages of four were not known. — SAPA.

Eleven children not yet in their teens were shot dead in the riots, according to the Cillie report, which gives details of where all those killed died, the place, the date, the circumstances and the findings, if any. The 11 were:

Khambule, Godfrey, 12 yrs: bullet wound in neck; Kwezi railway station, August 24; killed by Railway police when police and public were stoned; no one to blame.

Leroke, Herimna, 12 yrs: bullet wound in chest; Diepkloof, June 17; killed while running away from helicopter; source of shot unknown; no police observed in area; no finding.

Mabaso, Noble, 10 yrs; bullet wound in abdomen; Naledi, August 24; killed during stoning of police; no finding.

Madinwane, Dawid, 11 yrs; bullet wounds; Diepkloof, September 14; found dead on premises where he lived; no finding.

Mmutle, Dennis, 11 yrs; bullet wound in chest; Orlando West, June 17; circumstances unknown; no finding.

Moatlhudi, Agnes, 10 yrs; bullet wound in chest; Meadowlands, November 22; was a spectator while police were firing on rioters; killed by accident; no one to blame.

Mokoene, Vincent, 11 yrs; multiple bullet wounds; Soweto, June 16; no finding.

Ndhlovu, Jimmy, 12 yrs; bullet wound in abdomen; Soweto June 17; presumed killed during looting of Klipspruit shop; no one to blame.

Nubane, Aaron, 11 yrs; bullet wound in head; Thabisile School, Diepkloof, June 17; circumstances unknown, no finding.

Pieterson, Hector, 12 yrs; bullet wound in back and neck; Orlando West High School, June 16; shot by police during confrontation at Orlando West Secondary School; no finding.

Radebe, Wilson, 12 yrs; bullet wounds; Zola, August 26; killed by police during attack on police; no one to blame.

The list also includes 13 dead as "unknown," but the ages given range between 23 years and 51 years. — DDR.

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1976 Riots

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Justice Piet Cillie has damned apartheid, blaming key government policies for the 1976 riots which left 575 dead.

The former Judge President of the Transvaal said in his 760-page report tabled in Parliament yesterday that government policies had created dissatisfaction and even hatred that culminated in the nation-wide riots.

Nationalist policies which had caused frustration had been exploited by black activists, he said.

The judge, who has since been appointed to the Appeal Court, said discrimination had caused "great hate" and the "dissatisfaction and hate had been one of the foremost creators of a spirit of unrest".

Policies causing dissatisfaction included Bantu education, the homelands system, influx control, group areas, administration boards, denial of South African citizenship to blacks, salary discrimination, labour laws and detention without trial.

Declaring that intimidation had not started the riots but had created further unrest, the judge quoted the Soweto herbalist Credo Mutwa as saying agitators did not create grievances themselves.

They used available facts to exploit a situation, Mr Mutwa said in his evidence before the judge who acted as a one-man commission of inquiry appointed by the government to establish the causes of the riots.

The judge exonerated Cabinet Ministers from all blame for the rioting, but his report led yesterday to concerted opposition calls for the dismissal of Dr Andries Treurnicht, the Transvaal Nationalist leader who was Deputy Minister of Bantu Education when the violence broke out.

Dr Treurnicht was involved directly with the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction on a 50-50 basis with English in black secondary schools.

The Cillie Commission found that the policy was the immediate cause of grievances over the language issue.

Judge Cillie found Dr Treurnicht was not informed properly by his officials when he made inquiries in response to the institute's warnings.

Cillie report, pages 6 and 7

But the judge quotes two witnesses as saying a statement by Dr Treurnicht a few days before rioting started "tipped the scales towards unrest" because it showed the door had been closed to concessions on the Afrikaans issue.

Dr Treurnicht is likely to bear the brunt of criticism when the Cillie report is debated in Parliament next Friday

The report also clears the press of any malicious involvement in the riots after numerous government spokesmen had attacked newspapers as an instigator.

"Publication of reports about unrest could in themselves have had consequences which were neither intended nor desired," the commission says.

"After examination of all the available evidence, the commission has come to the conclusion that it cannot be said that the dissemination of news on unrest directly caused any unrest or allowed it to continue."

Black educationists particularly were upset by the report yesterday.

A Soweto school principal, Mr Wilkie Kambule, differed strongly with the commission's finding.

"Soweto is still in ferment over education today despite the fact that Afrikaans is no longer a compulsory language for tuition," he said. — DDC.

MPs react, page 5.
Editorial opinion, page 8.

provoked misunderstanding and dissatisfaction leading to organised resistance, particularly by the South African Students Movement.

Equally to blame for the first outbreak of violence in Soweto was the failure of education and police officials to anticipate the threat of violence and to take counter measures.

Police had to bear responsibility collectively for causing the first riots and education officials had failed to keep the then Minister of Bantu Education, Mr M. C. Botha, and Dr Treurnicht informed of the extent of black tension over the language issue.

The report, however, discloses details of urgent telegrams sent to Dr Treurnicht by the Institute of Race Relations urging him only weeks before the outbreak of violence to attend to black

Le Grange's reservations

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent

THE ASSEMBLY. — Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Police, said yesterday that on the whole, the police had "come off very well" in the Cillie Report — and suggested there were certain findings he did not support.

Mr Le Grange was commenting on the report, tabled in Parliament yesterday, which attributed "joint responsibility" to the police for the outbreak of rioting on June 16.

The commission also found that in other cases there was no acceptable evidence that police action was responsible for the outbreak of rioting.

Commenting on the report, Mr Le Grange said: "There may be certain aspects where I may not agree with the judge.

"But I do not think the police came off badly at all. On the contrary, I believe they came off very well. I am thankful that people can now see under what extremely difficult circumstances the police had to work."

He said it was "logical" there would be some criticism of the police as they had been particularly vulnerable.

"They were the force between law and order and chaos. Everything considered, I think the report confirmed that to the greatest extent the police acted properly."

Mr Le Grange said he would reserve his main comment for the snap parliamentary debate on Friday.

ARGUS 29/2/80

By TOS WENTZEL,
Political Correspondent

APARTHEID injustices, official bungling and bitterness and frustration among blacks about the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black secondary schools contributed to the 1976/77 riots, according to the Cillie Commission's report which was tabled in Parliament today.

In the Soweto conflagration which spread to the rest of the country 575 people were killed. The death toll in the Peninsula was 137.

The only member of the commission was Mr Justice P M Cillie, who sat with assessors in various areas. He was appointed in June 1976.

The reports states that racial discrimination bred great hatred and discontent among blacks, which contributed strongly to creating a spirit of revolt that flared in Soweto in June 1976 and flamed through the country.

Afrikaans

It confirms that Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in the schools was the immediate cause of the unrest.

A feeling of solidarity with the people of Soweto among blacks and coloured is given as the root cause of unrest in the Peninsula.

The report maintains that the riots were to a large extent instigated by students of the University of the Western Cape and says that UWC was the 'combustion point' for the riots.

In at least two cases grievances about group areas led directly to riots.

The commission found that the initial outbreak of unrest in Soweto was not spontaneous, but the result of organisation, agitation and intimidation.

As far as the rest of the country was concerned it was found that there was virtually no unrest area where there had not been agitation or violence.

Evidence of bungling by education officials and a lack of police preparedness are contained in the long-awaited report.

Corner stones

It finds that some corner stones of the apartheid policy contributed to the riots. Factors which contributed to black feelings of bitterness and anger include influx control laws, the Group Areas Act, the homelands system, and official and unofficial race discrimination.

Bitter feelings among the coloured people about discrimination are also highlighted in the report.

Coloured

Coloured people, according to evidence given to the commission, felt that most of their grievances were caused by discrimination.

Alienation from the white man developed among coloured peoples



Mr Justice P M Cillie

and with it a feeling of solidarity with blacks.

The report, which runs to over 1 000 pages, was tabled only in Afrikaans. An English translation will only be available in a few months.

It makes findings only not recommendations.

Agitators

While finding that bitterness against whites was exploited by agitators, it is critical of police who were caught unawares by the outbreak of trouble in Soweto and of Bantu Education officials who did not inform Ministers properly of growing unrest.

It also finds that there was uncertainty, misunderstanding and dissatisfaction over the implementation of the language policy.

The police are largely exonerated from blame, but it concedes that there could have been overhasty police actions in some cases.

The total damage caused during the unrest

(Continued on Page 3, col 2)

See pages 3, 10, 11 and 15

Call on PM to dismiss Treurnicht

Political Staff

LEADING members of both main opposition parties have called for the dismissal of Dr Andries Treurnicht from the Cabinet for his mishandling of events that led to the 1976 riots.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Opposition spokesman on black affairs, said that as the Deputy Minister responsible, Dr Treurnicht had shown himself to be incompetent and uncaring and therefore should go.

'No person who is not prepared to keep a watchful eye on the department for which he is responsible should be left in the Cabinet,' she said.



Dr Andries Treurnicht

VAUSE RAW

In a statement issued today the New Republic Party leader, Mr Vause Raw, said in the face of warnings from both the former United Party and Progressive Federal Party as well as homeland leaders and the Institute of Race Relations Dr Treurnicht as Deputy Minister in charge of education was 'guilty of complete failure to make it his business to get accurate information on the situation.

'The Cillie report is the most damning indictment of the Government's total failure to understand let alone deal with the problems of urban black South Africa.

UNFORGIVABLE

"The incredible handling of the immediate causes of the riot by Dr Treurnicht and certain officials, the refusal to heed warnings and the apparent complete lack of intelligence is unforgivable.

Mr Raw said Mr P W Botha now had no option but to dismiss Dr Treurnicht from the Cabinet 'for his responsibility for allowing the language issue to get so out of hand as to spark off the riots.'

MRS SUZMAN

The Cillie Commission seemed to have taken pains to hold officials — and not Ministers — responsible for the initial cause of the riots, Mrs Helen Suzman said today.

However, some of the commission's comments were a significant indictment of the Government's policy in fundamental aspects, she said, commenting on the commisssion's report which was tabled today.

'Injustices'

ARGUS 29/2/80

(Continued from Page 1)

could be higher than R45-million, but the commission emphasised the difficulty of making estimates.

The report points out that several changes have come about since the riots which have affected the way of life of many blacks, but says it was not in the ambit of the commission's mandate to say whether these changes were the result of the disorders.

Changes were made in respect of Afrikaans as a medium of education at black schools and it was announced that compulsory and free education was being instituted.

Councils

Community councils replaced advisory and urban Bantu boards and took over certain functions from administration boards.

Great changes were made in urban housing and provision is being made for electricity in Soweto.

Restrictive trade regulations in black urban residential areas were modified and there were changes regarding attendance at theatres and cinemas, the use of hotels and restaurants, the sale of beer by traders and other affairs.

● The Assembly is scheduled to debate the report next Friday.

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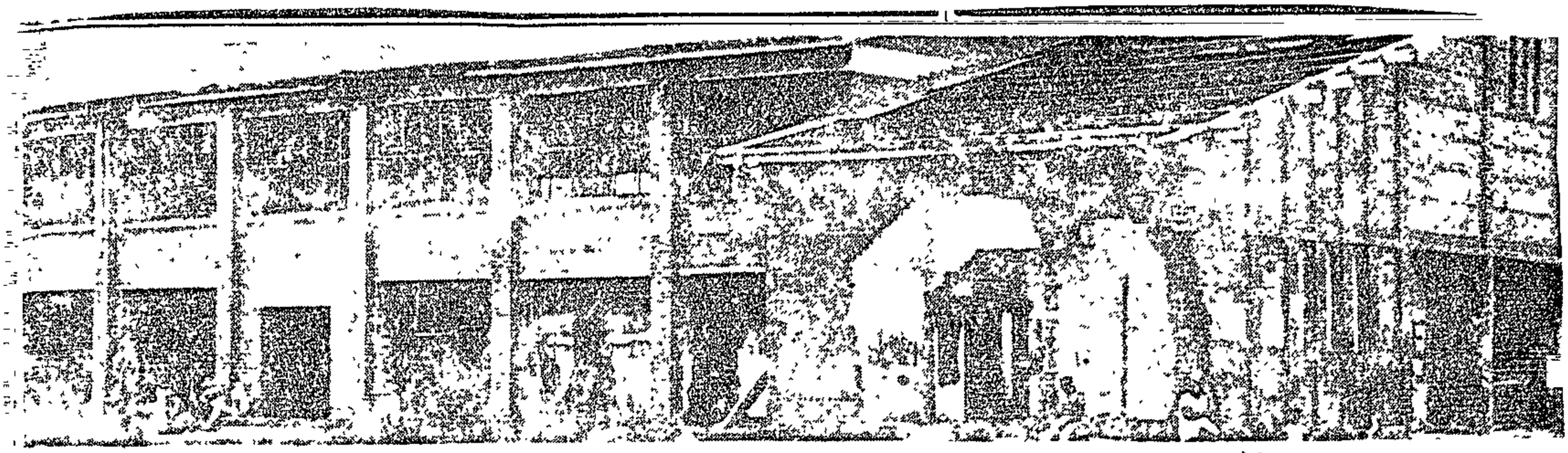
INJUSTICES RIOTS, SAYS CAUSED CILLIE

The usefulness of the report was greatly decreased by its tardy appearance, by the fact that the commission's terms of reference did not include the making of recommendations, and because so few young blacks gave evidence to the commission.

OFFICIALS

'One is left with the impression that the commission seems to have taken pains to place responsibility at the level of officials rather than at ministerial level for the initial cause of the riots.

'Thus the dismissal by the then Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Dr Andries Treurnicht, of warnings he had received about rising anger over Afrikaans as a teaching medium — from several sources — was played down. All the blame was placed on the Regional Director of Bantu Education.'



Soweto's Mofolo Hall damaged by fire in June 1976 — still stands as evidence.

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June 16 warning - it could happen again

From Page 1

The deprivation of citizenship for blacks goes on unrelentingly, and the Government still believes in the myth of the existence of a white South Africa."

And according to **Dr Francis Wilson**, professor in the University of Cape Town's School of Economics, there is no indication of a relaxation of the pass laws — which he says constitute the most serious barrier to a peaceful future in this country.

While the streamlined influx control measures introduced after the Riekert report might reduce the numbers slightly, the "illegals" would not necessarily move into the rural areas. They would just live more tricky and poorer lives in the urban areas, said Dr Wilson.

Urban blacks were not seeing the better deal everyone was talking about, and despite all the talk of change there was a real blindness on the part of the Government.

His words were echoed by **Rev Allan Hendrickse** leader of the coloured Labour Party, who said: "I've never heard so much talk of violence as I'm hearing now."

Mr Hendrickse said the Cillie report did to an extent highlight the causes of unrest But it was no good recognising the causes without positive moves to remove those causes.

"I don't think there has been real movement, real change since 1976," he said. "There has in fact been a hardening of attitudes on the part of black youngsters and a greater militancy among black youngsters.

"My concern is that the Government is not able to read the signs of the times," he said.

Joyce Harris, national secretary of the Black Sash, says that the pass laws are in fact being more strictly administered than before — and supports her claim with statistics.

Ms Harris said that whereas around 1976 the Black Sash advice office in Johannesburg was seeing about 40 cases day, there were now about 100 a day

"And that's only the tip of the iceberg."

In the Eastern Cape, Rhodes University anthropologist **Prof Mike Whisson** said that Port Elizabeth, where there was massive unrest in 1976/77, there was a feeling among the people that there had been no significant changes

"The tensions are as great now as they were in 1976," he said

Dr Marianne Roux, of the Rhodes Sociology Department, said that if the people of Port Elizabeth decided to take action on these issues, that action could well take the form of a strike. This was evidenced by the Ford strike in which the workers supported Pebco rather than the union because of the union's "apolitical" line.

A leading theologian, **Dr Allan Boesak**, said that because the Cillie Commission was a Government commission blacks could not expect the truth "as they experienced it in 1976.

"Many of the young people did not give evidence before the comission. Their side of the story still has to be told."

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten said: "There is only one change that has a meaning to black in this country, the abandonment of the discredited and evil policy of apartheid."

WHAT PEOPLE SAY

SUNDAY POST Reporter

IN a spot survey conducted by SUNDAY POST yesterday, people called on the Government to give immediate and real solutions to the Cillie Commission's findings on the June 1976 revolt that shook the country.

Mr Dukes Nhlapo, of Senaoane said: "Whatever change has been effected now is nothing to shout about at all. There is still inequality between black and white education.

"And if there was any change, our children would have been the first to know about it and there wouldn't be threats of boycotts like we have had in the past few weeks."

Mr Frederick Selepe, a former private teacher in Soweto, said: "The changes that have been brought about are not commensurate with the price the students had to pay to draw the authorities' attention to their plight.

"This is now the fourth year after those riots but how many children do you see selling newspapers in the streets when they should be in the classroom."

A 64-year-old widow, Mrs Josephine Ntuli broke down in tears when approached by SUNDAY POST on the findings of the Cillie Commission.

She said her two sons were shot by police during the riots. One died in hospital and the other was injured in the leg.

The dead son, Samuel Ntuli, was a pupil at Vukani Lower Primary School.

Vindicated . . . after three years in hell

• From Page 1

been saying all along the line. Instead of being thanked for bringing to our countrymen the real grievances of our people, we were given the eternal National Party treatment reserved for those who dare tell the truth.

The ensuing hate campaign against the newspapers, and against me personally, was spearheaded by people like Mr Kruger and Mr Vorster, articulately abetted by that power specialising in character assassination — the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

In the wake of the emotional aura they managed to create against us at that time, none of them dared tell the country that:

● Alarmed by the rising wave of anger I, at the expense of my newspapers, flew to Cape Town and had long consultations with members of the opposition parties who subsequently pursuaded the then Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Dr Andries Treurnicht, to see me.

● I desperately appealed to this man to at least postpone the implementation of the Afrikaans directive until the air was cleared and the parents and children given an opportunity to discuss the matter fully.

In spite of the grave dangers I tried to bring to the attention of the Minister, his final and definitive attitude was, and I quote: "Surely, Mr Kwabuza, if we pay for the education of your people, we must at least be given the right to decide how and what they are taught."

● In utter desperation, I attempted to appeal directly to the Prime Minister. With the help of my colleague, John Patten, who was our Parliamentary Correspondent, an appointment was clinched for me that afternoon in Mr Vorster's parliamentary office. I told the Prime Minister the very same thing I had told his Cabinet colleague.

Half listening to me and half watching the proceedings in Parliament through the closed-circuit television, he gave me what was to be my most shattering statement: "Mr Kwabuza, rest assured that law and order will be maintained at all costs."

There was no question of ditching the Afrikaans directive.

Just a few days later Soweto exploded, just as I had warned Dr Treurnicht and the Prime Minister it would. But instead of saying that I had warned them of this, they saw me as the great villain. I was the guy who was fomenting all the trouble. They then turned all the state agencies, including their ever faithful newspapers like Die Beeld, against us.

As I stand in our newsroom today, seeing all those men and women pounding away at their typewriters, the question I ask myself is not which of these young and dedicated men and women has been to jail, but which of these young men has NOT been to jail.

The majority of them, in one way or another, have been tossed into jails at various times. They accept this philosophically. It is the price they have to pay for believing in a free Press and the right of their people to know.

I still remember the hurt and agony of going to their various families assuring them they were all right — and I was damn lying because I had no way of knowing they were all right — and that everything was being done to secure their release.

Days turned into weeks, weeks into months and in some cases, months into 18 months. At the end, their families did not have me any more feeding them with hollow consolation. I too was taken away. Five and a half months of my life was arbitrarily taken away from me. Like my colleagues, not because I had committed any crimes but because of lies, lies and more lies being spread deliberately across this nation by some politicians. The last three years while we were waiting for the report of the Cillie Commmission have been sheer hell.

We were like accused waiting for three years for the sentence to be delivered. It has now been delivered through Judge Cillie. He has found us not guilty. He has vindicated our integrity and has supported our honourable intention to tell the people exactly what is happening.

As we look back, we are not ashamed of our role. If the Government had intended to intimidate us, it was a bad miscalculation. Press freedom is such a noble and worthy cause that going to jail for it is the most honourable thing to do in the experience of any self-respecting journalist.

In the light of the Cillie report, the most honourable thing left for the government to do is unban THE WORLD and WEEKEND WORLD. As long as these remain banned, it remains an ugly blot on this nation. Particularly because the reasons for banning them were based on lies.

THIS IS ANOTHER WARNING

(244) 2/3/80 S. Post.

'76 can happen again, say country's experts

SUNDAY POST
Reporters

SOME of the country's leading experts and politicians yesterday issued the Government with a grim warning: things are worse now than they were in June 1976 – and it could all happen again.

If the Cillie Commission into the 1976 and 1977 countrywide uprising is right, they say, then the pass laws, group areas, the homelands system, administration boards, the denial of South African citizenship, labour restrictions and detention without trial continue to provide the explosive conditions for another June '76.

And they agree the commission is right about those things.

Tabled

Judge Piet Cillie says in his 760 page report, which was tabled in Parliament this week, that there have been a number of improvements in the way of life of many blacks in Soweto since the unrest.

These included the installation of Community Councils, improvements in respect of home ownership, arrangements for the provision of electricity and the scrapping of Afrikaans as medium of instruction in schools.

But experts this week told **SUNDAY POST** that there has in reality been no significant change, and that some of the conditions that existed in Soweto before the unrest are beginning to repeat themselves.

They warned that the Government would have to take positive steps away from its doctrine of apartheid — or face the bloody consequences.

Mr Leonard Mosala of the Soweto Committee of Ten said: "The major causes of dissatisfaction are still there. The structures of apartheid are still intact and being enforced in a brutal manner.

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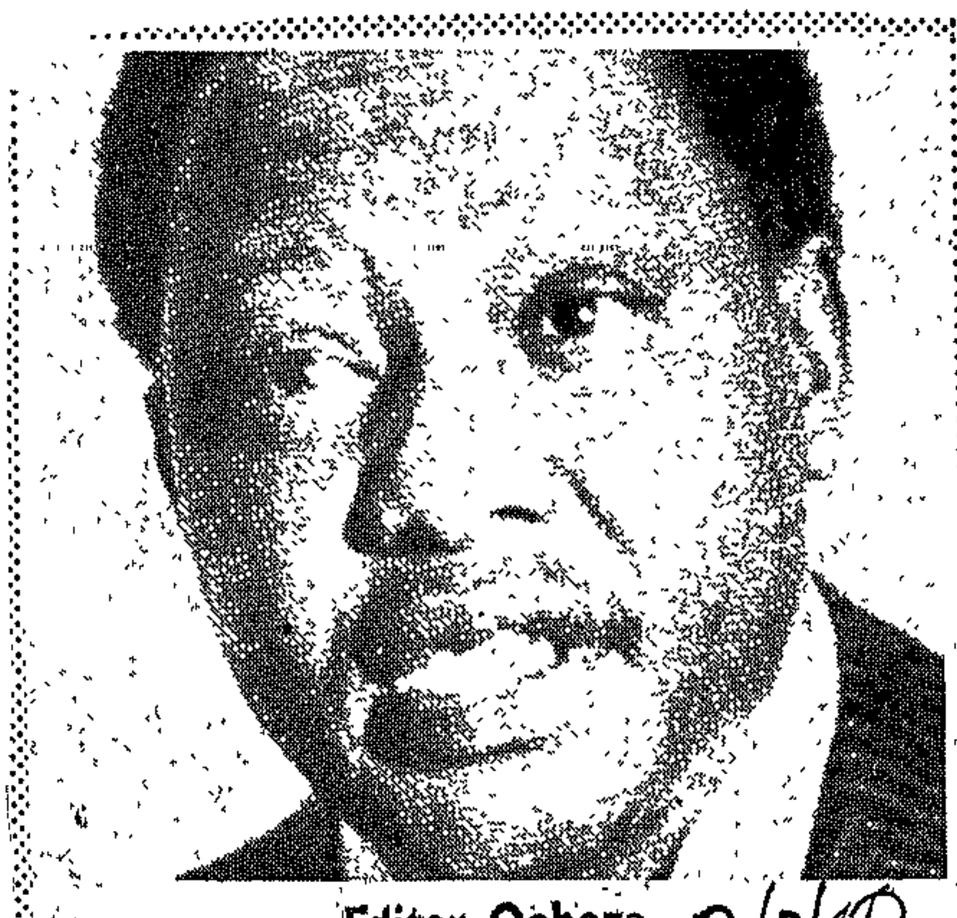

Editor Qoboza 2/3/80

Not guilty: that's the verdict of Judge Cillie

COMMENT

AND so the Cillie Commission report has finally been tabled. It is a horrifying report and it carries with it ominous warnings about the possible conflicts facing the nation as long as the Government pursues its present political path.

For newspapers and pressmen — particularly black pressmen — the report is a final and sweet vindication from the legacy of lies hurled against them, the torture of being thrown into jail without trial, and the ultimate price of having two innocent newspapers banned and wiped off the streets.

Those two newspapers remain banned up to today. The Cillie Commission report has categorically stated that their investigations showed Press reports and editorial comment at the height of the conflict were well balanced and responsible. The only small item Mr Justice Cillie had misgivings about was that some of the reports may have helped to encourage acts of irresponsibility. But on the whole his commission came out strongly in favour of what the Press did in general at the time.

How pathetically far from what we were told by the then Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, to be joined later by the former Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster.

Casting my mind back three years I am filled with horror. Horror that the lives of nearly 600 people and damage amounting to millions of rands has had no impact on this nation.

We continue on a day-to-day basis as if nothing has happened. We mock the forces of social change and political repentance with shameless insensitivity. While we indulge in semantics, the clouds — very dark clouds — are gathering around us. Just the same as I warned they were just before that fateful morning of June 16, 1976.

This entire holocaust could have been avoided — if only the politicians had been sensitive. The Cillie Commission has in fact found there were far too many people in Government who had prior warning of the worsening situation. They did nothing. Their arrogance took the upper hand.

They kept on indulging in fantasies and dreams of a happy, content black community out there. They blamed the unhappiness on communists, agitators and their fellow conspirators. Well, the Cillie Commission looked very hard for these communists and agitators and came to the conclusion that the riots were not sparked off by these faceless and indeed non-existent men, but by genuine grievances and reaction to a vicious system that denigrates men and strips them of their dignity.

What the judge is saying is in fact what THE WORLD and WEEKEND WORLD had

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SUNDAY POST

Sunday, March 2, 1980

Cillie — opportunity sadly squandered

THE findings of the Cillie Commission, set up to investigate the unrest of 1976, are at the same time both satisfying and frustrating.

On the one hand, Judge Cillie will earn praise for articulating in unmistakable terms the fact that Government policy was the prime cause of black discontent. This, stated as it was, by a highly respected Afrikaner judge acting in an official capacity, leaves whites with no further excuse to pretend they "do not know" about the hurtfully destructive consequences of their legislative actions.

On the other hand, the findings are frustrating in the extreme. While they go further than any before them to accurately pinpoint errors of the past, they are at the same time seriously off-target about "improvements" since then.

An investigation by this newspaper, which consisted of soliciting informed opinion from a variety of social experts, suggests that the lot of the average black has not improved since 1976 but has in fact become worse.

The obvious implications for the future, in the light of some of the Cillie Commission's findings, are horrifying.

It can be argued that predictions about future circumstances were not part of the commission's brief. But if not, why not?

Surely the question the country wants answered first is: "Can it happen again?"

It is our view, one based on actual experience, that the commission could have dealt with this with the absolute minimum loss of time and effort; all it had to do was to speak to the right people.

In our opinion, however, it seems that it spoke mostly to the wrong people. The riots involved young black students protesting about conditions in our community which have long been insufferable. Yet of the 563 witnesses who gave evidence before the commission, only about a third — 184 — were black of which only 15 were below 18 years old. The rest were white, many of whom were policemen.

This composition of witnesses displays, we believe, an appalling lack of insight and understanding about what the unrest was really all about.

The result has been, that a largely white view of the riots has been presented in the final report at the expense of a more complete black view. The effect can only be that whites will be deluded into thinking that there is a higher degree of satisfaction among blacks now than there was in 1976 and therefore that there are good possibilities of stability in the future.

This exercise of appointing a commission to investigate the Soweto unrest may have been wasted.

Not only did it fail to canvass the opinions of more of those who were closer to the riots than whites were, but it failed to give an adequate picture of what lies ahead if existing policy is not changed.

Of course it is true that we all know what could happen if there is no change, but whites require to hear it from some "official" source before they will believe, and thus act on, it.

It is because of this that the Cillie Commission could have been a highly potent instrument of change. Alas, the opportunity has been squandered.

A day etched in

JUNE 16, 1976, is a date South Africa will always remember, for that day — almost four years ago — is etched in blood in the nation's history.

For it was on that sleepy Wednesday morning that Soweto exploded

The ensuing violence that swept across the country left 575 dead, at least 3 907 injured and resulted in the arrest of at least another 6 000 as police attempted to crush the unrest which caused damage estimated at no less than R45-million.

This week the most authoritative account to date was published in the report of Mr Justice P M Cillie, the one-man commission of inquiry into the unrest which was tabled in Parliament on Friday.

And the report, though predictable in its main finding, that it was the policy of using Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in Soweto schools that sparked the conflagration, makes some startling findings.

The most important of these is that official bungling — specifically by the police and education authorities — made the situation even worse.

It finds too that some of the foundations of the Government's apartheid race policies added to black anger which boiled over on June 16.

In his criticism of the police and educa-



S. Post 2/3/80 (74)

WHEN APARTHEID BORE ITS FRUITS

bungling and ineptitude.

This includes the fact that the police only found out about the planned June 16 Soweto demonstration the night before it took place — although it had been planned for at least three days and the meeting which mooted the idea took place "within a stone's throw of a police station".

Judge Cillie also found that intransigent Bantu Education officials in Soweto did not properly inform the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr M C Botha, or his deputy, Dr Andries Treurnicht, or the secretary of the department of the badly deteriorating situation.

The report is especially critical of the regional director of Bantu Education for the Southern Transvaal, Mr W C Ackermann.

Mr Ackermann is portrayed in evidence before the commission as an intransigent ideologue. "The regional director's attitude was that equal use of mediums of instruction was introduced because the white taxpayers financed Bantu Education."

Summarising his findings at the end of the report, which runs to about 1 000 pages, Judge Cillie says: "The factors which together caused the first unrest were the application of the policy of the language of instruction in black secondary schools, the organised resistance in Soweto to this application, the handling of the resistance and the fact that the education authorities and the police, who did not see the danger coming, neglected to take precautions

"The unrest was continued by the organisers of demonstrations, boycott and strikes, by the distributors of inciting pamphlets, by the speeches of inciters and by rioters who wanted to share in the violence and the plundering or who wanted to create chaos to cripple the Government."

Dealing with the police, Judge Cillie discloses that because of their lack of foreknowledge only 48 policemen were on hand to face the crowd of thousands which had gathered to march to Orlando Stadium on the first day of the unrest.

"Although Colonel Kleingeld, commander of the unit of 48 gave no order to his men to fire, because he was afraid of a wanton use of firearms, they opened fire after he did. Two people were killed in this incident, one of them 21-year-old Hector Petersen, shot in the back.

Judge Cillie also noted that the police only found out about the planned June 16 Soweto demonstration the night before it took place — although it had been planned for at least three days.

Police officers received information from two sources on the night before the June 16 demonstration.

Yet the information was only passed to the divisional headquarters which had to correlate information after the demonstration had begun.

Judge Cillie find that although it is eas to be wise after th event it is "difficult t understand how group of young pe ple can prepare fo three days for a d monstration by 15 00 or more scholars a schools throughou Soweto and that th police should receiv the first, incomple reports, about it onl on the night befor the demonstration wa to take place.

Although some wit nesses said the unres was spontaneous Judg Cillie finds "convinc ing" evidence that th outbreak of violence in Soweto was in fac the result of the orga nisation and agitation.

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EXPRESSCOPE

HOW SA HAS CHANGED SINCE THE

Could the 1976 happen again? and judge for

CAN it all happen again?

Death in the streets. Gunfire. Slaughter of innocents. Weeping mothers Homes in flames making a black pall of smoke over South Africa like the shadow of doomsday.

June 16, 1976. And after.

Can it happen again?

On Friday — three years, eight months and 12 days after the day many regard as the most traumatic in South Africa's history — the report of the Cillie Commission into the unrest in Soweto and elsewhere was tabled in Parliament

A major section of the report analyses the causes of the riots. The commission says it kept in mind that not all grievances were necessarily causes. Some were trivial.

Using the commission's own conclusions, the Sunday Express today takes a look at how the situation has altered since June 16, 1976 Much has changed, steps have been taken to remove or alleviate grievances, promises have been made

Has enough been done?

According to the commission's findings, the core of the trouble was the fact that many Black children felt Afrikaans was being thrust down their throats.

The riots were caused by the way this policy was applied, the organised resistance to it by pupils, and the inability of either officials or the police to foresee the danger of the situation and act effectively

The language issue was resolved within days of the outbreak of the unrest, but the trouble continued for two years From the commission's report it seems clear that the issue was but a dangerous spark that, though inept handling, set fire to a powder keg.

But the report makes it clear that other factors created a climate of dissatisfaction, frustration, even hatred Could one of these issues become another spark?

Below are some of the commission's main findings. With them are published recent incidents reported in South African newspapers involving the same or similar issues, as an indication of what the situation might be like NOW — in contrast to how the commission found it to have been THEN

Can it happen again? Judge for yourself. . .

□ □ □

● THE LANGUAGE ISSUE (and how it was handled):

THEN: The enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in Soweto schools was an immediate cause of the unrest.

Schools could obtain exemption but circulars from the Department of Bantu Education and the way in which applications were handled created confusion and uncertainty.

"Keeping (school) board members and parents in the dark promoted dissatisfaction . . . and created opportunity for false speculation and rumours," says the report.

The language issue led to confrontation between pupils and teachers. Police were called in. The protests spread and became more violent.

The Black People's Convention decided that the South African Students' Movement and other Black consciousness organisations should seize the issue to make Blacks aware.

Pupils met and planned a massive protest march on June 16.

On June 7 the Regional Director of Bantu Education was invited to meet a delegation of the Urban Bantu Council. The commission was told that the Chief Director of Wrab, who organised the meeting, got the impression the regional director was unwilling to attend.

At the meeting the regional director took the view that it was the responsibility of the school boards to end the boycotts. The language rule existed, it was said, because White taxpayers paid for Bantu Education.

The commission said that was not the only time this point was made.

"Sometimes, as happened at the second meeting, it was also stated that if Black children were not satisfied with the system they could stay away.

"On other occasions it was said that parents could send



● Flashback to 1976 . Students people protest at the "poison" of Bantu Education

By J C VIVIERS and MARIAN SHINN

their children to the homelands . suffice it to say that such allegations and an attitude of 'take it or leave it' would definitely not calm feelings."

At both meetings the regional director insisted that demands by pupils could not be met since it would lead to a chain reaction.

But this approach held the danger that legitimate grievances might not be dealt with on merit, the commission points out.

"The officials believed agitators were behind the ferment. They did not realise that the pupils were so dissatisfied and inspired that they could easily revolt."

Through their attitude the officials cut themselves off, so



they did not know what was really happening. They were unable to give warning to higher levels

The police in Soweto were in a similar position Apparently they failed to appreciate the seriousness of the warning signs

"That is why a group of young people could for at least three days make intensive preparations for a demonstration of 15 000 pupils of schools throughout Soweto," states the commission.

The police, said the commission, received their first, incomplete reports of two separate marches on the evening before the demonstrations were to take place.

That meant the police were completely unprepared in terms of manpower, equipment and state of mind. They themselves were largely responsible for their unpreparedness.

A good judge of the circumstances would have realised that such a large illegal procession constituted a major threat and would have organised counter measures.

The police stopped the march but could not control the rebellious crowd. Riots broke out and spread

NOW. The language issue was resolved days after the unrest started

But dissatisfaction, caused by some official attitudes and behaviour, continues

A woman of 82 was evicted from her home by a tenant who had been allocated the house by Wrab officials When she went to find out what was happening she was told her file had been lost

The action boiled down to a presumption by Wrab officials that the woman was the ward of her son, with whom she no longer had contact Her son had agreed to move out of the house.

The officials finally arranged for her daughter to move to a bigger house which she could share.

Blacks have complained about being badly treated at New Canada's offices They said they arrived at 4,30am and the offices only opened at 8am

Wrab agreed to open its offices an hour earlier, but Blacks complain officials waste time gossiping among themselves

On the East Rand the regional director for education and training warned the East Rand Administration Board that unless it used the money budgeted for building schools, these funds would be forfeit. East Rand community councillors were unaware this money was available

Mr Manie Mulder, the Wrab chairman who was claimed to be blocking changes to the system and treatment of urban Blacks, has been forced out and replaced by Mr Jan Knoetze, who has a reputation for trying to improve the lot of urban Blacks.

Blacks also complain about treatment by some policemen. In January women who had been arrested on a pass raid complained they were insulted and fondled at Hillbrow police station. They are suing the Minister of Police for wrongful arrest.

● ORGANISATIONS:

THEN. Various organisations, including the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party, the Black People's Convention. Saso ans the Comrades were found by the commission to have contributed to the unrest.

It says the ANC's main, if not only, aim is to overthrow the Government through force and it probably anticipated that supporting the students would help.

The organisation helped the students in various ways including spiriting selected youths away for insurgency training

NOW. Both the ANC and the South African Communist Party have stepped up their onslaught Two armed ANC guerrillas have been arrested in northern Natal. Police said they were refugees from Soweto trained in Angola

The three men in the Silverton bank siege were ANC members, the police claimed. ANC headquarters in London denied this

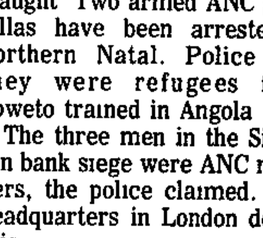
The public has been warned that there will be further attacks and attempts to trigger off and promote unrest

● THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT:

THEN. The commission reported that it was not so much a movement as a philosophy, almost a faith, found in almost all Black political or community organisations.

Its purpose is to make every Black man aware and proud of his Blackness. The commission found that for most of those in the unrest, especially the schoolchildren, Black consciousness meant Black solidarity or Black power.

Black consciousness led to Black-White polarisation, the commission found, and thus



created a climate useful to agitators

NOW: Various Black organisations have been formed recently to fight for Black rights Azapo was formed last year and is undergoing a leadership crisis. Black students' organisations have been reborn

Black writers and poets are becoming the spearhead of Black conciousness and write every day about the grievances and aspirations of the Black people. Their works are frequently banned

The SA Black Alliance, with Inkatha, is gaining momentum to fight apartheid using Government-created platforms.

● POLITICAL AND MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE SA:

THEN· Developments such as the Portuguese withdrawal from Mozambique and Angola and international support for guerrilla forces were not a direct cause of the riots. But they undoubtedly contributed to a state of mind in which insurrection could easily be encouraged, the commission found

NOW On Tuesday a Black Zimbabwe will be born out of violent struggle. It will give further stimulus to Black movements to step up their fight inside South Africa

Joshua Nkomo has said he will help the ANC if he comes to power Political observers believe Robert Mugabe will do the same

If that happens South Africa and South West Africa will be surrounded by countries aiding the ANC

Swapo guerrillas regularly cross into South Africa; South Africa has accused Mozambique of allowing ANC guerrillas to have bases there.

● BANTU EDUCATION:

THEN: Apart from the language issue, other aspects of Bantu Education were given by witnesses as the cause of great dissatisfaction.

One important complaint was that it was not free and compulsory. Parents were disillusioned that the education levy went to the homelands Pupils had to buy their own books while Whites received theirs free

"This could undoubtedly have been a source of considerable dissatisfaction," the commission says.

It considered the complaint about lack of compulsory education was justified

As far back as 1974, says the commission, it was decided to have compulsory education and free books.

But when in 1976 it was announced that the two decisions were going to be carried out, the "Comrades" group in the Cape Peninsula declared that was not enough. They wanted a new system because Bantu Education was inferior

"The commission does not express an opinion on whether earlier announcement of the decision to make education free and compulsory could have had any effect," the commission states

Government educationists who gave evidence were adamant that Bantu Education was in no way inferior, but conceded that less qualified teachers may not put it over well.

The commission dismissed the argument that the standards of White and Black education could be judged by comparing the cost per head.

The commission concluded that there was considerable dissatisfaction about Bantu Education — some of it well-founded. In some cases parents were misled by unjustified criticism.

With the exception of the language issue, compulsory schooling, and free education, Bantu Education was not a cause of the unrest It caused some dissatisfaction, and was used by those who wanted the riots to take place

NOW. There have been many changes, including the name, but the system remains separate from national "White" education.

In Parliament this week it was announced that 48 new schools would be completed by April and there was a 17% increase of possible matriculants over the 1979 figure.

There is also an increase in the number of teachers furthering their training. Compulsory education for Blacks would be introduced as soon as possible

Until then thousands of Black children will not go to school.

● THE HOMELANDS SYSTEM:

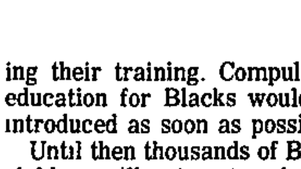
THEN. Black attitudes were divided. Organisations such as the ANC and Saso denounced those who participated in the homelands system

More moderate critics attacked unequal distribution of land, enforced citizenship, and prohibition on Black land ownership in White areas

The commission found that many urban Blacks wanted to maintain links with their homelands The homeland system was nowhere a direct cause of unrest, but dissatisfaction over aspects led in a lesser degree to an inclination towards unrest.

NOW: The Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference reported this month that since 1948 two million Blacks have been moved in implementation of the homeland policy

The report said apartheid was having a profound effect on



the lives of people — leading to misery and suicide

There are still about 175 000 families (about one million people) to be moved

In May, Blacks in Port Elizabeth's Walmer township will be moved while there is a shortage of 12 000 Black homes in the area

There have been sporadic arson attempts and stonings.

Near Pretoria about 200 000 Black people who are not Tswana citizens will probably be moved soon from Winterveld, which is in Bophutha-Tswana.

They refuse to take up Tswana citizenship. They also fear if they lose their South African citizenship they will lose their jobs in Pretoria.

The removal of 10 000 people from Fingo village near Grahamstown was stopped by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof

Families of Soweto students jailed under security laws have been told to move to the homelands if they want to give these youngsters a home when they leave prison

● INFLUX CONTROL:

THEN The purpose of influx control was both protective and preventive, the commission stated But many Blacks considered it a system of inexplicable, discriminatory and thus objectionable measures, intended to make the Black man's stay in White areas as troublesome as possible

Other Black people believed scrapping the measures would result in serious problems but they, too, felt aspects could be removed.

Features that caused dissatisfaction it split families, limited labour opportunities, restricted visits to White areas.

"Unfortunately, according to witnesses, some officials are not as sympathetic as their heads intimated in evidence," the commission stated.

Things like the taking of fingerprints when reference books are issued and the "callous behaviour" of the police when arresting people create anger

There was dissatisfaction over the attitudes of some White officials whose impa-

Officials and police did not fully understand the seriousness of the situation

Inspector feared attack by pupils

STAR 19/6/80
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By Yussuf Nazeer

A white school inspector visiting an Indian school hurriedly telephoned the riot police because he believed a group of slogan-chanting pupils were going to attack him, a spokesmen for the regional department of Indian education said.

Chief Indian school education spokesman in Pretoria, Mr Otto Beyer, said his circuit inspector Mr G R Schwarz was on a routine visit to Lenasia schools yesterday when the incident happened.

"Mr Schwarz called on the Lenasia High School and was in conference with the acting headmaster when a group of chanting pupils converged on the office.

"They were hysterical and in the circumstances, Mr Schwarz feared for his safety and telephoned the police," said Mr Beyer.

The police arrived and arrested 260 pupils who had fled to their classes.

Students gave a different version of the incident. They said when they saw Mr Schwarz arrive at the school. they felt this was an opportunity to speak to him personally about their problems.

A teacher confirmed this. He said the children had indicated that they wanted to tell Mr Schwarz, first hand, about their plans to return to classes and to have the current examinations postponed to another date.

They said they had no intentions of resorting to violence. Their chanting was done to draw attention to the gravity of their problems.

They claimed they had already left the office after the inspector refused to speak to them. Minutes later the police arrived and they fled into the classrooms.

Parents expressed their anger today at the police action and some annoyed teachers said they were ready to resign from the Department of Indian Education.

The children were released without being charged after parents, relatives and legal consultants converged on the Protea police station.

Thousands join crush to see track stars

By MARSHALL WILSON

KYALAMI resembled Rio at carnival time yesterday as more than 100 000 people shoehorned into the circuit to watch the bid by South Africa's world champion Jody Scheckter to earn his first points of the 1980 Formula 1 Grand Prix season.

After a heavy overnight flow of fans from the coast, long lines of cars queued at the gates from early yesterday morning.

One alert security guard asked the driver of a vehicle to open the boot — and found inside a sheepish fan who proferred a R20 note.

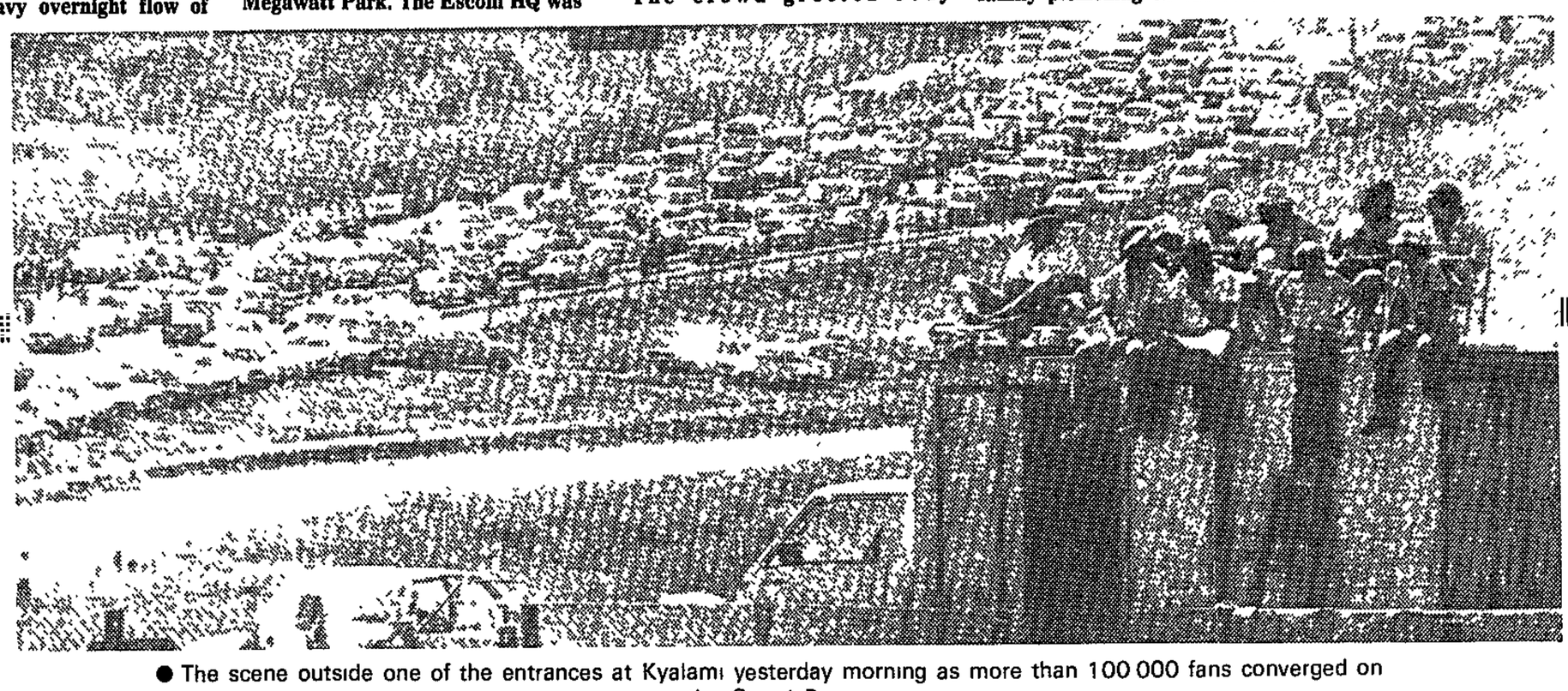
Helicopter services ferried in fans from Jan Smuts airport and Megawatt Park. The Escom HQ was used by many race-goers as a convenient place to leave their cars and dodge traffic problems with an airlift into the circuit.

Hundreds of people paid up to R200 to fly into Kyalami and watch the action from the comfort of several marquee tents at Club House bend.

The crowd greeted Jody Scheckter's arrival with a roar of welcome and the champion smiled and waved as he acknowledged their "Go Jody" banners.

The crowd had a good laugh when an Air Force Alouette helicopter landed on an emergency helipad alongside the control tower and blew over the colourful umbrella of a family picnicking on the roof of an out-building. There was a frantic grab for food and drinks and the father just managed to collar the sun umbrella before it took off in a cloud of dust.

Eight ambulances and 36 doctors stood by in case of emergency. They were backed up by two helicopters and about 50 first-aiders from several organisations.



● The scene outside one of the entrances at Kyalami yesterday morning as more than 100 000 fans converged on the Grand Prix.

Guard dogs bite 8 GP fans in boozy night of lechery

EIGHT people were bitten by guard dogs at a brawling, boozing pre-Grand Prix night at Kyalami on Friday. They were trying to sneak into the most sought after area of the circuit — the pits.

By GABI MAASTRECHT

A security guard told me the men who were bitten by the dogs were taken for first aid after their abortive attempts to storm the barriers None was seriously injured.

For the rest, the night smells like of dagga and boerewors the hundreds of braais — combining to provide a pall of smoke all over the area which became, for one night, the biggest camp site in South Africa

A group from South West Africa — about five carloads of them — had two giant speakers mounted on their vehicles, blaring out disco music until the early hours of the morning.

At dawn, hundreds of diehards were woken by a blazing sun — a great many of them moaning about their hangovers.

The litter — mainly beer bottles — was already carpeting parts of the track.

The stands were filled by Friday night with fans, drunk and otherwise, bundled into sleeping bags — it was a case of anything to reserve a seat for the big race, and the booze helped stave off the discomfort.

One of the groups on the stand were national servicemen with only a bottle of rum to keep them warm "It's pretty uncomfortable, but I'm forced to do this to keep my place," said Piet Bezuidenhout, who was stretched out on an army blanket on the cold concrete stands

The Kyalami gypsies, bands of revellers scattered round the course, became night-time Jody Scheckter pretenders Many of them, in between the carousing and whooping, climbed on board their bikes or into their souped-up cars, and tore around the roads surrounding the the track — taking part in their own midnight Grand Prix.

About 64 security guards, some of them armed and most of them schoolboys and students, patrolled the track on foot and motor bike.

"We get paid R15 per shift," said Johnny Nicolau, an 18-year-old matriculation student who worked a 12-hour-shift on Friday night "They gave us a Coke and a hamburger at 11pm, and if we work three nights running we get to see the race free "

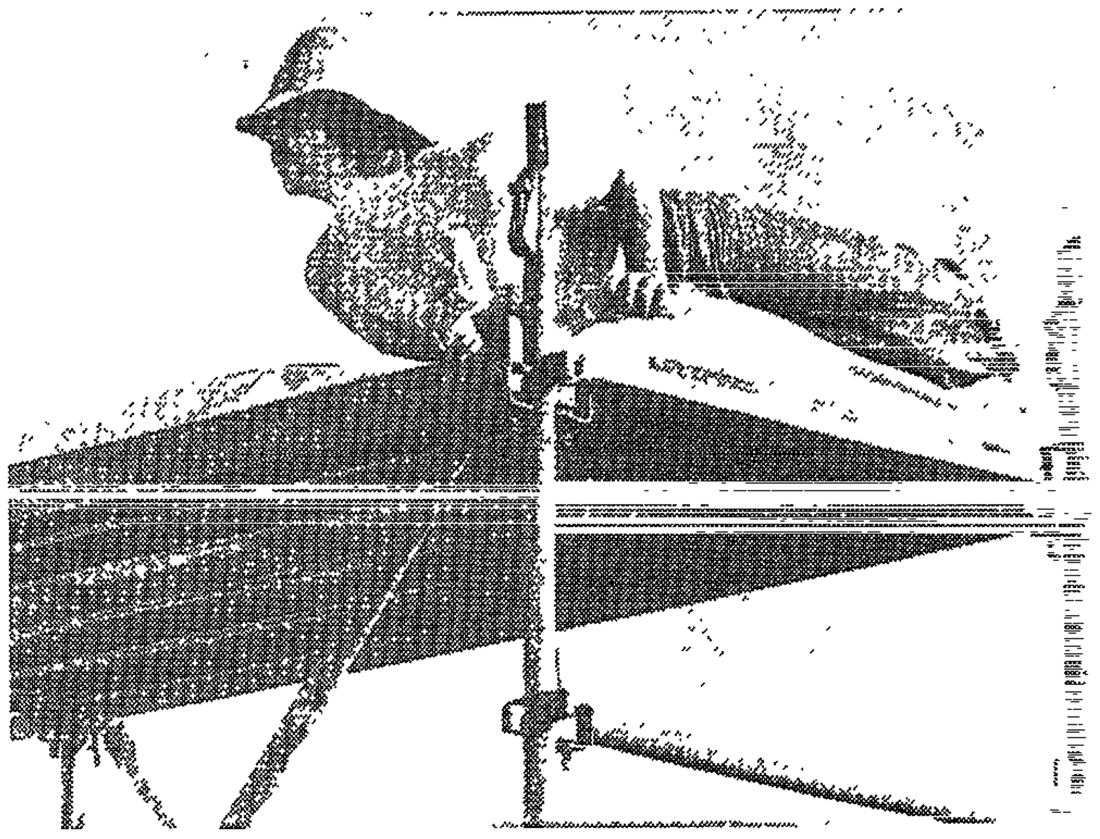
Asked how he felt keeping drunken rowdies from the pits, Johnny said "I can always run away if they geat 'heavy', and then the dogs will get them I feel quite safe."

While I was talking to him a group of youths came up to us and tried to break through. They swore, offered the guards bribes in the way of free booze, and then tried to "get heavy." They left after two more security guards arrived.

"See what I mean," said Johnny. "They should make racing like cricket, there is too much booze here."

Walking round the dark track on my own was a frightening experience. Everywhere I went I was approached by drunken men and youths who made suggestive comments to me.

I was repeatedly warned by guards and officials not to continue walking by myself as they said they could not be held responsible for my safety.



● With a mattress atop the scaffolding, this man has a bird's eye view

"I wouldn't risk it if I was you. There are a lot of bad people here tonight," a guard told me

Eventually, after the remarks became increasingly obscene, I took his advice and was escorted by him across the track, where I found my colleagues at the Press offices.

The evening, at first quite fun and carnival-like, became, as the booze and drugs took effect, potentially nasty.

It was nice to see friendly newspapermen after several hours of abuse from the hundreds of drunks.

Early morning arrivals, including a gleaming motorcade of vintage sports cars, were handed programmes and tickets by a brigade of leggy majorettes.

T-shirts advertising almost everything were the main uniform of the day Apart from the T-shirt and jeans fad which dominated the scene there were several girls providing glamour in almost non-existent shorts and skimpy scarves across their tops.

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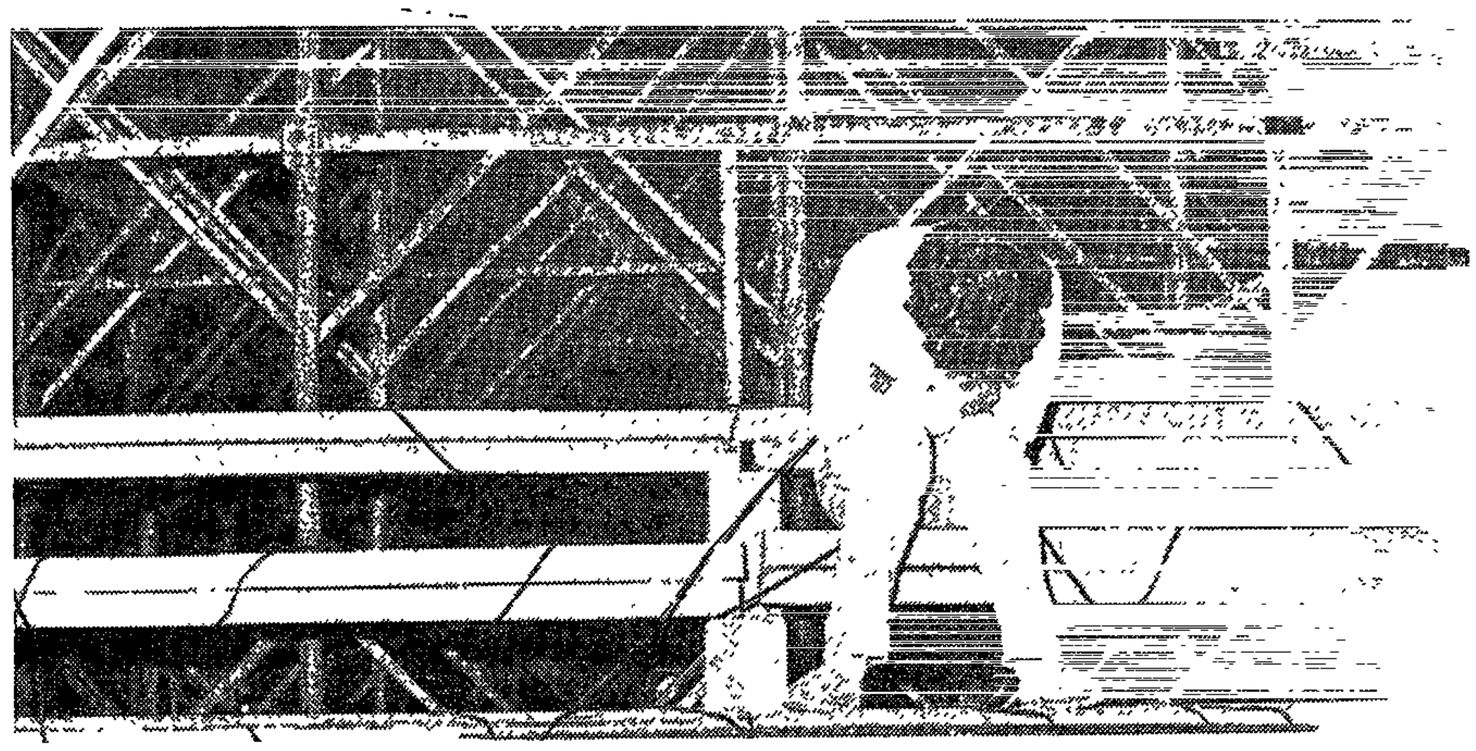


● It's a long, uncomfortable night, but his seat in the stands is guaranteed.

age — or gloss over it — at our peril

nation) that is important here, and not the grounds or fairness of that accusation.

"Almost all legislation concerning the relations between races is divisive and is seen by Black and Coloured as unfair and discriminatory."

There it is then. The legislation required to underpin the policy of separate development is promoting the anger; the very policy created to avert racial friction actually created racial hatred. It could not come out more plainly in the report.

It does not matter that the Government may have genuinely believed that its policy would improve race relations; that things like the Group Areas Act and the pass laws and removals would ultimately contribute to harmony within South Africa. It does not even matter particularly that Black people may have a distorted view of the objectives of Government policy.

The stark reality is that they reject separate development — and White South Africa cannot now simply proceed along a path rejected by more than 80% of its peoples.

Is it possible that mere adaptations may avert future trouble?

Separate development cannot exist without some form of discrimination; this is not challenged by Nationalists. Indeed they argue that there can be fair discrimination too.

Again, the Government's own commission of inquiry — the commission it appointed to tell it what caused the riots — gives an answer.

"Discrimination, which is always considered as unfair, not only caused dissatisfaction but also, in many, a great hatred. This dissatisfaction and hatred was among the most important causes of the environment and spirit of revolt."

AND: "It does not appear as if special differentiation is made (by urban Blacks) between important and unimportant discrimination and that which is merely irritating."

In other words, the "necessary discrimination" of Nationalist policy is going to be just as unacceptable, just as capable of arousing hatred, as what the Government terms "unnecessary discrimination". Clearly, it is not going to be sufficient merely to tinker around with apartheid.

South Africa has wasted more than a quarter-century pursuing a policy that led inexorably to the Soweto riots.

We are lucky it was not a fatal mistake. But our luck will not hold if the mistake is not acknowledged. And rectified.

We ignore the Cillie Commission's mess

THE Sunday Express believes that the conclusions drawn below are irresistible, and frightening in their implications. It does not see that the Cillie Commission findings can be interpreted in any other way.

But the issues are too important to play party politics over. This is no time to score debating points.

If our conclusions are wrong then they should be refuted now. If they are right then South Africa will have to take immediate action to avert a crisis worse than the 1976 riots.

Accordingly, we invite any concerned Nationalist to tell us — and our readers, for we will publish what they say — why the Cillie Commission report does not mean what we think it means.

□ □ □

IT IS sorely tempting to believe that the lessons of 1976 have been learnt; that out of riot and turmoil new wisdom was born that will make it impossible for such riots ever to happen again. Tempting — but dangerous.

Sunday EXPRESS

Certainly, much has been done to blunt some of the harsh edges of apartheid. Some grievances have been removed. There has been progress towards removing some discrimination. The Prime Minister has made important efforts to promote racial goodwill.

If Mr Justice Cillie is right, it will not be enough.

The single most urgent message that comes out of the Cillie Commission report is that separate development itself, the fundamental policy of the Government, lies at the heart of the deep grievance felt by Blacks.

The country ignores this message or glosses over it at its peril.

In chapter 14, paragraph 14, the judge spells it out: "According to witnesses most urban Blacks, Coloureds and Indians regard apartheid and separate development as discrimination in the sense of unjust differentiation in treatment. Many perceive in all race segregation discrimination against the above racial groups even if such was never intended.

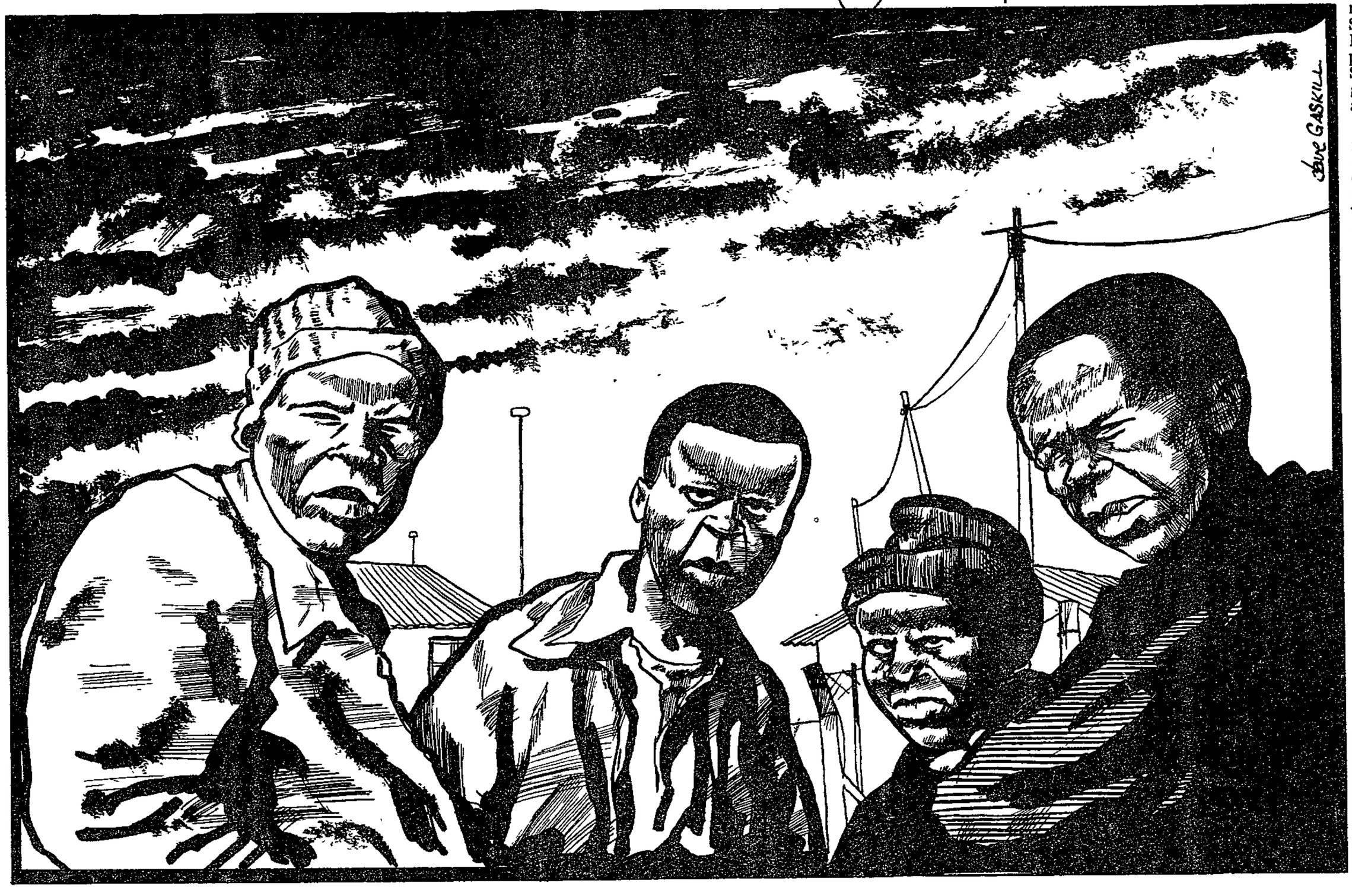
"Because the commission's investigation centres on causes of the unrest, it is the accusation (of discrimi-

Apartheid's legacy of hate



FLEUR DE VILLIERS

looks at the Cillié Commission report



"Discrimination which is always regarded as unjust, not only caused dissatisfaction, but in many a great hate. This dissatisfaction and hate were mainly responsible for the milieu and the spirit of revolt." — Mr Justice P M Cillié, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the unrest in Soweto and elsewhere.

On June 16, 1976, the hate boiled over. The children of Soweto took up arms and their weapon was the "African bomb", the stone of the township streets. It was a deadly missile.

Within weeks townships throughout South Africa, from major industrial centres to sleepy Karoo hamlets, were ablaze. For eight months the country teetered on the brink of general insurrection.

Tolerance ended

In the end, 575 people lay dead, thousands were injured, hundreds in jail. Schools, universities, clinics, offices, shops, houses and hostels had been destroyed, the last remnants of international tolerance of South Africa had gone up in the smoke of the township fires, and an alienated and rebellious black youth had been created to haunt the future.

But something else lay in ruins, blown to kingdom come by the "African bomb". the 30-year myth that apartheid was a workable policy applied by a strong and resourceful Government.

This week, in the long-delayed report of the Government's own commission of inquiry into the causes and the course of the riots, apartheid stands revealed not as a solution to South Africa's racial problems, but as the cause of black hatred.

And so to a certain extent do the politicians and bureaucrats who prosecuted that policy with vigour. When it all fell apart, the political apostles of apartheid proved themselves inadequate to recognise or meet the crisis their policies had wrought.

The report is a chilling indictment; more so, perhaps, because it is so deliberately diffident and soft-spoken, so carefully phrased by a commission which has assiduously avoided the trap of political judgments or recommendations.

But it is all there, from the first finding that one of the main and immediate causes of the Soweto riots was the Government's blind insistence on Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools, to the final dismal analysis of Government policy as a whole and its effect on the temper of the black South African.

And it has left the Government with no defence at all against the charge that it sold the country a bankrupt policy and today has nothing to put in its place.

Death toll

Even today, nearly four years later, the report makes deeply depressing reading as it examines every action in every incident during South Africa's eight months of trial.

It runs to some 1 114 pages and half a million words. And it closes with a 117-page page roll-call of the dead, ranging from an 18-month-old baby to men of 60.

Why did they die?

The immediate causes of the riots, says the report, were the official policy on Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools, organised resistance to its application, official response to that resistance, and the inability of officials and police to foresee the threatening explosion in Soweto.

But the commission leaves no doubt at all that one of the main causes of resentment was the attitude of the officials of the Department of Bantu Education, from school inspectors to the secretary, who made it clear from the outset that they would brook no opposition.

School rebels

Black school boards, and a helpless Urban Bantu Council, struggling to keep rebellious children at their desks, were told by white officials that:

- The white population paid for the education of black children in the urban areas and it was the secretary's job therefore to satisfy both the Afrikaans and English-speaking sections.
- School boycotts were the concern of the school board, but the language of instruction was a "professional matter" over which they had no say.
- The 50-50 principle was official policy and would not be abandoned.
- If black children were not happy with the system they could stay at home as school attendance was not compulsory, or their parents could send them to school in the homelands.

From early 1976 alarm signals were sounding all over Soweto until 2 000 pupils stayed home from school.

Worried blacks and concerned whites, including some Wrab officials who tried to alert the Government, were ignored.

Instead a week before the riots, a resentful regional director of Bantu Education, Mr W C Ackermann, attended an urgent meeting of police officers and Wrab officials in the firm belief that it had been called for no other purpose but to blame him for the situation.

On the eve of the riots questions in Parliament received laconic answers from an ill-informed Mr M C Botha and Dr Andries Treurnicht.

By the time the Minister met black leaders and announced a change in policy it was too late. Soweto had been aflame for three days.

The department's "take it or leave it policy", its unwillingness to consult with blacks and the failure of its officials to perceive the threat and inform their superiors of the true situation are roundly condemned in the report

By June 1976 their actions had set the fuse. It was left to the organised resistance of the Soweto pupils and police attempts to contain it, to strike the match.

Some 451 black and coloured South Africans, many of them teenagers, were killed by police bullets in the eight months that followed, but the commission absolves the police of blame.

It does not, however, excuse them for their abysmal ignorance of and lack of preparation for the Soweto storm — which, it finds, might have been avoided if they had taken timely action.

Protest march

Instead, clear signs of brewing unrest were ignored, as were cases of violent resistance; and frequent warnings went unheeded.

For three days, the report notes, intensive preparations — some within a "stone's-throw of a police station" — were made in Soweto for a protest march by 15 000 pupils.

The police received their first incomplete reports on the eve of the march.

It was to prove a disastrous lapse. The next day a small and ill-prepared group of policemen confronted the mob of angry school children in the streets.

Without a loudhailer to help him, the commanding officer's instructions to disperse went unheard and ignored. Defective teargas grenades were tossed into the crowd, failed to explode and were tossed back

"African bombs" began to rain on the patrol. A dog and baton charge failed and two dogs were killed.

In fear of their lives and without waiting for their commander's order to shoot, the encircled and now desperate patrol fired into the mob.

For the next eight months those shots were to echo around the country as the police battled to contain an insurrection that spread from Soweto to Fort Beaufort, from KwaZulu to Swellendam.

But if the Department of Bantu Education had prepared the ground for the revolt, it was not a spontaneous protest, so the commission found.

It had been prefaced by careful organisation among the Soweto students. And it was quickly fanned by agitators and nationwide intimidation.

Tsotsis and other lawless elements attracted by violence swelled the mobs; in the Cape the South African Communist Party prepared a pamphlet and members of the South African Students Organisation were prominent among the agitators

Yet the adult agitators needed help to sow the seeds of riot And there can be little doubt after reading Cillie's bloody chronicle of violence that help was always to hand — in the form of South Africa's policies and the men blindly determined to put them into practice

The commission's report is an inventory of them all: From the homelands to the Group Areas Act, from the Bantu Administration Boards and the official who allegedly "milked" the breasts of a woman to establish whether she was a nursing mother, to the urban black policy, influx control and inadequate housing.

The road to riot

All are found guilty to one degree or another of creating the sense of frustration and grievance that paved the road to riot.

That is bad enough. Some of the results of Soweto, as defined by the commission, are infinitely more chilling

- There has been an exceptional deterioration — especially in urban areas — of the attitude of black youth to whites.
- The black youth, or a large section of it and its organisations, believes that the riots prepared and inflamed them; they reject negotiation with the Government and are prepared to continue their liberation struggle by force of arms.
- Soweto and its aftermath was their "baptism of fire" in which they lost their fear of violence.

And that is the legacy South Africa has inherited, the real and enduring cost of Soweto, now at last itemised in careful judicial tones nearly four years after the event.

That is the price of a bankrupt policy.

Chief warns on 'the state of tension'

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA
Political Reporter

THE pent-up feelings of frustration triggered among black youths by the Afrikaans issue on June 16, 1976, still persisted today, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, warned yesterday.

Reacting to aspects of the Cillie Commission's findings, Chief Buthelezi said the country was still living in a state of tension between ruled and ruler because blacks did not have free expression.

"There is still a lack of communication between blacks and the Government."

Chief Buthelezi made it clear his warning should not be construed as a threat, but rather as an expression of the reality of the situation.

He said similar warnings he had made to the Government before the June 16 outbreak were either ignored or viewed by officials as threats.

"I passed on warnings to the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, and Mr M C Botha (then Minister of Bantu Administration), about imminent violence in Soweto. I was ignored."

Chief Buthelezi agreed with other black educationists and politicians that Bantu education was one of the major causes of the unrest. The Cillie Commission found that Bantu education was not a cause of the unrest — it was to an extent a cause of dissatisfaction which was encouraged and exploited by people who wanted to cause unrest.

Meanwhile, a leading black educationist, Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, said that while Afrikaans was the immediate cause of the unrest, it was merely a symptom of the real problems.

The chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, Dr Nthato Motlana, who dif-

The Cape Times

MONDAY, MARCH 3, 1980

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The Cillie report

THE REPORT of the Cillie commission presents the facts of the South African situation more comprehensively, more clearly, more authoritatively and in more detail than ever in our history. It would be easy enough to indulge the South African capacity for self-deception, to propel the document to a pigeon-hole to gather dust down the decades. All that's necessary is to pass the buck, to shrug off the crisis with simplistic talk about agitators, intimidators, communist agents, tsotsis, skollies, liquor, radical students, subversive organizations, turbulent churchmen. To save our skins it's wiser to look at the report for what it is, a picture of the total failure to sell apartheid to 20 million South Africans. The report sets out the terrifying magnitude of the 1976 disaster, the bitterness and variety of the grievances that tear at the hearts and sap the loyalty of most South Africans, the tensions and flaws in the arrangement of our society, the arrogance and insensitivity of officials and politicians.

The magnitude

THE SHEER magnitude of the events can only now be grasped The outburst at Soweto on June 16, 1976, spread in a matter of months to the West and East Rand, the Transvaal homelands, Durban and the University of Zululand, the Ciskei and Fort Hare, Port Elizabeth and the Cape Midlands, the north and south-west Cape, Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape, Nyanga. The killed number 575, 471 shot dead by the police. There were children, youths and adults of both sexes, Africans, coloured people and a few whites. At least 3 907 were wounded. There was murder, grievous assault, arson, rape, robbery, petrol-bombing, sabotage, school and university boycotts and sit-ins, stone-throwing (the "African bomb"), protest strikes, wholesale arrests, burning of motor vehicles, shops and public buildings. Damage to public buildings, beerhalls, schools, buses and private motor-cars was in the neighbourhood of R45 million.

The grievances

RESENTMENT at the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of school instruction fired the fuse that set off the Soweto explosion that led to countrywide rioting. A dozen grievances added fuel to the flames. Group areas — a direct cause, says the commissioner; "an act of theft", said a witness (coloured pupils moved out of a school that was left to stand empty in a white area; District Six) Bantu education (inferior, not free and compulsory, 10 times more spent on a white than on a coloured child). Rude, arrogant and unsympathetic officials. Different rates of pay for the same work (a white matron gets R8 460, a colourd R6 300, an African R5 100). Lack of sport, theatre and cinema facilities. Denial of citizenship. Detention without trial. Influx control. The homelands system. No say in government for urban Africans.

These interlocking grievances are summed up in the term DISCRIMINATION. "Discrimination arouses great hate", says the commissioner. This is the division of South Africans into the privileged and the under-privileged, the enjoyment of life dependent on colour of skin and accident of birth, the process of making people feel inferior, unjustly done by, humiliated and frustrated

Our society

THESE are some of the features of our society described by the commission some of the flaws, tensions and weaknesses in the South African way of life: Far from any hint of loyalty or affection, Afrikaans began by being resented as a medium of instruction, then as a synonym for government, becoming hatred of the Afrikaner as a race and then resentment of the white people as a unit. The commissioner reports "shocking and insulting" references to Afrikaans to measure deteriorating race relations. Sympathy with the Soweto demonstrators became solidarity with Soweto and a rallying cry for nationwide unrest. The police are regarded not as friends and protectors but as the symbol of hated and distrusted authority. There is no routine respect for law and order. The coloured people as a community have become anti-white. Far from safety in ethnic diversity, coloured people and Africans are becoming comrades in arms. Parents are brushed aside by their militant children, a process aided when a father is treated contemptuously in the presence of his children by officials, police officials and white people. Church and religion, far from being a stabilizing force, could be an influence for the contrary. There is an endemic state of deep-seated hostility between residents and migrant workers.

The authorities

A DAY before June 16, ministers, departmental heads and officials were not aware that a group of youngsters was organizing to parade 15 000 schoolchildren in defiant protest. Specific warnings were ignored Police were unprepared. Competent administration, the report indicates, might have averted a disaster. For months before the explosion hostility to Afrikaans was visibly growing. The reaction of officialdom was devastatingly insensitive — education is not compulsory and children can stay away if they so choose; take it or leave it; if you want English, go to the homelands; language mediumn is exclusively a professional matter. The ludicrous fallacy was paraded that all except direct revenue from black taxpayers is "white" money and therefore the whites have a "right" to impose a 50-50 language policy in return for expending "their" money . And the rigid rules about Afrikaans were repealed in the worst of all possible circumstances, under duress a few days after the outbreak of violence.

The lessons

THE FIRST lesson is: Is there still seething resentment among millions of South Africans, growing hostility, multiplying grievances? Are police unprepared, officials in ignorance? Is there a Dr Treurnicht saying that he is unaware of any problem? The second lesson is probably best stated by Mr David Curry in his evidence to the commission: The present crisis will continue in South Africa as long as the root causes remain .. The police will again and again be called in... Agitators will survive if the soil is fertile to sow the seed... Unless constructive steps are taken to defuse, the South African situation will move from crisis to crisis...

SABC ignores Cillie's main finding

3/3/80

Argus

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Political Staff

IN its regular political commentary, Editorial Comment, the SABC has ignored the Cillie Commission's chief findings on the background causes of the 1976 riots.

According to the latest broadcast, 'radical individuals and organisations' were chiefly responsible for creating the climate for the disturbances.

In fact, the Cillie Commission found that it was racial discrimination and other apartheid injustices which set the background for the riots.

SINGLED OUT

The commission conspicuously singled out influx control laws, the Group Areas Act, the homelands system and acts of official and unofficial discrimination as having contributed towards black feelings of bitterness and anger.

It added that discontent over the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools was the immediate spark which set off the unrest.

But after mentioning black feelings about the use of Afrikaans, the commentary concentrated entirely on what it described as 'a network of organisations which contributed to the outbreak and sustaining of the unrest.'

CONCLUSIONS

According to the SABC there are two conclusions to be drawn from the Cillie report.

The first was the need to take closely into account the sentiment of black people in developing their educational system.

The second lesson to be learnt from the report is the urgent duty that rests upon the State to curb the activities of radical groups and organisations.

'They created the climate for the 1976 trouble and fed its flames,' the SABC said.

POST
TRANSVAAL

Telephone 27-6081.

3/3/80 274

WE HOPE, for this one time, both the Government and Opposition, will deal with the findings of the Cillie Commission, later on this week, with an open mind and a critical analysis of our situation.

That the report itself makes horror reading, is acknowledged by all right thinking South Africans. The warnings contained in it for the future, makes this report to stand above party political game scoring activities.

The changes that have taken place in this society since that fateful day, are minimal and so inconsequential, they have just not made any impact at all. The spine-chilling attitude of our politicians who behave as if nothing happened in those eventful days, almost feels us with fear for the future of this country.

Yet, in spite of the massive bitterness and hatred that has gone through, it is still not too late to save South Africa. It is never too late to avert any major conflict, provided we acknowledge our mistakes honestly and sincerely and proceed to look for genuine redress and change of direction.

This country has both the resources and the human potential to build a great country, where the colour of a man's skin will become a shameful irrelevancy in assessing his abilities and opportunities.

The report of the Cillie Commission may, against this background, become the most critical debate Parliament ever had to face up to in the last 30 years.

Treurnicht 'criminally negligent'

5/3/80 RDM

Political Staff

THE SENATE. — The Minister of Tourism, Dr Andries Treurnicht, was yesterday accused of "criminal negligence" in not establishing the facts before the 1976 riots.

Launching a full scale attack on the former Deputy Minister of Bantu Education during the censure debate in the Senate, Senator Warwick Webber of Natal said he believed the Cillie Commission report on the riots had been "extremely tolerant and kind" to Dr Treurnicht.

The riots could have been defused in advance if there had been better communication between the officials who had arrogantly decided to take their own action.

However, Dr Treurnicht had been warned by other people about the threatening situation in Soweto but had ignored them.

Accusing Dr Treurnicht of being disinterested in the situation, Sen Webber said he had shown an almost "criminal negligence" in not following up the warnings which had been given to him.

"It shows a lack of diligence which is criminal," he said

"He failed to take action and did not make it his business to get accurate information.

"It resulted in the worst deterioration in race relations South Africa has ever known"

He said the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, should fire Dr Treurnicht from the Cabinet and from the National Party.

A proper evaluation of the facts could have led to steps being taken to prevent the sad saga of Soweto.

Sen Webber said there would have to be a change in attitude towards blacks in the country if the unrest was not to be repeated.

The Prime Minister had raised expectations of change but had baulked because he was afraid of Dr Treurnicht and other conservative members of the NP.

Dr Treurnicht's statement on the Afrikaans medium issue black schools — which the port said had been the dir cause of the unrest — tipped the scales towards volt.

The blacks had seen his tude to mean that they not expect concessions of kind from the Government the future.

Blacks had held out hope of change under Botha, but now they were ing he was "all talk".

NT

Black education hindered by riots, says Hartzenberg

RDM 6/3/80 (2) (274)

THE SENATE — Black schoolchildren had suffered most because of the 1976 Soweto riots, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, Minister of Education and Training, said in the Senate yesterday

Speaking to a motion of censure of the Government, the Minister said education was one of the most important aims in the lives of blacks

In the past 20 years there had been a growing number of candidates who had written Standard 8 and Standard 10 The only exception was in 1976

Black education had developed with rapid strides, but it could have advanced even further if it had not been for the riots

The report of the Cillie Commission had found that the riots were not an expression of the political will of the blacks

Riots by young people had flared up throughout the world in 1976 The young people had rebelled against the governments of the day in many countries

It was absurd to suggest, as the Opposition did, that the riots were proof that the Government's policies had failed

The Opposition had found the then deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Dr Andries Treurnicht, guilty, but the Cillie Commission's report stated that the Minister and his deputy were not to blame

The driving forces behind the further disturbances were agitation, incitement and sedition

Afrikaans instruction in schools could not have been a cause in many places where riots erupted because the policy had not been in force in those areas

Shortly before the riots, 63% of the school committees in Soweto had indicated they preferred the Government policy of 50% instruction in Afrikaans and 50% English

Three days after the riots had erupted the language issue had been straightened out, yet the disturbances had continued spreading

Dr Hartzenberg said R181-million had been spent on black education last year

The building of schools, teachers' training colleges and technical training centres was progressing rapidly

This year more than twice as many matric pupils were at school than last year

Soon the stage would be reached where a matric pass would be the minimum entrance qualification to a black teachers' training college

Meanwhile, about 5 000 teachers had attended adult education centres last year to improve their qualifications

Black education had a good future if there were no further disruptions, the Minister said

Sen P J Swanepoel (NRP) said the Minister had tried to whitewash his predecessor, Dr Treurnicht.

There were numerous incidents before the eruption of widespread violence in Soweto

Dr Treurnicht had been aware of the unrest but had refused to deviate from the language policy

It was that attitude of Dr Treurnicht which finally tipped the scales — Sapa

US wants elections accepted

(272)
RDH 7/3/80.

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — United States' hopes lie in all Rhodesians accepting the judgment of the elections and in neighbouring governments "co-operating in the effort to move the Rhodesians along", United Nations ambassador Mr Donald McHenry asserted.

Mr McHenry made his remarks in a brief respite from the biggest storm since he took over from Mr Andy Young.

"I can't say it's the most comfortable period of my life," he commented wryly after a day of standing by President Carter's claim that a "communications misunderstanding" had led to him wrongly voting in support of a Security Council condemnation of Israeli settlements in occupied arab land.

Privately, it is generally accepted that Mr Carter changed his mind well after the vote — out of fear of a backlash helping his Democratic rival, Senator Edward Kennedy...

C Times 7/3/80

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Lessons of Soweto

IF SOUTH AFRICA is to survive in peace, prosperity and good order, the lessons of the Soweto troubles need to be understood and applied. Obviously, something is radically wrong when youths are prepared to risk their lives — and unrest breaks out on the scale of 1976, with hundreds of people killed and injured, most of them shot by the police. Four years later, what has been done about it? At times, it *has* seemed as if Nationalist Afrikanerdom had learnt the lessons of 1976. Mr P W Botha's reformist speeches last year showed that at least some Nationalists knew what was needed. But a speech in the Senate this week by the minister for education and training, Dr Hartzenberg, which may well represent the majority view in Afrikanerdom, still upholds the myopic view that the main causes of the unrest were agitation and intimidation! In Dr Hartzenberg's view, it is absurd to suggest that the Nationalist government was responsible for the 1976 troubles.

In statements such as this, reflecting complacency, ignorance and breath-taking arrogance, verkrampte Nationalists are condemning this country to a dreadful future. Do they never consider the effect of their remarks? For them, it appears, black opinion is of little account. If Dr Hartzenberg's view is truly representative of Nationalist Afrikanerdom, as at times it seems to be, this country is doomed. Dr Hartzenberg's remarks show that he is no better off than the departmental officials whose insensitive incompetence helped spark off the troubles in 1976. He is out of touch with the mood of the townships, as it was in 1976 — and as it is now. Like Dr Treurnicht in 1976, Dr Hartzenberg has not the faintest notion of the burning resentment of the apartheid system and of the Bantu education system. Like Dr Treurnicht, it appears, he is blissfully unaware of the hatred that is generated each day by the apartheid machine, as it grinds on and on, enforcing a cruel discriminatory system.

But perhaps Dr Hartzenberg does not speak for Afrikanerdom or for the government after all. In today's debate on the Cillie report, we may hope that Mr P W Botha or one of his senior ministers will stand up and repudiate the Hartzenberg-Treurnicht line — and will tell the people the truth. Soweto showed that the black masses will no longer accept the oppression and degradation of a discriminatory apartheid system, which forbids them elementary rights of family life, residential security and economic freedom to sell their labour in the best market. Dr Hartzenberg can go on as much as he likes about agitators. He is beating the air. Of course agitators must be dealt with, and firmly. But this alone will avail little. If blacks are to have a real stake in law and order and if there is to be peace, the need is for radical change — and the recognition of the citizenship rights of black South Africans. There is not much time.

Slabbert to lead Cillie debate

(274)
C. Times
7/3/80

Political Staff

THE Cillie Commission report — an investigation into the 1976 unrest and a damning indictment of apartheid — is to be discussed in Parliament today in a special debate.

It is being regarded as one of the most important debates for some time by the opposition which will launch a full scale attack on the government for "marking time" on its promises of change

Senior members of the opposition have already said that nearly four years after the nation-wide unrest sparked off by the Soweto riots the same basic causes — apartheid and discrimination — remain intact and that it could all happen again unless the government moved

Dr Andries Treurnicht, the man in charge of black education at the time, and whose statement on the Afrikaans medium in black schools is said to have detonated the unrest, will certainly be under severe pressure

The debate will be led by the leader of the opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and it is expected that he and others will repeat their demands for Dr Treurnicht's dismissal from the cabinet for "incompetence"

Dr Treurnicht believes that he has been exonerated from blame by the commission report on the grounds that he was not fully informed about the situation in Soweto before the riots, but members of the opposition hold him responsible for the riots and have charged that "ignorance" is no excuse

It is not known if the prime minister, Mr P W Botha, will enter the debate, but it is expected that the government's case will be led by Dr Piet Koornhof, minister of co-operation and development, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, minister of education and training, and Mr Louis Le Grange, minister of police

NPU b[illegible] recalls riot warning

(274)

CAPE TOWN. — The authorities should have used the Press as an early warning system before the start of the unrest in 1976, the deputy chairman of the Newspaper Press Union, Mr Dawid de Villiers, told the Steyn Commission yesterday.

He said the Cillie Commission had made it clear that the authorities and the police had apparently not taken notice of growing signs of unrest.

This was in spite of the fact that it had been written about prior to the trouble.

The Steyn Commission is conducting an inquiry into the reporting of matters affecting the security of the South African Defence Force and the Police.

Mr De Villiers said the Press was already governed by too many laws. It was unthinkable that further legal restrictions be imposed.

The chairman, Mr Justice M T Steyn asked: "Would you agree there is already a formidable arsenal of legislation?"

Mr De Villiers: "Absolutely so." He added that the test was whether a published piece could be of use to the enemy and not whether it caused embarrassment to the Government, a general, or a Minister.

It would be in the interests of security to keep the public as fully informed as possible.

The general approach should be that as much as possible, not as little as possible, should be published, Mr De Villiers said.

Police action covered a wide field of day-to-day events affecting the public. "It is important that good relations be maintained."

Unnecessary secrecy carried the danger of possible abuse of power. This was particularly important as far as the black community was concerned, he said. — Sapa.

POST
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ANOTHER reason has been added to the long list of causes of the 1976 unrest. The latest comes from Mr Ferdie Hartzenberg, present Minister of Education and Training.

He told the Senate this week that Dr Andries Treurnicht had been vindicated of all blame for the riots, and that no matter what the Government's policies were, there would have been unrest as there was student unrest throughout the world during this period.

Unfortunately, this is exactly the kind of attitude that existed just before the unrest broke out. Nobody would admit that Government policy was fanning unrest. And that includes Dr Treurnicht, who said that whites paid for our education, and therefore had the right to decide what medium of instruction we must use.

Dr Hartzenberg could have done himself a great favour if he had not tried to delve into this matter. It is clear that he still cannot see what the report of the Cillie Commission means. He must be the only person who thinks that the Government has been absolved of blame.

When the debate on the report goes into the House of Assembly today, we can only hope to get better responses from the Nationalist benches. For, no matter what the Government party wants to believe, the days of politicking are over.

Although the Cillie report does not point fingers at Ministers and their deputies, the bungling of that department right under those Ministers' noses can only suggest a total disregard for the feelings of people over whom they are supposed to govern.

Playing games will not help solve South Africa's problem. Playing party politics can only make matters worse. South Africa simply does not have the time for such games anymore.

Everybody who sits in Parliament today must take the Cillie report apart, read it objectively, and contribute constructively towards the elimination of all measures that make the life of the black person in this country unbearable. Create a contented society, and you can stop looking for communists around every corner.

Public must be informed—NPU

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Riot police called to control court crowd

C. Times 7/3/80.

PORT ELIZABETH — Riot police were called to control a crowd of people who were unable to attend a Terrorism Act trial here yesterday. ~~331~~ 274

Earlier the trial was adjourned so that the public gallery could be cleared of about 160 people who packed the court room. After the lunch-time adjournment all the doors into the building, except the main entrance in Main Street, remained locked.

While some of a crowd of nearly 300 sang on the pavement and waved black power salutes, police allowed only people directly involved in hearings into the court building. The crowd soon started to disperse without further incident.

The divisional inspector of police in the eastern Cape, Brigadier A F Verwey, said this was the first time he had experienced such a problem

When the magistrate, Mr P J Botha, adjourned the case, the crowd at first refused to leave the court. An uproar ensued after a man started to argue with the court orderly. Before the court was cleared the crowd rose in unison, chanted and waved their fists.

'Apartheid is the powder keg — just waiting for sparks'

(27K) RDM 8/3/80.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Racial confrontation would only be avoided through a change in those aspects of Government policy which contributed to the Soweto riots, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

"June 16, 1976, and what followed from it was one of the most polarising events in the history of race relations in our country," he said in the special debate on the report of the Cillie Commission into the countrywide unrest.

He said there were light and dark sides to planned change.

"On the light side are those people who daily exert themselves in an effort to achieve reasonable, peaceful constitutional and socio-economic change.

"On the shadowy side are those people who have lost hope that peaceful change is possible, those who grab for guns and violence in an effort to achieve radical revolution through terror and subversion.

"These two processes of change are engaged in a deadly race and both are present daily in South Africa."

The Soweto riots had darkened the dark side of change and given it greater impetus, Dr Slabbert said.

Thousands of Black youths had left South Africa since June 1976, many of them for terrorist training, and there had been an increase in acts of terror.

"The relation between the immediate and contributory causes (of the unrest) is like that between a spark and a powder keg. If the keg isn't present it can't be exploded by a spark."

Dr Slabbert said immediate causes could more easily be rectified than the deep-lying contributory causes

"If the contributory causes are not changed the potential for unrest is always present.

"What is most alarming is that while there has been improvement with regard to some of the immediate and contributory causes, the most important background factors are still present and still form part of the Government's policy.

"Discrimination is still with us, group areas are still with us and influx control is still with us"

Dr Slabbert asked whether the National Party was in a position to make the necessary changes. Several Government-appointed commissions had noted that discrimination, influx control and other separate development measures were a source of polarisation and conflict.

"The NP must decide, and it must do so soon, whether it wants to work in the light or shadow side of change in South Africa.

"This Commission's report makes one thing crystal clear — our fight for survival will not be decided on or outside our borders but in our cities and towns and on our farms where white and black will have to find a peaceful way of life or else destroy each other."

The Minister of Justice, Mr ALwyn Schlebusch — who introduced the debate — said the Government would consider steps to prevent repetition of the large-scale organised intimidation that ensured the spread of the riots.

He thanked Mr Justice P M Cillie and his assistants for their "skilful" work, and said the commission had found that intimidation in different forms was a major driving force in the riots

"Even after the initial causes of the riots had ceased to be a reason for their continuation, organised intimidation ensured that the unrest not only continued but spread to other centres

"The Government will consider ways and means of curbing the occurrence and effect of attempts at intimidation in future.

"I accept that the Rabie Commission at present enquiring into our security legislation will take note of these findings, and consider making recommendations in this regard."

He said a committee investigating individual cases deserving compensation for loss in the riots had completed its recommendations and the Government would soon take a final decision.

A list of such claims and the recommended compensation would then be tabled in the House. — Sapa.

PARLIAMENT 274

THE CILLIE DEBATE

What the Nats said . . .

'The problem's not ours alone'

THE MInister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said he did not want to argue with the commission's findings, but felt that attempts should rather be made to put matters in perspective by pointing out what had already been done to satisfy the aspirations of black people. He said the report showed that these were everyone's problems.

'What would you have done?'

MR HENNIE van der Walt (NP Schweizer Reneke) said it was useless for the opposition to attack the Government on the causes of the Soweto riots if it was not prepared to say what other policy could have prevented the disturbances. He said the Government had been attacked in a "calm and responsible" way by the opposition, but they had not spelt an alternative policy.

'They weren't little angels'

THE police, like everyone else, had learnt from the Soweto experience, said the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange. But, he said, he disagreed with the commission's finding that the police had to share responsibility. "We must also remember that the police were not dealing with thousands of little angels," he said. Mr Hennie Smit, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications: "Helen's angels."

RDM 8/3/80.

What the opposition said . . .

'We can't just wash our hands of it'

MR VAUSE Raw, leader of the New Republic Party, said that if the debate did no more than pass the Soweto riots on to history with a washing of hands, then Parliament would create a day more tragic than the June 16, 1976. He said: "We must make sure that March 7, 1980 is not more tragic than June 16, 1976." He said the Government's remedies had to be examined for superficiality.

'Hundreds of thousands embittered'

THE 1976 riots had embittered and radicalised hundreds of thousands of young blacks, said Mrs Helen Suzman, Opposition spokesman on black affairs. She said: "If black people go on regarding the police as the enemy then South Africa is doomed. I find the commission's exoneration of the police — except for their ignorance about and incompetent handling of the first day of the unrest — difficult to understand."

A 'sneaking suspicion' about Treurnicht

DR ALEX Boraine (PFP Pinelands) said that Dr Andries Treurnicht should resign from the Cabinet before the day was out. If he refused, the Pime Minister should fire him as he was guilty of gross maladministration of the portfolio of Bantu Education, Dr Boraine said. He said he had a "sneaking suspicion" that Mr Botha might well dismiss Dr Treurnicht "for other reasons as well".

Lessons 'have to be learnt fast'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — If the debate did no more than pass on the Soweto riots to history with a washing of the hands, then Parliament would create a day more tragic than June 16, Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party, said.

"We must make sure that 7 March 1980 is not more tragic than 16 June 1976."

The government had admitted that the report contained good reason for change and had claimed that changes had been made. "But we must find out to what extent these changes get to the root causes of the resentment that sparked the unrest."

The real lessons of Soweto's riots had to be established and learnt faster than ever before, especially in the light of recent events around the Republic.

The remedies spelt out by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, had to be examined and analyzed to establish whether they were not dealing with superficialities.

Symbolism

One such measure was the 99-year lease behind which remained a symbolism that blacks could never really own the land on which their home stood

The minister was still prepared to give blacks no more than municipal rights. Policy was still that blacks would have no say in real authority ("geen seggenskap in gesag").

A close look had to be taken at the symbols of apartheid identified in the report such as influx control, official arrogance, citizenship and the forced connection with the homelands, and hurtful discrimination.

The solutions included the sacking of Dr A P Treurnicht who refused to investigate warnings, to set up a commission to identify black aspirations and involve all race groups in consultations for a constitutional future.

If blacks were excluded from such an exercise it would be an invitation to the recreation of the atmosphere which intimidators could exploit into unrest.

It was important to give moderate leaders weapons with which to fight their own radicals.

"We must act because it is right to act, not because it is a concession to pressure," he said.

The Council of State should be convened with all races brought together to form a plan towards a common destiny for all South Africans.

The prime minister's strategy was doomed unless the festering sores were healed fully.

The debate could result in a waste of time and an admission that South Africa had not leant its lessons or did hold the key to the secret of a new future, Mr Raw said. — Sapa

Call for change to stop riots

(274) C. Times 8/3/80.

MICHAEL ACOTT
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Opposition speakers yesterday called for radical changes in government policy to prevent further riots being caused by black anger and frustration.

During the all-day debate on the Cillie Commission's report on the 1976 riots, they said the apartheid policies which caused black grievances four years ago were still being applied today.

There were also several calls for the dismissal of Dr Andries Treurnicht. As the then deputy minister of bantu education, he was blamed by opposition parties for not heeding warnings of increasing tension in black schools before the riots broke out.

Dr Treurnicht, now minister of public works and tourism, said he had no intention of resigning from the cabinet because of the Cillie report. Without referring to the commis-



Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert

sion's finding that departmental officials had not kept ministers informed, he accused opposition parties of "playing politics on the ashes of burned-out buildings".

The cabinet minister now dealing with black affairs, Dr Piet Koornhof, said earlier he had already "declared war" on the passbook and intended replacing it with an identity document similar to that issued to other races. He also said statutory discrimination should be removed as far as possible.

"The report will have served a purpose if it inspires us to go out and do the things that need doing in this country," he stated.

The leader of the opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said the Afrikaans language issue was the spark that set off the powderkeg of black grievances. Unless aspects such as influx control, group areas, urban black policy and discrimination were altered, the potential for riots would remain.

"How many commissions does the National Party need to convince them their policy is the source of polarization?" He asked.

The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw, said Dr Koornhof's speech at least showed the government recognized the need to change the policies of 1976. While there had been improvements, the basic structure which led to the riots was unchanged.

Replying to government criticism of agitators and intimidation, he said agitators had exploited a situation caused by government policies.

Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) and the minister of police, Mr Louis le Grange, both disputed the commission's findings in respect of the police.

Mrs Suzman said she could not accept the complete exoneration of the riot police, nor could she reconcile the enormous number of people killed with the use of minimum force. If police had had protective clothing and riot-control equipment, there would have been fewer fatalities.

Mr Le Grange in turn said he could not accept that the police, because of lack of preparedness and subsequent actions, were jointly responsible for the riots. He praised the police actions during the riots and their efforts to improve race relations in Soweto.

The House of Assembly yesterday began debate on the report of the Cillie Commission of Inquiry into the country-wide unrest of June, 1976.

(279) C. Times 8/3/80.

Steps likely on 'intimidation'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The government would consider steps to prevent repetition of the large-scale organized intimidation that ensured the spread of the 1976 riots, the Minister of Justice, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, said.

The minister introduced the debate on the report of the Cillie Commission of Inquiry into the riots during and after June 16 in Soweto and elsewhere.

The report resulted from a systematic and meticulous approach. The government thanked Mr Justice P M Cillie and the professional and clerical assistants for the skilful manner in which they carried out their difficult task.

The commission had found that intimidation in different forms was a major driving force in the riots.

Concern

"Even after the initial causes of the riots had ceased to be a reason for their continuation, organized intimidation ensured that the unrest not only continued but spread to other centres."

That intimidation of such magnitude was possible and successful was cause for concern.

"The government will consider ways and means of curbing the occurrence and effect of attempts at intimidation in future.

"I accept that the Rabie Commission at present inquiring into our security legislation will take note of these findings, and consider making recommendations in this regard."

A committee investigating individual cases deserving compensation for loss in the riots had completed its recommendations and the government would soon take a final decision on the subject.

A list showing claims submitted to the committee and recommended compensatory payments would then be tabled here.

Criticism had been levelled at the administration of justice, but the Cillie Commission found that there was no evidence to show that the administration of justice was a direct or contributory factor in the unrest, the minister said. — Sapa

Slabbert: Change can avert conflict

8/3/80. (274) RD, C.T.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Racial confrontation would be avoided only through a change in those aspects of government policy which were important contributory causes of the riots that erupted in Soweto on June 16, 1976, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

"June 16, 1976 and what followed from it was one of the most polarizing events in the history of race relations in our country," he said in the special debate on the report of the Cillie Commission into the countrywide unrest.

There were two sides to deliberate, planned change — a light side and a shadow side.

"On the light side are those people who daily exert themselves in an effort to achieve reasonable, peaceful constitutional and socio-economic change.

"On the shadow side are those people who have lost hope that peaceful change is possible, those who grab for guns and violence in an effort to achieve radical revolution through terror and subversion.

"These two processes of change are engaged in a deadly race and both are present daily in South Africa."



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

Darkened

The events in Soweto on June 16, 1976 had darkened the shadow side of change and given it greater impetus, Dr Slabbert said.

"Racial polarization is one of the most difficult conflicts to solve — it is the responsibility of all people who want peaceful change to work to prevent polarization."

Thousands of black youths had left South Africa since June 1976, many of them for terrorist training, and there had been an increase in acts of terror.

Mr Justice P M Cillie in his report distinguished between the immediate causes of the riots and the background or contributory causes.

The immediate causes had been identified as the Afrikaans language instruction policy, the organized resistance to it by black students and the actions or lack thereof by officials in dealing with the resistance.

Powder keg

Frustration and hatred felt by black people because of the policies of influx control, group areas, administration of black affairs, the policy in respect of the urban black and race discrimination generally, had been identified as contributory causes of the riots.

"The relation between the immediate and contributory causes is like that between a spark and a powder keg. If the keg isn't present it can't be exploded by a spark."

Dr Slabbert said immediate causes could more easily be rectified than the deep-lying contributory causes.

Discrimination

"If the contributory causes are not changed the potential for unrest is always present.

"What is most alarming is that while there has been improvement with regard to some of the immediate and contributory causes, the most important background factors are still present and still form part of the government's policy.

"Discrimination is still with us, group areas are still with us and influx control is still with us.

"In other words, aspects of government policy lead to polarization between blacks and whites and we can only avoid confrontation if the policy changes."

Dr Slabbert asked whether the National Party was in a position to make the necessary changes. Several government-appointed commissions had noted that discrimination, influx control and other separate development measures were the source of polarization and conflict.

"The National Party must decide, and it must do so soon, whether it wants to work in the light or shadow side of change in South Africa.

"This commission's report makes one thing crystal clear — our fight for survival will not be decided on or outside our borders, but in our cities and towns and on our farms where white and black will have to find a peaceful way of life or else destroy each other."

Irresponsible

Although the report did not say so, the attitude of Dr Andries Treurnicht, who was Deputy Minister of Bantu Education at the time of the riots, had been irresponsible. He had ignored several warnings that trouble was brewing over the enforcement of Afrikaans-language instruction.

Several days before June 16, Dr Treurnicht had stated that because the government paid for the education of blacks it should have the right to decide how blacks were taught.

"I don't believe any minister who behaves like that is worthy of his job," Dr Slabbert said — Sapa

You should resign — BORAINE

(274) 8/3/80 (256)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Dr Andries Treurnicht should resign from the Cabinet before the day was out, Dr Alex Boraine (PFP Pinelands) said. If he refused, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, should fire him from the government.

Speaking in the debate on the report of the Cillie Commission, Dr Boraine said Dr Treurnicht, Minister of Public Works, Statistics and Tourism, was guilty of gross maladministration of the portfolio of Bantu education.

Less than a week before the riots erupted on June 16 in Soweto a member of Parliament had asked Dr Treurnicht in the Assembly about a protest demonstration by black high school pupils.

The minister had replied that his department had no knowledge of the incident.

In reply to another question, Dr Treurnicht had said he did not keep statistics on applications by Soweto school principals to deviate from the 50-50 language policy.

He also had not deemed the information to be of such importance that the required statistics had to be obtained.

In newspaper interviews after the riots, Dr Treurnicht had said he had visited Soweto once. He had landed by helicopter during the riots, but the visit had not been thorough.

Dr Treurnicht had added that he had hoped to visit Soweto, but that he had been busy with Parliament at that time

"This is a clear dereliction of duty. This minister must go.

"He must today do the only honourable thing. He must resign and I call on him to do that before this debate ends.

"If he refuses to do so, then I call on the Prime Minister to sack him in the same way as he dismissed Dr Connie Mulder from the Cabinet — on the same charges of maladministration."

Dr Boraine said he had the "sneaking suspicion" Mr Botha might well dismiss Dr Treurnicht "for other reasons as well". — Sapa

. . . I will not — TREURNICHT

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Afrikaans was not being forced down the throats of Soweto's pupils at the time of the 1976 riots, Dr Andries Treurnicht, Transvaal Leader of the National Party, said.

He would not resign as Minister of Public Works, Statistics and Tourism as the Opposition demanded because of the Cillie Commission's report. The report had absolved him from blame for the riots.

He said he would not resign for reasons given by Opposition spokesmen.

"For what reason then?" an Opposition member interjected.

Dr Treurnicht replied: "We are now debating the Cillie Commission report."

His resignation was demanded by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert, the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw, and by Dr Alex Boraine (PFP Pinelands) during the debate.

To these speakers Dr Treurnicht said: "Cut it out (skei uit). I will not resign." They should also drop such politics which exploited the ashes of ruins.

He had satisfied himself at the time of the riots that Afrikaans was not being forced down the throats of black pupils.

He also denied that Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the World, had "rushed to Johannesburg to warn me of an impending disaster".

Mr Qoboza had indicated his visit had been a courtesy call and although the question of Afrikaans-medium education was discussed, Mr Qoboza had not left him with the impression that it was a pressing issue which was critical and on the verge of an explosion.

He denied also that he had, as was alleged, told Mr Qoboza that as whites were paying for the education of blacks, they had a right to expect them to speak the whites' (Afrikaans) language. He had told Mr Qoboza that the state had a right to see that its money was correctly spent.

"I told Mr Qoboza that my people knew what it meant to have another language thrust down its throat and that we were not planning to do the same.



Dr Treurnicht

"We were not prepared to commit a language imperialism," Dr Treurnicht said.

In meetings with President Lucas Mangope and other black leaders he had explained at the time that although the 50-50 language medium was policy, it was hardly practised anywhere. The use of both official languages had become policy in 1955 and in 1973 over 60 percent of school boards, which were the parents, approved the use of the official languages as a medium. More than 70 percent of inspectors approved it.

As regards boycotts, the department had had many experiences over years that a variety of minor reasons could spark school boycotts and it had become practice not to over-react to such incidents. — Sapa

Treurnicht 'wa

(274) RDM 8/3/80

off unrest sign

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

FOUR months before the 1976 rioting in Soweto, Dr Andries Treurnicht told Parliament that the question of the Afrikaans-language policy in black schools was not important enough for his department to waste time investigating.

This was recalled in Parliament yesterday by Dr Alex Boraine, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinelands.

Parliament is debating the Cillie Commission Report into the riots — Dr Treurnicht was Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education at the time and is now facing Opposition calls for his dismissal for dereliction of duty.

The report was a damning indictment of apartheid, but found that Dr Treurnicht and Mr M C Botha, then the Minister of Bantu Administration, could not be blamed because they had not been told of the situation by their officials.

Yesterday Dr Treurnicht said: "Cut it out. I won't resign for this reason." And added that the commission had absolved him from blame.

Drawing an apparent parallel between himself and black schoolchildren, Dr Treurnicht said he did not know a word of English before going to school.

"But I didn't burn my school down and rise in protest," he said.

Replying to Dr Treurnicht, Mr Andrew Pyper (NRP, Durban Central) said: "You must get out of the political scene. South Africa cannot afford you."

In a blistering attack on Dr Treurnicht, Dr Boraine said that in February 1976 — four months before the rioting broke out — he asked Dr Treurnicht to tell Parliament how many an-

ved

als'

exemption from Afrikaans policy had been refused, and why.

Dr Boraine said Dr Treurnicht had replied: "I do not deem the requested information of such importance to instruct my department to undertake this time-consuming task to obtain the required information."

Ten days before the rioting, in reply to another question, Dr Treurnicht said 2 250 Soweto schoolchildren were boycotting classes because of the language issue, and he had left it to school boards to do the necessary negotiating.

Five days before the rioting, he told Parliament he had no knowledge of violent incidents at Soweto schools.

Dr Boraine said: "This is a clear dereliction of duty . . . I call on the Prime Minister to dismiss Dr Treurnicht in the same way he dismissed Dr Mulder for maladministration of his department."

Dr Boraine reminded the House that Dr Treurnicht had received telegrams from the Institute of Race Relations and urgent warnings in Parliament, but ignored the issue.

Dr Boraine also pointed out that the Cillie Commission served as a clear warning that the policy of apartheid was leading blacks into a situation of utter desperation which could only end in uncontainalbe anger.

"The Nationalist Government stands condemned by the Cillie Report

● See Page 3

CILLIE COMMISSION

Apartheid the cause

On a motion of Justice Minister Alwyn Schlebusch the Assembly will discuss on Friday the findings and implications of the Cillie Commission report on the 1976 riots.

The report exonerates the police for their extremely tough suppression of the black student revolt in which 451 people died under fire.

The report says apartheid was the major cause While defending the right of the police to meet violence with violence, the report is nevertheless highly critical of the SAP, and of senior education officials for failing to identify and defuse the unrest.

Judge Cillie also blames widespread agitation and intimidation within the black community for the spread and duration of violence across the country.

The report makes no recommendations and criticises no senior members of government or the administration. To that extent it fails as a socio-political document which otherwise could have formed the basis for reforms aimed at avoiding a recurrence of trouble.

It fails to establish or identify what black people are thinking, particularly young blacks of whom very few were interviewed by the commissioner

It fails to condemn the arrogance and indifference of former Bantu Administration & Development Minister Michiel Botha and his deputy, Andries Treurnicht. Although uncritical of such attitudes, the report admits that a string of laws fundamental to the apartheid system were responsible for the climate of "frustration, resentment and resistance" which led to the riots.

Judge Cillie says: "Virtually all legislation regarding relations between the races is separationist, and seen by blacks and coloured people as unjust and discriminatory " He singles out the homelands policy, influx control, group area laws and the broad issues of housing, wage differentials, transport and recreational facilities.

There is little comfort for government in the report, for many of the grievances identified by Cillie persist today.

Cillie urges the fullest use of channels of communication between the races and warns. "This is no guarantee that discontent and rebellion will not occur, but if these channels are not used it will be virtually impossible to avoid revolt."

JUDGE PETRUS CILLIE

Politics and the law

Controversy and sensation are no strangers to Mr Justice Petrus Malan Cillie, former Judge-President of the Transvaal.

Nor is the political limelight, which he has occupied since defending Robey Leibrandt, the Nazi sympathiser who was sentenced to death for high treason during the last war but was later released by the Nationalist government which swept to power in 1948.

His most recent contribution to the political history of SA — the report on the Soweto disturbances of 1976 — is, however, probably the work for which he will best be remembered.

Indeed, its influence on government thinking cannot be underestimated, coming, as the report does, from the pen of a man whose credentials with the authorities could not be higher. An indefatigable worker for the National Party as a young man, he was one of the central figures in the Nusas mock "political parliament," in which he sat as leader of the NP faction.



Judge Cillie . . . shrugging off the shafts

The political adventures of Cillie in the early days of the NP regime have led to plenty of anecdotes told by his former colleagues at the Bar — some flattering, others less so. But, according to those close to him, the affable and impeccably polite jurist has always shrugged off the shafts.

Sitting in Pickwickian surroundings in an office behind the Old Synagogue in Pretoria, the judge is busy with the English translation of the Cillie Report. "I'm sorry," he tells the *FM*, "but I am not prepared to discuss my findings. Some of my colleagues on the Bench talk about their judgments, but that's simply not my style.

"I've said in print what I want to, and that's that. All I can say is I'm glad the whole thing is now out in the open."

His next job? "I've already started work on the new delimitation of political constituencies (he's been involved with the Delimitation Commission for some 23 years, of which seven have been spent as chairman), and this is going to be quite a business."

The 65-year-old judge's curriculum vitae describes a career of some brilliance. He took his BA Llb, at Wits, and an MA Llb at Cambridge. He worked for a time as an announcer on the BBC in London and, on returning to SA, became an announcer on the SABC. The judge's well-modulated voice is perhaps a legacy from those days.

Appointed to the Transvaal Bench in 1955, very soon after becoming a Queen's Counsel, it is as a trial judge of sensational political and criminal cases that he is fixed in the mind of brother lawyers.

His conviction of the former Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Reverend Gonville Aubrie ffrench-Beytagh, on three counts under the Terrorism Act, was reversed by the Appellate Division. The 60-year-old Dean was sentenced by Judge Cillie to five years imprisonment in 1971.

The Judge-President also presided at the marathon trial of Lawrence Gandar, former editor-in-chief of the *Rand Daily Mail*, and Benjamin Pogrund — then a reporter, now *RDM* deputy editor — who were charged under the Prisons Act. Convicted of publishing false information about prisons, Gandar was fined R200, and Pogrund was sentenced to three months' jail, suspended for three years.

Another highlight was the trial of David Protter and his brother, Charles, after the Fox Street siege. Protter received a sentence of 25 years, and his brother 30 months. Judge Cillie also jailed the poet, Breyten Breytenbach for nine years.

Now Cillie, recently appointed to the Appellate Division will be back to the grinding, but controversial work of the Delimitation Commission. The Commission will make the necessary changes to the boundaries of many constituencies — probably before the next election

But not before the judge has listened to the heated arguments of the political parties involved — and taken a number of decisions which are bound, once again, to bring him into conflict with the thinking of at least some of the country's leading politicians

STU13-9 EXAMINATION RESULTS IN FACULTY ARTS AS AT 29 02 80 PAGE 2

15026 B.A./LL.B. YEAR : 2 15026

STUD NO	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	COURSE	DESCRIPTION	SYMBOL			
133011C	SCHWEITZER	ANTONY GIDEON	604201	ROMAN DUTCH LAW I	2-	(61)	1	133011C
134965B	SMITH	ROBERT TRAVERS	105104	LATIN I	F	(41)	3	134965B
135195B	SMUTS	PETER WEBSTER	603202	ROMAN LAW & JURISPRUDENCE I	UP	(54)	1	135195B
100311J	SNYMAN	GRAHAM THEODORE	603202	ROMAN LAW & JURISPRUDENCE I	UP	(51)	1	100311J
132288R	SONNENBERG	GRAHAM JOHN	604201	ROMAN DUTCH LAW I	UP	(66)	1	132288R
138545T	STRAUSS	JENIFER SUSANNE	105104	LATIN I	UP	(62)	1	138545T
133262A	TEE	RICHARD JOHN	105104	LATIN I	F	(47)	3	133262A
139650U	THOMAS	HELEN CAREN	105105	LATIN ELEMENTARY	ABS		7	139650U
			[illegible]	LATIN I	F	(40)	1	101563V

REGISTRAR (ACADEMIC)

R10,5m claims after riots

By MARTIN WELZ

COURT cases in which several administration boards are claiming R10,5-million from Santam insurance company for damage caused in the 1976 riots, will probably be heard by the Supreme Court only next year — four years after the unrest.

Lawyers for the boards and Santam agreed to await the Cillie Commission's report before proceeding with the cases. This week, they confirmed that they were studying the 1 000-page report and that they had started negotiations for a date to be set.

Lawyers believe the hearings could be among the the longest in South African legal history.

Big Comp

In what was regarded as a major coup for Santam at the time. The company secured the contracts for the comprehensive insurance of 17 of the 22 Bantu Administration Boards in 1975.

Within days of the outbreak of riots in Soweto, Santam cancelled the boards' riot cover with one month's notice.

Later, the boards claimed R10,5-million from Santam, which refused to pay out.

The Cillie Commission estimates that the total damage caused in the riots could be R45-million.

UCT

Cillié report a vote of confidence in SA Press



Rand Daily Mail Ombudsman

James McClurg

takes a critical look at the media.

If you have any complaints against the Rand Daily Mail, or suggestions for the Ombudsman to take up, write to the Editor, PO Box 1138, Johannesburg.

THE Soweto riots of 1976 and the country-wide disturbances that followed were an anxious time for the South African Press.

On the one hand newspapers owed it to their readers to provide a detailed and accurate picture, however unpleasant, of what was happening in the townships and elsewhere. On the other hand they had to be careful that their reporting of the disburbances did not foment, or appear to foment, further disturbances and thus widen the vicious circle of unrest, riot and suppression

How well did they succeed in striking a balance between these two conflicting factors? To judge by the report of the Cillié Commission, at least as well as could have been expected

After its searching inquiry, the commission concluded that it "could not be said that the dissemination of news of the disturbances directly caused or prolonged any disorders"

The commission did, of course, find cases where the news of rioting and destruction fell on fertile ground and encouraged young dissidents to follow the example of their peers This should surprise nobody.

It is an accepted fact that suicides, for instance, spur other suicides The recent series of family murders in South Africa illustrates, too, how a latent impulse is sparked off, with ghastly consequences, by the power of example.

Yet no sane person suggests that newspapers should suppress the news of suicides and murders. All that can be asked is that they are not reported in such a way as to be a direct encouragement to others

The commission found cases of inaccurate reporting and of [illegible] reports as between one newspaper and another, on the same incident. But it recognised the difficulties and pointed out that eye-witnesses of an incident often give conflicting evidence in court Indeed, the same applied to evidence given before the commission itself.

The commission found no evidence to convince it that misreporting occurred "deliberately, or with a specific aim in mind, or selectively. Nor was there any evidence that inaccurate reports led directly to disorders".

Generally, it said, editorials on the disturbances showed "balance, impartiality and a clear insight".

It is, I believe, not an exaggeration to see the Cillié report, despite its reservations and nuances, as a vote of confidence in the South African Press This could not have come at a more opportune time.

In the shadow of the Silverton bank outrage, officials are urging restrictions on the freedom of the media to report on any similar incidents, vitally though they concern the public.

In the latest submission of this kind to the Steyn Commission of inquiry into Defence and police reporting, a senior officer of the Security Police proposed what was virtually a blanket ban on publicity for any aspect of police action against terrorists

From this it is refreshing to turn to the plea to the Steyn Commission by Mr Kelsey Stuart, legal adviser to SA Associated Newspapers, that the authorities should take the positive course by placing trust and confidence in the work of the media. This plea, it seems to me, gains additional force from the Cillié report.

Mr Stuart suggested a committee of Defence Force officers and newspaper editors, along the lines of the American Committee on Censorship, to deal with military and police reporting involving national security

The Newspaper Press Union and the Commissioner of Police have already set up a committee of more or less this kind. It would be a big step forward if this or a parallel group could also deal with military matters.

□ □ □

MOST newspapers illustrated their reports on the Cillié Commission's findings with flashback pictures of the 1976 rioting. As a matter of deliberate policy and an act of self-abnegation (for there were marvellously dramatic pictures) the Rand Daily Mail decided not to do this.

It would, it felt, be wrong to open up old wounds unnecessarily and possibly revive fading resentments on both sides. Although this made for duller pages, I think it was the right decision.

What, then, of the solid page devoted to the death-roll in the disturbances? Was this not an unnecessary reminder of past suffering?

I am told that this was provided, after careful consideration, as a service mainly, though by no means exclusively, to black readers

This is the first time an authenticated list has been made available. Meanwhile the information gap had been filled, as it always is, with wild exaggerations and suppositions.

These have now been laid to rest. So although the list may have caused pain, it also served a useful purpose.

JOEYS

by Gim



In some case, the commission thought, newspapers placed too much emphasis on black grievances, "important though these may be". It also believed some newspapers criticised black education and the police so persistently as to depreciate their image.

Nevertheless — and this is remarkable considering the depth of feelings at the times and the wide chasm between the thinking of Government and Opposition newspapers — the commission could find no fault with the tone of editorial comment during those troubled months

WAS IT timorousness or ineptitude that made the SABC ignore almost entirely, if not entirely, the Cillié Commission's finding that the Government's discriminatory policies were among the key causes of the disturbances?

No one expected the SABC to put these uncongenial conclusions at the top of its list. But to cast them aside verged on the ludicrous Quaintest of all, perhaps, was the news commentary, allegedly on the report, that devoted a major part of its time to outlining the improvements in black education since 1972!

Since I said some harsh things a week or two ago about SABC-TV's news graphics, it is only fair to say that in the case of the 8 pm bulletin featuring the Cillié report, they were excellent.

□ □ □

A READER is affronted by Gim's "Joeys" cartoon (see illustration) in the Rand Daily Mail of February 28. Was this in bad taste? Specifically was it racially offensive?

As the title indicates, Joeys is a caricature of the (supposedly) typical, hard-bitten Johannesburg citizen Would we expect urbane and sophisticated wit from such a source — or the rather rancid cynicism represented in this cartoon?

I am sure it is the latter kind of humour we should look for in Joeys Anyone who doesn't care for that sort of thing would be wise to give it a miss.

A bit near the bone, this one; but permissible within its framework The only thing I can't forgive, in fact, is the atrocious Afrikaans!

□ □ □

"HERE we go again!" says Mr Colin Melville of Melrose in pointing out that on February 23 the "Mail" called Jimmy Abbott "the huge, curly-haired boxer *who* boxing crowds love to boo". Compounding the offence, the headline ran: "Just who is fooling *who*?"

"It would appear," continues Mr Melville, "that not only the headline writers, but (as I have said before) the sportswriters are faulty grammarians."

Even faultier, I fear, that Mr Melville realises. His keen eye does not seem to have alighted on another sentence lower down: "I've *showed* him how much power and strength he's really got."

Any advance on that?

□ □ □

STOP PRESS

LONDON. — Zimbabwe-Rhodesian guerrilla leaders demanded that a Commonwealth peacekeeping force of several thousand armed men — or with teeth — be set up to enforce a cease-fire in the war between their forces and white teled troops of the government of Prime Minister Abel Muzorewa. — Los Angeles Times (20.11.79).

ARGUS 11/3/80, (274) (54)

Inquiry evidence 'noted with dismay'

THE University of the Western Cape s Staff Association has reacted to evidence given to the Cillie Commission in camera which tried to blame the Rector, Professor R E van der Ross for unrest on the campus.

In a statement today the chairman of the Staff Association, Mr J C Ellis said: 'The Staff Association of the University of the Western Cape has noted with dismay the conduct of people who, in testifying to the Cillie Commission, have tried to discredit the Rector, Professor R E van der Ross.

'The association wishes to dissociate itself entirely from conduct of this nature.'

It was reported that several witnesses, giving evidence in camera, had alleged that Professor van der Ross had fostered unrest on the UWC campus.

Black Sash warns of civil war in SA

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — If the government failed to act on black grievances about influx control as revealed in the Cillie Commission report, the Zimbabwean experience of "civil war and terror" would be unavoidable in South Africa the Black Sash has warned.

The warning has come in a report released at the organization's annual conference yesterday.

The document, the annual report of the Black Sash Advice Office in Johannesburg, claimed that conditions for blacks had become immeasurably worse "since promises of change had begun to be made".

It also found that the pass laws had never been more rigidly enforced and had never been more efficient.

It said the Cillie Commission had reported something of the way in which black people regarded influx control, the West Rand Administration Board, the taking away of their citizenship and the discrimination which was fundamentally the basis of the pass laws ... in fact, the whole structure of oppression.

It continued: "Black people have been saying these things for decades. If the government does not hear and act the time there will be no avoiding the horror of the Zimbabwean experience of civil war and terror."

As a minimum starting point for reconstruction the government could demonstrate its intention to negotiate by stopping all resettlements, allowing anyone who had a job to keep it and by putting all available energy and resources into massive site and service housing schemes in urban areas.

"If they were to respond to this we might just be able to begin to hope again," it said.

Doubled

According to the report the number of people the advice office had dealt with from June to October last year had doubled in relation to the previous year. Interviews with people seeking help had increased from 7 936 to 11 811 for the same period.

This increase is a measure of the way in which conditions have become immeasurably worse since promises of change and relaxation began to be made," it said.

The report also noted a dramatic increase in the number of people for whom files were not opened because there was no point in doing so.

Among the reasons were the continuing excessive obstructiveness of officials of the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) and the fact that many people now had no hope of registration because of the increased rigidity of influx control.

The report, compiled by Mrs Sheena Duncan director of the advice office criticized in detail operations at WRAB labour bureaux and influx control offices and contains numerous case histories.

Riekert report

Dealing with the Riekert report on the utilization of manpower and its consequences including sharply increased penalties on employers of non-registered workers — the report said it had recommend greater freedom of movement for

8 000 families to lose breadwinners

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Up to 8 000 families in the Ciskei and Transkei may lose breadwinners in the Western Cape through the higher fines for illegal employment of blacks, according to a report released at the Black Sash annual conference yesterday.

In a report on the activities of its Athlone Advice Office the Cape Western region of the organization said permit problems had increased to 100 in February this year compared to 20 during February last year.

Employers had appealed

This was due to the 500 percent increase in the fine for illegal employers of blacks who had not applied in the Western Cape. The report said many employers had appealed for registrations, citing special reasons.

A few had been successful but the rest had been refused permission and many felt they had no option but to dismiss employees of many years standing.

During an interview with Dr Piet Koornhof Minister of Co-operation and Development, a figure of 8 000 illegal female domestics in Cape Town had been quoted.

Sash congratulates Mugabe on victory

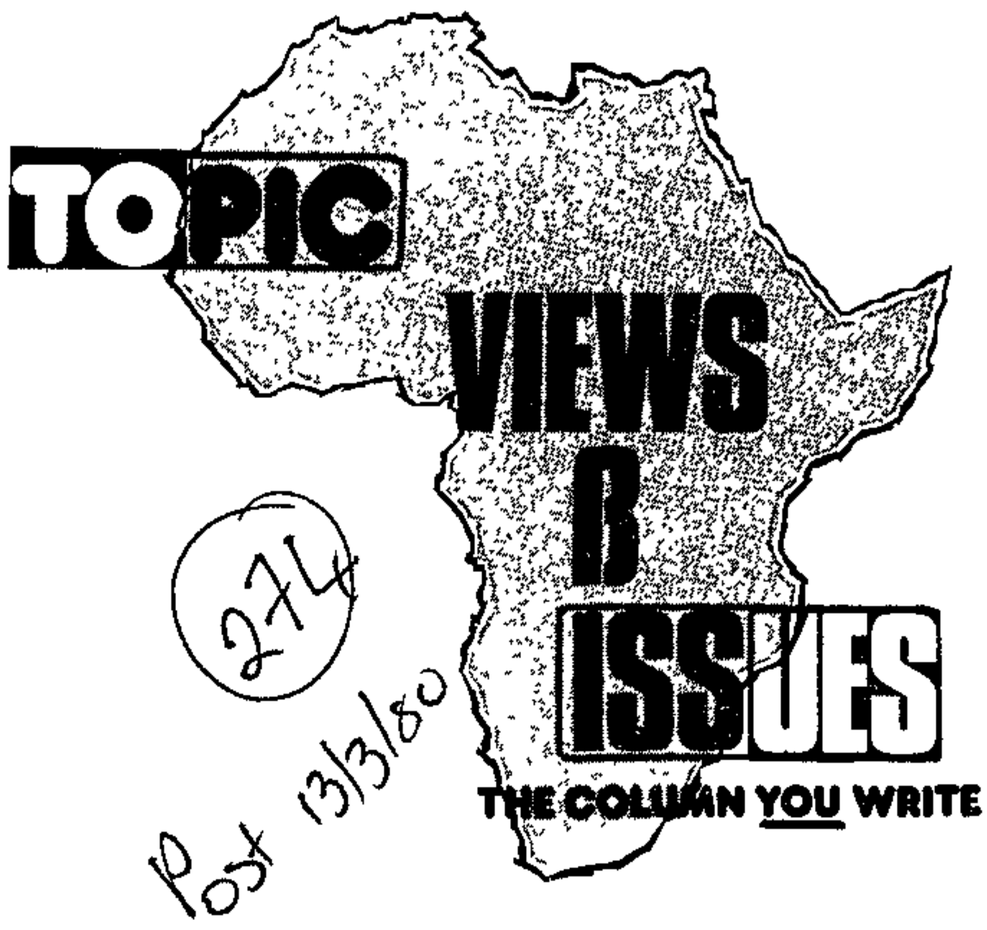
JOHANNESBURG — The "overwhelming election victory" of the new Zimabwe prime minister-designate, Mr Robert Mugabe, has relit the lamp of hope in the hearts of the majority of South Africans, says one of three resolutions passed at the Black Sash's 25th annual conference here yesterday.

The second resolution called on the South African Government to return the passport of the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, while the third protested against the government's arbitrary refusal to open all restaurants to all races.

The national conference congratulated Mr Mugabe for winning the election and sent best wishes for the future of Zimbabwe.

Sapa

Pretoria lost the struggle in 1976



By GEORGE SHUTTLEWORTH

THE Cillie Commission report on the June 1976 riots causes even those of us who will never forget those dark days, to recall those events in detail and reconsider the implications.

My own mind is immediately drawn to what John Kane Berman wrote in his excellent book, Soweto: Black Revolt White Reaction.

Everyone who has read that book will have no illusions as to what the rulers of the country have in mind for us.

I quote: ". . . while many people see apartheid as little more than quaint anachronism requiring segregation in lavatories or beds, closer examination shows it to be as modern and methodical as the latest computer. George Orwell would have understood it perfectly."

★

We have always suspected that the Government has the actual policy of not moving towards a true just dispensation in South Africa, but of merely making it appear so to sufficient people.

Thus they will be permitted to conduct their actual policy of mounting a holding operation, awaiting what they consider to be an inevitable East-West confrontation.

The idea is that the latter would of course then be the cue for South Africa to re-enter the ranks of respecatble Western countries.

Whatever the politicians in this country may say, there is no doubt at all that they are not bringing about a change in their policies in the direction that many whites seem to hope, but are continuing along the road on which they set themselves 30 years ago.

I quote John Kane Berman again: "There can be few countries where dominant elites talk so much of the need of change, but do so little to bring it about.

"Talk of change has indeed become a political tactic in itself, designed on the one hand to keep blacks quiescent, and on the other to stave off foreign pressures against apartheid.

"The English language Press, as we have seen, has tended to set great store by the Afrikaner verligtes in the faith and hope that they will somehow be the salvation of South Africa. In so doing, it has misled many of its readers

"For not only are their numbers small. They are

trouble and finance, a virtual justification of the various critics of the present Government.

We may ask ourselves, will the Government do what it's own advisers say? And must sadly conclude that it will not.

In fact, many of us feel that it actually cannot. That the last opportunity the Government had to move to the left, was June 16, 1976, a day that will be etched in the memory of South Africa for many years to come

It was at that time that John Vorster allowed the initiative to slip out of his hands forever.

I must confess that I have been one who for some time now said that Parliament is irrelevant and that the Progressive Federal Party could achieve nothing

★

Government lost it forever.

In simple acts, one of which I personally witnessed, when Dr Koornhof addressed the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Government leaders have shown that they have already lost the struggle.

Dr Koornhof's address was delivered in a very friendly manner, with the Minister lapsing into Zulu from time to time, cracking carefully prepared, but expertly delivered jokes, but not highlighted with any great erudition.

In fact, it was rather pedestrian and the promises and predictions made were what we have grown accustomed to hear over and over again.

The Chief Minister's reply, however, was to say the least brilliant.

It was hard-hitting, to the point, and only once or twice did a blow land a little low.

It was also a courageous address from the point of view that the Chief Minister quoted at length from a banned publication.

★

Dr Koornhof was forced to sit through it all, fidgeting a little and looking exceedingly glum.

He then left, making his way grimly down the centre aisle between the rows of silent members.

There was a crowd of Zulus who had been listening to the speeches over outside loudspeakers. These were the people Dr Koornhof professed to love, with a Christian love.

He ignored them, and reaching his car went into a huddle with police officers while the crowds moved around him and the

13/3/80

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ligtes second."

The Cillie Commission shows that we now have, over the period of nearly four years, and at great expense of time,

But I realise now, the Info scandal, that while Parliament still exists, the PFP will have a very important role to play in the liberation struggle, even though they may not eventually sit at the conference table.

In fact no one is irrelevant in the struggle.

With the coming of a new prime minister, of course there was the possibility that he would grasp the initiative once more — and it did in fact look for a while as if he was doing this.

My own view is that when senior Inkatha members made the trip overseas to confer with the anti-apartheid leaders, they took the initiative back into the hands of those of us who are in the struggle, and that the

He then slipped quietly into the backseat and was whisked briskly and efficiently away as would befit a cabinet minister of the South African regime.

It will still take many years of slow and painful hard, grinding effort to achieve the final victory, but that victory will be

Black leader warns of unrest

STAR 13/3/80 #14 52 274

Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, secretary of the Teachers' Action Committee, today warned of a possible recurrence of the student unrest of 1976.

Addressing the Black Sash conference in Hillbrow in what he described as "possibly my last public speech," Mr Mazibuko said for the past two days he had been subjected to "very irritating provocation by our dear Government."

The remark comes after police questioning of Mr Mazibuko and two colleagues from the TAC — its chairman, Mr Curtis Nkondo, and an executive member, Mr Lekgau Mathabathe.

Anger was building up again among black students, Mr Mazibuko said.

People had been fooled into believing that the black education system had been accepted, but he realised six weeks ago that this was not so.

"Black children are going to school because they have no option.

"But there comes a point when anger overtakes the wish to be educated.

"This is what happened in 1976," he said.

He called for a solution to the problems of land, franchise and freedom of movement to provide the basis for a solution to specific problems such as desegregation of schools.

Black children would begin to believe in change if they heard a clear statement of intent to remove the discrepancies between white and black education.

A revolution in attitudes was needed to prevent other kinds of revolution, Mr Mazibuko said.

It was up to whites to effect this counter-revolution.

This would stop even the most radical of blacks and make them say: "I have been overtaken by this revolution and must join it."

● **Page 2: Leaders fear new crackdown.**

● **Page 23: Sense of doom.**

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Mazibuko cautions on more unrest

WARNING

'Anger building up among students'

MR Fanyana Mazibuko, secretary of the Teachers' Action Committee, yesterday warned of a possible recurrence of the students unrest experienced in 1976.

Addressing the Black Sash conference in Johannesburg in what he described as probably his "last public speech", Mr Mazibuko said for the past two days he had been subjected to "every irritating provocation by our dear Government".

The remark follows police questioning of Mr Mazibuko and two colleagues from the TAC, the chairman, Mr Curtis Nkondo, and executive member, Mr Legau Mathabathe.

Anger was building up again among black students, Mr Mazibuko said. People had been fooled into believing that the black education system had been accepted, but he realised six weeks ago that this was not so.

"Black children are going to school because they have no option. But there comes a point when anger overtakes the wish to be educated. This is what happened in 1976," he said.

Once again it seemed as if the Government wanted to "lock up" the people they should be talking to, preferring to speak to people who would tell them the things they wanted to hear.

Mr Mazibuko said he believed the Government was trying to "buy time", a very dangerous thing to do.

If those in power listen to people they saw as "rabble-rousers and agitators" they would realise that things like the removal of the Mixed Marriages Act were not top priorities [illegible]



Mazibuko . . . call for a solution.

Problems

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AS AT 29/02 80 PAGE 1

BLACK SASH CONFERENCE

'1976 echoes are getting even louder'

By RIAAN DE VILLIERS
Labour Correspondent

A BLACK educationalist warned yesterday that black anger was building up again and that the events of 1976 could repeat themselves.

The warning came in an address to the national conference of the Black Sash by Mr Fanya Mazibuko, director of finance of Sached Trust and secretary of the Teachers' Action Committee.

In 1976, black teachers had tried to make the Government aware of the problems in black education but their memorandums were ignored, he said.

"Anger is beginning to build up again. I was even fooled into believing for some time that black people had accepted black education — but 6 weeks ago I realised that this was not so."

The anger was still there. Black children were going to school because they had no option but there came a point when anger overtook the wish to get educated.

This had happened in 1976, he said.

It seemed as if the Government's attitude once again favoured locking up the people it should be talking to, and talking to the people from whom they would hear what they wanted to hear.

He believed people at the top were trying to buy time — which was very dangerous. "Let those who are in power listen to those black people always seen as rabble-rousers and agitators."

The Government should give them a hearing and determine what their priorities were.

The problems in South Africa would not be solved until the problems of land, franchise and freedom of movement were solved.

He added he would like to see a "revolution of attitudes" which would prevent "other kinds of revolution".

Referring to questioning by Security Police earlier this week, Mr Mazibuko said he had been subjected to "very irritating" provocation.

"I have a strong suspicion the talk I am giving now might by my last public speech."

The conference called on the Government to introduce as rapidly as possible one system of free and compulsory education for all South Africans.

In a resolution, the organisation also gave notice that working towards this objective would be one of its main aims this year.

Afrikaans and the Cillie report

DD
17/3/80
(274)



My article, Unfair for Black Pupils, in a Johannesburg newspaper in 1975, anticipated the disturbances in Soweto and elsewhere of June, 1976. Three and a half years later the Cillie report on this tragedy confirms my implied warning.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the report, a model of impartial statement of facts on a highly emotional subject is available only in Afrikaans at this stage. But the translations available in the English press are, as always, completely reliable and those who cannot afford the full report, or whose command of Afrikaans prevents them reading it easily, can still be aware of the serious implications of this 1 200 page document — which might prove more important even than the Tomlinson or Theron reports.

The Cillie report may give the impression, which I think would be inaccurate, that black pupils in black high schools, before 1976 and now, disliked, even hated Afrikaans — as a language per se. But they and the black community realised then, and do so today, that a knowledge of Afrikaans, and the ability to use it efficiently was, and still is, imperative for everybody living in South Africa — just as a knowledge and ability to know and use English is imperative, largely because it is a world language.

Unfortunately, black high school pupils in white urban areas were, until the tragedy of June, 1976, the only ones compelled to use Afrikaans and English as the medium of instruction and learning. White, Asians, Coloureds and Black pupils in rural areas, all enjoyed the privilege (?) of having only one language as their medium of instruction and learning.

It was this discrimination which aroused such resentment among black high school urban pupils

J. L. Omond:
Port Elizabeth

and so laid the way for agitators to use this fuse to start the riots of 1976.

Incidentally, such disturbances were nothing new to the Eastern Province. In 1955 a boycott of black schools in protest against the then new Bantu Education Act of 1954, and the arson of 1960, resulting in the destruction of 60 classrooms in the Port Elizabeth/Cape Town circuit, caused much suffering and unnecessary loss of life and property.

The experiment, the dual medium system, of using English and Afrikaans as the medium of instruction had been used in the Cape Province for a short time, but it was quickly and quietly dropped when it was found to be very inefficient

The problems facing the black teachers and pupils in the black urban high schools, were lack of fluency in Afrikaans and having to change the medium of instruction so often during the day A teacher and his class, for example, might start the day at 8 a.m. with a period of mathematics in English. At 8.40 the teacher and his class might then have to teach and learn geography in Afrikaans. At 10.20 they would be faced with another change of language when the timetable required science to be learnt in English.

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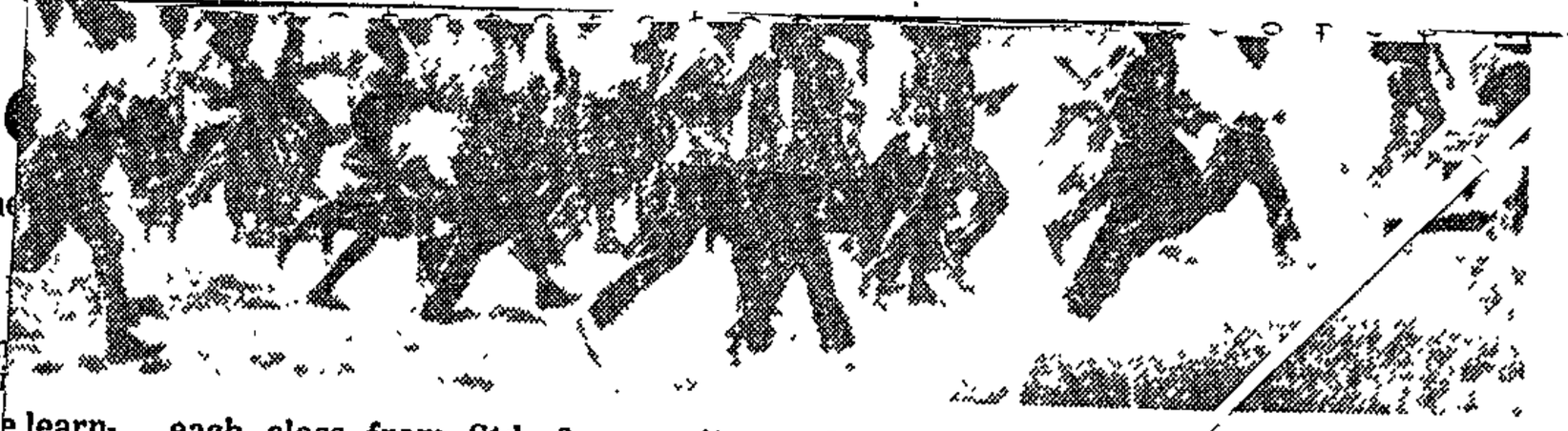

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each class from Std, 6, Form 1, upwards and during the monthly, quarterly and end of the year promotion examinations, finally leading to the "promised land" of matric.

It was this perhaps unconscious, and for parents and teachers and brighter pupils, conscious realisation that this detested system, applicable only to urban high school black pupils, led to more pupils obtaining lower marks than they should have obtained under a fairer system and to more pupils failing than they would otherwise have done, that was one of the causes of the resentment which eventually led to the riots of 1976.

It was not a dislike of Afrikaans per se, but of the refusal of the Department of Bantu Education to allow urban black high schools to use only one official language as the medium of instruction, which caused such resentment.

Most black people — and children are also people — realised the economic and social necessity of being as fluent as possible in both English and Afrikaans for all black people, as they would have been handicapped if only one official language had been taught in schools.

Many teachers and pupils obtained a liking and appreciation of the beauty of Afrikaans as a language, as of course they had for English and their own language.

Allowing the community to decide which official language should be the medium of instruction and learning in black urban high schools, and so removing that discrimination against the black urban pupils, older and more politically conscious than their white counterparts, should have helped to restore a measure of sanity to the people who felt so strongly against this educational error — some might regard it as educational stupidity. But as Voltaire wrote "Against stupidity the very Gods struggle in vain."

The problem now facing the authorities, both black and white, is to provide a system of education for the black people which they would like for their children and which will be based on sound educational principles, and which will be financed on a much more equitable basis than is the case at present. Failure to do this will only lead to more resentment and more disturbances.

The admirable Cillie report in its presentation of perhaps unpalatable facts implies, if it was unable to recommend, what should be done now — not in the distant future.

Riot refugees in confrontation with Botswana

STAR 18/3/80



The students who fled Soweto four years ago now defy the Botswana Government.

BRENDAN NICHOLSON of The Star's Africa News Service reports from Gaborone.

early four years after the Soweto riots, the South African students who fled to neighbouring Botswana are embroiled in confrontation again.

Yesterday they defied a government order to move to Dukwe resettlement camp in northern Botswana.

Hours later, the Botswana government responded with a warning broadcast in the evening news bulletins that they would today have a "second chance" to report for transportation to Dukwe.

Vulnerable

A rumoured demonstration did not materialise yesterday but neither did any of the nearly 500 South Africans who have sought sanctuary here.

The former students of Soweto and Alexandra comprise many and varied factions but they are united in their reluctance to go to Dukwe.

They say that once collected in a static camp they will be vulnerable to attack by South African security forces.

The Botswana government has assured them: "We will look after your defence."

But it didn't explain how.

At the heart of their unwillingness to move is the fact that Dukwe is a rural settlement designed to become a long-term home of black Rhodesians who have, however, gone home with the end of the war.

Most of the South Africans are thoroughly urbanised young men who see little future in growing their own mealies.

Laugh

The Botswana government says it is its policy to give the refugees an opportunity to become self-sufficient.

The refugees say Dukwe was designed for rural people — which they are not.

Some actually laugh at the prospect of growing their own food.

Basically, those South African refugees still here are the ones who have not yet gone abroad for higher education or guerilla training.

Of several thousand students who crossed the border after the June 1976 riots, barely 20 percent claimed allegiance to the African National Congress.

Training

At this point, however, an estimated 70 percent of those to come over so far have joined the ANC.

They have left the country for guerilla training in Angola or Tanzania or for higher education in various Communist Bloc and Western universities.

Most of those left belong to the relatively young Black Consciousness Movement, the organisation that faces possible disintegration if a wholesale move to Dukwe goes ahead

While other organisations such as the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress are accepted by the other Frontline states and by the OAU, the BCM has perhaps its strongest external membership in Botswana.

The BCM is largely out on its own.

Mistrust

Some of its members here see themselves in a broad front with other organisations such as the PAC and the ANC but others, mistrust the ANC for its alliance with the Communist Party.

The movement also lacks political organisation and its members here fear they will not get any support once they are out of the capital.

In this political hotchpotch of exiles are Trotskyites and Maoists.

And there are oldtime Pan Africanists like the caftan-clad young man who appealed to an official of the conservative Botswana government to call off the refugee shift in the name of black brotherhood and the "fight against the white racists"

Sellout

Some see themselves to the left of the ANC, which they condemn as a "sellout organisation and tool of white racism."

There are those who have been offered scholarships in countries such as Nigeria, India or Spain and who turned them down in the hope of better options from Britain, America or West Germany

In general, the feeling is now one of passive resistance.

They say that if an attempt is made to hound them up, they will melt into the townships of Gaborone.

Warning

Some warn darkly that "they have never seen South Africans riot" but most are aware that far from having a sympathetic local population to back them up, South African students here are likely to be roughly used if they come into confrontation with the police.

The Government has warned that the South Africans' refugee status has run out, along with their R30 a month allowance.

The gloomiest fear among the young men now is whether they will find themselves faced with a choice between Dukwe or Zeerust.

Now is the time to catch up on housing report

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Unless sufficient funds are provided there is a danger that the housing programme will become so badly disrupted that it will never be possible to make up the backlog.

The warning is contained in the report of the Secretary for Community Development for the period October 1 1978 to September, 1979, which has been tabled in the Assembly

Prospects of wiping out the housing backlog within a reasonable period have, however never been more favourable than at present, provided sufficient funds are appropriated, the report says

'Unless we are prepared to contemplate shanty areas and squatter conditions on a large scale around the cities of a prosperous country like the Republic of South Africa as part of our future the State will for the foreseeable future (as far as Coloureds and Indians are concerned four to five years) have to be prepared to invest generously in low-cost housing

Distress

"Those who advocate inferior housing and so-called self-built shacks are envisaging future housing conditions similar to those in certain African, Oriental and South American countries where poverty distress and precarious conditions are general

The report said that any effort to curtail State participation in the provision of housing at this time would be unwise It would play directly into the hands of the country's enemies because it would inevitably mean that the present rate of housing provision could not be maintained, and the result would be a crisis that would not be easily overcome

'The private sector is just not equipped at present although it may be later, to play a significantly larger part in the provision of low-return, low-cost housing

'If State investment and participation should be curtailed at this stage the inevitable result would be that housing provision for the poor did not receive sufficient attention from anybody with the resultant development of shanty areas'

Exploitation

The report said that despite the favourable progress made with the provision of non-white housing, there were still certain problems in practically all the major urban areas and the position in certain parts was being exploited by bodies hostile to government policy

'Are these pleas for the retention of shanty conditions really meant to be in the interests of the unfortunate or are there other motives'

Without positive proof that the government was succeeding in bringing the housing question under control it would not be possible to rely on the co-operation of the various population groups

The riots that took place as recently as 1976 serve as a reminder of the dangers inherent in poor housing conditions which serve as a breeding ground for communism

Cause of riots

It should be remembered that the findings of very responsible bodies were that poor housing was one of the main causes of the 1976 riots

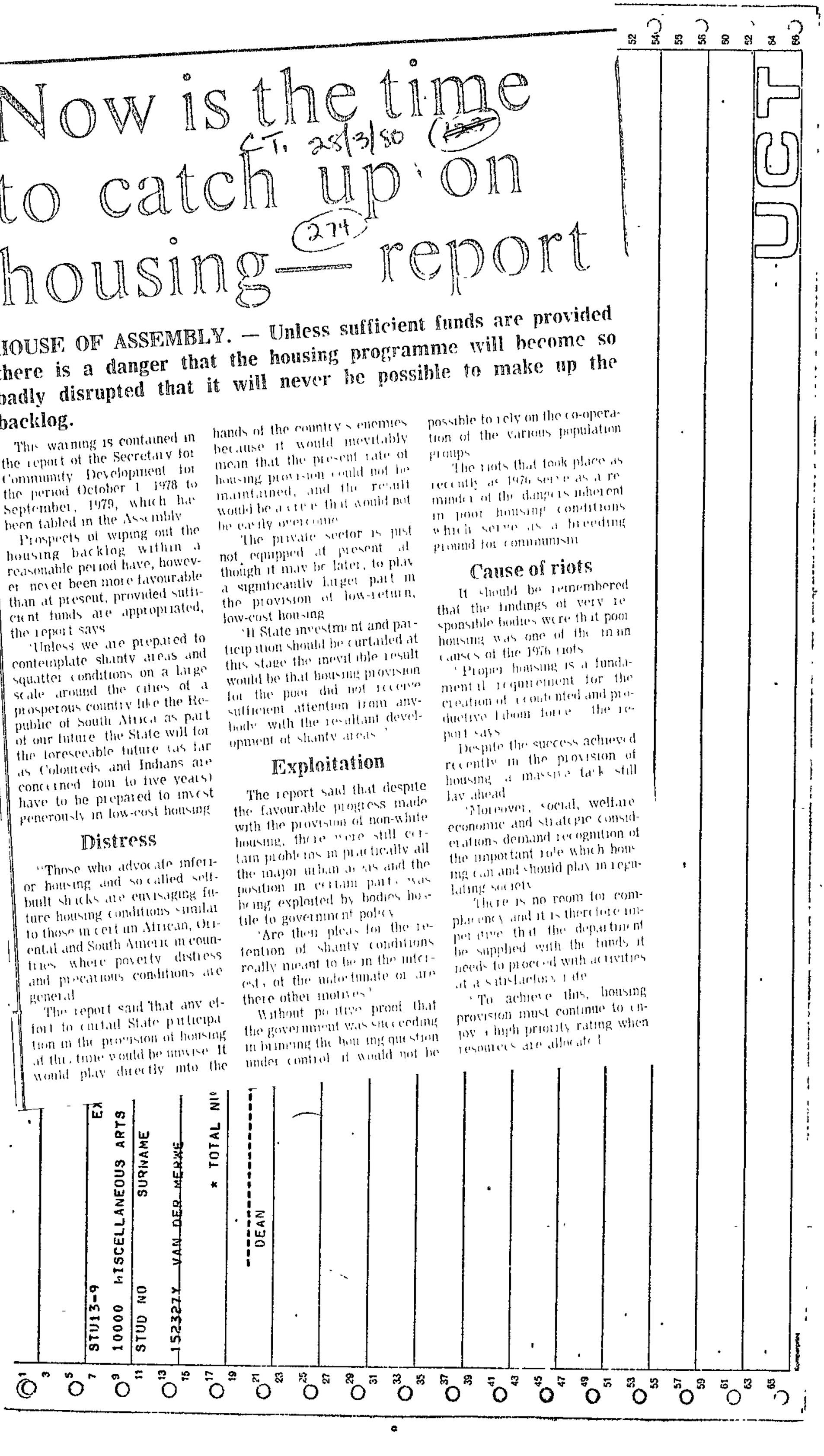
'Proper housing is a fundamental requirement for the creation of a contented and productive labour force the report says

Despite the success achieved recently in the provision of housing a massive task still lay ahead

'Moreover, social, welfare economic and strategic considerations demand recognition of the important role which housing can and should play in regulating society

'There is no room for complacency and it is therefore imperative that the department be supplied with the funds it needs to proceed with activities at a satisfactory rate

'To achieve this, housing provision must continue to enjoy a high priority rating when resources are allocated



Violence by black youths

NM 16/7/80

(274)

Bank, shops, cars burnt



LONDON LETTER

DON BODDIE

POLICE chiefs and city councils throughout Britian have had an 'It must never happen again' call from Home Secretary Willie Whitelaw. He was appalled at the explosion of violence by black youths in the normally tranquil city of Bristol.

He was even more aghast at the withdrawal of police protection from the riot area for four hours during which the rampaging youngsters burned a bank, shops and half a dozen police cars.

The Chief Constable of the counties of Avon and Somerset, in which Bristol lies, has been heavily criticised for his decision to pull out his men to regroup while reinforcements were called in from neighbouring towns.

He was in a cannot-win situation.

Had he left his officers in the riot zone and some had been killed, as he feared they would be, Mr Brian Weigh (who only got the job last September) would have faced rockets all round.

Leaving the young thugs to wreck and pillage equally earned him a howl of disbelief from the British Press that innocent citizens — one of Fleet Street's favourite phrases — should have been left unprotected. True it has never happened before in such a concentrated area

But the events in Bristol have brought the country face to face with the realisation that times have changed from the good old days of the Bobby on the beat who could be relied upon to break up a crowd with a quiet 'Move along there' before the agro exploded into action.

How swiftly and deeply the lessons of Bristol have been learned by both the opposing sides — the aggressive, often unemployed youngsters even more quickly than some policemen — was shown within days.

Loot

In London's Finsbury Park a mob of 200 youngsters atttacked police with stones and bottles.

Many of them chanted 'Bristol...Bristol' at the officers baiting them as well as belting them.

Again there was the new development, for Britian, of looting.

An Asian shop owner, Ashok Patel, claimed he had lost goods worth some R15 000.

Frankly, Whitelaw's 'It must never happen again' is a bit of pious hoping.

The thugs, as many whites as blacks when one looks at the whole country, have got the message.

The police are unarmed, apart from truncheons

Splash

If they use these with any real strength you can guarantee that the newspapers and TV will splash big pictures of police beating unarmed youngsters Liberal and Socialist MPs will be on their feet at Westminster making the most of what they would call 'the Government's failure to maintain law and order'.

Mrs Thatcher's ministers face some tough decisions Can they hope to restore respect for the law in the shape of the police on the streets?

After Bristol a big question mark hangs over this one Bear in mind that the West Country city was regarded as having almost exemplary race relations

London has a record of far worse ghetto areas as do such cities as Birmingham, Coventry, Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester and the rest

The long-term invasion of West Indians into Britain left scarcely a city or town of any size without serious race relations problems.

The trick is for the photographer to place himself close up to, and behind, a policeman with his alsatian straining at the leash to get at rioters some yards away.

Those of us who have felt anger every time South African police have been pictured in British newspapers as menacing a rioting mob with dogs, noted that the British police got exactly the same treatment at Bristol.

Loom

When the picture appears in the papers, or on the TV screens the constable and dog loom large in the foreground and the attackers relatively small and helpless in the background.

At the same time, it has to be faced that relations between police and public in Britain have seldom been at a lower ebb.

This is not just a matter of areas largely inhabited by blacks. The problem is almost as acute in the whole country which is overwhelmingly white

Why should this be so?

One outstanding reason has been the steady rundown of the numbers of policemen on foot patrol almost to the point of total disappearance.

For a time they were replaced by men on lightweight motorcycles who could cover a wider area As police pay fell, in relation to other occupations, and recruiting dropped, even these disappeared.

In an effort to provide protection for the public, a network of police cars controlled by radio and able to dash to scenes of trouble was introduced and still operates

But what all this means is that the old, friendly Bobby has vanished

More significantly, in his place the police are seen almost only when a squad car roars up in response to an emergency call.

The men are total strangers, more often than not, in the area. They have no relationship with the local public. And they have changed in character and methods of action from the old, friendly Bobby.

Many of them appear, at any rate, to the victims of robbery and violence as having little concern for them as human beings.

This may well be due to the pressure under which the modern policeman works. His hours are long and his pay still not adequate compared with those he is called upon to protect.

And he is an unprotected target for violence.

Booking

In addition, the same coppers in the same uniforms are the men who almost every hour of the day are booking motorists for traffic offences.

This means that there are thousands and thousands of otherwise law-abiding members of the public who feel aggrieved at the men in blue.

A lawyer warned a friend of mine recently that the courts convict more than 90 percent of drivers on the evidence of a single constable. 'Don't waste time and money fighting your case' said the legal eagle.

Now add to all this that you are one of the young non-whites most of them born in this country of West Indian parents who immigrated here, out of work or able to get only a low-paid job.

The police, as in the St Paul's district of Bristol, close up — quite rightly — the illegal drink and drug dens where such a youngster drifts into for escape from reality of life 1980-style.

He is left only the street. And trouble.

Father Keith Kimber, a long-haired and bearded young Welsh priest, who holds great sway among the racially mixed youngsters of St Paul's and leads a team ministry there — he is Anglo-Catholic — said

Rejects

'The problem is not a racial one. Rather it is a case of young people rising up against authority. They want a place where they can smoke dope and drink when they want to and not just when the law says they can. It is a cultural problem. We have to find a way of fitting people, with a long tradition of noisy all-night parties and loud music, into a society that basically rejects that sort of thing.'

Does that sound familiar to you out there?

So-called Darkest Africa has little on the modern jungle of city life in Britain today. Perhaps guns are closer to hand south of the Equator than in this northern isle.

But how long before all British police are armed? Many already regularly carry guns Almost all are getting training in marksmanship.

DO 19/4/80

Rand pupils join boycott

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CAPE TOWN — The Coloured school boycott yesterday spread to the Transvaal where 2 000 pupils marched with placards protesting against discrimination in education and conditions in their schools.

And in the Western Cape, where the boycott started, protesting pupils swelled to 25 000 as new schools joined the boycott.

Pupils from three Johannesburg high schools marched with placards chanting: "We want freedom." Some placards read: "Education is the key to liberation," "We want a fair deal for our teachers" and "away with ministerial consent."

Students said the strike was not over. They would not end the strike until they "achieved their rights."

The pupils said they were protesting against unequal pay for teachers; poor and inadequate facilities, and the inequality between white and Coloured education.

However, the chief inspector for Coloured schools in the Johannesburg region, Mr A. M. Muller, said yesterday: "They haven't got any specific complaints. Not one of them can isolate what they say are problems at the schools."

Mr Muller asked the police to withdraw to avoid incidents. The police earlier blocked off students from Westbury who tried to join the march.

Mr Muller invited students to put their grievances in writing and to submit it through representative councils to their school principals.

In Cape Town, the protesters marched in the drizzling rain, two or three abreast, chanting in unison "Students unite" and "Down with racial education."

There was no police activity apart from the occasional car of Security Branch policemen parked outside school gates.

A crucial meeting of representatives from all Cape Town schools and educational institution will be held this morning to decide whether a mass boycott of classes should be called for next week.

The only Indian school in Cape Town, Rylands High School, joined the boycott yesterday "in solidarity with other black students" and the University of Cape Town SRC pledged solidarity and called for an "identical education for all South Africans" in an "egalitarian society."

Meanwhile, there was varied reaction to the growing boycott.

Speaking during the second reading of the budget debate in Parliament, the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn said the children were being encouraged by untrue propaganda.

He accused opposition politicians of doing nothing to tell Coloureds what was being done for their education and opposition newspapers of aggravating the situation with exaggerated reports.

He accused Mr Curtis Nkondo, chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee and former president of the Azanian People's Organisation, of "coming from the Transvaal to incite people here in the Cape."

The poet and playwright, Adam Small, yesterday identified with the students.

Blacks and their children hated apartheid, he said.

"We hate it because it breeds inferiority. Our children don't want to be "Coloureds." They want to be South Africans."

He said Mr Steyn was "talking through his neck," when he blamed "agitators."

"I also find his attitude to Mr Nkondo distasteful. We welcome Mr Nkondo's expression of solidarity with our children, who are obviously black, in so far as they also are excluded from the privileges of whiteness and white education." — DDC-SAPA.

The Argus

APRIL 21 1980

Boycott goes deep

IF there are indeed outside forces surreptitiously promoting the coloured schools boycott, as Government spokesmen have alleged, then the country has cause for concern. But the concern should be tempered by a realistic appraisal of the situation.

Boycotts on the scale we now have in the Western Cape do not happen in a vacuum. Outside agitators need fertile soil in which to sow discontent and it is doubtful whether they could succeed were there not already a deep inclination towards protest in the coloured community.

As the Cillie Commission's report on the 1976 disturbances has shown, Government race policy was the fundamental cause of the violence which shocked the country at that time and it would be an act of colossal self-delusion to believe that enough has been done in the four years since then to remove the root causes of the trouble.

And just as the 1976 complaints about the use of Afrikaans in black schools obscured what the Cillie Commission later identified as a more complex problem, so the reasons being given by pupils for the present boycott plainly conceal a more profound sense of grievance in the coloured community.

It is too easy to blame outside agitators. The boycott campaign illustrates with compelling urgency the need for bold and effective action to back up the mood of change created by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

DD 22/4/80

Coloured school boycott spreads

JOHANNESBURG — The school boycott continued to gain impetus yesterday with reports estimating that more than 100 000 pupils in the Western Cape and the Transvaal have joined the strike which is expected to continue all week.

The stay-away also spread to Natal and the Free State.

About 5 000 of the demonstrators were from schools here and the demonstrations spread to schools on the Reef and Pretoria, as well as higher education centres.

Police said the demonstrators were apparently intent on getting into the city to stage a demonstration at the Department of Coloured Affairs.

Thousands of pupils in the Cape Peninsula were boycotting their classes yesterday in response to Friday's meeting at Athlone at which representatives from more than 60 schools decided on a boycott until Friday unless their grievances are met.

The demonstrations in the Cape and Transvaal were reported to be peaceful. The only reported action by the police in Johannesburg was the confiscation of a few posters in a march at Eldorado Park.

The demonstrations spread to higher education centres — yesterday's demonstrations included one at the Rand College of Education where student teachers demonstrated along the Soweto highway.

Students at the University of the Western Cape and the Peninsula Technikon in Belville South yesterday held meetings to decide on what action they should take later this week.

The boycott spread to outlying areas in the Cape. In Stellenbosch, students marched with placards denouncing the education system.

Students at the Hewat Training College in Crawford in the Cape decided at a mass meeting to support the demands of the pupils by boycotting classes.

All practice teaching at the college was cancelled.

The Bechet Training College in Durban was closed yesterday when students did not turn up for classes in sympathy with demonstrators elsewhere in the country.

There was no demonstration and they simply stayed away from classes.

In Bloemfontein, pupils protested with placards calling for better sports facilities and other amenities.

The principal, Mr P. R. Murison dismissed classes yesterday and said the school would reopen today.

In the Assembly, Mr Colin Eglin, opposition spokesman on Coloured Affairs, called on the Prime Minister yesterday to intervene to end the boycott.

He made the call shortly after the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, restated his view yesterday that the school stayaway was a result of "outside agitation."

Mr Steyn conceded that there were problems facing Coloured education but added: "It is a situation we inherited, and it will take us a generation to catch up." — SAPA-DDC.

DD 23/4/80 (50) (274) (256)

Burnett education call

CAPE TOWN — South Africa had more money than it "dared to think possible" which could be used to improve black education, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Rev Bill Burnett, said in a statement here yesterday

"The government has a unique opportunity to dramatically demonstrate its determination to achieve a peaceful and acceptable future for all our people by taking radical steps to narrow and then eliminate the expenditure gap between white and black education.

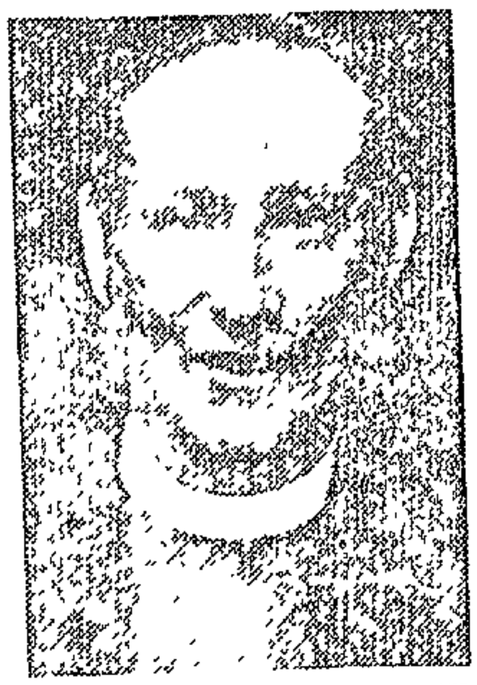
"Let them take it and give us all a much needed sign of hope"

"This nation has now more money at its disposal than we ever dared to think possible Good sense and justice must encourage us to take full advantage of that to begin to transform the facilities and salaries in black schools.

"The schools' boycott of the Cape Flats and elsewhere should not be seen as the irritating work of tiresome agitators When the gap between expenditure on white and black education is so scandalously wide, there is a need for consciences to be stirred

"We are witnessing the understandable refusal of young black people to accept the maldistribution of opportunity among white and black through education.

"They are saying that with the future that stretches out before them, they are not prepared to submit to this and other inequalities of apartheid society



ARCHBISHOP BURNETT

"Can white South Africans really expect them to enjoy being discriminated against?

"At the same time, the students will surely best forward their cause by continuing to exercise discipline and restraint

"Let neither state nor students provoke one another to violence", the archbishop said. — SAPA.

Fooling nobody

THE Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, is fooling nobody by blaming, besides 'agitators,' the Press, and The Argus in particular, for promoting the coloured schools' boycott.

This will not prevent people understanding that the root cause of the trouble is today as much the policies enforced by Mr Steyn's Government as the Cillie Commission found was the case during the 1976 disturbances.

Mr Steyn makes much of the estimate published by The Argus in a report received from Johannesburg this week that 100 000 pupils were involved in the boycott — an estimate published in good faith by us and, as it happens, by the official Cape mouthpiece of the National Party, Die Burger

There is not much point to the complaint when it is obvious coloured schooling faces a complete breakdown throughout the country.

As for Mr Steyn's accusation of 'sensational' reporting, we have no idea what he is talking about But he certainly faces the charge that in a television interview last week, he seriously underplayed the extent of the schools' unrest.

Argus 23/4/80 (274) (257)

(CONT'D)

...oments to Appraise	Most Recent Cyclical Trend Favorable +1, +2, +3 Unfavorable −1, −2, −3	Comments
...Conditions		9 *Labor Market Conditions*
...orkweek (1)	____	The help wanted indicator is a roughly coincident indicator in a grouping where all the remaining indicators are leaders Actually, it does tend to lead at peaks, but it is consistently coincident at troughs In recent years, its performance is very similar to that of the other indicators in this group designated as leaders
...4)	____	
...d openings (46	____	
...mployment claims (7)	____	The need to review an indicator's current movements within the perspective of its historical record should thus be repeated, as this caution is especially pertinent in appraising labor market conditions
...erations		10 *Fiscal Considerations*
...s or deficit, NIA (Sec D, 600	____	The empirical evidence discussed in the subsection entitled "Economic Policy and Indicators" (Section VI) would seem to suggest that the indicators considered in this grouping fall closer to the 'outside influences' group (below) than to a separate grouping This may seem inconsistent with the role which fiscal policy plays in current economic theory and in many of the econometric models designed to simulate the economy Nevertheless, in their observable role as indicators, it is clear that their importance and timing varies from one major movement in aggregate economic activity to another Appraisal of their status as favorable or unfavorable with respect to cyclical trends is difficult
...al defense purchases (Sec D,	____	
...ences		11. *Outside Influences*
...ats, strikes, and their after-	____	Far and away, labor disruptions in the steel industry have had the greatest effect on the course of aggregate economic activity in the post-World War II years In the auto industry, General Motors strikes have had major repercussions, but they have not been nearly as persistent nor as pervasive as those related to a strike-threat or a strike in the
...serve policy	____	
...dget policy	____	
...tments	____	

The Argus

APRIL 23 1980

The real demand

IT is common cause that the schools' boycott goes far beyond the issue of inadequate education.

The unhappy situation in schools round the country is another manifestation of the anger felt by the coloured community at their general status in the land of their birth It can be seen as a demand by young South Africans for political equality. For without this there can be no guarantee of full rights in education, in jobs or anything else.

No matter how good a 'separate' education may be, it will always be suspect if the system is imposed Nationalist Afrikaners should understand this well enough.

On the immediate question of education, the Government's response should not be a display of muscle and a threat to close down schools, but a clear and visible undertaking to put matters right in a system that is inferior to what the children are entitled.

Up to yesterday the protest was confined to school grounds. We hope it returns to the campuses and that serious confrontation with the police and involvement with other sections of the community can be avoided.

The boycotters have succeeded in bringing their cause to the Government's attention. It is the tragedy of this land that the Government seems only to respond to grievances when under pressure of one kind or another.

RESTORE ORDER, THEN WE TALK —STEYN

Argus 24/4/80

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Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr S J M Steyn, said today the Government was willing to give attention to the grievances of striking coloured schoolchildren, provided order was restored at the schools first.

About 2 000 parents from the Bellville South area last night expressed their total solidarity with the action of students in calling for non-racial education and the students' demands.

The meeting, in the Bellville South Civic Centre, was called by students of the University of the Western Cape Technikon and the training college. Students and high school pupils explained their grievances to a packed audience.

Dr Alan Boesak, theologian of the Ned Geref

(Continued on Page 3, col 5)

Extensive preparations have been made by the police to ensure that order is maintained.

Action is also likely to be taken against people who are regarded as agitators.

● Meanwhile, there is growing support in the coloured and Indian community among parents, teachers and principals, for the boycott action of pupils against 'racial' and inferior education.

Several areas, including Ocean View, Bellville, Lotus River and Belhar, have held public meetings at which pupils and students have had the opportunity to explain their grievances to their parents.

Mr Steyn emphasised that he was serious in his call to coloured parents and teachers earlier this week to see to it that the children returned to school.

He said on Tuesday that the closing of schools would be considered within a week if order was not restored.

The attitude in Government circles is that an 'order situation' has arisen and that the children must return to their classes before there can be any consultation with them.

Action likely

(Continued from Page 1)

Sendingkerk and UWC university chaplain, appeared to the audience to make it clear to the Government that the allegation that children and parents were going 'different ways' on the issue was unfounded.

Dr Boesak said today he was 'surprised and deeply moved by the incredible response of parents who were unanimous in their support for the action of students'.

Emphasising that the Government should treat education as matter of urgency, the meeting declared its full solidarity with the actions of students and their confidence in the students.

They rejected 'the political system which resulted in this intolerable situation.'

The meeting expressed its full support with the student demands for non-racial education and an improvement of conditions at schools.

MASS MEETING

Earlier this week, at a mass meeting in the Lotus River and Grassy Park area attended by 700 people, parents and teachers came out in support of the action by the pupils and called for a free democratic, non-racial system of compulsory education.

Further meetings are being held tonight in Mitchell's Plain and in Silvertown, Athlone.

'I and most parents feel that the children are working in the right direction,' one parent who did not want to be named told The Argus.

He said that although some parents were not fully informed about their children's grievances, most were behind the boycott.

The issue went far deeper than broken window panes and a shortage of textbooks. It had to do with tribal, inferior education and a demand for a free, equal and compulsory education system 'which we used to get in my days at school,' he said.

The parent said some sections of the media — and especially the television and radio — had discussed the boycott as though it was happening only in coloured schools.

He emphasised that Indian pupils and parents were in full support of what was happening. 'It is a united black struggle and we as parents owe our support in the fight against, not only education, but against the whole system as such,' he said.

IN SUPPORT

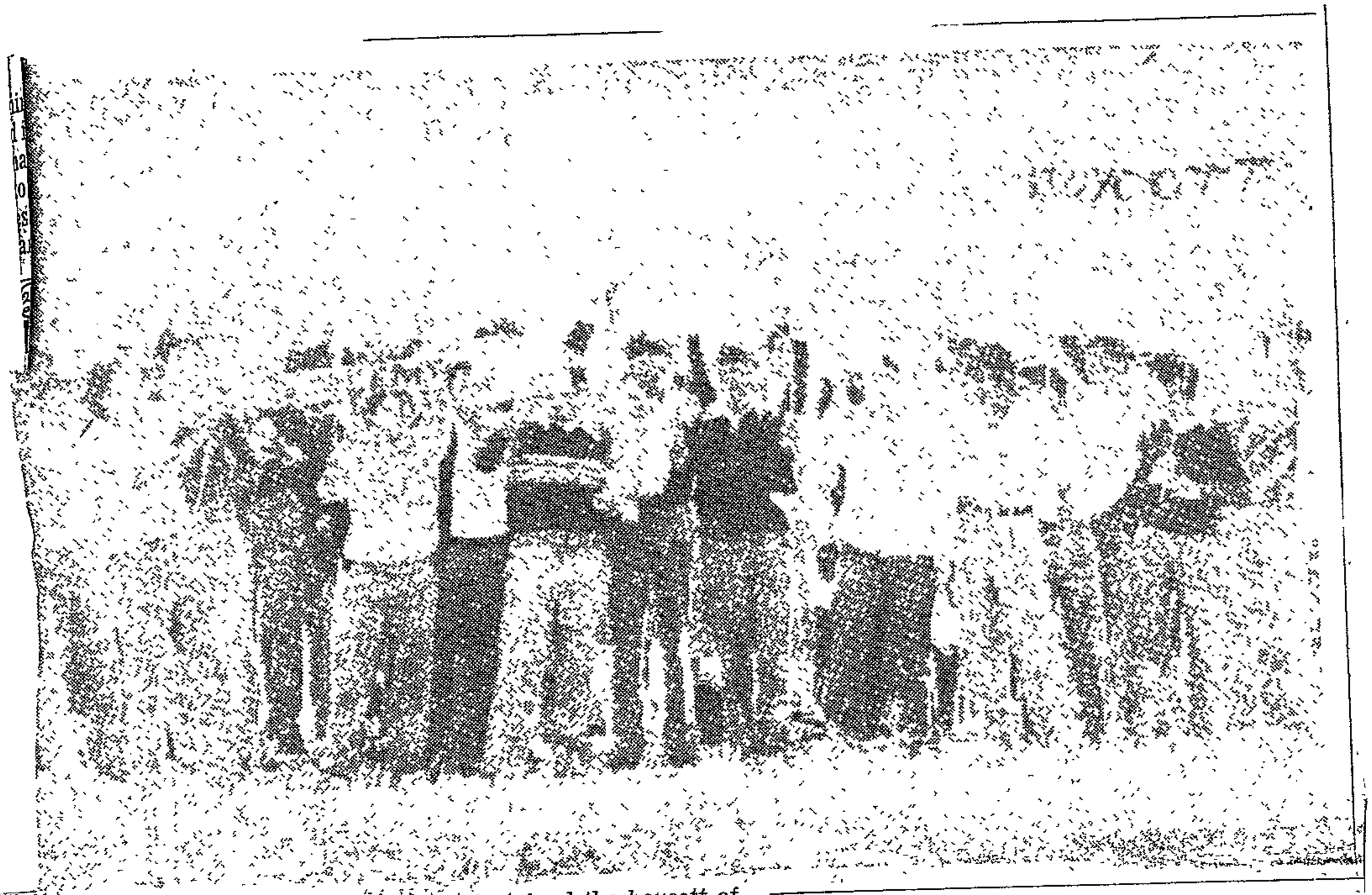
Both the Cape Teachers' Professional Association and the Athlone District Principals' Association, representing 70 heads of schools, have come out in support of the grievances of pupils and students.

A statement issued by the principals said they identified with the basic grievances of the students and strongly urged the authorities to defuse the situation by 'making a statement indicating when positive action would be taken to eliminate the underlying cause of the present situation.'

● It is reported from Kimberley that the boycott of classes by 3 500 coloured senior secondary pupils and student teachers continued today.

School committees, which represent the parents at these schools, have been asked by the Administrator for their views on the matter.

24/4/80 (42)



PUPILS at the Laudium High School near Pretoria joined the boycott of classes today and gathered on the school's sports fields singing freedom songs. A spokesman said they had joined the boycott as a mark of solidarity with other coloured and Indian high school pupils.

Police crack down — as demos grow

~~327~~ 274 ~~257~~ ~~50~~ IDM 24/4/80.

POLITICAL STAFF

AS PROTESTS against unequal education continued to mount yesterday, trouble flared when police baton-charged three groups of demonstrators in Johannesburg coloured townships and used teargas to disperse students in Wentworth, Durban.

Police said stones were thrown at them at a school in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg, after one of the baton charges, in which teargas was also used.

The education boycotts spread to Indian schools and colleges in Johannesburg and Durban, while about 1 000 students at the University of the Witwatersrand voted to stay away from lectures in solidarity today.

And with the boycotts scheduled to continue [illegible] police used teargas and baton-charged pupils [illegible] in Eldorado Park and Klerksdorp.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for Soweto, Brigadier Kobus Hamman, said about 500 pupils gathered on a soccer field in Eldorado Park, but that they refused to disperse after being ordered to do so.

"Three teargas canisters were fired and five black constables armed with batons moved in. The students scattered and returned to school," he added.

He denied claims that a shot was first fired into the air.

Brig Hamman said that after the pupils returned to the Eldorado Park Senior Secondary School, they threw stones at policemen keeping watch outside.

An adult at the scene claimed "skollies", not pupils, were responsible for the stone-throwing.

Coloured community leaders condemned the police action, but appealed for calm.

Police said claims that some pupils were struck with batons while they were on the ground would be looked into.

In other incidents:

- Police intercepted and baton-charged about 500 Indian pupils marching along East Road. The pupils scattered and returned to school.
- Six black constables armed with batons were sent in to break up a match along the Pretoria-Johannesburg road by 200 Red Hatted pupils on their way to Eldorado Park. The pupils dispersed after a teargas salvo.
- Police used teargas in Durban to disperse coloured pupils marching to the City Hall.

NOTE CAREFULLY

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2. Blue or black ink ... answers. The use ... able. Red or green ... underlining, emph... which pencil may al...
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Any dishonesty will ren... disqualification and to possible exclusion from the ...versity

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Pupil demos mount and trouble flares

Placard-carrying pupils from Umbilo Road High gathered at the City Hall gardens, giving clenched-fist salutes A group of 100 Wentworth High pupils marched to join about 1 000 Fairvale High pupils before proceeding to the City Hall, but police stepped in and dispersed them with teargas

● At an Indian girls' high school in Durban, the principal, Mrs S Poovalingam, asked five senior pupils to leave after they were found placing Press cuttings and placards about the boycott on the school noticeboard

Thousands of coloured pupils continued boycotts at other schools throughout the country, but no other incidents were reported

In the Johannesburg Indian township of Lenasia, an estimated 2 000 of the 5 000 pupils at the four local high schools boycotted classes

Uniformed police, riot police and Security Police kept watch outside the M H Joosub Technical High, where about 650 pupils chanted "Amandla-" (power) and slogans calling for equal education and equal rights

Lenasia pupils also issued a pamphlet outlining grievances and demands

Students at the Indian Transvaal College of Education in Fordsburg, Johannesburg, decided at a campus meeting to boycott lectures today

Indian stayaways were also reported from the Orient High and the Springfield Training College in Durban, while most students at the University of

From Page 1

Durban-Westville and the black section of the University of Natal medical school continued boycotting lectures

A student mass meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand also resolved to stage a solidarity "sit-in" and called on the university administration and "sympathetic" lecturers to cancel lectures today

The students were addressed by Mr Curtis Nkondo, chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee and suspended president of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, and Miss Brenda Liebowitz, a white teacher recently dismissed from her post at a coloured school

Wits is the second "white" university to decide on a boycott The University of Natal Students' Representative Council has called on students to stay away from lectures until tomorrow

Meanwhile, organisations representing teachers and principals in the Cape endorsed the boycott. They are the 13 000-strong Cape Professional Teachers' Association and the Athlone District Principals' Association.

Both groups called on the Government not to carry out its threat to close schools Statements from a wide cross-section of the black community underlined the fact that shutting schools would not eradicate the basic cause of discontent — "inferior education"

Dr Alan Boesak, chaplain at the coloured University of the Western Cape, described the closure threat as a "very weak response to a very serious situation'

Professor Jakes Gerwel, professor of Afrikaans-Nederlands at the university, said the "foolhardy decision would only add extra sparks to a very explosive situation"

The leader of the coloured Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, described Mr Steyn's threat as "irresponsible" and "arrogant "

A former Cape Town city councillor, Mr Dawood Khan, called on Mr Steyn to resign Mr Khan took exception to Mr Steyn's claim that Indian pupils in Rylands had joined the boycott because agitators forced them to do do

The general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, this week sent telegrams to Mr Steyn and the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, requesting urgent attention to the "threatening situation regarding so-called coloured schooling"

In Johannesburg, the director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Rees, expressed concern over Mr Steyn's attitude The Institute said agitation as alleged by Mr Steyn was only effective when there was gross dissatisfaction

Mr Rees quoted statistics as proof of "the inherently discriminatory education system"

● Editorial Comment — Page 8

Teargas fired as police halt pupil demos

Staff Reporter

POLICE fired teargas and baton-charged three groups of coloured schoolchildren in Eldorado Park and Kliptown yesterday mo.ding

And pupils were reported to have attacked police for the first time in the four-day schools boycott yesterday, when they threw stones at police outside the Eldorado Park Senior Secondary School

The principal, Mr M Jacobs, said about 500 pupils had gathered on a soccer field near the school at about 8 30am yesterday when police arrived

This was confirmed by the Divisional Commissioner of Police for Soweto, Brigadier Kobus Hamman, who said the pupils refused to disperse when ordered to do so

"Three teargas canisters were fired and five black constables armed with batons moved in The pupils scattered and returned to school" he said

Witnesses claim a shot was first fired in the air, but Brig Hamman denied this.

A pupil's mother — who does not want to be named — said she was on the field with the pupils when the police charged

"I begged them to stop hitting the children, but they carried on hitting them even where they fell on the ground," she said

A doctor had to be called to attend to four of the pupils at the school Yolanda Begbie, 17, was treated for severe bruising and a sprained ankle. Another unnamed girl allegedly suffered convulsions and shock

Brig Hamman said the pupils later threw stones at police keeping watch outside

One of a group of adults who spoke to pupils in front of the school told the Rand Daily Mail later that "skollies" had thrown the stones.

"We told them 'This is not your fight'," she said

Police baton-charged about 300 pupils from Kliptown High School as they marched along East Road The marchers scattered and returned to school

Brig Hamman said a schools circuit inspector, Mr Willie Magardie, used a loudhailer to try and persuade both groups to return to school, but in vain

Mr Mohamed Dangor, Coloured Management Committee member for Kliptown, said he watched as police baton-charged pupils

In the third incident, about 200 Randfontein pupils were intercepted by police just outside Eldorado Park as they marched along the Johannesburg-Potchefstroom Road to join Eldorado Park pupils

Six black constables, armed with batons, were sent in to break up the march Three teargas canisters were then fired, and the pupils dispersed

Pupils at most other schools staged quiet meetings within the grounds and went home at 11am, according to a prearranged plan

Brig Hamman said the claims by witnesses "may be possible" and he would investigate them today

(b) Manual labour is hired locally from week to week.

(d) All the plant needed for Southampton has been owned for some years. £1,6000 is the year's depreciation (straight-line) in the financial accounts. If the Hull job is taken, less plant will be required, and the surplus items will be hired out for the year on similar work at a rental of £750. Interest is based on a memorandum entry, at 5% of original cost, in the cost records.

(f) Office and general expenses amount to about £1,800 every year.

Required:

A revised budget (if you
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Some riot compensation awarded

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Payment of R108 396 in ex-gratia compensation to 31 persons who suffered damages as a result of the riots in Soweto during the 1976/77 unrest has been recommended by the Compensation Committee.

A list of names and particulars of the claimants were tabled in the Assembly today by the Minister of Justice, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch.

The biggest payments recommended by the committee were those to a certain N Molefe (R15 000), S Dube (R15 000), R Molapo (R15 000), S J Mosia (R20 000), R Nkosi (R20 000) and M Ngubane (R12 000) and R Edelstein (R10 000).

The list also gave the names of 52 claimants in respect of whom the compensation committee did not recommend the payment of ex gratia payments.

One person, a certain L Kgang, had claimed R83 000, E M. Mthethwa (R80 500), S B Baron (R70 500), C Mphaki (R50 00), Z J Mfenyana (R45 000) and R Edelstein (R42 350).

There were also other lesser claims ranging from R22 000 down.

List (274) details ron 25/4/80 riot damage claims

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A list of the claimants was tabled in the Assembly yesterday by the Minister of Justice, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch

The committee, under the chairmanship of the Judge President of South Africa, Mr Justice W G Boshoff, only considered claims for damages suffered in "riotous situations" during the period June 16, 1976 to March 16, 1977.

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The list also gave the names of 52 claims in which the committee did not recommend ex-gratia payments.

One person, L Kgang, had claimed R83 000, E M Mthethwa (R80 500) S B Baron (R70 500), C Mphaki (R50 000), Z J Mfenyana (R45 000) and R Edelstein (R42 350).

There were also other lesser claims ranging from R22 000 down.

The committee said that where persons were injured or killed as a result of their own participation in, or contribution to the riots, or by intentionally or wilfully exposing themselves to danger by moving into riot areas, the applications were not recommended.

Also listed are the names and particulars of claimants whose claims were based on damage to property and in respect of which the compensation committee has made no recommendations.

There were 67 claims in this category, the highest being R156 319 submitted by the Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Highveld Area.

A certain M T Rambau had claimed R115 000, D A S Mmesi (R104 000) and Sitshongaye (R80 000).

The other claims ranged from R44 000 down.

In assessing the amounts payable the committee bore in mind that:

- Because of the subjective nature of pain and suffering, injured persons are apt to exaggerate;
- The courts had accepted in principle that compensation for general damages should be assessed conservatively and
- The amounts to be assessed were for ex-gratia payment. — Sapa.

Argus

Coloured solidarity

A FEATURE of the coloured schools boycott is the unprecedented solidarity shown by the coloured community behind the cause of the pupils, though there are differences about the methods of protest.

City and country schools alike have joined the boycott. The complaints of pupils have been supported openly by teachers and principals as much as by parents and politicians, churchmen and community leaders.

People of all income levels have spoken out and the protest has reached into universities and teachers' training colleges as it has into high schools in all parts of the country.

Solidarity on this scale does not show itself merely at the behest of outside agitators and to suggest that it does is to provocatively devalue the sentiment now prevailing in the coloured community. Clearly what is happening is symptomatic of a deep and pervasive unhappiness.

The Government should candidly face up to this manifestation of fellow feeling and recognise the urgent need for leadership and for a clear declaration of where it is heading in seeking to accommodate the broad aspirations of the coloured people.

Nobody suggests that educational inequities can be righted easily or immediately. But a statement from the Government proving that it grasps the full nature of coloured grievance and outlining a plan of action to alleviate it, would help defuse a tense situation. The children should be back in their classrooms and this is the way the Government could get them there.

Schools

Argus 25/4/80

(Continued from Page 1)

ing college and several primary schools have come out in boycott. The Roggebaai Teachers' Training College in Cape Town decided today to stay away from classes from Monday, next week

Primary schools in Bontcheuwel, Surrey Estate and Bellville South have also decided to join the high schools' boycott.

MEETINGS

At public meetings last night, from Ocean View to Stellenbosch and Paarl, parents and teachers expressed their solidarity and full support for the action of pupils throughout the country protesting against 'inferior education'.

Meetings were held in Stellenbosch, Athlone, Rylands Estate, Grassy Park, Parkwood, Ocean View, Mitchell's Plain, Kensington, Tiervlei and Hanover Park

The black staff at the University of the Western Cape which has 137 members, have also expressed their support for the pupils' and students

Question on closing schools

257

52

274

Argus 25/4/80

COLOURED school committees throughout the country have been instructed by the Administration of Coloured Affairs to state by today whether they support the threatened close-down of schools in the face of continuing boycotts.

The Director of Coloured Education, Mr A J Arendse, was meeting the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn and was not available for comment earlier today.

Yesterday, however, he confirmed that school committees were asked about the advisability of closing schools if the boycotts continued.

Mr Arendse denied this had been done on instruction of Mr Steyn who earlier this week threatened to close coloured schools.

'We are merely asking parents to decide for themselves. Whatever they decide, we will carry out,' he said.

The Argus has been reliably informed that most school committees in the Peninsula have advised against the closure of schools.

In Maritzburg, the Haythorne High School committee unanimously decided that the closing down of schools 'could benefit nobody.'

The chairman of the school's hostel committee, Mr J A Lundall, said parents were against influencing their children to stop their boycotts 'because they are expressing exactly what coloured parents have been asking for years.'

MORE BOYCOTTS

Support for the student action in the black community continues to grow as the boycott of classes becomes more widespread.

Another teachers' train-

(Continued on Page 3, col 2)

50 53 DD 25/4/80 274

Roots of the school boycott

CAPE TOWN — Students and pupils all over South Africa have categorically rejected their education. The slogan "Down with inferior, racist education" is echoing through school and college halls throughout the country. The call for a free and equal education has been taken up by thousands of students over the last few days.

An investigation into some of the most common grievances — unqualified teachers, shortage of school books, inadequate, run-down school buildings — has shown there are grounds for concern.

The Minister of Coloured Relations disclosed in Parliament last year that only five per cent of all Coloured teachers have university degrees. Just over 62 per cent have themselves only been educated until Std 8, besides their teacher training.

In March, 1957, the Separate University Education Bill was introduced in the House of Assembly which eventually led to the establishment of separate facilities for all post-school education.

Many of today's teachers received their training at colleges and the University of the Western Cape, which were set up at the beginning of the sixties specifically to train Coloureds.

Despite recent assurances by the Minister that the number of teachers in Coloured schools has increased from 14 871 to 25 146 in the past 10 years, there is still a marked disparity in the ratio of pupils to teachers.

In black schools, there is one teacher for 47,6 pupils, while in white schools the ratio is one teacher to 19 pupils. In Coloured schools, there is one teacher for every 29,6 pupils.

Underlying all is the gap between the amount the government spends on white and black children. for 1978, R551 on every white child and R185 on every Coloured child.

More recent figures were not made available by the Department of Coloured Relations. With white children receiving more than double the amount of Coloured children, there is some basis for complaint.

Tied to this is the shortage of classrooms at most Coloured schools. In response to a question in the House of Assembly in March this year, Mr Steyn said there was a backlog of 1 828 classrooms for Coloured pupils up to March 1979.

A teacher at a reasonably affluent Coloured school in Cape Town says three of four children have to share desks designed to hold two.

"This not only makes it difficult to give individual attention to pupils who need it, but it also makes it virtually impossible to maintain discipline," she said.

In the 1979 Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, it was reported that overcrowding was prevalent in Coloured schools throughout the country.

The survey gives the example of two schools in Kimberley which were forced to run 14 double session classes between them to accommodate pupils

According to the Department of Coloured Relations, every pupil is entitled to free textbooks and stationery.

For every school year, the principal applies for an annual allocation for each pupil. For a matric pupil this year, principals were allowed to apply for R32 for books and R3,85 for stationery.

The qualifications of teachers as disclosed by the minister.

PROFESSIONALLY QUALIFIED WITH:	Number	Per Cent
A university degree	1 234	5,00
Matriculation or equivalent	6 418	26,01
JC or equivalent	15 339	62,16
Other qualifications	71	0,29
No professional qualifications but with university degree	147	0,60
Matriculation or equivalent	742	3,01
Technical or vocational qualifications	160	0,65
Less than matriculation	565	2,29

Estimated per capita expenditure during 1977-1978 on school pupils of the various racial groups was given in the Assembly:

Group	Average
White	R551
Coloured	R185,16
Asian	R236,13
Black	R 54,08

Pupil-teacher ratios for 1979 were calculated by the Institute of Race Relations using educational statistics supplied by the Department of Statistics. Ratios are for primary secondary and special classes:

White	1:19,6
Coloured	1 29,6
Asian	1:26.2
Africans	1:47,6

— DDC.

Teacher, students held

25/4/80 DD.

JOHANNESBURG — Security police have detained nine people, including students and a teacher.

Yesterday a banned former executive member of the Black Peoples' Convention, Mr Vuyisile Mdlelemi, was detained

Seven of those being held are from the Western Cape. The other Transvaal detention was of Mr Curtis Nkondo, former president of the Azanian People's Organisation.

The others are: Mr Trevor Wentzel, a community worker in Lavistown and a member of Azapo; Mr Achmat Cassien, a banned former president of the SA Students' Association, Mr Michael Sedgwick, a youth organiser of the churches urban planning commission, Mr Allan Liebenberg, former president of the UWC Students' Representative Council; Mr Neville Fry, a Schoonspruit teacher, Mr Lloyd Fortuin, and Mr Michael Crail, both students at the Paulus Joubert High School in Paarl.

The acting chief of the Security Police, Brigadier Jan du Preez, confirmed the detentions.

A spokesman from police headquarters in Pretoria said last night they had launched an intensive, nationwide investigation into the schools boycott which has spread to almost every major centre in the countr.

In East London, members of the John Bisseker Senior Secondary School Committee were summoned to an urgent meeting last night on the instruction of the Port Elizabeth-based chief inspector of schools in the Eastern Cape, Mr D. Crafford, to discuss whether schools should be closed or not.

But a motion by Mr Peter Mopp that it was not in the committee's jurisdiction to discuss closure of the school was unanimously accepted.

The boycott by hundreds of Bisseker students continued yesterday and the only incident occurred when teachers had to dissuade hundreds of pupils from marching to town to hand in their grievances to the regional representative of Coloured Affairs, Mr D. J. Dippenaar.

The pupils were later addressed in the school grounds by the circuit inspector, Mr H. D. Sweeney, who urged them to return to their classes and warned them it was against the law to march without permission.

In Queenstown, large numbers of students at Maria Louw High School boycotted classes on Tuesday and Wednesday

No incidents were reported but security police kept a close watch on the school.

According to the headmaster, Mr E. P. Scheepers, most of the students were back at school yesterday. They handed him a list of their grievances and said they would boycott classes again if these did not receive immediate attention.

In Grahamstown, all was quiet at Mary Waters School but a boycott of lectures was initiated at Rhodes University.

After working through the night preparing pamphlets, posters and a wall newspaper, more than 120 students gathered in the university quadrangle to demonstrate their solidarity with the boycott.

In Port Elizabeth, the boycott spread to Dower College and all senior secondary schools as well as in Uitenhage, Humansdorp and Graaff-Reinet.

The boycott focused on Durban yesterday where more than 30 schools, colleges and universities — at least 10 of them Indian — have joined in.

Police denied reports that they baton-charged about 500 Chatsworth pupils earlier yesterday

Some pupils claimed they had been hit with batons.

A police spokesman said teachers had complained pupils were obstructing them. "Police drew batons and walked towards a group of pupils who fled. We do not regard this as a charge."

On the Rand, fresh boycotts were reported. —DDR- DDC-SAPA.

Slabbert call for action, page 7

Nash attacks Steyn, page 15

2

The building and construction industry

Statistics monitoring the building and construction sector to date provide little evidence that the phase of cyclical contraction experienced since the first quarter of 1976 has come to an end. This is not really surprising Building activity traditionally is a laggard rather than a lead indicator in the statistical series, as may be evidenced by the fact that the present downward phase began only twenty months after a general recession in the rest of the economy was signalled The volatility of the construction trades should not cause surprise A long production period is inherent in their make-up' this usually ranges between one year and four years Further, all of the capital goods industries, and construction is no exception, are very cyclically sensitive

The slowdown of real economic growth in the past three years from the very much higher rates recorded over the ten years to 1974 proved the forecasts of property developers and construction engineers to be over-optimistic. Presently, there is a surplus of commercial and office space in all the major metropolitan areas estimated to be in excess of 500 000 square metres and significant pockets of vacant flat accommodation besides In these circumstances, rentals have either risen very little or fallen, while building costs, interest charges and landlords' operational expenses have risen at least at the same rate as

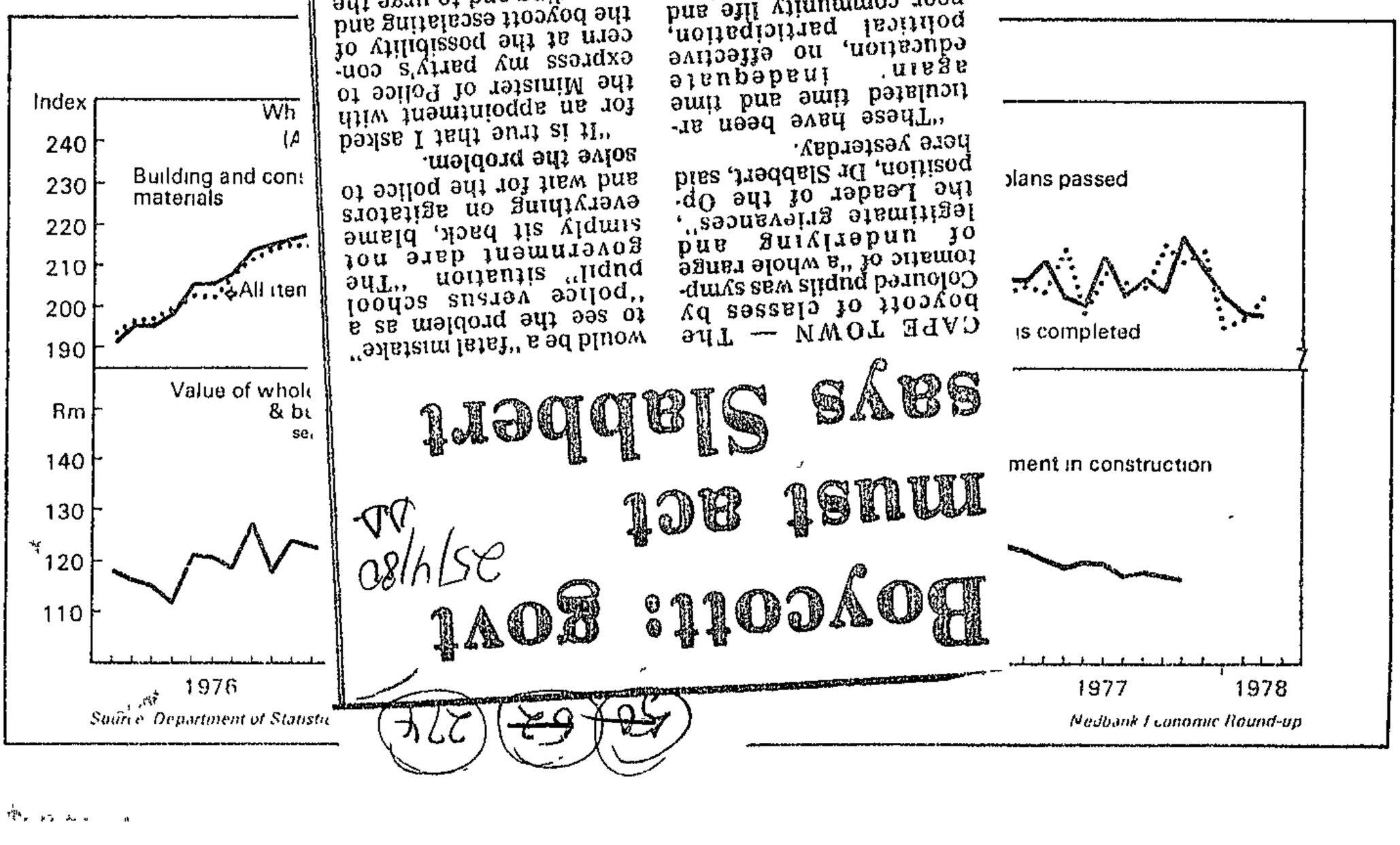
consequence has been
and residential properties
significantly below their c
no inducement to initiate
from those associated w
the public utilities Even i
are being revised dow
reverse gearing situatio
property development be
and financial charges –
Auction bids have been at

are pitched often at a level nominally adequate to protect the first bond holder but no higher

The accompanying graphs illustrate the wind down. The upward pressure on building material costs is exampled by cement, which has risen 70 per cent in price over three years Moreover, on top of the upward trend in building material costs themselves, power and transport costs have added materially to the financial burden of construction companies The value of building plans passed has been in protracted decline since the first quarter of 1976. It is, however, a poor guide to the initiation of new work as many schemes are subsequently shelved in a deteriorating economic climate Completions, in turn, more recently have turned downwards as the backlog of projects is steadily overhauled That the volume of activity in the pipeline is shrinking fast, may be judged from the fact that over two years the sales value of building materials has changed little notwithstanding double digit inflation

Total employment in the construction trades fell by approximately 11 per cent (48 thousand people) over a sixteen month period to October 1977 Numerically, the semi-skilled blacks have been the hardest hit, but skilled and the related professionals such as surveyors have experienced a sad de-employment prospects

most optimistic interpretation that can be statistics is that the graphs seem to suggest that process may be underway. The Economic Bureau looks to higher public sector sought after upward momentum later budget proposals and related stimulatory whether would add some R433 million to in building and construction in the fiscal would help to achieve this object.



Boycott: govt must act says Slabbert

CAPE TOWN — The boycott of classes by Coloured pupils was symptomatic of "a whole range of underlying and legitimate grievances", the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Slabbert, said here yesterday.

"These have been articulated time and time again. Inadequate education, no effective political participation, poor community life and facilities," he said in a press statement.

"The government must come forward with a new declaration of intent on these issues, then determine who the effective leaders are and negotiate a new deal with them

"Only this kind of action can defuse a potentially very dangerous situation, and not ministerial pronouncements which simply add fuel to the fire."

Dr Slabbert said it would be a "fatal mistake" to see the problem as a "police versus school pupil" situation "The government dare not simply sit back, blame everything on agitators and wait for the police to solve the problem.

"It is true that I asked for an appointment with the Minister of Police to express my party's concern at the possibility of the boycott escalating and spreading and to urge the Minister to see to it that action from his department should contribute to this.

"It is quite apparent to me that compared to 1976, there is a completely different approach to the whole problem of riot and crowd control.

"I am pleased extensive use is being made of riot control Gear which reduces the possibility of injury on all sides." — SAPA.

More Indians and whites join protest

(50) (327) (274) RDM 25/4/80.

POLITICAL STAFF

MOUNTING protests against unequal education spread to more coloured and Indian institutions and English-language white universities yesterday.

And there were more allegations of baton charges, stonings, teargas salvos and questioning of students — most of them denied by police.

As the protest entered its scheduled final day today, fresh boycotts of classes were reported from coloured and Indian areas as far apart as Klerksdorp, Roodepoort, Laudium, Kimberley, Oudtshoorn, Potchefstroom, Maritzburg, and Middelburg, Transvaal.

Rightwingers and protesters were involved in heated exchanges on university campuses, and a prominent anti-apartheid campaigner, Mrs Helen Joseph, 75, was pelted with eggs by a Rightwing contingent when she attended a meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Only three police divisions — Northern Natal, Northern Free State and [illegible] have not reported protests.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said yesterday that generally the protests were peaceful and no arrests had been made.

But witnesses said police baton-charged and dispersed about 500 pupils from two high schools in Chatsworth, Durban, yesterday. This has been denied by police, but according to Sapa, parents and children reported that pupils at the two high schools were assaulted with batons after a number of girls were given five minutes to return to classes or go home.

According to one parent, most of the children left for home after the police charge.

Mrs Gonam Naicker of Chatsworth said police used batons, broken branches and stones to disperse a crowd of children who had gathered on one of the school grounds.

Two pupils were said to have been taken for questioning and then released. A girl was reportedly taken to hospital and others were bruised and shocked after the incident.

A police spokesman denied there had been an incident in Klerksdorp in which police vehicles were stoned after a pupil was questioned. Pupils from both the coloured and Indian high schools in the town boycotted classes.

Protesters in different parts of the country said a number of pupils were taken in for questioning by police. However, the police spokesman could not confirm this, as no records of such questionings were kept.

Police confirmed two teargas canisters were thrown to disperse marching pupils in Quarry Road, Durban, yesterday.

Parents' groups and black organisations, including the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, and the Transvaal Medical Society, have condemned police action.

In other developments yesterday:

- The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, called on the Government to come forward with a new declaration of intent on issues affecting the black communities, then to determine who the effective leaders were and negotiate a new deal with them.
- The general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, warned the Government it could expect a repeat of the 1976 riots if it continued to treat the coloured schools issue with threats and detentions.

To Page 2

Indians and whites swell protest ranks

● The Black Sash announced it would hold a silent protest outside the University of the Witwatersrand fountains in response to the boycotts and as a protest against this week's detentions of black consciousness leaders

● The rector of the coloured University of the Western Cape, Professor Richard van der Ross, said pupils must return to classes if the Government was prepared to look at their grievances

The police spokesman in Pretoria said the biggest protest marches and rallies were held in the Cape Peninsula

In the **Transvaal**, about 500 Wits students staged a sit-in to show solidarity with the boycotts

Students at the Transvaal College of Education for Indians in Johannesburg joined the boycott and sent a letter to the Department of Indian Education setting out their demands

Indian pupils from Laudium High in Pretoria, Roodepoort High and Klerksdorp State High joined the protests

About 2 000 high school pupils in Lenasia, Johannesburg, continued their boycott Their action was endorsed by the People's Candidates Party.

At Eldorado Park, pupils refused entry to the Press, because, according to a pupil, "of the distorted reports which appeared yesterday, especially on television, in which it was said that we were stoning police — that is false" .

A meeting of 500 parents in Eldorado Park on Wednesday night conveyed the following resolution to the Minister of Police: "Jackboot tactics, are not conducive to peaceful change in South Africa."

Boycotts of classes continued at other coloured schools in

Page 1 from Page 1

Johannesburg, Eersterus, Randfontein and elsewhere

In **Natal**, more than 30 Durban schools, colleges and universities have joined the boycott in the past two days

Yesterday students from four Indian schools and a college tried to reach the University of Durban-Westville on foot and by bus, but returned to their institutions when confronted by police armed with batons and wearing teargas masks

About a third of the students at the University of Natal in Durban attended lectures, but the campus threatened to erupt into a major conflict between the ultra-conservative Society of Rhodesia and the Black Students' Society Conservative students ripped posters put up by progressive students

In Pietermaritzburg, about 700 Indian pupils joined the protests, which also spread to Ixopo High and the Sunningdale High in Eshowe

In the **Cape**, about 120 Rhodes University students boycotted scheduled lectures and arranged "alternative lectures"

A meeting of about 2 000 parents in the Belville South area expressed solidarity with the students' call for non-racial education and their other demands

Meanwhile, Dr Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said the boycott was symptomatic of a whole range of underlying and legitimate grievances

"These have been articulated time and time again inadequate education, no effective political participation, poor community life and facilities," he said

Dr Slabbert confirmed he had asked for an appointment with the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, to express the PFP's concern at the possibility of the boycott intensifying and spreading, and to urge the Minister to see to it that action from his department should not contribute to it

"It is quite apparent to me that compared to 1976, there is a completely different approach to the whole problem of riot and crowd control I am pleased extensive use is being made of riot control gear, which reduces the possibility of injury on all sides," he said

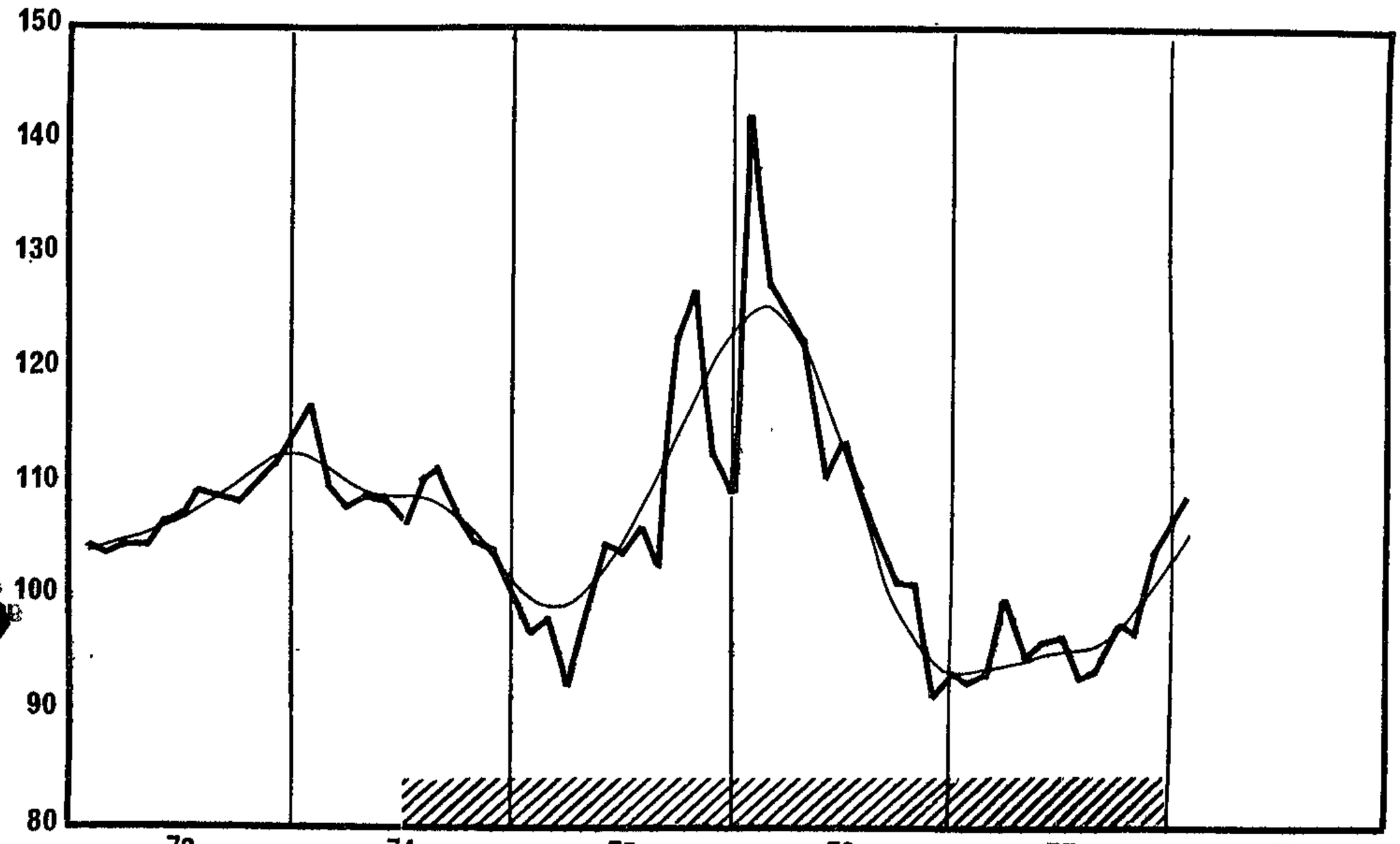
Meanwhile the non-racial Transvaal Independent Rugby Football Union (Tirfu), which is affiliated to the anti-apartheid SA Rugby Union, announced it would cancel all 13 fixtures scheduled for tomorrow as a gesture of solidarity with the students

It seems likely that this decision will be followed by other affiliates of Saru The Tirfu's president, Mr Ebrahim Patel, is also secretary of the national organisation

Speaking for the Tirfu, he said last night "Apart from the merits of the issue [illegible] I don't believe that , as adults have a moral right to indulge in sport or any other recreation while our children have taken issue with the Government."

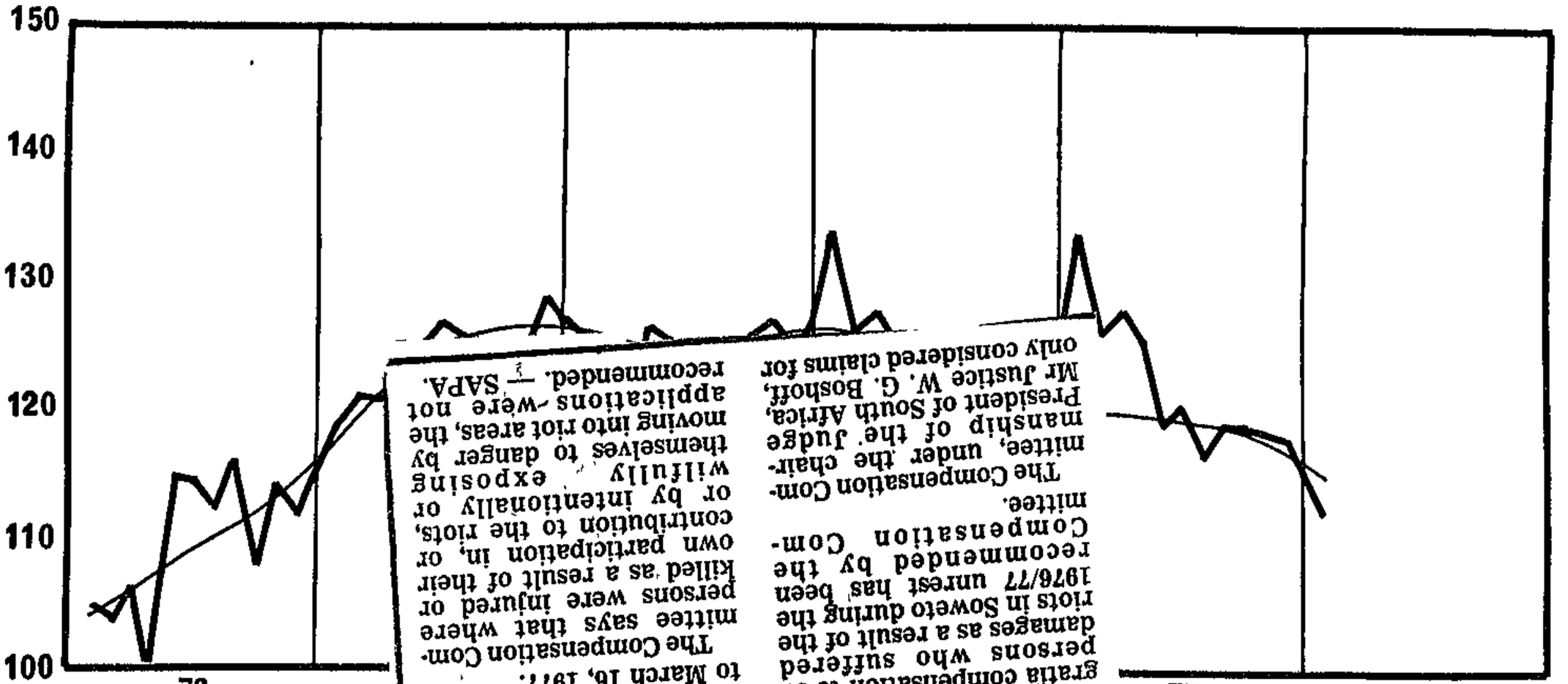
Expressing concern at police action, a spokesman for the Transvaal Medical Society, which represents black doctors and other medical staff — and supports the boycotts — said, "These demonstrations have been non-violent and are a response to the unequal and inferior educational systems for blacks "

Volume of furniture sales S Adj



Latest month	Jan	86,9	% Change	Latest 3 months	11,8	Compared to same period one year ago
Seasonally adjusted		108,8		Year to date	17,4	

Volume of sales by chemists S Adj



Latest month Jan

Seasonally adjusted

is -5,3] Compared to same period one year ago
-6,5]

1976 riots: R108 396 compensation urged

THE ASSEMBLY — Payment of R108 396 in ex-gratia compensation to 31 persons who suffered damages as a result of the riots in Soweto during the 1976/77 unrest has been recommended by the Compensation Committee.

The Compensation Committee, under the chairmanship of the Judge President of South Africa, Mr Justice W. G. Boshoff, only considered claims for damages suffered in riotous situations during the period June 16, 1976, to March 16, 1977.

The Compensation Committee says that where persons were injured or killed as a result of their own participation in, or contribution to the riots, or by intentionally or wilfully exposing themselves to danger by moving into riot areas, the applications were not recommended. — SAPA.

R108 000 to be paid out in riot compensation

STAR 25/4/80 27C

THE ASSEMBLY — A Compensation Committee has recommended ex-gratia payments totalling R108 000 to 31 people who suffered injuries and personal grief through actions of State employees in riots in Soweto and other townships.

In a report tabled in Parliament, the committee says in cases where the persons responsible were not State employees, payment was not recommended because these cases fell outside the scope of the Indemnity Act.

Amounts which the committee recommends should be paid out range from R80 to R20 000. In many cases the amounts recommended are a small fraction of the amount claimed.

The committee, headed by Mr Justice W G Boshoff, Judge President of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, only considered claims for damages suffered in riots between June 16 1976 and March 16 1977

Where people were injured or killed as a result of their own participation in the riots or intentionally or wilfully exposed themselves to danger, the applications were not recommended.

No recommendations were made concerning damage to property. A total of 67 such claims were made to the committee.

It received 83 applications for compensation for injuries and personal grief.

In 31 cases the committee recommended the payment of ex-gratia compensation.

In assessing the amounts payable, the committee bore in mind that:

- "Because of the subjective nature of pain and suffering, injured persons are apt to exaggerate."
- "The courts have accepted in principle that compensation for general damages should be assessed conservatively.
- "The amounts to be assessed were for ex-gratia payment."

Argus 25/4/80

They are tired of inferior education

CONSIDERING this latest dissatisfaction among our non-white pupils and students, I feel that every parent should take the same stand as their children

These young people are tired of inferior education, and it is because of the will to learn and to better themselves that they are actually rebelling against the low standard of education which is being given to them.

Why must their education fall under the Department of Coloured Affairs?

Why not directly under the Department of Education, the same as the white schools?

And why separate syllabuses? Surely these children have the right to the same standard of education as their white counterparts

Is this the reason why our non-white school leavers cannot get jobs — inferior educational qualifications?

In other words is it, 'keep their standard of education down, and they'll never qualify for certain positions, which by right must be kept for our white children'

H R NEETHLING

Atlantis

Payouts likely for 274 victims

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Payment of R108 396 in ex gratia compensation to 31 people who suffered damages as a result of the riots in Soweto during the 1976/77 unrest has been recommended by the compensation committee.

A list of names and particulars of the claimants were tabled in the Assembly yesterday by the Minister of Justice, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch.

The compensation committee, under the chairmanship of the Judge President of South Africa, Mr Justice W G Boshoff, considered claims only for damages suffered in riotous situations during the period June 16, 1976 to March 16, 1977.

The biggest payments recommended by the compensation committee were those to N Molefe (R15 000), S Dube (R15 000), R Molapo (R20 000), S J Mosia (R30 000), R Nkosi (R12 000) and M Ngubane (R10 000).

No payment

The list tabled also gave the names of 52 claimants in respect of whom the compensation committee did not recommend ex gratia payments.

L Kgang had claimed R93 000, E M Mthethwa, R80 500, S B Baron R70 300, C Mphaki R50 000, Z T Mtenyana R45 000 and R Edelstein R42 350.

There were also other lesser claims ranging from R22 000 down.

The compensation committee says that where people were injured or killed as a result of their own participation in or contribution to the riots, or by intentionally or wilfully exposing themselves to danger by moving into riot areas, the applications were not recommended.

Property

The list also contains the names and particulars of claimants whose claims were based on damage to property and in respect of which the compensation committee has made no recommendations.

There were 67 claims in this category, the highest being R156 319 submitted by the Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Highveld Area.

A certain M T Rambau had claimed R115 000, D A S Mmesi had claimed R104 000 and I T Sitshongave R80 000.

The other claims ranged from R44 000 down.

In assessing the amounts payable the committee bore in mind that:

- Because of the subjective nature of pain and suffering injured people are apt to exaggerate;
- The courts had accepted in principle that compensation for general damages should be assessed conservatively; and
- The amounts to be assessed were for ex gratia payment.

— Sapa

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES

GENERAL

26 April 1980 — 31 MAY 1980

Students debate whether to end boycott

DD 26/4/80

274

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CAPE TOWN — The nationwide school boycott quietened yesterday with students debating whether to resume classes on Monday.

At John Bisseker High School in East London, the students held a meeting and it is believed they failed to take a decision on whether to continue the boycott.

In Cape Town, representatives from Cape schools and educational institutions meet today to decide whether to continue the boycott.

Pupils at several schools say they will stand by the decision taken by their representatives at today's meeting.

In Johannesburg, the boycott entered its sixth day and was still spreading.

In Durban, police yesterday effectively put a stop to protest marches by manning school gates.

Police and security policemen were posted at schools in Wentworth, Merebank, Isipingo and Chatsworth.

Meanwhile, there was growing reaction to the boycott.

The Transvaal Association of Teachers claimed yesterday 44 students — 31 of them girls — were injured in clashes between police and boycotting students in Eldorado Park this week.

The association condemned "the intimidatory arrogance implicit in the threat by the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn, to close schools."

"So-called Coloured schools are threatened with closure, and teachers with what? Mr Steyn does not give a sign that he appreciates the aspirations of millions of fellow South Africans," the statement said.

The Regional Board of Education for Coloureds in Transvaal has called on Mr Steyn to resign.

"This board rejects out of hand Coloured education and requests that it be transferred to the Department of National Education.

"The board finds the Minister's threat to close down schools irresponsible and feels it is aggravating the situation."

In Cape Town, the 137-member Black Staff Association at the University of the Western Cape expressed their support for the students.

The association said education was the inalienable right of all people.

"We reject the dehumanising and oppressive system of education which is rooted in the political and economic system of the South African society," the statement said.

Black students at the University of Stellenbosch have also expressed solidarity with the students' grievances.

The Nederduits-Gereformeerde Sendingskerk announced it had received assurances from the Minister he would do everything possible to ensure that Coloured education was equal to the best in the country.

In Durban, church leaders and University of Natal staff pledged support for the students. — DDC-SAPA.

AND THE FEELINGS — THAT LED TO THE SCHOOLS CRISIS

Planning a protest — a conference by candlelight

By MARIAN SHINN

I SAT in this week on one of the "underground" meetings called by Coloured students to discuss strategy for continued boycotts and protests against their education system.

To be there, as I was for close on three hours, was to get a first hand impression of the extent of their grievances

And I came away with a second lasting impression the remarkable calm with which they discussed their problems and the sense of responsibility with which they made their demands for action

There they were about 15 students, huddled together in the dull glow of gaslight and candlelight in an old house at the end of a rutted road

Cars were parked as inconspicuously as possible to throw off snoopers — and there had been a sudden change of rendezvous

This was precision planning, just as you might see it in a good spy movie, but here although the atmosphere was murky, the setting was not deliberate — for Coloured people just happen to survive in murky and underprivileged conditions

It's as simple as that

Inside the house the students spoke earnestly and quietly about the boycott of their schools, which was to form part of the next day's public rally

But immediately the problems arose the fear of being identified as "agitators" to the police, the reluctance to appoint themselves as leaders, concern for their parents, the difficulty of meeting, without violence, whatever the authorities threw at them And that they — the students — should not get hurt, or place the lives of others in danger

The meeting I attended took place the night before the Eldorado Park rally, where the pupils of Kliptown High and Eldorado Park High were to meet students marching from Lenasia

Fresh in their minds was the news that police had used teargas in Cape Town and that Mr Marais Steyn, on TV, had blamed 'agitators"

The students were almost beside themselves with frustration when they heard that

Why was he trying to play it down? they asked Could he not see the validity of what they were asking for?

Were they not getting through to him, or was he deliberately brushing them off

In all boycotts and rallies, they emphasised activity must take place on school property, from which the police could be barred by the principal

They continually stressed that "the police will try to provoke us into violence'

The students repeatedly referred to police activity in relation to their demonstrations as 'intimidation

There was advice in case the police used teargas on the rally — which they did Make for the nearest water and wash your face

They discussed how to cope with the situation if students were hurt or arrested

Ideas on distributing pamphlets, without the police being able to single out and 'intimidate" the students concerned, were tossed about

Those at the meeting would spread the word to students at their schools not to split up or move away in ones and twos for fear of being picked up by the police

Arrangements were made to get a public address system they could work off a car battery, just in case the power was cut off

They insisted there was no communication between student groups in the different



© Protesting students meet to air their grievances

Students vote to continue boycott another week

CAPE TOWN — Representatives from 80 Western Cape schools and educational institutions decided at the weekend to continue the boycott of classes this week.

At a four-hour long meeting in Athlone, they decided the boycott would continue "until there is tangible evidence that our grievances are to be redressed."

The Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, last week agreed to discuss grievances listed by students and pupils on condition that they returned to school by today, and warned schools would be closed if they did not.

Mr Steyn was quoted in a Sunday paper as saying it was not a threat.

"We are not threatening but will have to look carefully at the matter.

"We cannot spend millions every day while classes stand empty. Also, the futures of high school pupils are at stake."

In a statement issued after the meeting on Saturday, students said that instead of their grievances being redressed, "our approaches have been met with absolute arrogance on the part of the authorities."

"During 1976, the students revolted against inferior education system and similar promises — as are now being made by Mr Steyn — that the situation would be rectified once order had been restored at the schools were then also made" the statement said.

"After four years, nothing has been done and the situation has deteriorated instead.

"It would be naive to think we would allow ourselves to be bluffed a second time."

They said they "deplored the detention of fellow students and those who have identified with our grievances."

The meeting also resolved to organise massive placard demonstrations at central venues on a regional basis this week.

"We call on the police to refrain from provocation action, since we have committed ourselves to peaceful protests," the statement said.

In Durban, students packed the main hall at the University of Durban-Westville to protest against separate education.

About 50 white students from the University of Natal attended "to show that although we are part of the privileged sector, we are right behind you in your boycott."

Mr Chris Swart, president of the University of Natal's SRC, said in his address to the students he spoke on behalf of 1 500 students who had attended a protest meeting on Wednesday.

"We support the student boycott, and we stand behind you, fighting with you for justice in education and in all other spheres."

Calls of "usuthu", and "power" accompanying clenched fist salutes answered the speakers throughout the meeting.

The master of ceremonies pointed out that whites, too, had reason to boycott lectures, as their education was not preparing them correctly.

"It is not education. It is indoctrination."

Pupils turned away from the University of Durban-Westville took full advantage of their situation and swore at any white faces around. Those were policemen, pressmen and photographers. — DDC-SAPA.

32 Pupils held in police clash

(274) RDM 28/4/80.

By EMIELIA JAROSCHEK
Crime Reporter

THIRTY-TWO scholars — part of a crowd of more than 100 people heading for the unveiling of Solomon Mhalangu's tombstone — were arrested outside the administration offices in Mamelodi yesterday.

The scholars were arrested during a brief clash with police in which the youths threw stones, a spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said yesterday.

One of the stones hit a policeman in the face.

Colonel D Coetzee said police met the students at the administration offices after hearing they intended forcing cars and taxis to drive them to the Attridgeville graveyard.

Two journalists, Mr Willie Bokala of the Post and Mr Willie Nkosie of the Star were also arrested.

Col Coetzee said police did not use teargas, battons or guns while making their arrests.

He said the arrested scholars, aged between 18 and 20, were being detained in Mamelodi and would appear in court today.

100 pupils arrested — 12 charged

Argus 29/4/80

JOHANNESBURG — One hundred pupils of the coloured high school at Kokstad have been arrested and held for questioning, according to an SABC television newscast monitored here.

Twelve of the pupils have been charged and are due to appear in court today.

According to the police, the pupils took part in a protest march, set fire to grass in the school grounds and broke school windows.

All but 300 of the 1 400 pupils at the Dr Blok High School at Heidedal, Bloemfontein returned to their classes yesterday.

UNDERSTANDING

Mr Percy Murison, principal said a delegation composed mainly of matric pupils had given him an undertaking that the boycott would end completely today.

This was promised after pupils learnt last week that a second high school for coloured pupils was a top priority in Bloemfontein.

Pupils who did not attend classes yesterday sat in the school grounds demanding written proof of the Government's intentions.

'Pupils who do not return to their classes could face action by the authorities that might include expulsion,' Mr Murison said.

HOSTEL FOR 300

Mr Selwyn Ewertse, a spokesman for the eight-pupil delegation, said if no progress had been made with new facilities and contacts with authorities by July or August the boycott might resume.

The pupils have asked the Government to give attention to the building of a new high school with 12 classrooms and a hostel for 300 pupils a teachers' training college, bursaries, the lack of textbooks, the ending of double shifts at primary schools and better library and laboratory facilities.

Parents are forming action committees in all centres to support their children's stand against 'apartheid-orientated discriminatory education. — Sapa and AB.

DD 29/4/80 (274) (257) (50) (52)

Four more held as boycott spreads

JOHANNESBURG — At least four more people have been detained and nine arrested as the Coloured and Indian school boycott entered its second week yesterday with protests spreading to black schools in Mamelodi.

Boycotts also spread to more Indian schools in Pretoria, Pietersburg and East London, and parents' committees have been formed in different parts of the country to back their children's protests against unequal education

In the Pretoria township of Mamelodi, about 1 500 pupils from four schools were sent home after a protest march disrupted classes. Nine people were arrested and are expected to appear in court today.

Sapa reports that students in Mamelodi said their protest was in sympathy with the Coloured and Indian school boycott and the 32 people arrested on Sunday.

The 32 were said to have clashed with police while on their way to the unveiling of a tombstone for Solomon Mahlangu, who was executed for his part in the Goch Street shooting in 1977.

The Mamelodi protest is believed to be the first in which black school pupils have come out in support of Coloured and Indian pupils. Until now, black protests have been mainly by university students.

A spokesman for the police directorate of public relations said five of the nine held in Mamelodi yesterday were not adults "About 15 youths allegedly threw stones at the schools and instigated pupils to boycott classes," the spokesman said

Among those detained in the past two days are two members of the Black Students' Society at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr David Jonson and Mr Hanif Vally — a former Internal Security Act detainee in 1977 — Mr Thomas Marsh, a student at the Coloured Rand College of Education, and a Post journalist, Mr Kingdom Lolwane.

Community leaders said at least three more Coloured students were detained last week and released at the weekend

The boycott of classes throughout the Cape Peninsula continued yesterday Pupils and students held mass meetings at their schools and colleges where they plannned regional placard demonstrations.

This was a sequel to the decision taken by representatives of 78 schools and educational institutions at the weekend to stage placard demonstrations tomorrow.

At a number of schools, teachers and principals expressed their solidarity with pupils.

Principals and teachers representing schools in the Elsies River area yesterday released a statement which said. "We support all pupils and students in their opposition to the present political dispensation which is the basis of their grievances.

"We reject the contention that pupils and students cannot think for themselves and that they are the victims of agitators "

At the University of Cape Town yesterday, a mass meeting of more than a thousand students resolved to support the boycott by staying away from lectures for this week.

Hundreds of pamphlets calling on white pupils to show support for the nation-wide boycott were distributed at white schools throughout the Peninsula yesterday.

The pamphlets urge white pupils to understand the black pupils' grievances so as to educate themselves to serve all South Africans and not just a small minority

In Port Elizabeth, the boycott of classes by Coloured high school pupils eased yesterday when only about a third of pupils stayed away.

The East Cape regional inspector, Mr D. A J Crafford, said he could not give figures for last week, but said attendance yesterday was better than on Friday. He said 2 213 pupils, out of a total of more than 6 000 failed to attend classes yesterday.

He did not know what steps would be taken to get the pupils back into their classes.

Yesterday all Paterson High School and Gelvandale Senior Secondary School pupils returned to classes

But a near total boycott of classes continued at the David Livingstone Senior Secondary School, the John Walton Senior Secondary School in Uitenhage, the Chatty Senior Secondary School in Port Elizabeth, the Mary Waters Senior Secondary School in Grahamstown, the Uitenhage Senior Secondary School, the John Bisseker Senior Secondary School in East London, and the Spandau Senior Secondary School in Graaff-Reinet, Mr Crafford said

At other Port Elizabeth schools attendance varied. At Dower Training College 60 per cent of students were in class.

There was also a division of pupils at the Arcadia Senior Secondary School and the Bethelsdorp Senior Secondary School.

In Grahamstown all 476 pupils boycotted classes at the Mary Waters Senior Secondary School. — DDC

74,57 29: 1035 52%

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ARNING

No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed

Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator

No part of an answer book is to be torn out.

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Stern warning as hundreds arrested

(274) (50) (327) RDM 30/4/80.



POLITICAL STAFF

AS THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, issued a stern warning on the schools boycott, trouble again flared in Johannesburg when police baton-charged and arrested hundreds of coloured pupils who had gathered at Westbury High School yesterday.

And last night, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, led a deputation to the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange about the mass arrests in Johannesburg

Mr Le Grange promised Dr Slabbert, who was accompanied by MPs Mrs Helen Suzman and Mr Ray Swart, that he would investigate reports of serious unrest baton charges and the mass arrests

At least six people were treated for injuries, and more than 700 pupils began appearing in groups in court in Newlands, Johannesburg late yesterday afternoon under the Riotous Assemblies Act after the Westbury clash.

The hearings were expected to last until late into the night

73 + 36 = 109 - 55 9



Riot police, armed with rifles and batons, stand by as crowds mill about after police broke up a protest meeting in the grounds of Westbury High School and arrested about 400 school children yesterday.

30/4/80

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● Speaking in Parliament, the Prime Minister warned that any extra-parliamentary action would be met with the full might of the State He included in this

To Page 2

The hearings were expected to last until late into the night

Parents were asked to stand behind their accused children, aged from 12 upwards, in court Cases were postponed until next next month and the children were released in the custody of parents or guardians

And while protests against the educational system continued in coloured and Indian schools throughout the country, a threatened mass boycott of classes in the Pretoria black township of Mamelodi flopped

Five youths were arrested in Mamelodi after they had thrown stones on a school roof, police said

In other developments.

● Six classrooms of a coloured school near Graaff-Reinet were razed by fire Police are investigating the possibility of arson.

● About 1 000 students staged a protest march on the University of Cape Town campus;

● Coloured and Indian students and pupils gathered at the University of Natal in Durban for a protest rally and a "Free Nelson Mandela" rally addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Miss Zinzi Mandela, daughter of the jailed ANC leader, and Mr George Sewpersadh, president of the Natal Indian Congress;

● About 40 senior pupils at the New Horizon School for the Blind in Maritzburg and Indian high school pupils in Standerton joined the boycott,

● Rand Daily Mail photographer Ralph Ndawo was held by police in Mamelodi and subsequently released,

The Argus

APRIL 30 1980

(274)

Awaiting an answer

THE Prime Minister has threatened tough action against the school boycotters. If the authority of the State is challenged, his Government will respond with all the powers at its disposal.

Of this, there can be no doubt. This is a Government that does not fear to use force. People organising the protest in which small children from the primary schools are beginning to take part, would do well to consider the possible consequences of raising the momentum of the boycott and the tension that hangs about it. The protest is not necessarily going to be more effective for being more eventful.

For its part, the Government has done nothing or even said nothing to suggest that it will have learnt anything from the boycott when it is over. This is the most mortifying aspect of the affair

In his speech in Parliament yesterday, Mr P W Botha showed that in his national strategy, in his 12-point plan, in his constitutional thinking there is no prospect of a significant change from policies that have landed the country in the existing schools crisis, and other troubles before this.

Separate development, the more refined version of apartheid, is all This is because the Afrikaner nation must have its right to self-determination and freedom. Nobody denies the Afrikaner his right of existence, but he may not and cannot exercise this right at the expense of the rights of other racial groups.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert put the question: Can the Afrikaner continue to live in South Africa without discriminating against another group?

South Africans, including many thousands of truant children, are awaiting the answer.

Parliament

Utmost restraint on unrest at schools —PW Botha

Argus 30/4/80

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Parliamentary Staff

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, indicated in the Assembly yesterday that instructions had been given for the utmost restraint to be exercised in dealing with any unrest at schools.

He was reacting by way of an interjection to an appeal from Mr Ray Swart (PFP, Musgrave) for handling the schools situation with care.

Speaking in the debate on the Prime Minister's budget vote, Mr Swart said there had been reports of mass arrests of young people and of baton charges by police.

WARNED

Mr Swart appealed to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Police to ensure that 'the utmost restraint' was exercised in dealing with the situation. The Prime Minister interjected: 'That is the instruction'.

Earlier in the debate, the Prime Minister referred to the schools issue and warned that the State would use 'all the power at its disposal' against those who challenged the authority of the State.

He said no state could allow the uniforms of schoolchildren to be used against its authority.

Mr Botha gave an assurance that the situation would be handled with circumspection, but warned that troublemakers were 'playing with fire' and would get hurt.

The Government knew who the troublemakers were. A few had been detained. There were still others, but the Government also knew who they were.

The Prime Minister said that if the Coloured Representative Council had done its work, many of the things that were wrong could have been put right. But instead CRC members had played politics.

The coloureds were inherently a peaceful people and coloured school children should go back to school, so that they could prepare themselves for their future, Mr Botha said.

Earlier in his address the Prime Minister urged that Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, to acknowledge that Parliament was the final authority and that no changes could be brought about without its assent.

'FOUGHT'

Mr Botha said any action outside Parliament to bring about change would be fought with all the power of the State.

This applied also to attempts that were being made outside Parliament 'to push the Government about' as in the case of the schools issue.

'I want to warn those people. They are going to get hurt and if there are some unfortunate consequences, they must not come with recriminations later,' Mr Botha said.

Schools' boycott: more held

DD 30/4/80 (257) (274)

JOHANNESBURG — There were more arrests, an incident of suspected arson and further violence as the countrywide schools' boycott continued yesterday.

Six classrooms of the Retief Gedenk Primary School at Klipplaat near Graaff-Reinet burned down early yesterday in the second fire at the school in less than a year

Mr D. A. J Crafford, the chief regional inspector of Coloured education for the Eastern Cape, said police were investigating the possibility of arson

He said the school, which was the only one at Klipplaat, had 12 classrooms, some of which were used for double shifts to accommodate the 612 pupils on the roll

Twelve people, including students and pupils, remained in detention throughout the country under the General Law Amendment Act, a police spokesman said yesterday in Pretoria

He declined to name the people

The spokesman said all those detained under the Criminal Procedures Act had been released

Meanwhile, a Wits university lecturer, Mr Mohammed Moosa, has been detained in the wake of countrywide swoops by Security Police

Police also raided the Orlando East home of Mr Jake Selebi, a former regional director of the banned South African Students' Organisation. Mr Selebi was not at home

Also detained yesterday was Mr Kingdom Lolwane, a reporter at Post

Mr Lolwane is the second Post reporter to be detained within three days The first was Mr Willie Bokala, who was arrested with a Star reporter, Mr Willie Nkosi

Police also detained Mr Hannif Valley, Mr David Johnson, chairman of the Black Students' Society at Wits, Mr Charles Peterson, Mr Rashid Lanie, chairman of the SRC at the Chris J Botha High School in Bosmont and his assistant. Mr Aziz Jardine

In Pretoria, classes at six black schools at Mamelodi township were disrupted when groups of black youths moved from school to school urging a boycott

In a clash at Newlands, the mood of sullen tension which prevailed during the boycott last week was re-awakened early yesterday as pupils and police confronted each other

There were reports of three baton charges, The Star newspaper reported.

Four high schools — Westbury, Coronationville, St Barnabas, and Christian Botha — took part in what was planned as a peaceful demonstration

Dr Jassat hit out strongly at police action against schoolchildren and appealed to students to support the pupils

In Durban, students of the University of Durban-Westville and some pupils from Indian and Coloured schools yesterday converged on the University of Natal for a protest rally

UDW students began arriving at the campus by bus early yesterday morning

A spokesman for the students said they would participate in "political lectures" and meetings with their white colleagues

They would also attend the "free Nelson Mandela" meeting at the university's students' hall

In Cape Town, more than 3 000 University of Cape Town students yesterday resolved to join the boycott

In another development, ministers of the NG Sendingkerk in Cape Town yesterday dissociated themselves from a statement by the moderamen of the Sendingkerk on the boycott of classes

After a meeting with the Minister of Coloured Relations last Wednesday, the moderamen issued an appeal for the resumption of classes after it had received an undertaking by Mr Steyn that he would do all possible to ensure that Coloured education was 'equal to the best in the land"

In a signed statement 11 ministers questioned the acceptance of a separate Coloured education policy and said the present boycott of schools was based on a demand for a single national education system in South Africa

"We wish to dissociate ourselves as members of our church from the statement issued by the moderamen last week in connection with the boycott of classes

"That statement disclosed an unbelievable lack of sensitivity to matters of importance to our community.

"Apparently the gentlemen do not know the issue involved in the boycott is not placing "Coloured education' on an equal footing with "the best in the country", but establishing a single national education system for all South Africans," the statement said — DDC-SAPA

Police arrest 100s of protesting students

JOHANNESBURG — As the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, issued a stern warning on the schools' boycott, trouble flared here again when police baton charged and arrested hundreds of Coloured pupils who had gathered at Westbury High School yesterday.

And last night, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, led a deputation to the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, in connection with the mass arrests

Mr Le Grange promised Dr Slabbert, who was accompanied by Mrs Helen Suzman and Mr Ray Swart, that he would investigate reports of serious unrest, baton charges, and the mass arrests.

At least six people were treated for injuries, and more than 700 pupils began appearing in groups in court late yesterday afternoon under the Riotous Assemblies Act after the Westbury clash The hearings were expected to last until late into the night.

Parents were asked to stand behind their accused children, aged from 12 upwards, in court. Cases were postponed until next month and the children were released into the custody of their parents or guardians.

Speaking in Parliament, the Prime Minister warned that any extra-parliamentary action would be met with the full might of the state He wanted to include in this all attempts to "push around" the government "behind the uniforms of schoolchildren".

Angry Coloured parents in western Johannesburg hit out at the police, claiming the baton charge was unprovoked, the children were chased into nearby homes and hit with batons, and adults were also struck.

Police have flatly rejected the claims, saying no violence was used and no one was hurt. Brigadier Theuns Swanepoel, who ordered the arrests, said police acted because the crowds kept growing at Westbury, where pupils from other schools had gathered

"I saw about 400 children at the school and



Children flee as police run in at Westbury High in Johannesburg yesterday.

900 Fingos out

GRAHAMSTOWN — All 900 pupils at the Nyaluza High School in Fingo Village boycotted classes yesterday and handed a memorandum of grievances to their headmaster, Mr S K. Ngqangweni.

Mr Ngqangweni said pupils had attended early morning assembly and prayers but then refused to move to their classrooms

They gathered on the school's tennis court and remained there until lunchtime, when they quietly walked home

Spokesmen for the students said they would continue the boycott until radical changes had been made in black education They said their protest would be peaceful and orderly and all pupils would come to school each day, although they would not attend classes.

The memorandum of grievances was handed by the headmaster to Mr S J de Beer, an administrative assistant in the circuit inspector's office here

Mr De Beer said he had notified his head office.

"I have no idea what they are doing or why they are doing it but I will say this They are the only losers."

Among the main grievances listed by the Nyaluza pupils are their rejection of ethnic and segregated schools, which they say ensures an inferior education. — DDC

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30/4/80

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not going to wait for the crowd to build up to say 10 000. We felt we could not let any more get through — enough was enough," Brig Swanepoel added.

A spokesman for the SAP directorate of public relations denied in Pretoria that police actions were unprovoked.

But parents insisted the attack was unprovoked A local resident, Mrs Gairoon Johannes, said five children, all aged about 14, ran into her house looking for shelter

She said she locked the door, but police threatened to break it down if she did not open it "When I opened the door they barged in and began hitting the children Then they took them away," she said

At John Bisseker High School, East London, where a staff meeting had decided that teachers should report to their classes to continue lessons, there were no pupils to teach.

Pupils marched around the schoolgrounds in their hundreds singing freedom songs.

At the East London High School, the number of demonstrating students almost doubled yesterday and pupils continued their peaceful placard protest — DDC-DDR

More arrests, page 13.

Teachers vote to join boycott

CAPE TOWN — Teachers here are threatening to strike in sympathy with their students in the country-wide boycott.

A recommendation was passed by more than 1 200 teachers at a meeting in Athlone to "down tools" in support of boycotting pupils.

The recommendation, which will be considered today by an ad hoc committee of teachers representing more than 100 schools, would involve thousands of primary schoolchildren in the unrest which has disrupted black schools, universities and other educational institutions during the last two weeks.

Some teachers told the meeting they had already refused to give any further lessons and "perpetuate gutter education."

A primary school teacher said she had stopped giving lessons on Monday and was devoting the time to "enlightening" her pupils about the situation

The meeting unanimously supported a declaration issued by Hewat Training College lecturers and students which said that they completely identified with those striving towards a single "non-discriminatory and non-racial educational system."

The declaration rejected an educational system along ethnic lines.

More than 70 principals met the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, his deputy, Mr S. F. Kotze, and departmental officials yesterday

The Minister reportedly tried to persuade the principals to use their influence to end the boycott. The principals insisted they could not act as the government's agents in trying to end the boycott.

Meanwhile, the boycotts continued amid more arests and court appearances.

In Pretoria, the regional vice-president of the Congress of South African Students' (Cosas), Mr Ntoampe Veli Mampuru, and six other students were arrested

In Johannesburg, altogether 854 pupils from four Coloured high schools appeared in court on charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act

They were not asked to plead and were released into the care of their parents, guardians or teachers They are due to appear on May 13.

As an uneasy calm fell over Johannesburg following the court appearances, clashes betweenpolice and black students occurred at KwaMashu near Durban

Police used teargas to disperse a large crowd made up of pupils from various schools in KwaMashu

A spokesman for the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria said he could not confirm or deny that police had used teargas to disperse the pupils

The KwaZulu Minister of Education, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, refused to comment because he did not have full details

The situation at other schools in and near Durban was quiet, but more than 1 000 students gathered on the University of Durban/Westville campus

There were no incidents at schools in both the Transvaal and the Cape, and police generally kept a low profile

In Lenasia, the boycott continued and hundreds of riot police vans were reported to be parked around the township.

Allegations by parents of boycotting children that police did not allow the children to be treated after being assaulted were denied by police

The police public relations officer at John Vorster Square, Maj Fred Bull, said a district surgeon was in attendance in case people sustained injuries

At least six children and a bystander were treated and discharged from Coronationville Hospital after police baton-charged pupils at Westbury High School

In Johannesburg, pupils from three schools held a peaceful mass rally at an Eldorado Park school.

Attendance at Coloured schools on the East Rand yesterday dropped to about 30 per cent

The Divisional Commissioner on the East Rand, Brig Ben Pieterse, said very few pupils at the three schools in Boksburg, Springs and Nigel turned up for classes.

Scholars at four Coloured senior secondary schools and the Perseverance Training college in Kimberley continued with their peaceful boycott of classes yesterday. There were no reported incidents

In Cape Town, thousands of students gathered at regional venues in the first mass protest rallies held since the start of the unrest

Teachers, most of whom accompanied their pupils to the rallies, reported that their activities were disciplined and orderly.

Police vans and plainclothes policemen stationed around the schools and the University of the Western Cape kept a low profile.

At Grassy Park High School, about 3 000 pupils from Parkwood High School, Zeekoevlei High School and Grassy Park marched around the school.

A pupil stood in the centre of the school grounds, directing the march with a loud hailer. "Officials," wearing white arm bands, stood at intervals on the route of the marching pupils, ensuring that order was maintained.

One pupil carried a placard with a picture of the black consciousness leader, Steve Biko. A huge banner saying: "In silence we suffered, in patience we bore gutter education We want no more," hung across the front of the school

Thousands of University of Western Cape students and pupils from Bellville South schools staged a demonstration at the entrance to the university

Several primary schools, including two primary schools in Bellville South, Blomvlei Primary School in Hanover Park, and Thornton Primary School in Athlone, joined in the boycott yesterday.

About 4 000 University of Cape Town students boycotted lectures yesterday.

The Lecturers' Association representing non-professional academic staff issued a statement in support of the boycott. — DDC-SAPA

... liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

BD 11/5/80 (324) (274)

300 teachers support extra-mural boycott

EAST LONDON — A meeting of about 300 teachers came out in strong support of a boycott of extra-mural school activities to resolve the present salary crisis here last night

The meeting of the East London branch of the South African Teachers' Association passed a motion calling on the General Committee of SATA to adopt a militant stand and formulate a plan of action

If salary negotiations with the government got "bogged down" this plan of action could be implemented immediately by the General Committee without further meetings of teachers' associations, the motion read

The motion also stated that the meeting supported the principle of a boycott of extra-mural activities by teachers with immediate effect

SATA branches throughout the Cape held discussion meetings on the salary issue last night and the president of the local branch, Mr Tony Britton, said after the meeting here he expected the General Committee, which is the executive body of the association, would call an emergency meeting to consider motions passed by its various branches

It emerged clearly from the meeting here last night that teachers are deeply dissatisfied with the salary increases granted by the government

Mr Britton said teachers felt strongly about the general impression created in recent times that teachers were "earning a tremendous salary for a five-hour job"

Last night's meeting passed another motion in which teachers expressed their support for the Federal Council of Teachers' Associations in its salary negotiations and for its request to the Prime Minister to appoint a Presidential Commission to investigate the state of education in the country

A further motion passed demanded that

The Minister of Education acquaint himself fully with conditions of service for teachers and the prevailing situation in education,

The representatives of the Federal Council be given sufficient time on television to correct the mistaken impressions regarding teachers' salaries which have been passed to the public,

The Federal Council sustain pressure on the government, and if necessary, recommend to the teachers a bold course of action, until such time as significant changes have been effected and not merely promised, and that

Progress of the negotiations be made known to teachers privately and as frequently as possible

The motion also expressed dismay and disapproval of certain "unprofessional" statements made by the Minister of Finance, and said pressure for parity of salary between men and women teachers would continue.

Teachers resolved that this motion was vital in the light of the widespread disappointment with salary adjustments and the apparent lack of sympathy from government circles

The unprofessional way in which teachers learnt of the adjustments via the press and the misleading statements made by the news, media, particularly television, regarding the actual salary increases further necessitated the motion, teachers said — DDR

Steyn says he'll act on grievances

Political Staff

THE Minister of Coloured Relations and of Indian Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn, said in Bloemfontein yesterday immediate steps would be taken to investigate the grievances of coloured pupils and make the necessary accommodations

Meanwhile, violence yesterday again flared in the black township of KwaMashu, near Durban, when hundreds of pupils continued their schools boycott.

Police appealed to the KwaZulu Government to intervene after hundreds of pupils went on the rampage.

Vehicles were stoned and several windows were broken at a school where pupils refused to join the boycotts. Teargas was used to disperse demonstrators

A busdriver was slightly hurt but no other injuries or arrests were reported

The KwaZulu Government has appealed to pupils return to classes

Mr Steyn, speaking after talks with six coloured pupils from the Dr Blok High School and members of the Free State Regional Coloured Board, said he felt more had been achieved during the talks than in months of dispute.

He had learnt much about problems of school children in the Free State and would try to set matters right on the highest level when he returned to Cape Town

Sapa reports from Pretoria that classes were disrupted at several black schools in Atteridgeville and Saulsville yesterday.

In Johannesburg, more than 800 pupils from three schools attending a rally in Eldorado Park yesterday dispersed when asked to do so by a principal who had consulted with Colonel M J Botes, District Commandant for Soweto

Earlier the pupils rejected a proposal to send representatives to the Minister. They said they were all representatives and the boycott was their most effective way of expressing their grievances

Last night, Transvaal coloured and Indian parents' committees were to meet in Johannesburg to decide on co-ordinated action to support their children.

In some parts of Natal and in Port Elizabeth, more pupils were reported to have returned to classes.

For the first time, thousands of primary school children in the Cape Peninsula stayed away from classes yesterday in a token one-day protest in sympathy with coloured and Indian high schools

In the Free State attendance is back to normal

No to parents' meeting in EL

EAST LONDON — The student boycott in Port Elizabeth has drawn to a close but is continuing in other parts of the Eastern Cape.

At John Bisseker Senior Secondary School here, about 700 pupils continued their protest in the schoolgrounds carrying placards and singing freedom songs.

It was learnt yesterday the Department of Coloured Affairs had refused permission for the school to call a meeting of parents to try to sort out the boycott.

Student sources said they might now try to organise a meeting themselves to explain to parents what the boycott was all about.

At the East London High School, students continued their placard protest in the schoolgrounds.

Port Elizabeth schools reported normal attendance yesterday and attendance also improved yesterday at the Mary Waters Senior Secondary School in Grahamstown with 70 per cent of the pupils back. But only 40 per cent attended classes. The rest refused to attend classes and were sent home.

The boycott continued yesterday at Nyaluza High School in Fingo Village.

Meanwhile in Cape Town, about 200 white pupils from 16 schools yesterday expressed their solidarity with boycotting pupils and elected a co-ordinating committee to organise "awareness programmes" at their schools.

The pupils met at the University of Cape Town and will have another general meeting next Friday.

Several speakers told the meeting that most of the pupils at their schools were afraid they would be victimised by the authorities or expelled if they attempted to boycott classes at their schools in sympathy.

One pupil was loudly cheered when she said: "The fear of these pupils overcomes their consciences We must arrange speakers at the schools to make their consciences stronger than their fears."

Professor Paul Hare from the UCT sociology department, the president of Nusas, Mr Andrew Boraine and a member of the ad hoc committee organising the UCT alternative programme, Mr Moeketsi Shai, addressed the meeting.

Prof Hare said while two out of every 100 white schoolchildren went to university, only one out of every 2 000 black children did.

While white pupils were being prepared for citizenship, blacks had the same political power when they were six as when they were 60, he said.

Mr Shai said the problems in black schools extended beyond shortages of text books and broken windows. He said the low wages earned by the pupils' parents made it very difficult for them to find money for books their children needed or to pay for extra facilities after they had paid rent and bought food. — DDC-DDR.

Students arrested, Page 9

Stoning incident on 5/5/80 may not lead to charges

Staff Reporter

FIFTEEN students, arrested at the University of the North (Turfloop) on Saturday after the start of the university's 21st anniversary celebrations was disrupted, may not be charged

Colonel W M van Zyl, the Lebowa Commissioner of Police, told the Rand Daily Mail yesterday that the students had only been questioned and then released A decision on whether or not to lay charges against them might be taken today.

The 15 were arrested after stone-throwing students disrupted a soccer game at the new sports complex on the campus Baton wielding police eventually restored order but the game was discontinued

The soccer game, while it lasted, featured Orlando Pirates and a local team, and was organised by the university authorities to mark the beginning of the university's 21st anniversary celebrations

Onginally, the celebrations had been planned to begin on March 21 this year when the sports complex was to be opened with two-day sports activities This was to be followed by the inauguration of a 2 000ha experimental farm, which has been given to the university by the Department of Co-operation and Development, on May 22

Other functions, marking the celebrations, were scheduled for September 22 when an education building complex would be inaugurated The celebrations were to close on October when a student centre for recreation was to be opened

But the programme for the celebrations, drawn late last year, was changed after the disturbances which erupted when the university began its 1980academic year following refusal by the university to readmit some students

The March 21 functions were changed to May 3 (last Saturday) because it was then believed by the university that students might have become calmer The change affected other programmes as well

Students have often claimed they were opposed to celebrations because they believed the University of the North had nothing to celebrate

Carrying placards and singing freedom songs, students stormed the stadium where Orlando Pirates was supposed to play a university team last Saturday

Throwing stones, they disrupted the games, with guests

After the games were disrupted, students regrouped and it was during that time that police, armed with batons, got to the scene

Professor William Kgware, rector of the university, has said that only about 200 students out of the 2 000-strong student body participated in the demonstration and caused the disruption of the function

School crisis: Botha steps in

CAPE TOWN — The Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, conceded yesterday that Coloureds had justifiable grievances in education and pledged to eliminate them.

He also indicated he may soon call for an in-depth investigation into education as a whole in South Africa.

Speaking at a press conference after urgent talks with the Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa, Mr Botha also pledged the government to the goal of equal education for all population groups

However, Mr Botha said the boycott "must end now" and stressed that "no government can allow a country and its pupils to be harmed by boycotts".

The boycott must end because the government could not tolerate any further waste of state and taxpayers' money.

If the boycott went ahead and teachers did not want to do their work, the resultant waste of money could not be tolerated by the government.

He intimated that if the boycott did not end, the schools would be closed.

Asked if he did not believe that placing all

education and I have pointed out to the federal council of the SATA that even as far as salaries are concerned we can no longer fragment education. It has to be approached as a whole."

Mr Botha said there had been areas of "consensus" reached with the Utasa delegation, which had been led by Mr Franklin Sonn, but frankly admitted there were matters "on which we disagreed".

The Secretary for Coloured Relations, Mr J. H. T. Mills, said there were a number of grievances which could be remedied immediately.

There were complaints regarding uniforms, school funds and school boards, but those were questions which could be decided on directly with principals and parents.

Immediate attention could be given to the problem of school books and in fact the Treasury had been requested to appropriate a further R1,6-million to put right distribution and financing

Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Grahamstown ended their boycott yesterday.

Principal of Mary Waters High School in Grahamstown, Mr M. Parsotam, said he was "most relieved".

Pupils at the Nathaniel Nyaluzu Secondary School in Grahamstown were still boycotting classes, the principal Mr N. Ngwanqweni, said yesterday.

Meanwhile, the former East Cape member of the Coloured Representative Council, Mr Dody Nash, has urged parents to find out what the grievances of their children are.

He said he had done a private mini-survey and was surprised parents said they did not know what was happening in the schools

"I urge the parents of school-going children to acquaint themselves with the grievances of the pupils and to decide for themselves whether the pupils have legitimate grievances"

As a parent with a son at university, he had investigated the grievances

Forty teachers defy ultimatum

EAST LONDON — Forty teachers at the John Bisseker Senior Secondary School here defied an ultimatum yesterday to go back to their classes and teach — or face dismissal.

The Department of Coloured Administration have now given the teachers until today to decide.

The teachers called an urgent meeting of the school committee last night to explain their stand and a spokesman for the committee, Mr Peter Mopp, said the committee stood by the pupils and teachers and condemned the attempt "to use the teachers as boycott busters."

The ultimatum from the chief inspector in the East Cape, Mr J. Crafford, was delivered by the circuit inspector, Mr H. Swinny

Mr Swinny was not available for comment last night and Mr Crafford's office said all comment had to come from the Director of Coloured

Outlining the events that led to the ultimatum, Mr Mopp said Mr Swinny met the teachers yesterday morning and gave them instructions to return to their classes and to teach — even if only one pupil was present.

After the meeting the teachers met to discuss the instruction and refused to return and came out in support of the pupils.

They met Mr Swinny later again with the student representative council, who told Mr Swinny they were not willing to call off the boycott until there was tangible evidence their grievances would be attended to.

In a joint statement with the teachers last night, Mr Mopp said the committee resented the manner of the ultimatum and were adamant they stood squarely behind the pupils.

"The teachers are also united in their stand and warned that any victimisation of [illegible] would

If the boycott went ahead and teachers did not want to do their work, the resultant waste of money could not be tolerated by the government.

He intimated that if the boycott did not end, the schools would be closed.

Asked if he did not believe that placing all education in South Africa under the umbrella of one Department of Education would be beneficial to everyone, Mr Botha said he did not believe this would be beneficial to all pupils.

"But I have an open mind on the matter, I am a layman in the field of education and it is something that I would allow a commission of inquiry, if I decide to appoint it, to explore

"Personally, I think it would be to the detriment of the Coloured people because then they will not receive the same specialised attention they are receiving at present."

This is the first time a senior Nationalist politician has publicly conceded that a single Department of Education for all race groups may be considered.

The Prime Minister formally stated that the government accepted a programme to attain the goal of equality in education for all population groups "as soon as possible within South Africa's economic means".

"My government and I are prepared to accept a programme whereby the goal of equality in education for all population groups can be attained as soon as possible within South Africa's economic means

"But I cannot take ad hoc decisions regarding boards, but those were questions which could be decided on directly with principals and parents.

Immediate attention could be given to the problem of school books and in fact the Treasury had been requested to appropriate a further R1,6-million to put right distribution and financing.

Meanwhile, the boycott continued in the East Cape, Western Cape and Johannesburg yesterday, but in Natal a committee representing 5 000 pupils and students decided to call off their boycott at midnight last night.

The boycott spread in East London to the Std 6 classes attached to the St John's Road Primary School

Pupils were dismissed early after some Std 6s refused to go back into the classes

The principal, Mr D. R Meinie, was not available for comment

The matter was discussed at the John Bisseker School committee meeting last night.

At the East London High School, the boycott also continued.

In Port Elizabeth, the principal of the Dower Training College, Mr E Fisher, said he had not received any departmental directive to expel boycotting students, but had been told to expect such a letter.

"I told the department our students had returned to classes of their own accord. They held their meetings last week and started to return on Thursday and Friday I'm glad they came back on their own I don't believe in coercion "

Senior secondary and high school pupils in Port was happening in the schools

"I urge the parents of school-going children to acquaint themselves with the grievances of the pupils and to decide for themselves whether the pupils have legitimate grievances."

As a parent with a son at university, he had investigated the grievances thoroughly

"And I have found they are definite real grievances and I want to commend the pupils for the way in which they have highlighted their grievances." — DDR

teachers as boycott busters."

The ultimatum from the chief inspector in the East Cape, Mr J Crafford, was delivered by the circuit inspector, Mr H. Swinny.

Mr Swinny was not available for comment last night and Mr Crafford's office said all comment had to come from the Director of Coloured Education in Cape Town, Mr H. Arendse.

But Mr Arendse refused to comment and referred inquiries to the Secretary for Coloured Education, Mr J H. Mills, who was not available for comment.

would be attended to.

In a joint statement with the teachers last night, Mr Mopp said the committee resented the manner of the ultimatum and were adamant they stood squarely behind the pupils.

"The teachers are also united in their stand and warned that any victimisation of individuals would lead to a mass walk-out "

"It must be realised it is virtually impossible to teach under the present conditions and the Prime Minister has said there are real grievances, the statement said — DDR

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Section

Fort Hare students and police clash

RD M 7/5/80

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Political Staff

STUDENTS at the University of Fort Hare yesterday boycotted classes and were dispersed by teargas, but the boycott seemed to have lost its impetus in in the country generally.

In Johannesburg most coloured and Indian pupils continued their stay-away from classes. They remained in their school grounds, however, and there were no incidents.

In the Western Cape, the boycott remained steady, but in a possible sign that it might be beginning to recede, Mr L Smith, chairman of the Teachers' Action Committee — formed to demonstate teacher support for the boycott — last night confirmed he had resigned.

The committee was formed at the weekend Mr Smith resigned because of a "difference of opinion" within the committee.

In Durban, coloured and Indian school pupils called off their 11-day boycott.

Sapa reports that police used teargas yesterday to disperse more than 1 000 studzents at the University of Fort Hare.

The students had boycotted class and were trying to march into the nearby town of Alice.

When classes were due to start, the students marched around the campus carrying placards and singing "freedom" songs. When they tried to leave the campus they were meet by police.

The students would boycott lectures for the rest of the week in sympathy with the coloured pupils, the acting rector of the university, Professor A. Coetzee said last night, but no action would be taken against them as they were not breaking any regulations.

The Fort Hare boycott was preceded by a student demonstration at the weekend at the University of the North, in which there was a clash between protesting students and baton-wielding police.

About 15 students were arrested but released after their names were taken

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about by the invisible hand. Price/wage flexibilites & interest rate movements would ensure this. The free enterprise system has a self regulating mechanism. When saving is not equal to investment the interest rate will fall so as to equate savings with investments. Interest rate changes will be smooth so as always to keep savings equal to investment. Thus the free enterprise system would ensure that aggregate demand 6½ would be brought into equilibrium with aggregate supply

Keynes disagreed with the Classical school. He said that ^demand created ^supply. He refuted the idea that supply and demand reacted the way the classical School predicted. His regulating mechanism to equate savings & investment was income fluctuations. He said that full employment with relatively stable prices was the accident rather than the norm. He stated that if you wanted to reach full employment the gap must be closed by you spending. It cannot be left up to the free enterprise system to close the gap.

WC students ignore expulsion threat

CAPE TOWN — The boycott of classes continued at schools and colleges throughout the Western Cape despite last week's threat from the Department of Coloured Relations that students at teachers' training institutions who did not return to "normal" scholastic activities by yesterday faced expulsion.

Principals of teachers' training institutions were informed on Friday that students who had not returned to classes yesterday faced expulsion and, in the case of teachers, charges of insubordination or misconduct

Students at the University of Cape Town returned to classes yesterday but the boycott continued at all other educational institutions.

Pamphlets distributed at schools and colleges this week announced that teachers and students would this week "decide jointly at every school how to implement the alternative education programmes."

According to the pamphlet, many important victories had already been won through the boycott.

These included unity between all students and pupils, the right to select Student Representative Councils at all schools, and "a relationship of support and identification between parents, students and teachers."

In Johannesburg Coloured school principals on the East Rand yesterday welcomed the Prime Minister's decision to appoint a commission of inquiry into the grievances of their pupils.

The Prime Minister's statement that he would consider investigating Coloured and Indian education has however, been viewed with caution on the West Rand

Teachers and student leaders were pleased that official recognition had been given to their grievances but they pointed to Mr Botha's track record of "unfulfilled promises"

Sapa reports that the schools' boycott in Natal was brought to an end at a rally at the University of Natal yesterday attended by more than 3 000 Indian, Coloured and Black children from all over Natal.

The vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Jerry Coovadia, said yesterday the return to schools and colleges was a conscious decision.

In Port Elizabeth staff at Dower Teachers' Training College have unanimously expressed their solidarity with student grievances, which led to a renewed boycott of lectures yesterday.

The vice rector, Mr W. M. Ross, said virtually all the students boycotted classes yesterday because of an instruction to teachers' college principals to expel boycotters or face dismissal themselves.

He said the 34 staff members were asked by the 540-strong student body to say where they stood on their grievances.

He said a joint meeting of students and staff condemned the threat by the administration to expel boycotting students and sack principals for not identifying them — DDC-SAPA

Pamphlets distributed [illegible] reading on the Examination Paper)

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Boycott slackens on Reef, in Natal

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Strong resistance against the schools boycott is building up among parents and teachers in Indian areas in the Transvaal.

Parents feel the boycott has achieved its objectives and principals have instructed staff to resume teaching — even if only to one child

Many Indian pupils are going back to school on the Reef, and pupils are also returning to coloured schools

The Department of Indian Affairs has announced that R140,4-million has been allocated to the Indian budget, of which R100 million will go towards education

This is an increase of 17,4 percent for Indian education

NOT SUPPORTED

A call yesterday for boycotts at the University of the North (Turfloop) failed to draw support from the main student body as a dispute between members of the Azanian Students Organisation and anti boycott elements entered its sixth day.

The Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr J E Nothling, has decided not to prosecute 711 schoolchildren and other people arrested by police at Westbury High School near Johannesburg on April 29

He said the problem which arose through their refusal to disperse on the order of the police had been resolved through their arrest

In Natal, all coloured classes are reported to be back to normal, and black schools in KwaMasha near Durban had an 85 percent attendance yesterday.

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CALLED OFF

The students of the University of Durban-Westville have called off their boycott and were due to return to classes today

However, students at the Medical College of the University of Natal yesterday decided to continue the boycott indefinitely

Many pupils at a black school in Grahamstown, the Ntsika Junior, joined the boycott which continues at Nathaniel Nyaluza school

The national chairman of the Black Sash, Mrs Joyce Harris said in a statement that no-one should mistake 'adjustments' made by the Government for real change.

21 arrested over student boycott

THE ASSEMBLY — The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, has confirmed that 21 people have been detained in connection with the school boycotts.

He declined however to disclose any details of the arrests.

The confirmation was contained in a written reply to questions by Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) tabled in the Assembly yesterday.

In reply to a question by Mr Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) Mr Le Grange confirmed he had requested a meeting last week with members of the Committee of 61, the body regulating the school boycotts.

Mr Le Grange said he requested the Committee of 61 to come to see him in an attempt to end the boycott. The committee, he said, had unfortunately declined the invitation.

● Last Thursday afternoon about 20 members of the Committee of 61 were fetched from their homes by security police and driven to a school in Athlone. A meeting between security police and pupils was held at which the children were told the Minister of Police would like to see them. — PS.

SCHOOL BOYCOTT

Indians join in

The schools boycott started by coloured students nearly three weeks ago has now spread to virtually all Indian schools (including some primary schools) around the country. The protest is against inequalities in the education system.

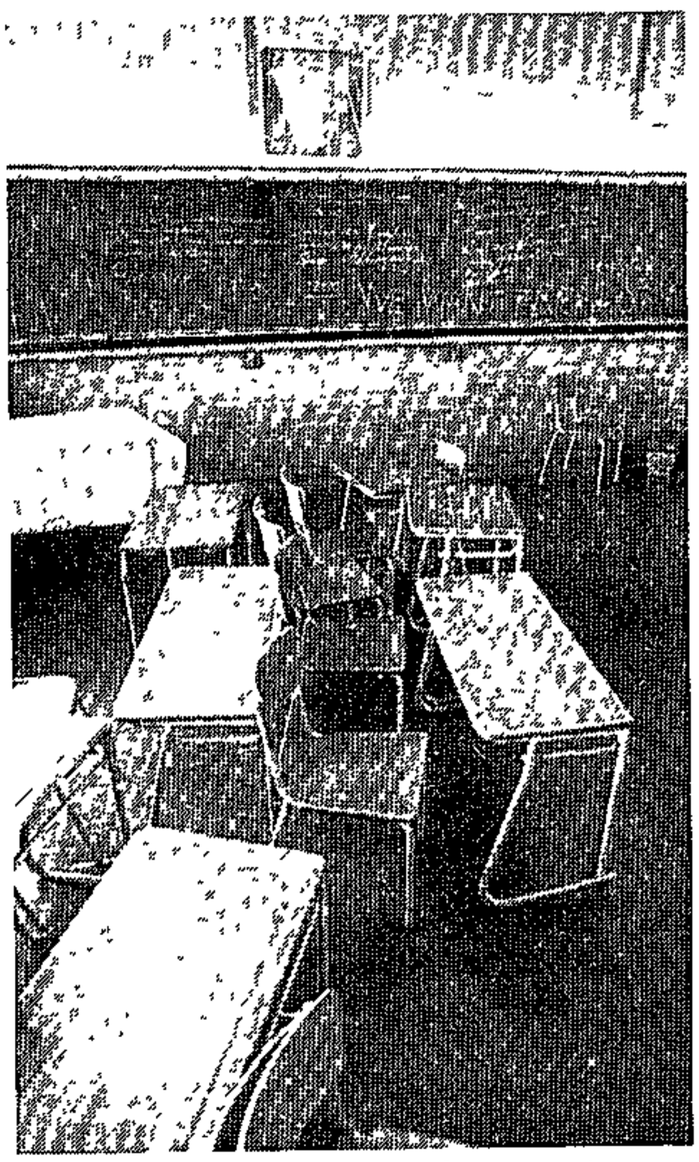
What began as an expression of solidarity with their coloured counterparts has gained a momentum all its own within the Indian community. 'Underlining this is resentment at the standard of Indian education and facilities when compared to white schools,' says the PFP's Ray Swart, who adds that the involvement of parents and children shows the depth of feeling and growing impatience.

More importantly for SA, the pervasiveness of the boycott, extending to "conservative" Indian areas like Pietersburg and Landdrum apart from Natal (including students at the University of Durban Westville and Wentworth Medical School) and Lenasia reflects the growing politicisation of the youth, and black solidarity across ethnic lines.

This week African students at Mamelodi schools staged a walkout in sympathy.

Clearly, the new generation of matriculants is set to be far more vociferous than their predecessors in their demands for equality of opportunity. In 1976, the protest against Bantu education in the black townships received limited support from only a handful of Indian schools. Just four years later, the climate of protest, although expressly peaceful, seems far more broadly based.

Students stress they don't necessarily want the kind of education that white schools receive, because "who is to say what they have is better?" However, they do call for equal government subsidies for all race groups in a universal, not ethnically separated, system of education.



Empty classroom . . . but most are serious

Government spending on each child's education for the different race groups for 1978-79 is: white R724 (R640), Indian R357 (R297), coloured R225 (R197), African R71 (R68). (The figures in brackets exclude capital spending.)

Among the grievances are that standards and facilities are not adequate to enable them to cope at university, that permits are required to attend white universities, teachers are low paid and sometimes unqualified.

The boycott takes the form of peaceful gatherings in the school grounds for the duration of the school day. Classes, however, carry on "normally" for a handful of pupils. Between 70% and 90% stay away at some schools. For a few it means no more than another day off classes, but most are serious.

According to the deputy director (control) of Indian Education, S P van den Heever, Indian scholars have "no reasonable grounds for doing what they're doing," since they receive the same standard of provision as white schools, and write the same JMB exams. He maintains, echoing coloured and Indian Affairs Minister Marais Steyn, that the boycott is "politically motivated by outsiders", and "fanned by the press."

SA Indian Council member, and leader of the Reform Party, Yelman Chinsamy, says that the students have "very legitimate grievances, and a right to call for a boycott." The Minister, advises Chinsamy, should get in touch with community leaders and give some assurance that the problem will be tackled. "A commission of inquiry into student grievances should be called immediately."

That, he says, is what the students are waiting for before they call off the boycott.

In the meantime, the stay-away continues "indefinitely," with daily meetings to review the situation. Listening to and observing the students on the school grounds, it is hard to believe that their action stems from outside political agitators, as government believes.

SCHOOLS BOYCOTT — 2

Why not Soweto?

In fewer than three weeks the boycott of classes by coloured students in the Cape Peninsula has had a ripple effect that has cut across regional and racial lines. Indian schools and English-speaking university students have joined the protests.

But it is still a mystery why African students — and particularly those in Soweto — have stood on the sidelines in the present upsurge against unequal education.

It is possibly the aftermath of 1976 that is holding African students away from widespread demonstration against the country's educational system. For one thing, the loss of life in that year militates against another direct encounter with the State. The exodus of many of the leaders to African countries and beyond has left a gap, and there has been no continuity of activism on the scale experienced before June.

Above all, the arrests of several leaders of the students' bodies, culminating in the sedition trial and imprisonment of the Soweto Student Representative Council last year, might have instilled a sense of fear, and even of despair. And students bodies formed subsequent to the banning and arrests of those responsible for the organisation of the 1976 events, like the South African Student Organisation (SASO) and the South African Student Movement (SASM) have either had their

P. T. O

executive members detained or they have gone into exile.

Protests against the educational system have essentially become protests against the whole political system

Faced with this enormous task, students prefer the less problematic way of personal advancement The abortive boycotts of schools in Soweto at the beginning of the year, on issues related to the ones raised by coloured students — like the provision of adequate and quality text books, and the compulsory wearing of uniforms — failed to elicit response It is, however, pointed out that lack of organisation could have been a major drawback

Visible improvement

Although, in per-capita terms, the amount spent on African education is by far the lowest, since 1976 there have been visible signs of material improvement. Many new schools, of a better physical quality, have been erected The effects of these developments might be to raise expectations of improvement and thus serve as a dampener, although, of course, the vast majority of schools remain physically underdeveloped — a major grievance in the present coloured student boycott

There are indications, however, that the African schools could still be affected by the current student unrest Much will depend on how and when the outcome of the coloured schools crisis is resolved

'End grievances now' cry by '61

Education Reporter

THE fact that the State spends three times as much on educating a white pupil as it does on a coloured child, is only one of the grievances which sparked off the schools boycott in protest against 'inferior education' in South Africa.

In the early stages of the mass stay-away, which has affected hundreds of schools throughout the country, the Committee of 61, which spearheaded the boycotting of classes by Peninsula pupils, issued a statement calling for 'immediate action' on the following grievances:

● The disparity in money spent on the education of the various race groups.

Budgets for education come from the central Government. Finance is allocated according to colour and not according to number or needs.

The estimated expenditure a head during 1977-1978 on school pupils of the various racial groups was given in the Assembly as R551 for whites, R185,16 for coloured, R236,13 for Asians and R54,08 for Africans.

An acute shortage of qualified teachers, as well as textbooks and the abuse of corporal punishment.

According to the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, the majority, that is 62,16 percent or 15 339 of the teachers in coloured schools, have only a JC or equivalent, besides their teacher training.

Only five percent (1 234) have university degrees and the remaining 26,01 percent or 6 418 have a matriculation or equivalent certificate.

The policy in South Africa is to have a teacher of an ethnic group teach pupils of the same ethnic group Because of economics and the lack of training facilities, there has been a perennial shortage of teachers in African and coloured schools.

The result is a low pupil/teacher ratio. For example in African schools, the average is about 1 52, in coloured schools it is about 1:30, compared with white schools which average 1·20.

The low teacher/pupil ratio and lack of qualifications have a negative effect on the quality of teaching and education.

Mr Edwin de Broize, of the Careers Centre in Claremont, in a paper delivered at a conference at the University of Cape Town, said it was due to the pressure of numbers, that teachers resorted to the enforcement of rigid forms of control.

'Uniformity and strict discipline become the modus operandi for classroom activities. This "behave-or-get-out" method is responsible for the suppression of individuality and stifling of creativity,' he said.

Mr de Broize said because of the lack of qualifications, in many cases teachers could not cope with questioning minds Because of insecurity, they readily accepted the role of disciplinarian.

'Teachers are reluctant to explore creative methods where students can critically examine their disciplines. Instead, teachers feel responsible only for the subject and not for the student's growth.

'Teachers teach the subject and not the student,' Mr de Broize said.

Another fact of life in coloured and African schools is the platoon and double shift system.

In the House of Assembly in March this year, Mr Marais Steyn said there was a backlog of 1 828 classrooms for coloured pupils as at March 1979.

Linda Kuppe, of UCT's Department of Criminology, suggests, from her research, that the double shift system contributed to crime because children stayed at school for fewer hours. It allowed more time for idleness and a greater reluctance to attend school.

The lack of accommodation, therefore, sets off a chain of negative reactions which are fed into the communities that the schools serves.

The shortage of textbooks and lack of facilities have long been obstacles in the education of coloured and African pupils.

'How can our children be expected to pass examinations when there is one book for four of them and no laboratories for science or kitchens for home economics,' said one angry mother as she watched her child join others in a demonstration during the boycott.

Failure to repair damaged schools.

It was this very reason that initially sowed the seeds of discontent among school pupils that led to the mass boycotting of classes throughout the country.

A small number of pupils at a Hanover Park school, fed up with cold, dark classrooms, which had no windows and no electricity for lights, decided to boycott classes for a day.

An Argus report, published in March before the boycott, described several schools on the Cape Flats as resembling 'bombed sites.' Much of the damage had been caused by vandals and rioters almost four years previously, during the unrest of 1976.

In the article, academics politicians, teachers and parents accused the authorities of 'inexplicable negligence' and — more significantly — called on the Government to act immediately to defuse a 'potentially explosive situation.'

Further grievances in the Committee of 61's statement included com

plaints that it was necessary for coloured pupils to obtain permits before they could study at places like UCT; that Security Branch members entered the premises of coloured schools; that some schools were not allowed to have SRCs; that some teachers were dismissed unfairly and that it was compulsory to wear school uniforms.

'Mistake that SA can ill afford'

THERON WARNING WENT UNHEEDED...

By Hugh Roberton

FOUR years ago the Theron Commission warned the Government in ringing tones of the very grievances in the coloured community which are among those that gave rise to the schools boycott

But its most important recommendations were rejected and the Government mulishly pressed on with a policy which the country's best informed experts on the subject had predicted would lead to conflict

It is a story of foolishness, of unheeding arrogance and the wasted goodwill of the coloured people As a member of the Theron Commission said this week, it was a mistake South Africa could ill afford.

It was four eventful years ago that the Theron Commission told the Government of the bitterness in the coloured community about the political dispensation and advised it to 'consider a number of radical constitutional adjustments as a matter of urgent public interest'

The commission also pointed to the inadequacy of the Coloured Representative Council and warned of its likely failure as a political and administrative body.

But the message only got through too late. Six weeks ago the Government finally was obliged to close down the CRC, replacing it with an 'interim' Coloured Persons' Council whose 30 members will all be nominated by the Government They still have to be named, and most prominent coloured people have condemned the new council already.

So, for the first time since 1853, the coloured people are today entirely without a constitutional political voice.

Almost anticipating the boycotters' clamour for a non-racial education system, the Theron Commission urged the Government four years ago to open all universities and private schools to coloured students and to allow white technikons with exclusive facilities to be open to all.

The commission advised the Government to change the University of the Western Cape into a multiracial institution and to place it under the Department of National Education rather than leave it under the care of the Department of Coloured Relations.

But it was only this week that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, indicated that he might just be willing to give consideration to the idea He said, after meeting coloured teachers, that he had an open mind about a single education system for all races and was prepared to allow an inquiry into this.

Four years ago, the Theron Commission warned that progress in coloured education was being 'seriously' handicapped by a shortage of coloured teachers.'

It warned that the salary gap between white and coloured teachers had become 'a serious source of frustration,' and that the Government was failing to compete with the private sector in attracting suitably qualified staff to coloured schools

There was a warning that technical institutions faced serious problems of accommodation, equipment and adequately qualified staff'

The Government was told that 'accommodation for an increase of 195 096 pupils will have to be provided by 1980,' that as long ago as 1974 there had been a shortage of accommodation for 75 530 pupils which at that time could only be overcome by estimated expenditure of R146 823 000

The commission reported that 'the shortage of classrooms has resulted in an increase in double shift classes from 269 in 1964 to 2 158 in 1974'

It told the Government that of the R54 000 000 approved for new buildings between 1964 and 1973, only R37 318 000 had been used and that this was gravely inadequate

While Mr Botha and the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, have quoted figures to show that there has been some considerable improvement in the provision of new school buildings and teachers, a member of the Theron Commission said this week that the situation was 'still quite appalling'.

The commission also indicated what course future protest from the coloured comminity might take.

Firstly, it noted that 'the main problems arising from the restriction on the political civil rights of the coloured are that coloureds have no say in the decisive, legislative government instutions in the country and that the institutions on which they are represented have sub-

Then the commission made two highly significant observations.

It noted that 'of all the occupational categories teachers are most active in politics' in the coloured community.

And it reported that 'on the whole the younger better educated coloureds displayed the greatest dissatisfaction with their lot, especially in the Cape Town area.'

The chairman of the Theron Commission, Professor Erica Theron, was on holiday this week and could not be reached for comment.

Minister: baton charge on pupils justified

JD 10/5/80 (274)

THE ASSEMBLY — The police baton charge on boycotting pupils at the Westbury High School in Johannesburg was justified, the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday.

Replying to criticism by Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) during the debate on the police vote, he said the baton charge was started only after the pupils began stoning the police.

He said the police had not gone to the school with specific action in mind. A senior officer was attempting to address the pupils when trouble broke out in the street.

Pupils began stoning the police and damaged vehicles.

"The children were driven out of the school grounds by the police," interjected Mrs Suzman.

Mr Le Grange said the case was one of public disorder and if the pupils stoned police from inside the school grounds, the police had the right to go in after them.

Mrs Suzman said she had met a deputation of 20 parents, teachers and other representatives after the incident and was certain the baton charge was unnecessary — PS.

DD 10/5/80

Boycott: Steyn slams teachers

CAPE TOWN — The unrest at Coloured schools country-wide had been "unnecessary" and "futile" the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, told delegates at a meeting of relations committees at De Aar yesterday

He said that instead of having a teachers' association calling for boycotts, there should be "an adult response" by bringing problems and shortcomings to the authorities' attention

"I have always conceded that the standard of education of Coloured people should be raised. That there are problems — this is so; there will probably always be problems

"I know of no educational system which is perfect, and to me it is understandable that our Coloured community feels unhappy about certain aspects of its education That is positive because once we accept that there are problems, we can put our heads together and consider measures to correct and eliminate them.

"But we cannot solve the problems by boycotting the schools, lying around ripe for mischief in the streets, arranging marches and so on."

"Will we not achieve more if we meet in a responsible manner like adults to discuss matters?

"But what do we get? A responsible body representing Coloured teachers does not take the trouble to meet my department and put problems to it. no, instead it supports pupils' marches and boycotts, throws communication and consultation overboard and thereby reinforces the aims of those who are misusing the pupils for their own ends.

"That is irresponsible, it undermines discipline and solves no problems.

"The authorities have a duty regarding the furnishing of education to all their subjects, and will always aim at improving education and adapting it to altered circumstances." — DDC

Expulsion threat, page 7.

900 Albany pupils threatened

GRAHAMSTOWN — The 900 boycotting pupils at the Nathaniel Nyaluza Secondary School here have been warned they will be expelled if they did not return to classes next week.

This warning was issued by the Albany Circuit inspector, Mr G W Herbert, after a third meeting with parents.

A stayaway from lectures also continued at another school in town, at Fort Hare University and Dower Teachers' Training College in Port Elizabeth.

In Durban pupils at KwaMashu, Lamontville and Umlazi schools said they had ignored pleas by the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha to return to classes because they regarded the KwaZulu government as merely a "post office" for the central Govt

They added that the homeland government had no power and "we want the central government to eradicate the problems in our education"

In Johannesburg three of the largest high schools and the Rand College of Education confirmed yesterday that their students had decided to return to classes

Principals said students wanted to keep their side of the bargain on Coloured education negotiations — and were now waiting to see what the Prime Minister's intentions were regarding an inquiry into the schools' grievances

Meanwhile letters warning parents that action will be taken against boycotters on Monday have been sent out by all Indian schools

Spokesmen for some pupils, however, yesterday issued a statement defying the warning, saying that until Mr Marais Steyn was removed as Minister of Indian and Coloured relations, the boycott would continue

But the boycott of classes has blown itself out and the number of children staying away from classes has dwindled considerably

The strike by teachers in the Cape Peninsula in support of the boycott has been called off after a meeting

Teachers said they found it difficult to implement a "down tools" resolution

Delegates to the meeting alleged widespread victimisation of teachers, especially at primary schools, by principals and school inspectors

The Teachers' Action Committee, said in a statement after the meeting that by implementing the "down tools" action for a week, teachers had emphasised their total rejection of racially constituted education

Lessons for all

12/05/80 ARGUS

THERE will be wide approval for the decision by the Committee of 61 to end the schools' boycott — even if the decision is conditional.

The pupils have succeeded in getting their message across to the authorities, and their restraint during this tense period has won them public sympathy.

However, it is essential for their own development that their studies should be delayed no longer, even if they see aspects of their education as inferior at this stage.

For the Government, the schools' boycott contains a valuable lesson. And that is that when people are denied basic democratic rights, they will find other ways to raise their voices.

A matter like the quality of education should not be contested on the playground and in the streets, but in the debating chambers of Parliament and the provincial councils where the representatives of the coloured people have every right to be.

12/05/80 ARGUS

140 held after Cape upheavals

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Of the 140 people arrested in the Eastern Cape yesterday for upheavals in black townships, 32 were held in connection with the death of a Grahamstown taxi driver who was stoned to death.

The 30 schoolchildren and two adults arrested after the death of Mr Alfred Soya, will appear in a Grahamstown court on Monday charged with murder.

The Divisional Commissioner for the Eastern Cape, Brigadier I J M van Rensburg said. They were being held in Port Elizabeth because the investigating officers were based here.

THE CHILDREN

The children were aged between 12 and 18 and the two adults were men aged 26 and 40.

Meanwhile, 130 schoolchildren arrested in Grahamstown yesterday after more than 300 pupils marched on the station to express solidarity with those arrested for Mr Soya's death have been released. They would be charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Grahamstown policemen, reinforced by a number of Port Elizabeth policemen, were on standby in Grahamstown today.

WITH STICKS

Mr Soya was stoned to death at the Andrew Moyake higher primary school on Wednesday, when he and other members of the Peacemakers vigilante group tried to drive boycotting children back to classes, allegedly using sticks.

In Cradock 10 people were arrested yesterday during an upheaval at a township beer hall, which was burnt down on Monday night by a mob.

Six other people were being held in connection with Monday's upheaval.

Cape students decide to end boycott

CAPE TOWN — The three-week long boycott by tens of thousands of students and pupils throughout the Western Cape will end tomorrow.

The Committee of 61 decided at a meeting lasting seven hours at the weekend to return to classes.

For the next three weeks there would be normal school activity, but with regular time set aside during school hours for "awareness programmes."

In a statement released after the meeting, the representatives said their decision to end the boycott was a strategic one.

"We have not been forced to go back. We decide what we do from a position of strength. It is not a retreat, but a consolidation of our forces," they said.

"Our struggle for a just and humane society does not end with the suspension of a boycott. It continues in a new form. We have gained many victories and will gain many more in the future."

They warned that unless their demands were "concretely" satisfied within three weeks, they would take further action.

"Our ultimatum must not be met with promises, nor should it be met with police violence and detentions," said the statement.

"If it is met with any of these responses we will certainly call upon workers to help us."

They said they had decided to boycott the June exams in solidarity with the detainees.

"They might not be released by the time the exams are due and even if they are, they will not be mentally nor physically prepared to sit for an exam," the statement says.

While East London High School pupils have returned to classes, it was not clear yesterday what the position would be at John Bisseker Senior Secondary School this morning.

Students were expected, however, to take their cue from the Western Cape decision to return.

In Durban, KwaMashu pupils decided at the weekend to continue with the boycott of schools this week and also called on all primary schools to join the boycott, which until now has been confined to secondary and high schools.

Pamphlets issued by the black Medical Students Representative Council of the Natal University were issued at the meeting, calling on pupils to continue with the boycott.

Half-yearly examinations begin today for high schools pupils and it is thought that if the boycott continues many pupils will be seriously affected through not writing the exams. — DDC.

Pupils go back —but office is destroyed

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Only a few pupils at two coloured Eastern Cape schools were still boycotting classes today, but at an African school the principal's office was burnt down last night and boycotts are on at three other schools.

At Dower Training College, students met today to decide whether to call off their two-week boycott.

The principal, Mr E Fisher, said students were told today the Department of Coloured Affairs had withdrawn a directive instructing principals to suspend boycotting students

The students discussed this development. The directive last week caused a renewed boycott at the college.

Meanwhile, the Divisional Inspector of Police in the Eastern Cape, Brigadier A F B Verwey, disclosed today that at Philip Nikiwe High School in Port Elizabeth, the principal's office was burnt down last night. No arrests had been made.

In Grahamstown, Nathaniel Nyaluza High School pupils were today joined in a boycott by pupils of two other schools — the Nsika Junior School and Andrew Moyake Senior Secondary School.

20 PUPILS

The only coloured schools on the boycott list in the Eastern Cape are Bethelsdorp Senior Secondary in Port Elizabeth, where about 20 pupils were sent home today and the Uitenhage High School, where about 50 pupils are refusing to attend classes.

In Johannesburg, the boycott was in disarray today as hundreds went back to classes.

Many, however, are continuing the stayaway.

More than 80 percent of coloured pupils on the East Rand have returned to school

In Durban, parent representatives last night criticised the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn, for saying that Indian children had no grievances and had merely come out in support of coloured children.

They did so at a meeting of the ad hoc committee of the Natal Parents Support Committee at St Augustine Hall in Durban

Fort Hare students stay away

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — University of Fort Hare students did not return to lectures yesterday as expected, and instead held an all-day meeting which started at 10 am

By 5 pm last night the students had not reported back on either the resolutions taken at the meeting or the results of a delegation's visit to Natal over the weekend to confer with students at Natal University

At supper time last night the acting rector, Professor A Coetzee, issued a statement in which he expressed concern and regret that they had not returned to lectures and also that they obviously intended continuing the boycott.

13/05/80 ARGUS

Tough action on walkout pupils

274 1109

Argus Correspondent

ULUNDI — The Kwazulu Legislative Assembly will attend a mass meeting of Kwamashu schoolchildren at 8 am next Monday that will be addressed by the Inkatha President and Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Pupils will be expected to return to school after the meeting at the soccer stadium Those that do not will face tough action from the Ministry of Education and from Inkatha

The decision to hold the meeting with students was taken after the Assembly had debated the boycott yesterday for almost five hours

The debate was marked by anger seen rarely. Immediately after the debate all Durban members left for home on the instructions of the Chief Minister, to try to defuse township trouble.

Chief Buthelezi described the boycott as 'a carefully orchestrated international campaign against Inkatha, my leadership and this Assembly.'

He reminded members that a threat had been made 'to tear me to shreds if I come to Kwamashu,' and said the whole problem was traumatic to him, because at Graaff-Reinet he had already survived one attempt to murder him.

Members of the 130-strong assembly will attend a mass meeting of parents and residents in Kwamashu on Sunday where Chief Buthelezi will be the main speaker

The Minister of Education and Culture, Dr O D Dhlomo, issued a stern warning to pupils who were thinking of defying Inkatha

'We must not be blamed for any action we take against those who are not in school on Monday We must not be blamed if we lose patience with them,' Dr Dhlomo said.

Boycotts — foreign role denied

Natal 13/05-80 Argus 27f

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Two foreign government spokesmen in Durban today denied their representatives were involved in any way with the school boycotts in the black Durban township Kwamashu.

This follows an allegation by the Kwazulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, that foreign representatives were also responsible for organising the boycott. He did not elaborate.

Spokesmen for the United States consulate-general and the West German consul said they could not believe that Chief Buthelezi's remark could have been aimed at them.

ATTORNEYS

The British consul was unavailable for comment.

Two Durban attorneys named in last night's special debate in the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly have reacted angrily to the allegations made against them.

Mr Justice Poswa and Mr Griffiths Mxenge, with an advocate, Mr Louis Skewyiya, were named as three Xhosa-speaking lawyers responsible for the 'orchestration' of the school boycotts in Kwamashu.

They challenged the members of the Assembly to make the allegations outside the Assembly.

In a joint statement the attorneys said: 'We are surprised to hear such false, irresponsible and unfounded allegations made from a place where the speaker is protected even if what he says is false.'

Ball in your court, pupils warn State

13/05/80 ARGUS

274

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—Indian and coloured pupils warned last night that their demands to the Government were not negotiable. They threatened that if their grievances were not met, they would walk out of classes again.

At a meeting in Lenasia attended by an estimated 1 000 people, including parents and educationists, pupils booed the regional educational committee, attacked the Lenasia Indian management committee, the South African Indian Council and all bodies that worked with the Government, before walking out.

Principals, teachers and parents who went along with racially separate education also came under fire.

The pupils refused to negotiate any further with the Government.

They said the Government's educational machine, the Department of Indian and Coloured Affairs, was fully acquainted with their grievances and the ball was now in that court.

The regional committee was attacked for having private meetings with Government educational officials which were never reported to the public.

Pupils said that had the principals and teachers made the shortcomings in their schools public, there would have been no need for the boycott.

32 held after vigilante dies

(30. 27) RDM 17/5/80

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Police have arrested 32 people in connection with the killing of Mr Alfred Soya, 49, a member of the "Peacemakers" vigilante group in Grahamstown, during an attempt by the group to get school boycotters to return to classes

Mr Soya, a taxi driver, was one of nine "Peacemakers" who tried to get Andrew Moyake Higher Primary School pupils to return to classes on Wednesday.

Brigadier Izak van Niekerk, the Eastern Cape Divisional Criminal Investigation officer, said yesterday that Mr Soya had been stoned, and when he fell, a large stone was used to crush his skull

Mr Soya had also been stabbed in the buttock

Brig Van Niekerk said the group arrested over the incident comprised three adults and 29 youngsters — including two girls — aged between 12 and 18

A charge of public violence was also being investigated

After the arrests, about 300 pupils marched on the Grahamstown Police Station on Thursday and demanded that they too be arrested or those detained be released.

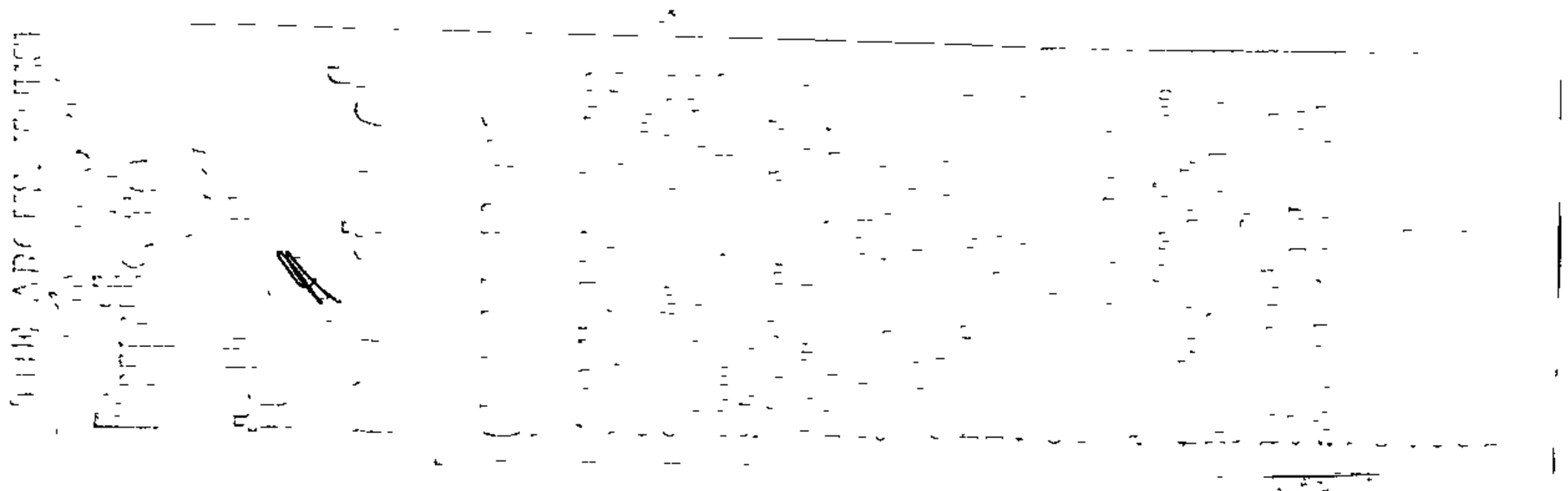
Police arrested 130 of the marchers under the Riotious Assemblies Act, but released them after details were taken The matter was referred to the Attorney-General for a decision.

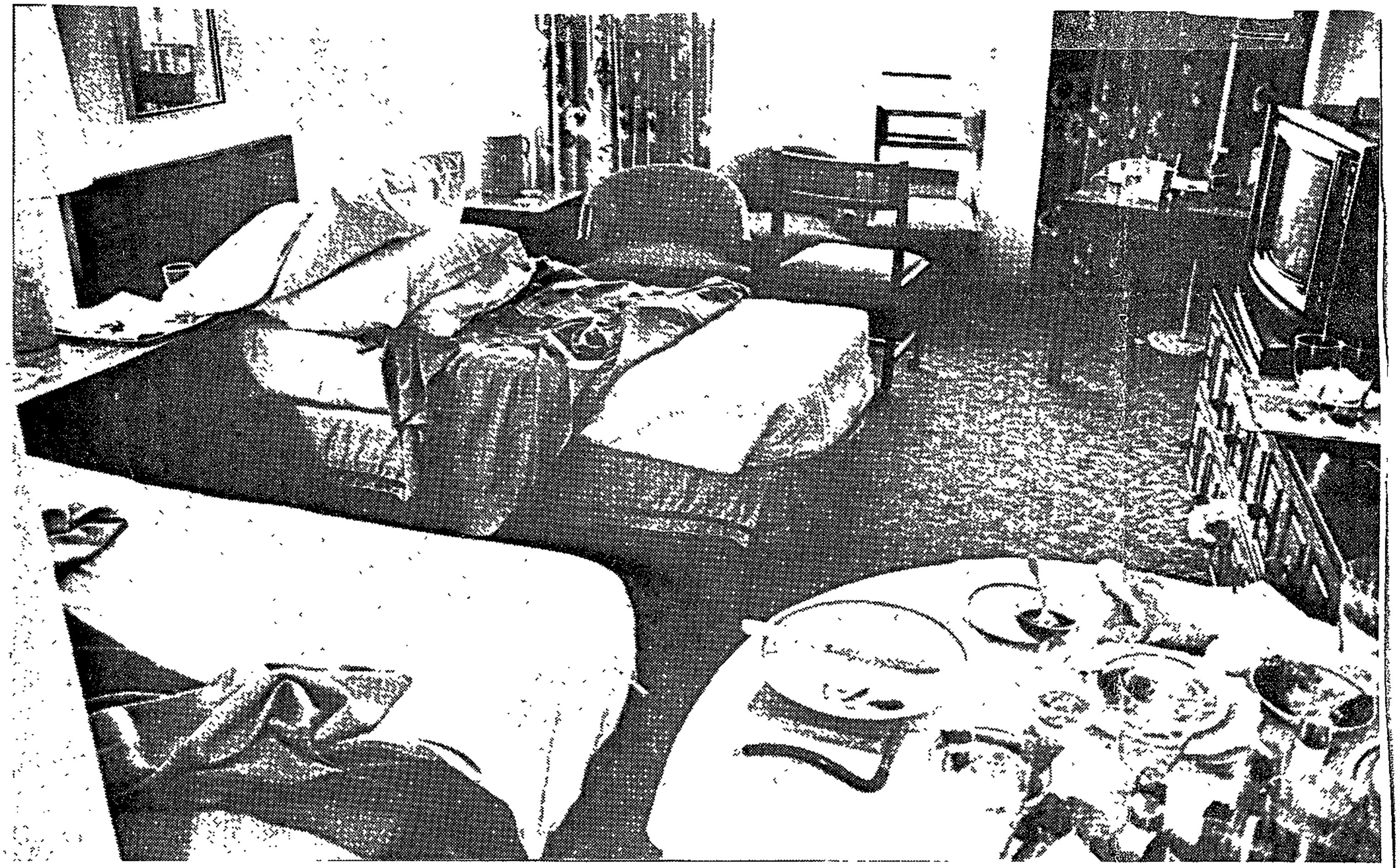
Meanwhile, 10 people were arrested for allegedly trying to steal liquor when between 600 and 800 people converged on a gutted beerhall in Cradock on Thursday, according to Brigadier E Van Rensburg, Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Eastern Cape

Later a police sergeant was stabbed in the hand at the beerhall and a fleeing man shot. He was being treated in the Grahamstown hospital for shotgun pellet wounds

Brig Van Rensburg said six other people were being held under the Law Amendment Act after the fire at the beerhall.

● In Bellville, Cape, students at the University of the Western Cape have sent an ultimatum to the rector, Professor R E van der Ross, to meet several demands — including issuing a statement calling for the release of all detained students — or face a new boycott of lectures in three weeks' time — Sapa.





Dining with dynamite ... Aftermath of the siege of Room 1505 at the Carlton, where for more than six hours yesterday three men sat with dynamite ready for detonation — eating steak and drinking beer as they negotiated with police.

20/5/80



Beers for the bomb trio — a Carlton waiter delivers drinks to the siege men in Roor
1505, some time before they freed hotel executive Mr Sebastiano Berinato.

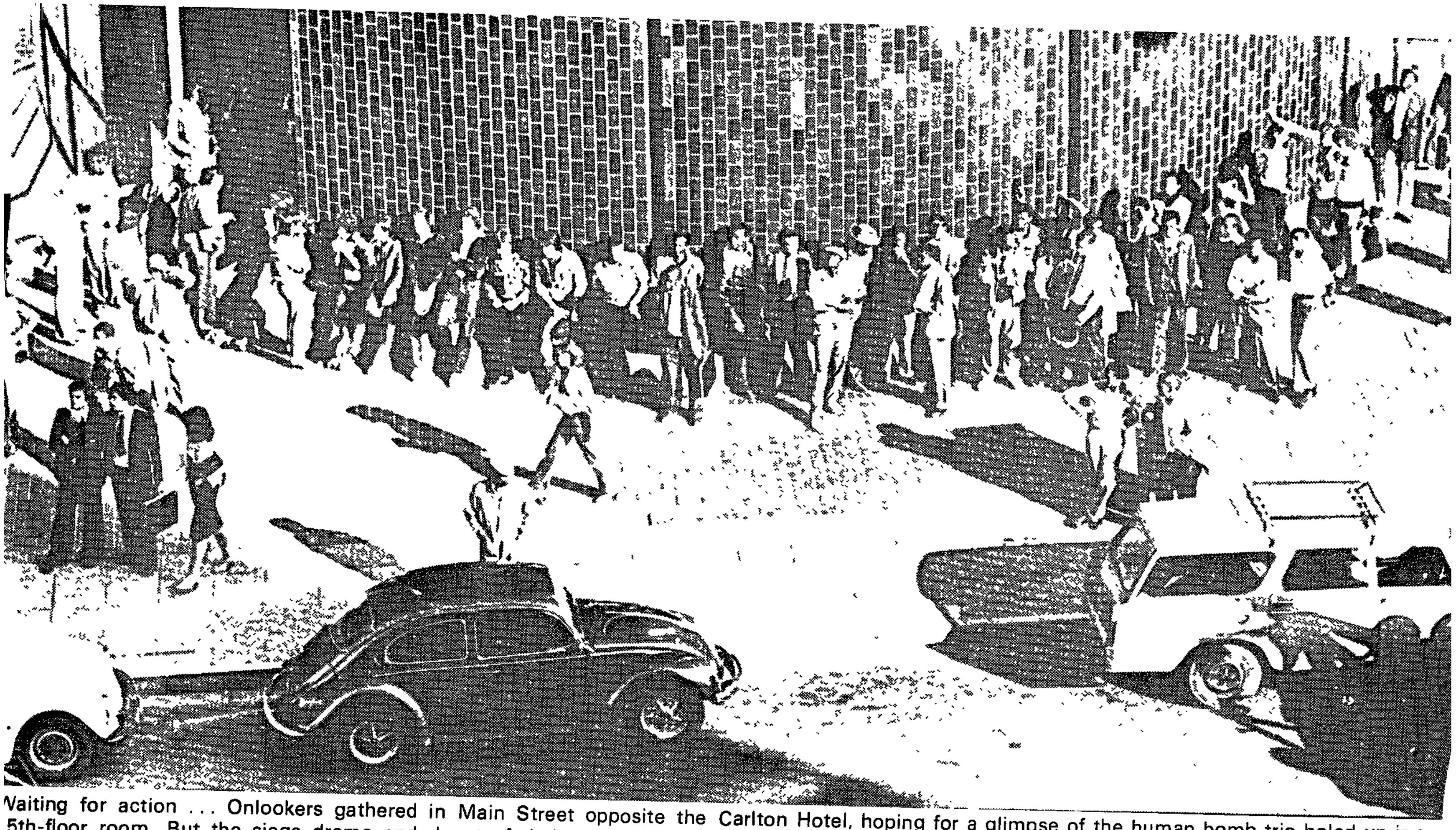
BEER, STEAKS — AND A BOMB STAKE-OUT



Outside looking in . . . Uniformed police join onlookers outside the hotel.

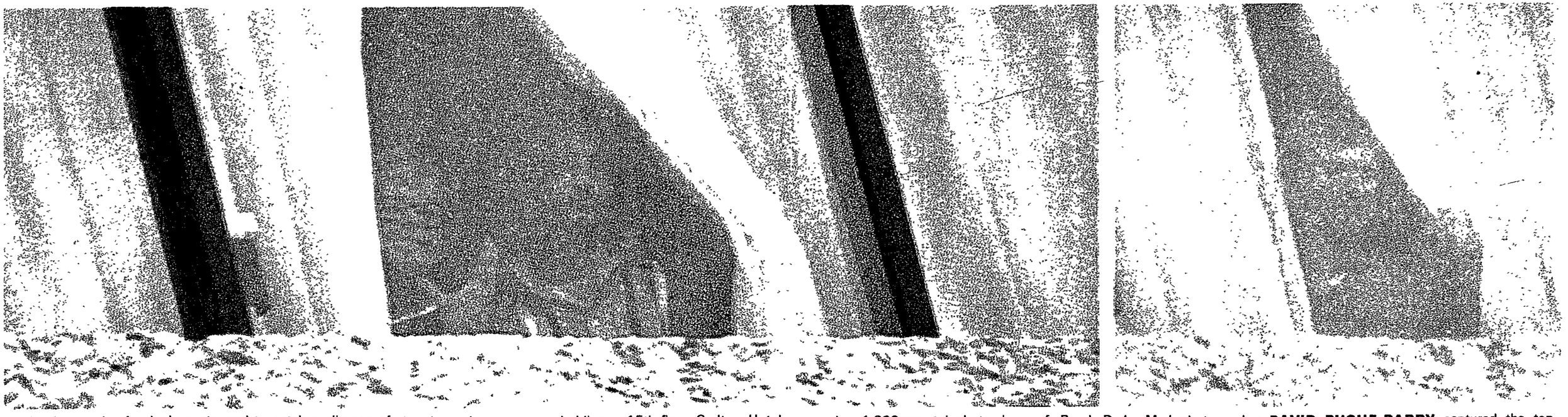


Amid curious passersby, police in camouflage uniforms and a tense traffic cop conduct a stre conference outside the Carlton Hotel during the long hours of the siege.



Waiting for action ... Onlookers gathered in Main Street opposite the Carlton Hotel, hoping for a glimpse of the human bomb trio holed up in a 5th-floor room. But the siege drama ended out of their sight when a crack police squad disarmed the men, who were carrying 25 dynamite sticks wired to be triggered electrically.

JOHANNESBURG SIEGE



While thousands of onlookers strained to catch a glimpse of the three dynamite-men holding a 15th-floor Carlton Hotel room the 1 000mm telephoto lens of Rand Daily Mail photographer **DAVID PUGHE-PARRY** captured the tension of two of the men — and the nervous smile of a third. The men held room 1505 for more than six hours

(274) ROOM 20/5/80

By MERVYN REES

JOHANNESBURG's five-star siege ended dramatically at 4pm yesterday after police used seven hours of psychological warfare to talk three desperate men out of blowing up the Carlton Hotel.

Earlier they had taken a manager hostage, but released him after about 45 minutes.

Shortly before 4pm one of the men's wives was used to lure him out of Room 1505 on the evacuated 15th floor of the hotel.

The man — known to police as "Andries" — was finally persuaded to give himself up and hand over 25 sticks of dynamite in a rucksack.

Twenty minutes later, police took a calculated risk and stormed the room to overpower the man's two accomplices — not knowing whether they had more dynamite. But the pair gave up without a struggle.

Yesterday's drama began at 7.30am, when an anonymous caller telephoned the Rand Daily Mail and said he wanted to see a reporter about a "police matter". He hung up when asked to elaborate.

At 9.30am the man phoned again and said he was speaking from Room 1505 at the Carlton Hotel. He said he was holding a manager of the hotel hostage and asked that a reporter be sent to the room.

He threatened to blow up the hotel, and then put the manager on the line to confirm he was being held and that the men were deadly serious.

While hotel security officials evacuated the 14th, 15th and 16th floors on the pretext that there was a gas leak, a Security Police team set up a command post on the 12th floor and started negotiations with "Andries".

Andries had set a noon deadline for his demands to be met — although at that point he had insisted only on speaking to a reporter and a psychiatrist and had asked for beers to be delivered to the room.

Unable to establish the exact demands of the siege trio without sending someone into the room, the police decided to talk them into surrendering.

They closely questioned the released hostage, Mr Sebastiano Berinato, to establish as much as they could about the condition of the three men, exactly how they were armed and whether the dynamite was wired for detonation in the event of an attack.

At noon, Brigadier Johan Coetzee, head of the Security Police, and Lieutenant-General Vic Verster head of the counter-insurgency unit, arrived to join Johannesburg police led by Colonel Hennie Muller, head of the Security Police at John Vorster Square.

Several phone conversations were held between the police and "Andries" and the noon deadline passed without mishap.

At 1.10pm, Col Muller, posing as a journalist went up to the room with "Andries'" wife. He remained in the passage and spoke to the man before returning to the 12th floor.

Shortly afterwards, the siege men asked for more beer and steaks to be sent up to the room.

(274) RDM 21/5/80

Sequel to Carlton siege

By LLEWELLYN KRIEL

THE three men held after the seven-hour dynamite siege at the Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg, on Monday are expected to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court tomorrow.

A senior police spokesman said last night it had not yet been determined what charges would be brought against the men.

However it was likely charges would probably be brought under the Terrorism Act with alternative charges under the Explosives Act.

The investigation is being conducted by Major J G van Tonder, of John Vorster Square, where the men are being held.

Major Van Tonder yesterday interviewed hotel employees at the Carlton.

The police spokesman said last night he did not believe that allegations in connection with the hijacking of a taxi from Jan Smuts Airport were being investigated at this stage.

But he did not cancel out the possibility that charges in that regard might be brought later.

Schools situation

One shot, many hurt



Students in Bloemfontein demonstrate early this week. Things turned nasty when there was looting and burning.

THE schools situation throughout the country was yesterday still grim, with new developments.

● In Bloemfontein's black townships the toll so far is one youth dead, a soldier, several police and people injured. The soldier is said to be in a serious condition.

● At the University of the North (Turfloop) students started a sit-in yesterday.

● In Natal the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, told the Legislative Assembly that students at the University of Zululand (Ngoye) were buying knives in preparation for a confrontation with Inkatha men.

● In the Ciskei, 28 student leaders from Dimbaza have been detained while Jabavu High School students continue a class boycott.

● In the Western Cape coloured students have restarted their boycott in support of boycotts in African areas.

At noon yesterday most of Bloemfontein's black townships were in a calm state, with only isolated cases of stone-throwing

Riot police used teargas in one area, where crowds of people were milling around.

A newspaper reporter and photographer were not allowed near the scene and their vehicle was later the target of stone-throwers

The dead youth has been identified as Daniel Mokoloko (16), a pupil at a local school. Police also announced last night that 20 people had been detained in connection with the unrest

They have denied any involvement in his death.

Two women, who were shot in the legs by police, are at present under police guard in hospital.

Their condition is not serious A charge of public violence has been registered against them at

Pupils get tough in Bloemfontein

(274) (254) RDM 23/5/80.



Armed police on the roof of a beerhall in Bloemfontein's Batho township yesterday. Wednesday night's violence has put Free State police on full alert.

hospital, he suffered cuts on his face and chest.

In the township itself police and pupils were locked in a conflict of wills over road barriers, with the police dismantling barricades and the pupils rebuilding them as soon as the police left.

In a sign of abating tension, however, buses and taxis yesterday again began to enter the township, having halted on the outskirts the day before to avoided being stoned. Buses are reported to have suffered thousands of Rands of damage.

Police vehicles and policemen's homes, together with administation board vehicles and offices, appear to have been prime targets for stone-throwers.

A Rand Daily Mail reporter who visited Manguage township yesterday writes:

"Streets in the township were heavily littered with rocks and junk yesterday. Rumble was scattered all over the township — signs of the heavy road blocks that the had been set up."

The boycott in Kwa-Mashu, where some pupils had defied a call by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to return to school, seemed to be losing momemtum. Boycotting pupils appear to have lost the sympathy of the majority of adults, following Chief Buthelezi's strong stand against the boycott.

23/5/80

Staff Reporters

BLOEMFONTEIN's black township remained tense yesterday as black pupils mounted an almost total boycott of schools and barricaded the streets to block the movement of police vehicles.

But there was a sharp drop in stone-throwing incidents, although police had to use teargas to disperse crowds of youths, Colonel J Fisher, who is in charge of operations, said yesterday.

Twenty "troublemakers" were arrrested.

Col Fisher said: "We have enough men. We have the situation under control. But it is still decidely dangerous for whites to go into the township."

Police reinforcements are understood to have arrived from the northern Free State.

In Port Elizabeth, where black pupils are boycotting 14 schools, the Acting Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigaider A F Verwey, said yesterday the present activity by black pupils might be a buildup to June 16, the anniversary of the 1976 unrest which broke out in Soweto and swept across the country.

He said pamphlets which had come into the possession of police in Port Elizabeth led them to suspect that the boycott might be the first phase in a campaign timed to peak on June 16.

And he warned that any attempt to ferment dissatisfaction would be countered firmly by the police.

In Cape Town, where coloured pupils have just ended their boycott, black high school pupils in the townships of Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga continued theirs.

The Secretary for Education and Training, Mr G J Rousseau, said: "There are problems at four secondary schools. Pupils standing outside the classrooms are trying to intimidate those who want to go to class."

Colonel J S Verwey, senior staff officer with the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, said: "There are some pupils boycotting schools. But is is quiet and peaceful."

In Bloemfontein the condition of Rifleman Willem Scheepers, who was attacked and beaten unconscious in the black township when his vehicle broke down, was satisfactory. Recovering in

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Cape Herald (774)

Police, stone-throwing pupils in new clashes

TEARGAS was used on Wednesday in KwaMashu, near Durban, in renewed clashes between stonethrowing pupils and the police.

And in Bloemfontein, the branch chairman of the Azanian Peoples Organisation, Mr Tebogo Godfrey Sejanamane and a freelance journalist, Mr Ernest Nehemia Mothumi, who were detained under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act, were released. This was after police used teargas on Tuesday to disperse pupils from Legae Higher Primary School who were demonstrating against the detention of Mr Sejanamane, their teacher.

In Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown pupils from four schools continued boycotting classes while white teachers at Mdantsane school in East London threatened to resign over a pamphlet.

And in Dimbaza, hundreds of pupils were forced out of their classrooms on Tuesday by groups of pupils from other schools.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, again blamed Port Natal police for the escalation of the boycott in Natal.

"They allowed rabble-rousers to hold illegal meetings because they seem to think that the protest is not against the education system but against me personally," said Chief Buthelezi.

DISPERSE

Mr S S L Mtolo, chairman of the KwaMashu Community Council, said on Wednesday that the council had urged police in a meeting the previous day to disperse pupils from streets and from holding illegal meetings.

According to Brigadier H Mouton, Divisional Inspector of Police for Port Natal, more than 300 pupils gathered in the township and were addressed by KwaZulu schools' circuit inspectors.

The pupils left later but some regrouped and started stoning police and their vehicles.

On Wednesday morning, about 500 KwaMashu pupils were believed involved in stone throwing and there was pandemonium as police used tear gas to disperse them.

Students at the University of Zululand are afraid that the graduation ceremony to be held on Saturday may turn out to be a political rally.

There was violence on the campus as early as Monday, when alleged Inkatha supporters were assaulted and a car belonging to Dr B S Ngubane was severely damaged by stone-throwing students.

It is believed that Fort Hare University students have arrived at the university to help with an intended protest at the graduation ceremony when the chancellor of the University, Chief Buthelezi, will confer degrees on a large number of students.

The students do not want Inkatha supporters brandishing sticks and kieries at the ceremony. According to Mr Mike Hadebe, chairman of the Students Representative Council, they are looking forward to a ceremony of a totally academic nature.

The students on Tues
day adopted a resolutio
calling on Chief Buthelez
to restrain uniformed In
katha supporters from at
tending the ceremony.

The acting Divisional
Commissioner of Police in
the Free State, Colonel I
J Fischer, said that Mr
Sejanamane had not been
released as a result of
black pupils' demands but
because he was simply
due to be released.

The Bloemfontein dem-
onstration is believed to
have involved five schools
and more than 500 pupils.

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The Argus

MAY 26 1980

Means and ends

BOYCOTTING pupils have won wide backing and sympathy for the disciplined and dignified manner of their classroom boycott But they could lose support by demonstrations such as were mounted in Peninsula supermarkets on Saturday

For in pursuing their own objectives as they saw them they interfered with the rights of others They created a situation in which the police were obliged to act to protect these rights and to keep the public order.

Moreover, they exposed themselves to charges of vandalism and looting. If the student protesters are resolved to act with restraint and honesty in such demonstrations, they can be sure there will be others who will exploit the occasion for dubious ends

There can be no doubting the justice of the students' fight for equal education and the removal of racial discrimination. This is recognised even by a Government which is the natural successor of the most inventive practitioners of racial segregation to walk the earth

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has committed his regime to equality in education and he has held out the hope of a single educational authority for all the races.

This was in response to pressure from the schools boycotters The Prime Minister can fairly ask that he be given a chance to show he means business.

In the long run, the Government will have to come to terms with the political realities that lie at the root of the children's protest. The coloured people cannot be anything but full citizens, in every sense of the word. The time for this cannot be far off. But the justice of the coloured people's struggle, the inevitability of the outcome, does not necessarily confer moral indemnity on every means taken in pursuance of the goal.

Argus

Pressmen harassed by police

27/5/80

243

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REPORTERS and photographers of The Argus have been harassed several times by policemen since demonstrations against 'unequal education' gained momentum at the weekend

On Saturday during the baton-charge to disperse pupils in the Golden Acre in the city centre, two reporters were refused access to a staircase leading to a floor above.

They produced Press cards issued in terms of the 1976 Newspaper Press Union — SA Police agreement.

OVER-RIDDEN

The refusal by a non-commissioned officer, was over-ridden by a senior officer.

Also on Saturday, an Argus photographer's film was confiscated in Bellville by an officer, Colonel H O Ecksteen.

The photographer had been standing near a group of policemen who were loading pupils into a police van.

A policeman grabbed him by his lapels and demanded the camera The photographer refused. The policeman then demanded the film quoting the Prisons Act as justification.

'THE LAW'

After agreeing to issue a receipt for the film, he refused to do so when it was in his possession, saying he was 'the law'.

Later as the photographer was taking pictures of a baton charge, he was told to move. He refused on the grounds that he was in a public place

The policemen reported to Colonel Ecksteen, who told them to leave the photographer alone

Colonel Ecksteen then threatened the photographer with charges

Yesterday a woman reporter was stopped outside Bellville Magistrate's Court in which pupils were due to appear on charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act

She produced a Press card

The policeman on duty said he was acting on instructions. He could not cite a law under which he could refuse her entry.

She eventually gained access to the building and covered the proceedings.

NAMES TAKEN

A reporter and photographer standing opposite Caledon Square in Cape Town yesterday were asked to produce their Press Cards. Their names were taken.

Today a photographer was refused permission to take photographs of Claremont Station. A railway policeman said he could not photograph the area as it was 'railway property'

A spokesman for the Railway Police said in a telephone interview from Johannesburg that in an unrest situation in which the public was excluded from railway property. Press photographers had to seek permission from the senior police officer on duty.

AGREEMENT

He said the Railway Police recognised the NPU — SAP agreement, and recognised Press Cards.

The cards state that the holder may 'enter and remain for the purpose of his professional work in any area under the control of the police from which the general public is excluded.'

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Baton charge at rail station

POLICE baton-charged a group of about 140 coloured schoolchildren at a station on the Wellington-Cape Town line yesterday.

About 140 coloured schoolchildren boarded a train for Cape Town at Wellington but did not buy tickets for the journey.

They got off at the next station and gathered on the platform.

The police arrived and after the pupils failed to disperse as requested by the police, they were baton-charged.

In Bloemfontein school attendances were still very poor.

Pupils at the Dinare Junior Secondary School in Witsieshoek marched to the Lere-la-Tshepe teachers' training college yesterday and were joined by college students.

They went from there to other schools and their numbers swelled to about 2 000. One policeman was injured slightly when he was hit by a stone.

Police baton-charged and dispersed the marchers.

The science laboratory of the University of Zululand was set alight at the weekend and equipment worth R15 000 was damaged.

The student's dining room and kitchen was set alight and the building and furniture damaged.

The university chapel was stoned. Windows were broken and damage of about R300 was caused after a students' meeting.

One student was slightly injured when he was hit by a stone.

Seventeen students have been detained in connection with an incident at a graduation ceremony on Sunday. Nine will be charged with public violence and one has been charged with possessing dagga.

Seven students were released after being questioned. All men students boycotted classes yesterday.

Expulsion threat withdrawn

Argus 27/5/80 (274) 29

THE Government has withdrawn a threat to expel pupils at coloured schools if they continued to boycott classes.

Principals said today they were informed by the Administration of Coloured Affairs yesterday not to use the 'expulsion measure' against pupils who refuse to attend lessons.

This was confirmed by Dr Frank Quint, chief inspector of schools in the Wynberg region.

'There was some initial misunderstanding but everything has been sorted out now,' he said.

DISCIPLINE

The expulsion warning was issued by the secretary of Coloured Relations, Mr J H T Mills last week at a meeting of principals and school committee chairmen.

Mr Mills told the meeting that unless discipline was maintained at schools pupils who refused lessons had to be expelled.

He told the meeting that if pupils resisted or returned to schools after they had been expelled the 'Government will be called in to remove them.'

Principals described the Government's initial expulsion threat and now the 'about turn' as 'amazing bungling.'

PUPILS' DEMO

One principal said his school had been about to return to normal with the pupils attending classes when the expulsion warning was issued.

'Now they have decided to boycott again and Saturday's demonstrations by pupils and the present tension are a direct result of that expulsion threat,' he said.

'We told Mr Mills we could not enforce it and that he must take all responsibility.'

Schools reported low attendances again today and one principal described it as a 'stay-at-home' campaign.

Principals said the stayaway was obviously in defiance of the expulsion threat and that it appeared as if the pupils were continuing the boycott indefinitely.

The committe of 81, which has been spearheading the boycott action in the Western Cape, decided yesterday to split into regions because of alleged police harassment.

The committee's meeting in Wynberg yesterday was stopped after 45 minutes because of police surveillance.

OUT IN FORCE

The police were out in force in central Cape Town and along suburban stations again today, apparently to prevent pupils from entering the city to stage demonstrations.

Dr Quint said pupils who were bona fide commuters were, however, allowed to board trains to their respective schools.

Police detain 150—and many vanish

~~329~~ 274 Argus 28/5/80

MORE than 150 people are believed to have been detained in South Africa in the wake of the school boycott And many others, including children, have mysteriously disappeared from their homes.

Security Police headquarters in Pretoria have repeatedly refused to release or confirm the names of those being held under security legislation.

The Argus has compiled a list of names of people believed to have been detained by Security Police Most of the detentions were carried out in the early hours. People were taken from their homes

Twenty-five people, mostly scholars, are being held by the Boland Security Police Five, four of them scholars from the Fred Gaum High School in Ceres, were detained when about 10 security policemen swooped on their homes in the early hours of Sunday_

The five are Mr Terence van der Merwe, Mr Llewellyn van der Merwe, Mr Keith Ford, Mr Cedric Dovle and Mr Allan Farao. They are being held under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act

Those believed to have been detained in the Cape are

Professor Jakes Gerwel, Mr Jimmy Ellis, Mr Dennis Adonis, Mrs Edna van Harte, Mrs Nombulelo Malane, Mrs Lila (Patel) Adams, Mr Jan Persens, Mr Basil Kivido, Mr Jamie Issel, Mr Johnny Issel, Mr Hennie Ferrus, Dr Neville Alexander, Mr Rommel Roberts, Mr Rustum Naidoo, Mr Ralton Williams, Mr Russel Jafta, Mr John Carolissen, Mr Raymond de Lilie, Mr Desmond van Wyk, Mrs Theresa Solomon, Mr Jamoludien Hamdulay.

Mr G Jacobs, Mr Charles Keeble, Mr Geoffrey Mamputa, Mr Notosi Komani, Mr Douglas Ngcokoto, Mr Jolisa Kobus, Mr Kwezi Kobus, Mr Shepland Makilina, Mr Leslie Mouton, Mr Raymond Levy, Mr Chris Darrow, Mr H Gerrit, Mr N Allie, Mr Junay Darcy, Mr F Jacobus.

Mr Ridwaan Adams, Mr Patrick Bastian, Mr Otto van Noie, Mr Owen Gelhenhuys, Mr J Flemmit, Mr Sedrick McNeil, Miss Lizette Arendse, Miss Soaya Mohamed, Mr Raymond Ravner, Mr Patrick van Neel.

Mr Vusumzi Pikoli, Mr Archie Sobukwe, Mr Vuyisile Oliphant, Mr Thabo Msisi, Mr Thango Lamani, Mr Tebego Bothule, Mr Velile Cekisane

Mr Neville Fry, Mr Trevor Wentzel, Mr Achmat Cassiem, Mr Michael Sedgwick Mr Allan Liebenberg, Mr Richard

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Argus 28/5/82

150 held

(Continued from Page 1)

Stevens, Mr Bradley Potgieter.

Mr Cecil Esau, Mr Cornelius Arries, Mr Abdurazak Achmat, Mr Errol Yon, Mr Abdurman Hurzuk.

Some of those listed have been detained in the Eastern Cape. A total of 39 people have been detained by Port Elizabeth Security Police.

Security Police headquarters in Pretoria today again declined to release the number of those in detention. They said that there were 19 police divisions and they were unable to get the figures from all as they make their own arrests and detentions.

Mr Marimuthu Subramoney, a reporter of the Daily News, the sister newspaper to The Argus, has been detained by the Port Natal Security Police. This brings to eight the number of Natal people believed to have been detained since the weekend.

The detainees are being held either under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act which allows for detention for periods of up to 14 days or Section 10 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention.

UCT

28/05/80

THIS sequence shows, in little more than a second, the moment an egg shattered on the shirtfront of the rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor R E van der Ross, yesterday.

Several eggs and tomatoes were thrown as the rector addressed about 1 000 students in the amphiteatre on the campus.

The meeting broke up after the incident and the rector, with egg yolk dripping down his chest, walked dejectedly to his office.

The pelting was deplored by the majority of students.

It was the second egg-throwing incident of the meeting. Earlier an egg landed a few centimetres away from his feet splashing the yolk over his trousers. (Pictures by Willie de Klerk.)

Argus

Pupils told to carry on boycott

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2815/80

THE Committee of 81 has called on pupils to continue the boycott 'until further notice'

In a statement issued to The Argus today the committee said contrary to rumours the student body was still active and fully in control of the schools boycott.

'Police have been detaining scores of students, teachers, lecturers and sympathisers in the community in an attempt to crush the student action

The student body, however, is now stronger and more united in the wake of this present crisis'

The statement said pupils would not be intimidated by the 'show of kragdadigheid' on the part of the authorities, but instead their commitment to achieve their goals had been strengthened

● See Page 9

Support for principals who expel students

Argus 28/4/80

THE Department of Coloured Relations will 'stand by' principals who expel 'children who challenge authority and refuse to be disciplined', according to a Press statement by the Secretary for Coloured Relations, Mr J H T Mills.

The statement was issued yesterday by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information under instructions from the Department of Coloured Relations.

It said reports that the Government had withdrawn its threat that pupils who refuse to attend classes must be expelled were inaccurate, in that the Government had never said such pupils must be expelled.

CLEARLY PUT

Mr Mills said his statement made on Friday last week clearly put it that principals were requested to see

- That normal school activities should be resumed at all schools from Monday this week
- That all teachers must continue with their normal class syllabuses and that time not be allocated for unofficial programmes or talks
- That principals were requested to see that normal authority and discipline be maintained at school.

NOT WITHDRAWN

Nothing of this request has been withdrawn, yesterday's statement said.

'One method through which authority and discipline can be maintained is to expel children who challenge authority and refuse to be disciplined, and I told principals on Thursday May 22 that if it should be necessary to resort to this, the Department will stand by them.

'This assurance remains unchanged,' Mr Mills said

2 boycott pupils die in shooting

(274) ~~257~~ ~~52~~ RDM ~~28~~ 29/5/80.

POLITICAL STAFF

TWO coloured pupils were shot dead and six hurt when police opened fire yesterday at Elsie's River, near Cape Town, in the most serious incident since the boycott of schools began two months ago.

The shooting was reported to have happened as a crowd of pupils were stoning passing vehicles.

In another pupil-police clash, 275 black scholars were arrested under the Riotous Assemblies Act when they attempted to march into Uitenhage to protest against the detention on Sunday of four fellow pupils.

The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, expressed regret over the shooting and extended his condolences to all concerned in a statement last night

The incident had been preceded by the stoning of vehicles and the throwing of a petrol bomb at a police vehicle in Halt Road, Elsie's River, where yesterday's shooting took place, Mr Le Grange said

"This situation also prevailed (yesterday), with about 400 youths damaging vehicles with stones At least 50 such vehicles were reported to the police

"At about 1515 a police patrol vehicle moved into the area, where they were attacked with stones"

During this attack the police used their firearms, killing two coloured youths, Mr Le Grange said

"A member of the police acted to defend himself against the stone-throwers"

A witness, Mr P Present, said "The two children were among a crowd who were stoning passing traffic

"A kombi stopped and the four white occupants just began shooting at the children The children ran away, but two of them fell to the ground"

Reacting last night [illegible] Progressive Federal Party spokesman on police matters, said, "We have had repeated assurances that the authorities would act with restraint and that there would be no resort to shooting I earnestly hope that the instructions will be repeated and strictly observed in the future"

The arrest of the 275 black pupils outside Uitenhage was preceded by police action against black schoolboys at Fort Beaufort

Teargas was used to disperse the boys, who were picketing outside a local primary school and attempting to prevent pupils from entering

At the University of Durban-Westville, two men's hostels were set alight and windows smashed, after the authorities suspended all lectures until further notice and ordered all residence students to leave the campus

The fires were put out before much damage could be caused, a university spokesman said

There were further reports of detentions by police yesterday as the Police Amendment Bill moved closer to acceptance in Parliament

The Bill will prevent publication of the names of detainees if they are held in the course of police action to combat "terrorism", which is defined extremely loosely in the Terrorism Act

The Police Directorate of Public Relations yesterday confirmed that a former Nusas president, Mr Duncan Innes, had been detained under the General Law Amendment Act



Mrs Elizabeth Fortuin, the mother of Bernard Fortuin, 15 — one of two coloured schoolchildren shot dead at Elsies River, near Cape Town, yesterday. The Minister of Justice, Mr Louis le Grange, said in a statement last night that they had been shot during a stone throwing incident.

RIOT COVER FM 30/5/80

Unfortunate timing

274

With strikes and boycotts flaring up all over the country, the SA Insurance Association (SAIA) seems to have picked a singularly unfortunate moment to stop its members (ie the whole of the short-term industry) providing political riot cover for loss of profits, known as "consequential loss".

The SAIA recently introduced a rule whereby, if 70% of its members take a decision at a meeting, it is binding on all members. This was doubtless a well-intentioned and commendable attempt by the industry to discipline itself. (Part of the present trouble with the rate war is that a few companies have been able to cut rates excessively while the rest of the market couldn't afford to be left out — (*FM* April 11)

But, last week, SAIA decided to forbid its members from writing any further political riot cover for loss of profits. The background to this is that Sasria (SA Special Risks Insurance Association), the government-backed riot insurance consortium, provides cover only for physical damage. Attempts have been made to get "consequential loss" included, but the Minister of Finance recently decided against it. Because of Senator Horwood's decision, and because demand from the public for such cover is understandably increasing, a few companies had started to show growing interest in writing this business.

From the businessman's point of view, such cover in SA today is eminently desirable. It is not just loss of "profits", but the "consequential loss" — the fact that his plant could be out of production for months, perhaps awaiting spares from overseas, with the resultant staff lay off, that is cause for concern.

The argument against such cover is that, besides being very expensive, it is subject to stringent governing factors, including 30-day, or even 7-day cancellation clauses. One insurer, who is adamant his company "won't touch it," suggests that if a company accepts a risk, or a treaty, which may then be followed by a slight slip-up or a time gap, the company could find itself in serious difficulty, obliged to carry the whole amount.

So what? If the public is prepared to pay high premiums, and insurance companies are prepared to take the risk, shouldn't they be allowed to do so? Surely it is the industry's job to seek ways of providing new forms of cover where needs arise.

As things stand, businessmen can only go to the overseas market (if there is still sufficient capacity there, which the *FM* understands is doubtful). This, *inter alia*, means premium payments going out of the country.

Has not the SAIA, on this occasion, pushed its self-appointed powers too far — and to the consumers' detriment? This could perhaps become an issue under the Restrictive Trade Practices Act.

S Africa's biggest display of military muscle

Timing of parades is questioned by some

The SADF is today giving its biggest public display of military muscle since South Africa became a republic — and already it is drawing fire for doing so while the country is in a state of unrest

Shortly before 9 am today a 58-vehicle flying column made up of armoured cars, ratel fighting vehicles and mine-protected personnel carriers converged on the formation area in Voortrekkerhoogte on route to Skurweberg on the western side of Pretoria before leaving at 10 am to tour the city.

And in Johannesburg a massive mobile column of about 70 vehicles moved from its staging area at about 9.30 am

Similar activity is planned in more than 10 other centres in South Africa, accompanied by massive air force flyovers using fighter aircraft, helicopters and light aircraft.

In Pretoria the flying column was expected to reach the shadow of Paul Kruger on Church Square at about 2.30 pm where the Mayor of Pretoria, Mr Fanie van Rensburg, was to take the salute as an Air Force contingent of about 68 aircraft boomed overhead

Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Kimberley East London, Port Elizabeth Durban, Pietersburg and a few Reef towns will also see mobile columns today.

Defence Chief General Magnus Malan said in a statement yesterday that the parades were the major part of the Defence Force's contribution to the annual Republic Day festivities, culminating in a wreath-laying ceremony at Fort Klapperkop near Pretoria tomorrow

Observers near the staging areas said early today that the flying columns were "the most impressive things" they had ever seen

A professor of law at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Johan van der Vyver said today even if the bona fides of the Defence Force were above board the timing of such a show of force was most unfortunate

"Whatever the main objective of the military mobile formation I think that it is most unfortunate to have such a show of force while there is unrest throughout the country." Professor van der Vyver said.



South Africa's military clout went on show today with convoys moving through the country's major centres. Here a line of armoured cars from Doornkop Military Base near Johannesburg, moves along the Golden Highway and on to Vereeniging.

FM 30/5/80 HA 50 274

UNREST

The shooting starts

As the *FM* has pointed out (May 16), SA's racial and economic divisions make the country sufficiently volatile for almost any localised conflict to become a national crisis. And, now the country is further down that path — despite Police Minister Louis le Grange's press statement this week that "no general unrest prevails."

That statement, of course, came before the police shot and killed "coloured youths" in Elsies River, Cape Town. The youths were said to have been involved in a stone-throwing incident. Le Grange "extended his condolences" — a marked change from the stance of his predecessor James Kruger

The coloured schools boycott in the Cape became a national boycott by coloured and Indian scholars, then resulted in the closure of Fort Hare University and the University of Durban Westville And indications are that the same could yet happen on other black campuses

Government has reacted toughly, detaining many community leaders — the total was increasing when the *FM* went to press Police would not say how many had been detained nationwide, and said it was unlikely they would be providing the press with a total

In the long term, these detentions could prove counterproductive Frequent warnings that government is increasingly driving black opposition underground by seeking security, not political, solutions to crises now appear close to fruition

Black opposition is already a different animal from what it was in 1976 On an overt level, regional groups have emerged, with stronger grassroots community backing Their reliance is less on the polemic of the past than on practical organisation. The limited local issues around which they mobilise — education, rents, transport fares, and labour disputes, etc — are tangible

A security police spokesman told the *FM* early this week that police had received no indication of any national strategy behind the unrest, a view supported by the *FM*'s own investigations. However, that no overt national political organisation has emerged to articulate the motivation and grievances that lie behind the present unrest is no cause for comfort.

The black talkers are being silenced, both by police action and their own communities. Indeed, black politics is increasingly taking on the appearance of a clouded, rising tide whose currents are all but indistinguishable to white eyes

As the *FM* went to press, the regional situation was as follows.

Western Cape. All Cape Town coloured, Indian and African high school pupils plus college and university students were boycotting classes, with many Boland scholars doing the same Some 160 coloured and Asian butchers had decided not to stock red meat from Monday unless Cape Town meat employers re-instated 750 locked-out black meat workers by Friday this week A community red-meat boycott is gathering momentum A boycott of white shops in Parow is scheduled for this weekend, and there is much talk among



Kid and cop . . . squaring up?

the Peninsula's black community of more widespread boycotts of white shops and businesses

Buses were stoned in black townships this week. A black bus boycott is scheduled to begin on Monday to protest bus fare hikes, some as high as 115%, taxis have been informed and lift clubs formed A Cape Flats rent issue is on the boil.

The Eastern Cape. Reports of scores of detentions continued to reach the *FM* amid assessments that the situation in the area was "hotting up" following sporadic school boycotts and the closure of Fort Hare University

The Northern Cape. A 100% boycott of coloured high schools was in force in Kimberley, according to reports

Natal/KwaZulu. The University of Durban-Westville has been closed down for two weeks Partial boycotts prevailed at the black medical school in Wentworth, the Umlazi Technikon, and Indian and coloured high schools. Attendance at KwaMashu's African high schools was 16%-100%. The University of Zululand was reported back to normal following the weekend clash between students and Inkatha members It remains unclear if Chief Gatsha Buthelezi will easily regain his authority over boycotting students following his threat that they could be expelled

The Free State. Bloemfontein's Batho township was reported quiet But Saturday sees the funeral of the man who died in a clash with police last week and observers fear an overspill of emotions Attendance at Bloemfontein black high schools varied from poor to nil.

The Reef and Pretoria. Differences in aims and strategy seem to exist among coloured and Indian high school pupils. Attendance was as low as 30%-40% in some Johannesburg high schools A minority was boycotting in Laudium, near Pretoria, and on the West Rand. Apart from one high school in Springs, most coloured and Indian scholars were attending classes on the East Rand

The *FM* understands from discussions with a number of African leaders that Soweto and the Pretoria African townships should remain quiet However, there are fears that June 16 commemorations of the 1976 Soweto tragedy could be a flashpoint

Those in authority are no doubt aware, too, of the need to keep in mind that coloured and Indian students have set a June 6 deadline for their short-term demands And after the ensuing weekend Monday is June 16. It is a time for skilful defusing of grievances, rather than knee-jerk *kragdadigheid*

n shot after ce are stoned

RDM 30/5/80.

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POLITICAL STAFF

A YOUNG coloured was shot by a detective at Ravensmead, near Cape Town, yesterday during a stoning incident, the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, said last night.

The unnamed 22-year-old man was under guard in hospital last night. His condition was satisfactory, General Geldenhuys said.

Reporters who visited the township after the shooting described the the situation as "ugly" and the mood of the township residents as aggressive. Ravensmead is not far from Elsies River, where two pupils were shot dead on Wednesday.

Two detectives were sent to Ravensmead to investigate after police had received reports of stoning incidents. In one, youths stoned a car in which a 35-year-old pregnant white woman was travelling, General Geldenhuys said.

When the detectives arrived at the scene, their vehicle was stoned by between 50 and 100 youths and the detectives were "trapped and could not drive away," the general said

The detectives got out of the car and one of them fired a shot with his firearm, hitting a stone-thrower in the back as "he was bending to pick up another stone".

In anticipation of further unrest after the Elsies River shootings about 200 extra police were send to the Western Cape yesterday The Western Cape has been the main centre of the unrest since the boycott first started, although trouble has flared in townships in Bloemfontein and Durban

In Cape Town, where both black and coloured pupils have boycotted school, about 1 000 high school pupils from Cape Town's three black townships yesterday demonstrated in the ground of Fezeka High School

Police arrived and dispersed onlookers but did not attempt to enter the school grounds to break up the demostration.

The boycott of coloured and Indian high schools continued in Johannesburg yesterday In Lenasia, near Johannesburg, some pupils accused their teachers of being "police agents".

The accusation was apparently sparked by the signature of some teachers on a circular warning parents their pupils risked expulsion if they continued their boycott.

In the Eastern Cape the boycott continued to gain momentum yesterday. The number of institutions now affected is 50 There were, however, no arrests or clashs between police and pupils.

Meanwhile Brigadier A F Verwey, Divisional Inspector of Police in the Eastern Cape, said yesterday the 275 pupils who were arrested under the Riotous Assemblies Act on Wednesday had been released. A decision has not yet been made on whether to prosecute

In Trankei, the Transkei Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, disclosed that a former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Joel Gwabeni, had been arrested while delivering an address to students at the Cicira Teacher Training College

Following the spread of the school boycott to Thaba 'Nchu, an enclave of BophuthaTswana territory in the Free State, pupils from two high schools were addressed by the magistrate

The pupils wanted President Lucas Mangope to talk to them and he is now scheduled to do so on Monday, the principal of the Goronyane Secondary school, Mr Zinzien Gododo. said yesterday.

Several organisations yesterday condemned the Elsies River shootings and called on the police to exercise restraint and on pupils to consider their actions carefully.

See Page 2

Police report on unrest, school boycott

C.T. 31/5/80 (274)

PRETORIA. — The Police Directorate of Public Relations issued the following situation report yesterday on the boycotting of schools throughout the country

● **Cape Town:** "The second person shot dead in the Elsie's River incident has now been identified. He was 20-year-old coloured male William Lubbe Lubbe was unemployed and not a scholar

"Those injured were Alton Okhuis, 16, Charles Phore, 15, William Baptis, 20, Charles Gosh, 26, John Wyngaard, 15 and Jenifer de Wee, 15 Only Phore and Wyngaard were scholars

"At 2 15 pm yesterday (Thursday) a woman's car was stoned in Elsie's River She suffered shock but no injuries and her car was damaged At the same time a car in which a white couple were travelling in Ravensmead was also stoned, causing damage estimated at R2 000

"Two coloured policemen who arrived on the scene by car a little while later were also stoned by between 50 and 100 coloured youths They surrounded the car One man was shot in the back when he stooped to pick up a stone

"He was removed to hospital and released after treatment He is being detained on a charge of public violence.

"Classes are being boycotted at 46 senior secondary schools, with attendance varying between 45 and 65 percent. Classes are still being boycotted at all six colleges

"On Wednesday a furniture factory was gutted by fire causing damage worth R100 000 Foul play is suspected.

"Scholars stoned a bus in Matroosfontein on Wednesday. Windows were broken Later the same bus was stoned in Elsie's River and a passenger was knocked unconscious

"Later the same evening a further three buses and a kombi were also stoned in Elsie's River Several cars were stoned at the Goodwood Showground "

● **Johannesburg:** "There was a complete boycott of classes at three coloured secondary schools, with attendance normal at one school Four Indian high schools in Lenasia were completely boycotted."

● **Durban:** "Attendance at Indian schools varied between 0 and 90 percent

"Window panes were broken at the Centenary, Pretoria, Merebank and Clare high schools

"Students of the Durban-Westville University left the campus yesterday (Thursday)

"Classes were being boycotted at six coloured high schools and one teachers' training college. Attendance varied between 15 and 90 percent

"Black schools. Some scholars of the technical college at Umlazi are boycotting classes and there was an average attendance of 60 percent Attendance was improving at Kwa-Mashu and was now 60 percent

"Black students are still boycotting classes at the medical school of the University of Durban-Westville."

● **Bloemfontein:** "One of the four coloured schools has now joined in the boycott Otherwise the situation is more or less calm. A total of 25 black schools, one black training college and one coloured school are boycotting school to some extent " — Sapa



Mr J Theron, left, whose car was stoned while he was driving through Ravensmead yesterday afternoon, points out the damage to Mr P Julius Mr Theron [illegible] into Mr Julius's car during the stoning

PM's warning on unrest

RDM 30/5/80.

Political Staff

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, warned yesterday that the Government would use all its power to confront further attempts to create unrest.

His warning came as widespread unrest continued, with pupils boycotting schools, strikers maintaining stay-aways in Durban and Cape Town, further detentions, and incidents of arson in Elsies River, where two coloured youths were shot dead by police earlier this week

Addressing Rand Afrikaans University students, Mr Botha appealed to the "silent majority" to reject radicalism which, he said, brought only sorrow.

He accused the SA Council of Churches of distributing about R2,5 million to promote unrest — a claim denied last night by the SACC general secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu (See page 3)

Mr Botha said the Government believed the banned African National Congress was trying to promote unrest through "the mass media".

In a strong plea for people to unite against a "total onslaught" by Russia, Mr Botha said the Afrikaner had been the first to light the fires of freedom in Southern Africa The Afrikaner did not wish to withhold freedom from others, and the new constitution was part of its commitment to this ideal

Unrest continued on a broad front yesterday, with serious incidents of arson in Elsies River.

On the labour front textile workers from the Frame Group in Natal appeared to be returning to work yesterday in response to the company's offer of a 15% wage increase. But union sources said "several thousand" workers remained on strike

A fire in Elsies River, near Cape Town, destroyed two businesses and damaged a house.

In Johannesburg, police used batons and a sneeze machine to break up a protest march by boycotting pupils in the coloured township of Noordgesig

Riot police also dispersed demonstrating and stone-throwing students at the Joosub Technical High School in Lenasia

In Port Elizabeth, the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape, Mr E C Heller, said he would not prosecute 130 black pupils who marched on the Grahamstown police station earlier this month.

But another six people were detained in the Eastern Cape, bringing to more than 250, the total number held countrywide since the unrest started.

In Maritzburg, police used batons to disperse more than 500 pupils boycotting classes. And in Transkei, classrooms were burnt down at the All Saints High School in Engcobo. Students were also ordered home at the University of Transkei.

Harvard 1980

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MONDAY, 5 MAY 1980

†Indicates translated version

For written reply:

Unrest in Black townships: Compensation Committee

87. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

(a) How many claims for *ex gratia* compensation arising out of the unrest in the Black townships were lodged with the Compensation Committee, (b) in how many cases was compensation granted, (c) to whom and (d) what amounts in each case?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE.

(a) 150

(b) compensation was recommended in 31 cases

(c)	(d)
Amatende, R.	R158,00
Belle, C.	500,00
Claasen, J.	2 000,00
Danibe, O.	500,00
Dhlamine, J.	100,00
Dongwe, C.	301,00
Dube, S.	15 000,00
Gwala, R.	437,00
Laaka, L.	2 000,00
Magula, H.	2 000,00
Makate, A.	160,00
Mapipa, C.	2 000,00
Masamanzi, S.	800,00
Matabane, L.	350,00
Mathebula, M.	200,00
Molapo, R.	20 000,00
Molefe, N.	15 000,00
Monyane, M.	500,00
Mosia, S. J.	20 000,00
Mpholo, P.	1 500,00
Msane, V.	350,00
Ngubane, M.	10 000,00
Nkosi, R.	12 000,00
Nyebe, L.	250,00
Radebe, A.	900,00
Sehen, T. S.	210,00
Seja, M.	200,00
Sitsheshe, T S.	250,00
Solomon, A.	100,00
Tshabalala, M	80,00
Xosa, M.	550,00

DISCUSSION OF REPORT OF COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE RIOTS IN SOWETO AND OTHER PLACES IN THE REPUBLIC DURING AND AFTER JUNE 1976

(Motion)

*The MINISTER OF JUSTICE Mr Speaker, I move—

That this House discuss the following matter, namely The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots in Soweto and Other Places in the Republic during and after June 1976

The commission was appointed on 24 June 1976 to inquire into and report on the riots during June 1976 and the causes giving rise thereto Because the unrest continued beyond June 1976, the terms of reference of the commission were extended on 8 October 1976 to include later incidents as well The commission's interpretation of its terms of reference was that it was not expected to make recommendations with regard to what should or could be done to prevent a repetition of the events and consequently it concentrated on the matter of fact finding with regard to the riots and the causes thereof

The commission submitted its report to the Government on 22 January 1980 The report was in Afrikaans and its translation into English will still take a considerable time Initially the intention was to wait until the English version was ready, so that the report could be tabled in both official languages at the same time as is customary After Opposition Parties had also been consulted it was decided however, to table the report in Afrikaans only so that all interested parties would be able to take cognizance of the contents thereof as soon as possible

The procedure followed by the commission as explained in the report, testifies to particular thoroughness For example, at various stages of the inquiry, persons who not only enjoy high esteem in their own communities but also have extensive knowledge of relevant matters, were co-opted as advisors In addition to the hearing of formal evidence, the commission collected further information by having discussions with *inter alia*, Chief Ministers and other [illegible] homeland Governments, Black [illegible] and experts in various fields

It is important to take note of the [illegible] no person was subpoenaed to give [illegible] before the commission Therefore [illegible] persons who gave evidence in 26 [illegible] the Republic, did so voluntarily [illegible] witnesses there were principals of [illegible] sities, members of the teaching [illegible] researchers, members of church [illegible] organizations, newspaper reporters [illegible] clars, professional men, business[illegible] bers of the S A Police and members [illegible] public who were not attached to [illegible] The transcribed version of the evidence [illegible] was given during the 126 sittings [illegible] commission, comprises nearly 9 000 [illegible] In addition thereto there were no fewer than 495 items of documentary evidence

†The commission brought out a comprehensive report of 640 pages, together with a schedule of, roughly, another 400 pages From a study of the report it is apparent that the unrest and disorder in various areas of the Republic have been investigated in depth The report itself is evidence of a systematic and meticulous approach The commission devoted a large part of its report to the prelude to the disorder As will be gathered from the commission's findings, this portion is more relevant to the causes of the outbreak of the unrest than to the continuum thereof Apart from dealing with the causes of the unrest in 88 pages of the report, the commission also made findings in connection with elements or features of the riots as well as the consequences thereof I want to express my Government's sincere thanks to the chairman and sole member of the commission, the Hon Justice Mr P M Cillie, as well as to those who assisted the commission in the execution of its mandate in a professional or clerical capacity, for the thorough and meticulous manner in which the inquiry was done and the report was drafted They carried out their most difficult and onerous task with dignity and skill

My task today is to introduce the report for discussion by this House I am therefore not going to enter into the debate, that will inevitably centre around certain more pertinent findings of the commission But I do want to refer briefly to three matters in my capacity as Minister of Justice The first is the commission's finding that intimidation in various forms was a major perhaps the principal driving force in the riots The commission found that even after the initial causes of the riots had ceased to be a reason for its continuation, organized intimidation ensured that the unrest not only continued, but also spread to other centres That intimidation on such a scale was possible, and continues, is cause for concern, and I want to give the assurance that the Government will consider ways and means of curbing the influence and effect of attempts at intimidation in future I accept that the Rabie Commission at present inquiring into our security legislation, will take note of these findings and consider making recommendations in this regard

In the second place, I merely draw attention to the fact that mention is made in the report of criticism levelled against the South African administration of justice and to the fact that the commission found that there was no evidence to show that the administration of justice was a direct or contributing factor to the unrest

Lastly, I want to refer briefly to the question of compensation As hon members know, the State and persons acting on its behalf were indemnified in respect of actions in connection with the unrest during the period 16 June 1976 to 15 March 1977 My predecessor, however, appointed a committee to advise him about deserving cases where the indemnity legislation could have an onerous effect I previously informed the House, by way of a reply to a question put to me, that I have already come to a conclusion on the final recommendations of the committee, which I received on 6 February this year, and that the Government would soon also take a decision thereon A list showing the claims submitted to the committee and the cases in which *ex-gratia* payments are recommended by the committee will then be tabled

Sir, we can approach this report as if it is a post-mortem of a funeral that took place four years ago, or a fragment of past history I do not think it would be fruitful for us to adopt that approach here in the House I believe it is much more important—indeed vitally important—for us to approach this report against the background of present circumstances and the occurrences that have taken place over the past four years In this regard I just want to say by way of introduction that South Africa is indisputably caught up in a process of change The population is increasing willynilly, labourers are entering the labour market every year, there is an increasing demand for housing etc

We can distinguish between this type of almost involuntary change, almost unplanned change, and deliberate, planned change in South Africa If we take a look at planned change, there is a bright side and a dark side, as there is elsewhere in Southern Africa On the bright side there are those who seek diligently every day to bring about peaceful constitutional and socio-economic change On the dark side there are those who have given up hope of the possibility of peaceful change and who are resorting to taking up arms and to violence in order to try to bring about a radical revolution by means of terrorism and subversion These two processes of change are running a deadly race with each other in South Africa and both of them are present in South Africa every day Consequently, if anyone reads this report carefully and looks back over the past four years, he gains a single overwhelming impression The occurrences of 16 June 1976 and onwards were amongst the most polarizing in the history of race relations in our country Those occurrences made the dark side of change in South Africa considerably darker and gave it impetus I do not have to tell hon members that racial polarization is one of the most difficult conflicts to resolve It is in point of fact a conflict that cannot be defused through negotiation for the simple reason that since mobilization is taking place on a racial basis and polarization is occurring in consequence, people cannot change the colour of their skins in order to resolve the conflict Therefore, it is the responsibility of everyone who is interested in peaceful constitutional change to counteract this polarization What signs of polarization can we identify if we look back

*Dr F. VAN Z SLABBERT. Mr Speaker, I want to support the motion of the hon the Minister of Justice and thank him for the opportunity he is giving the House to discuss this very important report I also want to associate myself with the words of gratitude expressed by him towards the chairman of the commission for their hard work

over the past four years' Firstly there are the Black youths who have left the country Brig Johan Coetzee, head of the Security Police, says the following in *Die Transvaler* of 21 September 1979, and I quote—

> Elke jaar gaan daar duisende Swartes uit die land uit om in kommunistiese lande uiters opgelei te word as terroriste, om later 'n aanslag teen Suid-Afrika te kom lewer

It has been calculated that there were 4 000 refugees in Angola, Mozambique, Libya and Tanzania after the 1976 riots Botswana has 1 000 permanent refugees Since 1976, Swaziland has had 8 000 refugees

It is important to realize that these Black South Africans are young and that their families are still here in South Africa That is why, apart from the serious atrocity of Silverton, the meaning of the dark side of that event is that those three terrorists were buried in Soweto and not in Moscow

Let us take a look at the increase in acts of violence. In that regard Brig Zietsman says that he has calculated that there were 4 000 Black South Africans who had received guerrilla training outside the borders of South Africa by June 1978, i e two years after the riots In addition, Brig Zietsman says that approximately 4 500 people have been charged under the security legislation of the Republic since 19 June 1976 The *Sunday Express* of 17 June 1979 referred to more than 40 acts of violence and terrorism since June 1976 Of course I cannot quote all of them, but there are the following examples—

> 30 11 76 Two police injured when four ANC guerrillas, taken into custody in the Eastern Transvaal, escaped by throwing a grenade into a cab of a Police vehicle
>
> 27 9.77 Arms and grenades found by police near Swaziland border
>
> 24 1 79 Unexploded bomb found near Peddie station in the Eastern Cape

We know that cases are being heard in court at the moment This is front page news in today's *Cape Times* There is a court case here in Cape Town and another in Port Elizabeth I could also quote from cases which have been heard in court in the interim and have been reported in the Press For instance, there is the case of the *State* v *Aitken Ramudzuli and Enoch* [illegible] quote—

> In a statement to the court, [illegible] told of how his attitude had changed after the June 17 uprising in Soweto [illegible] shooting of the young scholars [illegible] stoned me and many students [illegible] ing myself were bitter with the manner which the riots were handled by the authorities"

Then there is also the case of the *State* v *Aaron Sipho Madondo*, and I quote—

> Madondo told the court that he had been an outstanding pupil at school, [illegible] only Std 6 scholar at his school [illegible] obtained a first-class pass When the 1976 riot broke out in Soweto he was still attending school and in October 1976 was recruited by the ANC

Then we have the following in Joh Kane-Berman's book on Soweto, and the book is generally accepted as an objective analysis of that situation I quote one extract from the court cases, from the one against the [illegible] Setswali—

> Throughout the universities and high schools of South Africa the South African Students' Organization and its high school equivalent, the South African Students' Movement were very active in conducting meetings to preach the philosophy of Black consciousness

This is Black mobilization on a racial basis There we have it He says this is the direct consequence of the riots that took place We must look at this report against the background of this process of polarization that I call the dark side of change in South Africa

Let us take a look at the method of analysis employed in the report As the hon the Minister said, a total of 563 people gave evidence before the commission However it is important to note that only 15 of them were Black youths There were 39 Coloureds, 169 Blacks and 340 Whites In other words the vast majority of the witnesses were Whites and the findings of the commission are based on their evidence Consequently we can accept that the Whites who gave evidence

identify the causes and presented their to the commission accordingly The commission also studied 178 court cases, concerning the riots The report mentions—I was referring to this in passing—that apart from the financial loss 575 people died and 3 000 people were arrested as a result of the riots

What was the cause? A great deal has been written in the Press about the matter It is impossible to deal with each one of those causes on merit within the time allocated for the debate However, the commission distinguishes between two types of causes, a very important distinction The commission distinguishes between immediate and contributory background causes—as the commission calls them The relationship between immediate and contributory background causes is very much like the relationship between a spark and a powder-keg The spark may be the immediate cause of an explosion, but if the powder-keg, the so-called contributory background causes, is not present, no spark would be able to cause an explosion

If we read the commission's report, we see that the immediate causes have been identified fairly clearly The question of the policy regarding the medium of instruction, the way in which this policy was introduced, the attitude of the officials, the reaction to the officials, police action and the frequent misunderstanding of officials are all immediate factors that, in the opinion of the commission, gave rise to the riots

The point about immediate causes is that they can be rectified and eliminated fairly easily, because one can identify them quickly and do something about them In my opinion, although the commission did not touch on it, one of the immediate causes was, of course, the attitude to the riots displayed by the then responsible Ministers I am not the only one who says so, but in yesterday's *Beeld*, for instance, there is a report concerning a conversation that Mr Grosskopf held with Percy Qoboza, who was also an editor during the riots—

> Jy kry veral instemming dat die owerheid herhaaldelik gewaarsku was dat die plofpunt verskaf is deur die hantering van die voertaalkwessie en nie deur sameswering nie Hieroor het mnr Percy Qoboza, redakteur van die intussen verbode *The World* en nou redakteur van *Post*, bv geskryf dat hy self enkele dae voor die uitbarsting dringend Kaap toe gevlieg om oor die naderende ontploffing weens die voertaalkwessie te waarsku Hy het met groot moeite 'n onderhoud met dr Andries Treurnicht, destyds Adjunk-minister belas met sulke sake, gekry en hom gewaarsku Dr Treurnicht se reaksie was As ons betaal vir die onderwys van mense, moet ons tog darem die reg vergun word om te besluit hoe en waarin hulle onderrig moet word

This shows a very reckless attitude, in view of the circumstances prevailing in Soweto at the time

I have already made the point that I do not believe that a Minister who acts in such a way under those circumstances, is worthy of the responsibility of such a position However one of my colleagues will have more to say about that later on

I am more interested in the contributory background causes These are the structural circumstances and unless they change the potential for riots will always be present In other words If the powder-keg remains it is pointless throwing away a box of matches in an attempt to prevent the explosion

The commission identified a number of contributory causes I am not going to deal with all of them Many of them cannot be blamed on the Government or on Government policy, but some of them can Those which can in fact be blamed on the Government or on Government policy, deserve attention because they are important I want to refer to a few of them

The first is the whole question of influx control What are the commission's findings in this regard? The commission discovered that although influx control and related matters were not directly responsible for the riots—therefore not an immediate cause—they were contributory factors nevertheless I quote—

> Daar is seker nie baie inwoners wat nog nie met die bepaling of met die toepassing daarvan gebots het of hulle bespreek het nie Daar was ongetwyfeld by hulle 'n ontevredenheid oor hierdie sake 'n Gesindheid is geskep

This is the important point—

> . wat baie in 'n besondere geval tot oproer kan laat oorgaan, of, soos 'n getuie gesê het, in 'n oproersituasie onlogies en vandalistïes kan laat optree

Then we come to the question of group areas The commission says—

> Die algemene ontevredenheid wat by Swart mense en Kleurlinge deur die groepsgebiedebeleid veroorsaak is, het beslis bygedra tot 'n gemoedstoestand wat ontvanklik vir oproerprikke' was

Let us also take the question of the Administration Boards and Advisory Boards—

> Die ontevredenheid met Administrasieraade was van so 'n omvang dat baie Swart inwoners dermate geaktiveer was dat hulle maklik tot oproer kon oorgaan

As far as the urban Blacks policy is concerned, I quote once again what the commission discovered in this regard—

> Daar is geen geval waarin hierdie aangeleentheid afsonderlik of gesamentlik onmiddellik oproer veroorsaak het nie Nogtans het dit 'n gees van ontevredenheid en verset geskep Mense wat só gesind is, gaan maklik oor tot oproer, veral as hulle geen demokratiese manier van regstelling tot hul beskikking het nie

Then there is still the whole question of discrimination The commission puts it very simply—

> Diskriminasie wat altyd as onregverdig beskou is, het nie net ontevredenheid veroorsaak nie, maar by baie ook 'n groot haat Hierdie ontevredenheid en haat was van die vernaamste skeppers van die milieu en die gees van oproer wat al vantevore gemeld is Die kommissie bevind dat alhoewel hierdie aangeleentheid nie oproer veroorsaak het nie, dit nogtans 'n gees van ontevredenheid en verset geskep het Volgens getuienis beskou die meeste stedelike Swart mense, Kleurlinge en Indiers apartheid en afsonderlike ontwikkeling as diskriminasie in dié sin van onregverdige onderskeid by behandeling Ba[illegible] alle rasseskeiding diskriminasie [illegible] melde rassegroepe al wat [illegible] bedoel nie

It is a finding of the commission [illegible] the contributory circumstances [illegible] role here When one studies [illegible] becomes crystal clear If we go [illegible] the pages of this report to 16 June [illegible] polarizing nature of the occurrences [illegible] firmed without a doubt I quote [illegible] from the commission's report—

> Ten slotte noem die kommissie die bevindings wat met die haat en [illegible] in verband staan Oproeriges het [illegible] Wit mense aangeval wat hul persoon[illegible] assosiasies ook al was Onbetrokkenheid, handeling deur amptenare het [illegible] heid Swart mense met haar verwe[illegible] diskriminasie het Swart mense ook [illegible] gehaat Aangesien al die gevalle wat [illegible] hierdie hoofstuk genoem is reeds [illegible] verslag behandel is, ag die kommissie nie nodig om enige verdere bevindinge[illegible] maak nie

It is most disconcerting, however, [illegible] although there have been improvements [illegible] regard to some of these contributory [illegible] immediate causes—we cannot deny [illegible] most important background factors are still present in South Africa today Not only are they present, but they form part of government policy Discrimination is still with us Group areas are still with us Influx control still with us In other words, there are aspects of government policy that lead to polarization between White and Black, which are the dark side of change in South Africa and we can avoid confrontation only if we change the policy

Now the question arises whether the NP is in a position to bring about these changes I am asking this question in all seriousness How many more commissions do they need to convince them that their policy is a source of polarization? We have the Sharpeville report of Mr Justice Wessels This was published a long time ago almost 20 years ago In that report we find the following—

> Daar is getuienis wat daarop dui dat van die Bantoes die bewysboekstelsel as iets [illegible]

[illegible] beskou Dit val nie binne die bestek [illegible] die kommissie om ondersoek na die [illegible] in te stel nie en verslag daaroor te [illegible] nie

[illegible] is also the report by Mr Justice [illegible] on the riots in Langa In this report [illegible]—

> The majority of people living at Langa [illegible] anxious and frustrated because they [illegible] that there were no constitutional channels [illegible] through which they could make their grievances known to the State Witness after witness testified that their major grievances were low wages and the operation of the reference book system

Then we also have the Snyman report on the riots in Paarl I quote from it—

> Na oorweging van al die getuienis het [illegible] tot die gevolgtrekking gekom dat die [illegible] ingebreide korrupsie in die Paarl plaasgebied het ten opsigte van die uitreiking van toegangspermitte aan Bantoewerksoekers ingevolge die toestromingsbeheerregulasies. Talle sodanige persone moes omkoopgeld betaal om die permitte te verkry Ander moes sonder betaling vir die permitte werk

I quote from the Snyman report on the riots at the University of the North—

> The leaders who have emerged over the past five years have virtually without exception rejected separate development, rejected the university, rejected ethnic classification, rejected the idea of separate Black nations rejected their homeland, their tribal connections and even their language

It is the commission that says so not I The Erika Theron report also showed the degree of polarization that was caused as a result of this. That is why I say that for the sake of all of us, the NP must quickly decide whether it wants to work on the bright or the dark side of change in South Africa The report of this commission has made one thing crystal-clear, and this is that ultimately our struggle for survival will not be decided beyond our borders, but in our cities, in our towns and on our farms where Black and White will be forced to work out a peaceful form of existence or destroy each other This is the only real question that deserves meaningful political debate in this House But now I see that a new debate has been launched by the hon the Minister of Public Works, of Statistics and of Tourism Today the new debate within the NP concerns the question whether Coloured people may play against other teams in Craven week We cannot afford to argue about such things in times like these I find it extremely encouraging that the hon the Prime Minister has given a straightforward opinion on this in a statement issued by his office I want to quote from this statement because the hon the Prime Minister presents the gravity of the situation to us very clearly in it He says—

> Ek kan my nie vereenselwig met openbare uitlatinge of gedrag wat verdere spanninge tussen Blankes en Kleurlinge veroorsaak nie Daar is ernstiger sake waaraan Ministers en leiers hul aandag moet skenk Ons land se veiligheid word vandag ook in stand gehou deur Bruin en Swart soldate en polisie saam met Blankes

And then he says—

> Laat ons dus ons sin vir verhoudings behou

If there is one message in the report of the Cillie Commission, it is that we must urgently develop a sense of proportion in South Africa and that we must urgently give attention to these contributory causes causes that are still present and that may cause the occurrences in Soweto to recur because we are going to be burdened with the responsibility of ensuring that the dark side of change in South Africa is removed so that a meaningful debate may take place, not only between us in this House, but also between us and those people outside the House who are interested in peaceful change It is our responsibility to do so If we are going to waste our time by arguing about who should play rugby against whom, then the Greek idiom is true viz those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first send mad

*The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT: Mr. Speaker, this discussion of the report of the Cillié Commission is a very serious discussion. It is a serious debate. I want to say that we on this side of the House are promoting this whole issue of the preservation of a sense of relations in every possible way. No one in this country provides better leadership in regard to the preservation of that sense of relations than our own highly appreciated Prime Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha.

As to the question whether the NP is capable of dealing with this situation, I want to state very definitely, but also with the greatest humility, that I am absolutely convinced that the NP is capable of dealing with it. We do not wish to dispute the findings of this commission. It is an important report and I think it is a good report We should prefer to strive to get matters into perspective, to react positively to findings and in particular, to explain what has already been done to overcome the problems and to satisfy the rightful aspirations of the Black people in this country

I listened to the hon Leader of the Opposition and I want to convey my appreciation for his having made a responsible speech here. I want to thank him for doing so If we can elevate this matter above politics as far as possible, it will give me the greatest pleasure.

As far as the question of the young Black people is concerned, I want to tell the hon Leader of the Opposition that the significance of the report of the Cillié Commission lies in the fact that it is not going to pay us to try to score political points off one another or to try to say whose fault it is. This is a matter of national importance We are all involved in this matter—White, Black, Coloured and Indian. If this report, on which I want to congratulate the hon. judge most sincerely for the hard work he put into it and the exceptionally important report he has published, were to have the implication that we in this country were to realize afresh that these problems concerned all of us and that we must all make a contribution towards solving them, then this report will make an extremely important contribution to our history

I should like to go into each of the findings of the Cillié Commission, and I should like to try to react to the contributory [illegible] the background which was sketched [illegible] Cillié Report and with which my [illegible] of Co-operation and Development was [illegible] fically involved

Let me begin with the homelands [illegible] The report stresses that the [illegible] opponents of the policy are specifically [illegible] leftist organizations. I do not believe that [illegible] leader of any of the National States [illegible] prepared to concede without hesitation that the territory of his State can be joined [illegible] common package to form a unitary [illegible] here. Tradition, customs and the deep [illegible] ficance attached to land, are too strong [illegible] that. That is why the whole issue of consolidation is such a high priority for the Black leaders Land, government and national [illegible] go together. Because the three are indivisible the Government believes that this policy is sound, is to the benefit of the Black man as well as White man, and constitutes the only real solution for peaceful co-existence by the establishment of a form of confederation or a constellation of States. Three States have already become independent voluntarily on this basis. Accordingly, when we discuss these matters with one another, let us get the fundamentals straight The Government states that it sees its way clear to handling this matter—this is our basis and our foundation and we are not in a position to move away from that basis, that foundation, because it is a solid foundation and moreover, there is daily evidence that it is a solid and [illegible] foundation in practice

I now come to the second matter, and that is influx control The aim of the system of control is not to create a sort of embarrassment, irritation and humiliation for the Black men, but, in the light of the well-known economic law of labour demand and labour supply, the social needs of communities and the survival of the economy in the [illegible] states themselves, to establish a flow of labour which takes realities into account According to the findings of the Cillié Commission, Black people have also expressed concern about possible [illegible] population of the urban complexes which could occur if this measure relating to influx control were to be summarily thrown overboard

There is no responsible person in this country who advocates the absolute abolition [illegible] control as far as I know. I do not [illegible] this point of view among Black [illegible] except when it comes from that side [illegible] House, and then it is extremely [illegible] possible Then I have to cross swords [illegible] rigour because in my opinion, that is not [illegible] interests of the Black people It is in no [illegible] interests, and if one were simply to [illegible] open the flood gates—I am speaking [illegible] from painful experience—one would [illegible] create chaos here, which no one would [illegible] to control and deal with. Therefore let [illegible] understand one another with regard to the [illegible] matters

Therefore, even before the unfortunate [illegible] of the riots, the Government had [illegible] discussions with the Black leaders [illegible] the aim of designing a more widely [illegible] method of influx control and [illegible] document The Government is [illegible] aware of the inconvenience and dis[illegible] to which the individual is exposed [illegible] in the nature of the matter I take note of [illegible] finding of the Cillié Commission in this [illegible] and regard this as a very serious [illegible]. To me this was nothing new I [illegible] war on the "dompas" and the pass [illegible] long ago—I said it openly and I repeat [illegible] today—but we are not merely paying lip [illegible] in this regard After all, the Govern[illegible] has adopted a definite standpoint on [illegible] control on the basis of the findings of [illegible] Riekert Commission, by way of a White [illegible] and also by way of an announcement I [illegible] in this House at the beginning of this [illegible].

Let me dwell for just a moment on the [illegible] book. We are making a positive [illegible] to improve this situation with as little [illegible] as possible. It goes without saying that [illegible] modern State must be able to identify [illegible] citizens for innumerable reasons of which I want to mention just a few: For income [illegible] purposes, motor car licence purposes, transac[illegible] purposes, population registration in the [illegible] of births, marriages and deaths, and for [illegible] purposes. After all, a State cannot [illegible] continue to exist without some form of [illegible] in regard to citizens and other [illegible] in its territory. The issue, then, [illegible] around the more acceptable and the [illegible] acceptable and at the same time [illegible] system of identification, and that [illegible] what the Government has committed itself [illegible].

This is a complicated matter and requires thoroughgoing consultation with the leaders of the Black States, because whichever system is designed, the citizens of those States will also be affected if they enter the Republic, besides those who are already outside the states in the Republic of South Africa. Accordingly a proclamation was issued in July 1979 to enable the powers of the legislative assemblies of the Black States to be expanded in this regard. This was followed up in August 1979 by a government announcement by myself in which the power to issue citizenship documents was transferred to certain self-governing States. Last year the reference books were amended so that a citizen of a Black State in position of a document issued to him in terms of an Act of his State would enjoy the necessary recognition and the right to be where he was. In this way an effort is being made to eliminate progressively the stigmatic aspect of the "dompas" and to replace it with an identification document which will be of the same nature as that of the Whites, the Coloureds and the Indians. I have already said this, and I repeat it here.

Discussions are being proceeded with in order to reach finality, and when the practical investigation into the issue of the 72-hour provision in Bloemfontein and Pretoria, which is at present under way, has succeeded —and I have evidence before me which indicates that it is going to be successful, although it is very early to make a prediction—this will result in an ideal state of affairs as regards taking the necessary steps in a meaningful and intelligent way in the interests of all the people of South Africa concerning those two burning issues which the Cillié Commission pointed out to us

In addition, in order to launch this project I have already approved in principle the purchase of the necessary equipment and material and the incurring of certain expenditure in regard to a new identification document Therefore we are making progress with this matter; let there be no doubt on that score.

The commission made findings about the administration boards and the advisory boards I want to say that even before the riots may department was considering the possibility of creating a form of local management for Black people. What are the facts, four years after the riots? The fact is that

more than 200 community councils have already been established and still more are in view This fine development has taken place by way of negotiation around the conference table with the leaders of the Black communities. It was done together with them, not for them It is on record in this House that I shall introduce the legislation as soon as possible—the departmental processes are already at an advanced stage—to convert the community council dispensation into a system of true local municipal management with provision for additional powers The needs of the urban Black people in this regard are therefore being taken fully into account and satisfied.

The administration boards have already been reduced from 22 to 14 with the view to streamlining and in order to meet the challenges of the times more effectively. Some of the best instances of relations among and behaviour towards people, of whatever nature, have become a daily feature of these boards Allow me to say that these boards are at the service of the Black people. The boards have also taken cognizance of the riots Where they have made mistakes, they are big enough, and we on this side of the House are big enough, to say that we are very sorry about them We are not perfect. We apologize for the mistakes, but then we do expect the same attitude from the other people who stirred up these things If it is not too much to ask of us to be prepared to do this, then we can also expect it of them As far as the administration boards are concerned, this, as well as the findings of the Cillié commission, have led to very positive results

We are not insensitive people. We are very sensitive to these things, and if there has been or is insensitiveness on our part, then we apologize sincerely for it We are sorry about it. It is only because we are not perfect people However, we do try to do the right thing Just to give hon. members an idea of how attention is constantly being given to the matter of relations by the administration boards, I just want to mention that during 1979 a number of meetings were arranged which I attended personally and where I myself tried to convey the message, in and out of season, that we must co-operate and create a spirit and attitude which is fine, friendly, sound and good. And let me say, in all humility, that we, should climb down a little from our haughty little pedestals, that we should again practise, as [illegible] the fine and civilized values of [illegible] humility and a sense of graititude, [illegible] in this fatherland of ours. Perhaps [illegible] should make better progress. Let us [illegible] pay lip service to this question of [illegible] have seen 189 senior Administration [illegible] officials attend this large number of [illegible] some of which I myself have opened, [illegible] took part in discussions and training [illegible] to this very important matter of [illegible] far as the Administration Boards are [illegible] cerned. From there the message [illegible] veyed in a skilfull and controlled way [illegible] subordinate officials, and literally [illegible] have been reached in this way. Just as [illegible] people of Soweto today to what [illegible] relations have improved in Soweto as a [illegible] of the nomination of Mr John Kruger [illegible] Mr. Louis Rive. A far sounder relationship between the Administration Board and [illegible] inhabitants is gradually building up there. The Administration Boards are at the service of the Blacks, and if there are problems we want to rectify them and we shall rectify them.

As far as the urban Black people and their say in the government are concerned, the commission has made important findings. The hon. the Prime Minister has already declared that he wants to see a place for the urban Black in the Southern African constellation of states. The trail in that direction is already being blazed by way of the system of local authorities Having a say on a basis which could lead to domination over other people is simply impossible. We say that that is bad practical politics in this country. Still more, however, does the Government begrudge the Black people being able to obtain a genuine say in matters that affect them directly

We choose the road of local management because it is a sound foundation which can be built on. We prefer segmental autonomy and self-management because after all, one has to learn about these matters No one is perfect and what better place to learn than on the foundation of good government, viz. self and local management? The Black people welcome this. They are looking forward with longing to this co-operation, which is growing by the day. We see it around us.

I agree with the hon. Leader of the Opposition that we must not hold a funeral, nor is that necessary—but we must look to what lies ahead. I hope that this will be an inspiration for us to do what must be done with fresh dedication in the interests of all our people in this country. I hope this debate will be worthwhile, and it will be clear that this report is the important ministerial report it really ought to be. In this regard local managements are being given the opportunity of performing not merely executive functions but also more important functions than purely local ones.

The Cillié Commission also made important findings concerning the issue of citizenship, a source of great anger to the Black people. As regards the matter of citizenship, the urban-dweller is being deprived thereby of the right to be present there or to work. In this regard an in-depth investigation by the government is in progress to solve basic problems which cause people concern and which affect them The Government has committed itself to doing so. The hon the Minister of the Interior has appointed a committee of experts in this regard and we hope to have the necessary findings at hand as soon as possible and then to announce the Government's decision in that regard The matter is being given positive attention as the hon. the Prime Minister has already pointed out very clearly. The reality of the presence of the urban Black man is recognized, and let me say it, accepted

The commission quite rightly had a great deal to say about discrimination The golden thread that has run throughout the Government's policy over the years—and still runs through it—is the effort to achieve a position where the word "discrimination" cannot have a negative meaning in relations politics. If this word has to be used, it must acquire a political meaning of merely the protection of a person, community or nation as against domination by another on a reciprocal basis

Mrs H. SUZMAN: Friendly discrimination.

The MINISTER: In fact, therefore, the need for Government measures should only be based on promoting sound order and government in a multinational country like the Republic of South Africa. Vague references to discrimination in the course of discussions, without defining them properly or offering solutions, should therefore, in my opinion, be avoided. May the report of the Cillié Commission also teach us a good lesson in this regard.

Moreover, my personal creed is that in ordinary private intercourse among people, the relations must be based on Christian and humane values and recognition of one another's human dignity. I have already announced that a senior official of my Department, Mr. F B. du Randt, has been entrusted with the task of taking an in-depth look at this matter as regards legislation affecting my Department with a view to repealing measures which are no longer valid in this period, and therefore removing statutory discrimination from the statute book as soon as is practicable. We are engaged in doing this.

The fact that the Government accepted most of the recommendations of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions—and many of them were drastic—and is engaged in implementing them positively, shows that the Government is moving with the demands of the time This is not just lip service, but real, measurable and radical steps that are being taken in this fatherland of ours In the context of the total picture of what must be done, there is therefore a message of hope and positive action, particularly with regard to the young Black people in South Africa, to assure them, too, of hope for the future Not only my Department but I personally make it my business to convey to the young Black man in this country a message of hope for the future wherever I can, because the future of my own children and of yours, Sir, depends on whether we are successful in this regard. Let that be a lesson for us in this debate. This is a problem we must tackle, and surely it is not only a problem for me, my Department or the Government, but for the whole of South Africa. The Black leaders say: "Help us to cultivate a meaningful understanding of the important circumstances of this fatherland of ours among our young people." They cry on my shoulder about the problems of this matter This is therefore a national problem. All of us must play our humble part. This also applies to the housewife in her situation and the young White child in his We must also be able to give the young Black people in this country a message of hope for the future. If we succeed in doing so, then we have guaranteed freedom and evolutionary

progress for all the people of our fatherland

The commission has made very important findings about the issue of housing in urban areas. How does the Government handle the housing needs in a developing country like the Republic, and how does this compare with what is going on in other countries? After all, we do not stand alone in this never-ending struggle to provide our population with adequate housing in one way or another. Here we are dealing with a tremendous demographic problem, one which is setting the Treasury escalating demands. After all, the Republic of South Africa does not have inexhaustable sources of finance, and a tremendous population explosion is taking place, particularly among the Blacz people in this country.

What has been achieved? I shall only furnish a few examples, and these must be assessed against the background of the fact that provision must be made for all population groups over a far wider field of need satisfaction than housing alone During the period from 1965 to 31 December 1979, 144 000 dwelling units were constructed for Black people in the White areas at a cost of R174 million Surely this is a major achievement From 1955 to 1 December 1978, 130 000 dwellings were constructed at a cost of R143 million in the Black States The capacity to keep up with the provision of housing is severely restricted by the fact that the cost of living units has tripled over the past few years.

Accordingly we came up with the 99-year leasehold system Problems that stood in the way have been eliminated and the system is in operation This is a matter of major significance Allow me just to dwell briefly on the 99-year leasehold system for the Black people. Building societies are satisfied with the system as it stands at present Regulations relating to the registration of leasehold rights have now been promulgated. Staff have been trained and registration offices opened at the offices of the various chief commissioners. After consultation with conveyancers, special facilities for the use of their services relating to the registration of leasehold rights have been obtained I have already given notice of amending legislation in regard to the approval of the submission of general plans. By the end of January 1980, general plans in regard to 43 000 stands were approved for participation in the 99-year leasehold system and a further 20 000 plans are at present being considered by surveyors with a view to approval. Therefore very rapid progress is being made with the implementation of the scheme and the administration boards are giving their wholehearted co-operation.

I should like to make an announcement in this regard, based on information furnished to me by Mr. Louis Rive Three months ago it was the considered opinion of consultants that no additional houses in Soweto could be provided with electrical power before the middle of 1982, and that the total electrification project could not be achieved before the end of 1985. [Interjections] However, it now appears that with the co-operation of Escom—and this was achieved directly by Mr. Louis Rive and Mr John Knoetze, and I want to convey to them the greatest thanks, appreciation and praise, and that of the Black people—the co-operation of the City Council of Johannesburg and that of the tenants, it is now possible, in the first place, to provide electrical power to several thousands of dwellings in Soweto within the next six months and also to erect 150 high-mast lighting units, which will light a substantial area at night-time. I have also been informed that the project as a whole can now be completed by the end of 1983. [Interjections] Mr Rive also informs me that it is hoped that it will be possible to report substantial progress with housing in Soweto within the foreseeable future If I were not always being accused of making promises, I would have given this House details of this scheme this morning. [Interjections] However, I too have learnt a lesson I now wait until things happen and only then speak about them. [Interjections.]

Then, too, there are various other projects which are being given positive attention. Often I get down on my knees and ask "Please slow me down, oh Lord, please slow me down!" [Interjections] The dispensation with regard to the development of community councils, is, in the nature of the matter, a process of evolution Due to events in the past I am not satisfied in my own mind that the present power- and financial structures do not perhaps hold out possibilities for improved conduct Accordingly, I decided to appoint certain experts under the chairmanship of Mr Gerald Barrie, the former Auditor-General. The members of that small committee are Mr Muller, recently retired accountant and senior partner of a firm of auditors, and Dr. Boyce, retired Deputy Postmaster-General (Finance and Planning). They have been appointed to make recommendations regarding the transitional stage of the transfer of powers from the administration board to the community councils, with regard to the financial structure which must be developed in order to ensure that the whole process continues in an orderly and regular way. This expert committee will also report on practices and dealings that have taken place in this field thus far, in order to ensure that no irregularities have been committed or have occurred.

With regard to the financing of the administration boards and community councils, a matter which has been referred to by the Cillié Commission in very definite terms, we are now awaiting the Browne report. It will be available within a few weeks Allow me to say that we have great expectations of this Browne report with regard to effective handling of this financing problem

I should very much have liked to furnish hon members with more information about the transport affairs which are also dealt with here. That is very important However, I can only say that this is a very sensitive matter There is no doubt whatsoever about that We are giving special attention to this whole issue of transport. I think hon members will readily agree with me, in view of the important facts at my disposal, that we have succeeded in handling this matter in such a way over the past 12 months or more that peace has prevailed, despite the fact that there have been serious difficulties on the horizon There is something I should like to say to this House, and I also want to express my thanks for it. If it had not been for the co-operation which I have had personally from Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi and Dr. Mdlalose and also from some of my colleagues, those things could have escalated and difficulties could have occurred Therefore, let us give the necessary thanks and appreciation and credit where it is due It is in the interests of their own people, and in the interests of everyone here, to ensure peace and quiet in this country.

The progress we have made in commerce on the basis of the 51.49 partnership is well known I have before me information which I should like to give the House. It will now have to wait until my vote is discussed Suffice it to say, however, that I have eight signed agreements on the 51·49 basis for Soweto, plus other agreements for other Black residential areas However, I do not want to get too excited about this now and then later be accused of making promises which are not fulfilled However, this is the truth. These things will definitely be brought into being in these Black residential areas as proof of sound co-operation between Black and White. We are therefore making good progress.

I now come to the issue of race relations The Cillié Commission makes a number of important statements in this regard. The Government wants to appeal on this occasion to every right-thinking person in this country to give deep thought to this matter. We shall never be able to escape the fact that each of us, whether as member of a community or a nation, is only a component of a multinational country. Our way of life, cultures and needs differ, but it has been our consistent approach and philosophy to approach and regulate our mutual relations, whether they affect the individual, a community or a people, in a manner based on humane norms They must also be based on Christian norms. Here we have an evolution of circumstances, comprising, *inter alia*, components of centuries-old movements of nations within Africa itself, settlements initiated from outside, treks into the interior and domestic wars, but also, certainly, by the will of the Almighty, if we attach value to the moving Preamble to our Constitution It contains words which we profess in this House, and that Preamble was also approved by Parliament This evolution of circumstances has created autonomous peoples and plural communities with very diverse cultures and social interests in South Africa. No one can reproach anyone else for this state of affairs

However, this does not mean that the hand of true friendship and true co-operation has not been extended on both sides or will not be extended in the future, to enable us to develop the soil and the wealth of this fine country and its human potential to the full. I say to the public at large that a wonderful thing is taking place in South Africa: The Black people are being sharpened through their contact with the White people; the

Coloured people through their contact with the White people and the Black people, and the Indians through their contact with the Black people and the White people and the Coloured people. We have here a microcosm unique in the world: The Third World and the Western world together in this fine fatherland, the Republic of South Africa. Toynbee has written—

> What is being decided in South Africa today, is not only the fate of so many people living there, but the fate of entire mankind.

I think he is right.

This great human potential, these various supplementary and rich cultures and the faith of its people are wonderful to me. It is wonderful to me when I come into contact with Black leaders, to experience their faith, their desire that we can solve problems by way of an evolutionary process and not follow the road of revolution in this country I find it inspiring to speak to them

We must marshal our human potential and cultures in a powerful effort supported by mutual confidence and positive relations to develop, utilize and preserve the country's heritage for all its inhabitants, but we must do so without violence, one partner against the other

To me the report of the Cillié Commission is a wonderful thing The commission must be to us a warning from God that we must search our own hearts, all of us, and consider what we find there. If those are to be the implications of today's debate, things will go well with us. I make a similar appeal to our Black people that they, too, should do so. [Time expired.]

Mr W V. RAW. Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister of Co-operation and Development who has just spoken has given us a glowing picture of that which he and the Government foresee for the urban Blacks of South Africa. I always admire his ability to make it sound beautiful He uses those two words "beautiful" and "wonderlik" so well to reflect his own sincerity. The hon the Minister says he has learnt not to make promises. At least he is making progress and perhaps we shall change his nickname again if he follows these lines'

The hon. the Minister started by [illegible] for this debate not to be made a [illegible] He said "Dit moet bo die politiek [illegible] However, we are dealing with a [illegible] issue. We are dealing with the report [illegible] commission of inquiry which investigated riots, revolution and bloodshed and [illegible] pointed the causes which it found to be [illegible] hind those riots 90% of those findings [illegible] to political policies. So, how can one debate report dealing with the political policies [illegible] the Government and debate the reasons [illegible] the riots which are tied and linked to [illegible] political policies and at the same time [illegible] out of politics? It does not make sense. The hon. the Minister says one must not apportion blame Surely, one has to seek [illegible] problems and deal with the people who are responsible for them So, how can one [illegible] not apportion blame? The blame rests on the policies and on the people who carried out those policies which led to the situation of June 1976

Before I continue I should like to associate myself with the words of appreciation to Mr Justice Cillié. I believe this report is in the highest and finest tradition of our judiciary and that Mr. Justice Cillié has [illegible] beyond superficial issues to find the real causes which led to the riots. I also believe that this report is an honest, factual and fearless one

I should also like to put one point straight before I continue. Through a strange omission there is no date of the presentation of the report to the State President It is signed but the normal date indicating when it was presented, the date of the submission of the report, is missing Could the hon. the Minister tell us when this report was submitted by the commission to the State President'

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE. I will do so in my reply to the debate

Mr. W. V RAW It is important that we should know that date because if this report has been in the hands of the Government for a long time I believe we are entitled to ask why If the Government has been aware of these recommendations for a long time this hon House and South Africa are entitled to know why the report was not tabled sooner if it has only just been submitted to the State President, it means that this investigation [illegible] going on over a period of four years [illegible] however the case may be, I believe it is significant that we should know the factual position. I cannot understand why the hon. the Minister cannot indicate now so that I can either put forward an argument or leave it

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: It was submitted to the State President recently. Unfortunately, however, I do not have the exact date now.

Mr. W. V. RAW: Thank you. If it was submitted recently I will not pursue the matter any further

Now, there is a third matter I should like to deal with because I believe it is significant There has been a debate in the Other Place about this report The official Opposition in the Other Place asked for the presence there of the former Deputy Minister who was in charge of Black education at the time of the riots, as well as of the hon. the Minister of Co-operation and Development, who is now in that office. They were told that, in the first place, the hon. the Minister of Public Works and of Tourism, who was then the Deputy Minister, was not attending in the Senate because he was no longer responsible They were also told that the hon the Minister who is now responsible, said he was not responsible then and that there was, therefore, no point in his attending the debate [Interjections.]

The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT I was present in the Other Place and I was willing to take part in the debate You are talking utter nonsense now.

Mr. W. V. RAW: Well, that is what the official Opposition in the Other Place was informed.

The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT. Then you have your information wrong

Mr. W V RAW I now want to come back to the statement made by the hon. the Minister of Co-operation and Development when he said one could not apportion blame I believe one cannot wipe out the record of the history of events I also believe one has to deal with them in the light of what they mean for the future One has to find the real essence I shall deal with most of what the hon the Minister said in his speech, and I shall deal with it in relation to the specific lessons which I believe South Africa has to learn. I believe they have to be learnt now, perhaps faster than we have ever had to learn before, particularly in the light of the events taking place to the north of us and the pressures within South Africa. We must look at the practical matters which this report has found to lie at the root, not of the riots themselves, but of the atmosphere which combined to make it possible to exploit discontent, hate, resentment, frustrations and to translate them into physical violence and riots. I do not want to repeat what has been said. The hon the Leader of the Opposition has made a very detailed analysis of the report. As has been said, the language issue was die detonator What matters is what the components are of the TNT which that detonator ignited I believe that is what we have to look at here in order to see what the components were of the explosive situation which was ignited by the language issue In doing that we have to determine to what extent the administration of the Government and of its Ministers was responsible and to what extent the attitudes that were then adopted are still the attitudes today

After the riots in 1976 the then Leader of the Opposition went to the then Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, and offered his co-operation to try to eliminate the causes He was told that there was no crisis, that the Government would enforce law and order, that there was no problem and that there was no need to review or change any policies of the Government. This report shows that that was totally incorrect. The speech of the hon the Minister who has just spoken, shows that the Government itself recognizes that there is a need to change the policies of 1976. We have to establish to what extent they have really changed, to what extent the root causes have changed, and to what extent the pretty words we have heard here about all the things that have been done, affects only the top—the surface of things—or to what extent they probe down to the very core of the problems. The building of houses is necessary and a good thing, and the introduction of a 99-year leasehold is a step forward But it does not

eliminate the root cause. The root cause is the demand by people to own a house to which they have title in perpetuity Whilst 99 years is in practice perpetuity, it is the symbolism of it, the fact that they will never own the land on which their homes stand, that counts Surely that is not an impossible step forward to take Instead of talking about how good 99-year leases are, why do we not take that extra step and remove the root cause of dissatisfaction of people who feel that they do not belong and are not accepted as people who belong, because they are not allowed to own the land on which their houses stand? I give that as an example of the difference between whether we have got to the root of the issue or whether we are dealing superficially and cosmetically with the problem while leaving the root problem unchanged.

If we look back to what has happened, we see that the Minister who was in charge at that time, in 1976—he is no longer in politics—was honoured with South Africa's highest civil decoration The Deputy Minister who was in charge then has since been made a full Minister and he sits here in the House now. It took more than a few years before the officials who had a direct hand in the atmosphere of the time to be removed from their positions in education and in the Administration Board. It is all very well to say that there have been changes, but e even since then there has been a tardiness on the part of the Government to really get on with the job. It has left a credibility gap that has to be eliminated Night after night we had the usual television parade of officials appearing on television to say that everything was fine—that nothing was wrong Now, four years later, we find that everything was not fine and that most of the things they were defending have been blown to blazes by this report.

Obviously there is also an overiding executive responsibility I want to say that I believe that the hon. the Minister who was responsible on behalf of the executive of the time should now pay the price for what happened in 1976

I believe the hon. the Prime Minister would, if he took the step of removing that hon Minister, do something which would have an electrifying effect on South Africa It would show that the Government is serious in its intent to achieve the harmony of which the hon the Minister of Co-operation and Development speaks. It would remove the [illegible] in the minds of those South Africans [illegible] that they are not wanted. It would remove the symbolism of a Minister who was [illegible] associated with the language issue at the [illegible] seen to be "hardhartig" at the time, [illegible] to have listened to warnings at the [illegible] having been warned right here in this House by the Opposition at the time. He was [illegible] warned from outside, and yet he ignored those warnings and said that he was misled by his officials.

The MINISTER OF POLICE: What did the commission say about him?

Mr. W. V. RAW: The commission said that he was not informed by his officials. What sort of a Minister is he if he is not informed by his officials? Why does he not make it his business to find out? I believe that although that hon. Minister has to an extent been politically neutralized by sponsoring the joint Connie resolution in their caucus on Wednesday, he still represents, in the eyes of many who today are still close to flashpoint, one of the symbols of the maladministration of that time which led to this tragic event of June 1976 I believe it is the duty of the hon the Prime Minister to dismiss the hon the Minister whom he himself has had to chastise again this morning in a public statement. As long as that hon Minister sits in the Cabinet the promises will not be seen .

*Mr. W L VAN DER MERWE: Mr. Speaker, may I ask the hon. member whether he does not realize that this hon. Minister is an enormous force within the NP? [Interjections]

*Mr W. V RAW: The hon. member has anticipated me. I see that the hon. Minister has not been totally neutralized by his joint responsibility for the anti-Connie motion. I congratulate him on the fact that he still has a supporter I was just saying that I can see that many eyes on that side of the House are now looking at the backbencher, at the new hon member for Koedoespoort as a possible successor as leader of their faction within the NP.

†It is vital that this debate does not end as an exercise in sterile futility, a mere histor-

[illegible] of a disaster caused by Government [illegible] which failed, which were resented to [illegible] extent that they created an atmosphere of [illegible] which could be exploded.

I now wish to deal with the hon the [illegible] of Justice's introduction of this [illegible] when he spoke of intimidation as [illegible] the root cause. The hon the Minister of [illegible]cation and Training this week in the [illegible] Place claimed intimidation as being one [illegible] major causes However, on page 624 of [illegible] I of the report of the commission of [illegible]iry, paragraph 26 1.2, the commission [illegible]—

Nogtans sou dit onjuis wees om te sê dat intimidasie 'n oorsaak van die oproer was .

In other words, intimidation was what was used to exploit the situation. It was not the cause of the riots It was used to inflame a situation that was caused by other things, by political policies.

I do not intend dealing with them in detail, because I do not have the time The hon the Leader of the Opposition referred to most of them

It is our task, in this House now, to make sure that 7 March 1980 is not more tragic than 16 June 1976, because it can be more tragic if this House debates this report, finds that it is mere history and everything is now fine, and washes its hands of responsibility I believe this House will then have done something as dangerous, if not worse, than 16 June 1976, because, while having the facts before it, it will not have acted upon the knowledge of those facts What we have got to establish is whether all the root causes of June 1976 have been eradicated or not If I am cynical about the pretty pictures the hon the Minister painted, I have had 32 years of justification for being cynical of this Government. We want more than mere promises, than castles in the air We want assurances—promises, if one would like to call them that—that the Government sees, recognizes, and is prepared to take the action to remove the causes of discontent. Or is the Government still paralysed by the mental block of apartheid which seems to hamstring them?

We cannot again risk a situation where bad intelligence fails to identify an explosive situation I cannot understand how, with all the security forces we have, this situation could not have been identified. The hon. the Minister of Police is completely wrong when he says there was no blame placed upon the police in the Cillié report

The MINISTER OF POLICE: I never said that, and you know it

Mr. W. V. RAW: I believe we have got to look at our intelligence services Instead of tapping phones and opening letters they should be trying to find the root signs of unrest which could lead to another Soweto [Interjections]

Let us look at the hard facts The hon the Minister of Co-operation and Development has dealt with influx control, but he knows he has not removed the resentment and bitterness The hon the Minister knows that it is not anywhere near even lessening the feelings of antagonism and bitterness [Interjections] It is just the same old refrain: "We are going to do it one day, we are going to do it" Soweto was four years ago, yet we have only now got committees investigating it The root cause remains however. There is still bitterness and resentment.

The hon the Minister of Co-operation and Development has made it clear that the policy of urban Blacks receiving their political rights in the homelands still applies The hon the Minister will give them no more than municipal rights where they live

The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT That is not true

Mr W. V RAW Do I interpret it correctly, viz that the rest of the rights of the urban Blacks will be exercised in the homelands or in the constellation, that they will have no more than municipal rights where they live? That basic feeling of having no say, of having "geen seggenskap in die gesag oor hulle", that same resentment and bitterness, has not been eliminated We have not yet received any clear undertaking that it is going to be eliminated

I have referred to freehold title. The language issue will be dealt with by one of my colleague There is still too much arrogance in dealing with people. The hon the Minister recognizes this, but the Government must take action against people who act arrogantly The Government must set the

example and see that their instructions are carried out

I have not time to go on to citizenship, law enforcement, hurtful discrimination, etc. Basically it is the lack of "seggenskap", a lack of redress through the democratic process of government which is the ultimate authority over them which is the key. A surprising gap in this report—it was evidently not raised—is the labour aspect. I do not have the time now to deal with this field of trade unionism and job reservation When one looks at it, what has fundamentally changed? There have been administrative improvements, but the basic structure remains as it was then

Why did we have no real problem in Natal? It is because of the atmosphere and I believe that the discipline of Inkatha played a major part in retaining stability there But where there is not an organization like that, it was proven that the structures which existed, such as the control mechanisms of the authority of the State at different levels, failed to provide the stability and the leadership which was necessary

I want to conclude by stating what I believe should still be done I have said that I believe that the hon the Minister who was responsible at the time should go

*Mr S. P BARNARD Leave my leaders alone!

Mr W V RAW It would be an electrifying act of significant symbolism I believe that we should have an Erika Theron type of commission to identify the different categories of urban Blacks and their aspirations We should identify the permanently urbanized Black, the permanently resident Black who still has roots in the homeland and the migrant. I believe that we should involve all groups in consultation on the constitutional future of South Africa We should involve Blacks as well as Whites. Coloureds and Indians. Unless we involve the urban Black we will not have removed the major basic causes of the atmosphere which led to the explosion If we do exclude the urban Blacks from what is the common ground of South Africa we will be inviting the repetition of an atmosphere which can be exploited by agitators and revolutionaries

I believe we must respect and accommodate—that is the important word which is missing—ethnicity, but bring participation in decision-making together at the top. I believe that South African citizenship is the right of every citizen of every colour and that any artificial dispensation which does not accept the fact of the right to South African citizenship will be rejected I believe that in our administration we have got to give the moderate leaders of South Africa the weapons with which to fight their own radicals, and those weapons must be real achievements. We are not now giving that weapon to the real moderate leaders of South Africa to use against their own radical elements

Concessions made under pressure are fatal. We have got to act because it is right to do so and not as a concession to pressure. I believe—and I called for it last year—that the hon the Prime Minister should establish a Council of State bringing together the black lands and South Africa in a forum where we can plan together a truly national strategy, a truly total strategy to design a common destiny for South Africa I believe that unless we do this, the hon the Prime Minister's initiative is doomed to failure Unless we can get to the festering sores, cut out the cancer and heal them fully, this debate and this report will be seen to have been a waste of time, an admission that South Africa has not learnt its lesson If we act it can set us on a new road to the future

*Mr H J D VAN DER WALT Mr Speaker, it is true that we are discussing a very important report today It is very clear, too, that the judge went to a great deal of trouble with this report It was undoubtedly for practical reasons, that it was not possible for the judge to submit his report earlier. Consequently the official Opposition and the other Opposition members must recognize that whereas the hon the Minister of Co-operation and Development stood up here today and put forward certain ideals for the future, he did not do so in the light of the report by the judge, but that these things were already taking place while the judge was conducting his investigation It would have been only fair for the official Opposition and the hon leader of the NRP to concede that

A second important matter that we should bear in mind, is the judge's own statement in his report that he carried out an investigation and made certain findings, but that he did not make any recommendations. I shall deal with the aspects of the speech by the hon leader of the NRP later. If it is so that members of the Opposition parties accept, as the judge said, that there were other causes and not only the language question—I shall come back to that in a moment; I just want to make a general statement first—then it is only fair that they also accept what the judge stated in his report, viz that intimidators became involved at a later stage and dragged in all sorts of other things

However, in his report the judge did not say what those people wanted So if the official Opposition and the NRP want to criticize the Government for its policy today because the judge identified certain policies of the NP as possible contributory causes, then hon members must tell us what those people who carried on with their intimidation after the initial action by the people, ultimately wanted. Did they want the policy of the official Opposition or that of the NRP? We are being criticized on account of our policy and it is said to be offensive. I wish to repeat that the judge did not say what those people wanted. He did not say what was to be done, either—he did not make any recommendations

The two Opposition parties have sided with the judge I also agree with the judge I have no quarrel with him But I want to show up the two Opposition parties If the policy of the NP gave rise to the causes, they must tell us today what those people wanted Did they want the policy of the official Opposition or that of the NRP? It is very easy merely to criticize our policy and not to tell us what the young people really wanted

I also deem it appropriate that we remind hon members that in the early 'seventies, too, we had debates on student riots. Surely we all know what happened throughout the world in the late 'sixties and early 'seventies as far as student unrest is concerned Surely we noted the features of those student riots and certainly we, too, had the aftermath here of things which came to us from Europe

It is very easy simply to get up here and state, as hon members did, that the matter will be solved if the hon the Prime Minister dismisses the then Deputy Minister from the Cabinet. That is political opportunism Just look at the official Opposition after all the dismissals from their ranks Where is the hon. member for Yeoville at this stage?

*An HON MEMBER: Outside the House.

*Mr. H. J. D VAN DER WALT. Where is he sitting? Did that improve the situation opposite at all? In addition, the official Opposition and the NRP have such a long, ragged name that one should simply find them a short name, something like "Nonsense"! [Interjections] They cannot come and argue with us and demand the hon. the Minister's head just because of the riots

I now want to consider very seriously what the judge said Let us summarize all the factors The judge stated that the factor which caused the first unrest was the language medium in Black secondary schools, and that the resistance began in Soweto That was the initial cause [Interjections] In no other part of South Africa where unrest subsequently occurred were there indications that the language medium was at all a problem So if the language medium issue had been the spark in Soweto, what was the spark in the other areas? I do not want to deal with this particular question today, but we must also take a look at what the judge says about the role played by certain members of the clergy here in the Cape Peninsula for example Surely we cannot have our bread buttered on both sides Surely we have to look at other things as well. Let us accept, for argument's sake, that the language medium issue was the spark that ignited the riots in Soweto

Dr A L BORAINE. That is the first time you have admitted that

*Mr H J. D. VAN DER WALT The judge also says in his report that it is generally accepted that shortly after that spark, the question of the language medium policy was settled satisfactorily.

Dr A L BORAINE: [Inaudible]

*Mr. H. J. D VAN DER WALT I know that hon. member is dying to speak I am now going to interrupt my argument for a while in order to tell that hon member something Since that hon member is the hon member for Pinelands, he should reply to what the judge has to say in his report about the role

played by the clergy in the riots here in the Peninsula.

*Mr. J. M. HENNING: The Pope of Pinelands.

*Mr. H J. D. VAN DER WALT: If those hon. members—and I associate myself with it—accepted the report of the judge, as we on this side of the House did today, and the judge tells us that a week after the spark, that irritation was removed, we must find out why those things continued Why did the riots go on? There are two very clear categories that we are dealing with. A local riot on the language medium which was sparked off in Soweto, did in fact exist We accept that. But then other things were added. After that it was no longer only a question of the language medium. According to that hon. member it was then the whole policy of the NP which sparked off the riots

*Mr. W V RAW: That is correct. Read the report

*Mr. H. J D VAN DER WALT: I did read the report. The hon member need not worry about that I think I read it more thoroughly than the hon member did. What does the judge say in his report about how the riots were carried on? The judge mentions demonstrations, organizers, boycotts, strikes, the distribution of inflammatory pamphlets, speeches, instigators, etc The judge states precisely which categories of people did this So if all those people participated in the riots which resulted from the policy of the NP—I should prefer to say, aspects of the policy of the NP—why did the riots occur at that particular time, for surely the NP had for a long time in the history of South Africa pursued the same policy, and yet we did not have such riots during that time? We did have isolated incidents of rioting in South Africa, but in the 30 years that the NP has been in office, law and order has been maintained and there has been progress in this country. In a sense even the Opposition in this country flared up.

*An HON MEMBER: Yes, it burnt itself out.

*Mr. H J. D. VAN DER WALT: Now we must ask those hon members: If we take it that these people rebelled against [illegible] control, could those hon. members tell us what these people wanted as a substitute for influx control? Then the hon. members must tell us what they wanted. At the same time they must tell us whether there would have been any possibility of protest marches, strikes, etc. as regards their policy as against control if they were in office.

Surely we cannot just hurl accusations indiscriminately, and keep depicting this side of the House as the pariah of South African politics As far as influx control is concerned this side of the House is today still implementing measures which the Whites of this country demanded as far back as the 1920's and which were eventually introduced in 1945 when not this side of the House, but the United Party was in office. It was during this period of rule that the Blacks (Urban Areas) Act was passed. It was not this side of the House which implemented section 10 and the 72-hour measure It was the United Party which did so.

The hon. member for Houghton is now getting agitated, but the point I want to make is that it is irresponsible for a political party in this House just to criticize this side of the House and to say that our policy resulted in the Blacks rebelling, but not saying what the rebels wanted They also fail to tell us how the rebels would have reacted if they had been in office. Those hon members must now tell us that, if they claim to know what those people want They must state whether they would be prepared . .

*Mr W. V RAW: But the report points out

*Mr H J D. VAN DER WALT. The judge pointed out to us that these people did not like the influx control measures, but the judge did not say that they were opposed to the whole idea of influx control. The hon member should go back to the report; there are aspects which they do not like [Interjections] We can go on and review the whole issue of discrimination If we regard discrimination merely as a concept and name it as one of the irritating factors, then I have no fault to find. Discrimination is always an irritating factor, but hon members cannot mention any community of whatever kind in

which discriminatory measures or attitudes do not occur. We need only look at the Rand Rifle Club. I do not take it amiss of these people. But what am I trying to illustrate? In discussing discrimination, I want us to take a look at the history of this side of the House in so far as the elimination of discrimination is concerned. Even before 1976 this side of the House was committed to move away from discrimination. This side of the House has moved away from discrimination so rapidly in recent times that even this side of the House has encountered problems. I admit that this side of the House has sometimes encountered problems as a result of that.

Those hon members are not prepared to accept the political consequences if one acts precipitately without heading the political climate in South Africa and the people of South Africa.

We must realize that if we want to move even further away from discrimination there are nevertheless certain things which we must retain for the sake of the Black people, the Coloureds and the Indians themselves We cannot simply move away and then state that all discrimination is to be eliminated. If they attack us on those grounds, those hon members must tell us what those people who instigated the riots in fact wanted, and whether they would be prepared to give those people what they wanted. We are being told today that we should throw our policy overboard and that they will rectify the situation with their policy.

The hon. Leader of the Opposition stated his case in a dignified manner today. I have no objection to that, and I think he gave a good account of himself. But he must not think that I am becoming flirtatious, because that will never happen. However, it will serve no purpose to disparage this side of the House in this so-called calm and dignified manner and then, with the same calm and dignified manner, fail to state one's own side of the matter. I can go even further and point out how we are attacked in respect of each of these matters. But hon members opposite never stated what these instigators wanted and what the position would be if they were in office. Surely it is only fair to expect those answers from them.

There are many more things which I should have liked to discuss. Unfortunately my time has expired. There is just one more thing. Hon. members of the Opposition must not think that they can prescribe to the NP and to the hon. the Prime Minister who should and should not serve in the Cabinet.

*Mr. P. J. CLASE: Mr. Speaker, with reference to a remark made by the hon. member for Durban Point to the hon. the Minister of Education and Training to the effect that he had said in the Other Place that intimidation had played such an exceptional part in the unrest, I should like to react. The hon. member for Durban Point saw fit to quote from the report in order to substantiate his allegations However, I maintain that the hon. member for Durban Point deliberately neglected to quote the rest of the story. If he had done so, we would have seen the whole matter in the correct perspective. The hon member for Durban Point quoted from paragraph 26.1.2, on page 624 of the report. However, he quoted only the first sentence, which reads as follows—

> Nogtans sou dit onjuis wees om te sê dat intimidasie 'n oorsaak van die oproer was

However, he omitted to read aloud the rest. The paragraph read further as follows—

> Dit was 'n kragtige werktuig in die hand van die beplanner en die bewerker van oproer. Daarmee is onluste-insidente en selfs oproerveldtogte aan die gang gesit en laat voortduur as die belangstelling en geesdrif van die deelnemers kwyn

At the end of the same paragraph Mr. Justice Cillié reacts by saying—

> Die kommissie het bevind dat hoewel intimidasie nie 'n oorsaak van die oproer was nie, die opstandiges deur die gebruik van hierdie kragtige werktuig oproer laat ontstaan en voortduur het

I maintain that the hon. member for Durban Point quoted the first sentence only purely and simply to motivate his line of thought. However, he omitted to place the matter in its true perspective by quoting the rest of the paragraph. [Interjections.]

In this morning's edition of *The Cape Times* I read the following—

Obviously, something is radically wrong when youths are prepared to risk their lives and unrest breaks out on the scale of 1976.

I agree that something is certainly radically wrong, but now I want to argue that that something that is radically wrong, is not caused by Government policy, but by the actions of certain people who are not favourably disposed towards the survival of all the various population groups in the Republic of South Africa. These are the intimidators and inciters In the time at my disposal I shall try to come back to this

I maintain that the question of the medium of instruction—i.e the policy of the use of Afrikaans and English on a 50:50 basis in the content subjects, the only subjects in which it was used in this way—was not itself the reason for the uprising.

Furthermore I want to maintain that the uprising of 1976 cannot be seen as the reaction of all the Black people to the Government's policy. In Soweto itself, as well as in the report, there is in fact sufficient proof that it was only a group, and principally the children, who were misused by unscrupulous agitators and inciters with the purpose of continuing the uprising that had arisen. The fact that the uprising continued after the question of the medium of instruction had been solved within two days after the march, confirms this statement of mine. Throughout the uprisings the majority of the adults did in fact go to work, while many of them were prepared to continue with their work in the midst of intimidation.

However, what are the facts? The commission said that the policy in respect of the medium of instruction in Black secondary schools and its implementation was one of the immediate causes I want to deal with that What was the policy concerning the medium of instruction in 1976? Children in the primary classes up to and including Std 6 had the mother tongue as medium of instruction. At that stage Std 6 was still part of the primary school In the secondary schools the mother tongue was used in non-examination subjects The language subjects, i e. Afrikaans and English, were presented in the language itself In content subjects Afrikaans and English had to be used "where possible"—this is contained very clearly in the policy

What is the motivation for this policy? I do not want to go into this matter in detail except to say that in respect of the mother tongue in the primary classes this is the universally accepted educational principle proclaimed by no less a body than the UNESCO Committee in their report of 1953. Furthermore I believe that no comment is necessary concerning the language subjects that are taught through the medium of the language question

As far as the content subjects are concerned, the policy stipulates that "where possible", equal use should be made of Afrikaans and English. The motivation for this was explained very clearly at that stage. This is the case because the pupil, as far as his communication ability is concerned, must be prepared for the spheres of employment in which he will probably find himself. Hon. members know that Afrikaans is used for 60% as opposed to 40% for English. To confirm this, for the benefit, too, of the Black pupils and school boards, the Minister was quoted in the departmental circular No. 10 of 1970 by the Secretary as follows—

> Met die oog op die praktiese verkeer van die Blanke werkgewersgemeenskap moet ons sorg dat alle Bantoekinders ook agterraak met Afrikaans wat die meerderheid in Suid-Afrika gebesig word nie

The school boards and Black educationists knew about this and there is no doubt that it is a sound point of view which is only in the interests of the Black people themselves.

In departmental circular No 2 of 1973, however, notice is given of an opinion poll to determine whether Afrikaans or English or both could be used as medium of instruction at a particular secondary school. In the light of the fact that it should be done as far as possible in both languages The outcome of this is extremely illuminating School boards made recommendations in this regard which indicated—and we find this in the report—that 61% of the school boards in the Transvaal recommended that it should be done on a 50:50 basis, as opposed to only 34% of the school boards that said that only English should be used. In the Orange Free State 91% of the school boards said that it should be done on a 50.50 basis, as opposed to only 4% who said that only English should be used.

40% of the school boards were in favour of the 50:50 ratio as opposed to 59% who advocated English only. In the Cape Province 71% of the school boards were in favour of a 50:50 ratio, whereas 56% advocated the use of English only.

However, I want to concede that this circular circular caused misunderstanding in the sense that school boards were of the opinion that they were entitled to decide. That is regrettable, although the matter was rectified in various circulars

It is clearly stated that English and Afrikaans should be used "where possible" Now the reasonable question is how this policy can be implemented in the context of the words "where possible". I want to say that exemption was granted very readily. The norm applied when exemption was applied for, was that there had to be sufficient teachers sufficient in the use of these languages who could teach the subjects in those languages

What is the position in respect of these exemptions? In 1976. Afrikaans was not used as medium of instruction in 22,7% of Std 5 classes in Soweto's schools. Afrikaans was not used at all in 22,9% of the schools' form I classes; 36,4% of the schools' form II classes; 54,6% of the schools' form III classes, not a single school's form IV classes—and this is important—and 90% of the schools' form V classes, which is equivalent to matric in the White schools, did not use Afrikaans at all Surely it is clear on the basis of these statistics that the use of Afrikaans as medium of instruction did not play such an important part. Furthermore I want to say that examination results in Soweto and throughout the country demonstrate that Black people fare better in Afrikaans than in English

Business suspended at 12h45 and resumed at 14h15.

Afternoon Sitting

Mr. P. J. CLASE: Mr. Speaker, before business was suspended I was saying that the medium of instruction question was only used as an instrument by communist-inspired organizations to achieve their goals I want to give only two more reasons for saying so. Seven of the secondary schools that participated in the uprising in Soweto only offered English as a medium Consequently there was no question of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at those particular schools. Furthermore, the department carried out a survey in 1975 which indicated that 95% of the subjects offered at senior secondary schools in Soweto were offered in the medium of English only, whereas only 5% of the subjects were offered through the medium of Afrikaans.

Mention was also made in the report of the fact that the question of incompetent teachers played a notable part The problem here is this: If it was to be determined whether such a teacher was incompetent to use the language or not, then it was the duty of the school board to carry out this investigation What does one in fact do if such an investigation is ordered, the investigation takes place and the teacher himself, as well as his headmaster, as well as his ring inspector, confirm that he is competent to teach the subject in that particular language, but the children as such maintain the contrary? Then my question is: Who is one to believe: the children or the teacher, the headmaster and the ring inspector? I want to leave that aspect at that.

As regards organized resistance, it is very clear from the report that there were various organizations who took it upon themselves to launch this resistance. It is important—I have already made this statement—that the scholars were misused for these purposes. I want to indicate what the age distribution of the scholars is and I shall only mention the fact that in primary schools in 1976—these are Black schools throughout the Republic—there were 2 431 primary scholars who were 19 years and older. In the secondary schools there were no fewer than 24 177 scholars who were 19 years and older. I mention this fact because hon. members will now understand that it was very easy for the agitators to misuse these scholars who had indeed reached a very advanced age, in order to achieve their aims. In contrast to that is the illuminating statistic that in the same year, 1976, 47,5% of Black teachers at schools were under the age of 30 years; in other words there were a number of teachers who were more or less in the same age group as the scholars, something which in the nature of the matter contributed to making discipline extremely difficult for the teacher to cope with and impose on the child.

* As regards the handling of this resistance, I want to point out that the officials were dealing with rebellious scholars and unhelpful parents. To me, the irony and the really shocking aspect of this whole matter was that the parents of the children of Soweto suddenly realized that they had lost their children at the hands of agitators This is beyond all doubt, and I am also aware that some of those parents are upset about that. The lesson to be learnt from this is that the Black parents in these areas also have to guard against their children falling into the hands of other riotous elements.

It is clear to me, having studied the report, that the officials had to implement the policy and also very much wanted to do so, and that they wanted to do so sympathetically. The proof of this is that we had many exemptions in respect of the applications sent in by the schools. As a result of the major part played by the agitators, officials believe that the pupils were not so dissatisfied and thus not so enthusiastic to participate in the uprising

My time has almost expired and I only want to say in conclusion that since 1972 a comprehensive programme has been introduced and launched to the benefit of Black education in this country In this process we are doing this as rapidly as possible with the problems and restrictions and all we have in the execution and achievement of that goal. The unfortunate situation arose in 1976 and what was the result? Unfortunately the Black scholars themselves were the victims of these unfortunate circumstances because the achievement of these fine goals which the Government is working towards, has been delayed a long time. School buildings were burnt down, some of the teachers resigned and some of the scholars simply refused to attend school, with the result that these people themselves are the victims. I believe that if there is a lesson to be learnt among other lessons about good, sound relationships which we shall certainly have to cultivate, it is that there is no benefit to be derived from this type of protest and incitement, because eventually one prejudices oneself by doing so.

Dr A. L. BORAINE: Mr. Speaker, I find it very interesting that the hon. member for Virginia seems to know better than the hon. judge who submitted the report. There is quite clearly a contradiction between the hon. member's argument and the report. I shall come back to that point and try to demonstrate what I mean. First of all I think I have a responsibility, and obligation, to reply to one or two questions raised by the hon. member for Schweizer-Reneke, because instead of a voice raised in somewhat strident terms, this was today very much a cry, an appeal for help. The first question he asked was what the young people in Soweto really wanted. If they did not want what they were receiving under this Government, what did they really want? Did they want our policy? Did they want the policy of the NRP? The tragedy of course is that in this stage of our history we are still asking such questions, and displaying our inability to communicate directly with Black people. [Interjections.] One of the main reasons for that is that we have simply not allowed the natural Black leadership to develop in order that they may state frankly and fearlessly to the Government where they stand. [Interjections] That is the first point I would like to say to that hon. member that we in these benches are prepared to accept the challenge. Why can we not, if you like, have a referendum in Soweto and elsewhere? We could submit the basic policies of the three parties, and then ask them which of these three policies they would prefer as a basis for future negotiation

Dr H M. J VAN RENSBURG (Mossel Bay). What would you advise them?

Dr A L. BORAINE· We are prepared to take the risk of submitting our policies.

An HON. MEMBER: That is not the point.

Dr. A. L. BORAINE: That is the point [Interjections.] I am offering the hon. member an opportunity to do that, and if he does not want to accept that challenge, it is his business. The hon. member for Schweizer-Reneke also says the language problem was only really present in the Soweto area, and he cannot understand why so much destruction and loss of life took place in many parts of the country Has the hon. member not read the report? [Interjections.] The hon. member asks what the reasons are. I shall tell him the reasons; they are listed in the report. They are: A general air of dissatisfaction amongst Black and Coloured people throughout the

country, in both small and large places; the problem of influx control; the Group Areas Act—particularly in Stellenbosch and Mossel Bay, and I am reading directly from the report . . .

Dr. H. M. J. VAN RENSBURG (Mossel Bay): In Mossel Bay?

Dr. A. L. BORAINE: Yes, Mossel Bay as well. [Interjections.] Further reasons are: The attitude of the Administration Boards officials —and this was a reason in many places—the whole problem of what it means to be an urban Black; discrimination . . . Discrimination is another reason. Just listen to what the report says about discrimination—

> Diskriminasie, wat altyd as onregverdig beskou is, het nie net ontevredenheid veroorsaak nie, maar by baie ook 'n groot haat. Hierdie ontevredenheid en haat was van die vernaamste skeppers van die milieu en die gees van oproer wat al vantevore gemeld is.

There are the reasons—they are clear and plain. One does not have to go beyond the report. There are many other reasons, and if I had time I could deal with them all

When we look at the report of the Cillié Commission, it recalls a moment of great tragedy in the life of this country, particularly when we bear in mind the number of people who were actively involved, the widespread nature of the trouble, the duration of the trouble, the number of people killed, the number of people injured, the number of people arrested and brought before the courts, the amount of damage inflicted, the effect on race relations and the economy, the effect on external relations between ourselves and other countries, the number of Blacks who have left the country as a result and when we bear in mind the number of Whites who have left the country as a result of all these events.

It is true that this is a moment of great import for our country, and whilst it is to be regretted that it has taken so long to see the light of day, we are nevertheless glad that we have it before us, because there is a thread which runs throughout the report which makes it very clear that the Government's policy in relation to more than two-thirds of the total population of South Africa has failed miserably. This report is a grim reminder of what is inevitable when a Government seeks to govern without the consent of the governed. It is a report which actually ought to be etched in black for it speaks of death, of injury, of destruction, of imprisonment and flight. Quite sincerely, there are the 575 people who died needlessly and who, if it were possible are listening to the debate. More important: Their parents, brothers and sisters, families and their friends are also listening to this debate, and what happens here today will in large measure determine their actions and their decisions regarding the future. Therefore I would hope that we will not stay in 1976, but that we will come through to 1980 and ask whether it is possible for an incident which started in such a comparatively small way and grew to such enormous proportions, to still happen today.

*Mr. J J. LLOYD: Mr. Speaker, may I put a question to the hon member?

Dr. A L BORAINE: Mr. Speaker, I am sorry. I cannot answer any questions as my time is extremely limited.

The MINISTER OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: You put a lot of questions to other hon. members

Dr. A. L. BORAINE: Mr. Speaker, with respect, I did not ask one single question. The report also makes mention of causes, and there is an obvious distinction between primary causes and structural causes At the top of the list of factors which was an immediate cause—and I come now to the hon. member for Virginia—which led to disorder is "die voertaalbeleid in Swart sekondêre skole". No one has ever suggested that this was the primary reason for the unrest which began on that fatal day, 16 June 1976, but we said at the time—Hansard will show that and the commission confirms it—that the so-called 50:50 language requirement triggered off the riots which in large measure was the outcome of years of grievances and discontent.

*Mr. J J. LLOYD: You are a hater of Afrikaners.

Dr. A. L. BORAINE: For years the Black and Brown people have been sweltering

under an oppressive régime and the language issue was the spark which led to the fires of destruction which for a few grim months was like a veld-fire out of control.

The MINISTER OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT. Why are you reading this particular speech? You do not normally read your speeches.

*Dr. Z. J. DE BEER: Oh, stop yelping, man!

Dr. A. L. BORAINE: Mr. Speaker, that is quite a clever question. It is true. I constantly have to refer to the report of the Cillié Commission itself, and if I am reading a little more than usual, it demonstrates my deep concern, not only about the terrible failure of the hon the Minister and the Government, but also because I care for my country and I will not allow this . . . [Interjections.]

Mr SPEAKER: Order!

Dr. A. L. BORAINE: It is clear from the report that it is not only the language factor, but Bantu education itself, as it was then called, that was one of the primary and immediate causes of the unrest. The report says—

> Toe Bantoe-onderwys met verloop van die oproer feitlik die plek van Afrikaans as rede vir die betogers se ontevredenheid oorgeneem het, het baie die oogmerk van hierdie stelsel beskryf as 'n voorbedagte poging om die Swart leerling so op te lei dat hy onderdanig aan die Witman sou wees, of sterker gestel, dat hy die slaaf van die onderdrukker sal wees en bly

That is very, very strong language indeed. One can go on to point out that this message was heard again and again by the commission all over the country, according to the commission's report itself

Let me finally quote from page 484 (paragraph 9 4.5)—

> Die kommissie bevind, saamvattend, dat die vernaamste rede vir die skoolboikot 'n ontevredenheid met Bantoe-onderwys en veral die gebruik van Afrikaans in die skole was, en dat die oogmerk daarvan was om ander onderwys te verkry.

That is straight out of the commission's report. How does one go against that when the hon. members on the other side say they accept the evidence put before us by the commission? That is a reason given by the commission.

Then we have the audacity of some hon. members and, indeed, even some hon. Ministers who, after briefly saying a few things, immediately shift the focus to talk about instigators. Of course they were there. Let us once and for all concede that both sides of the House accept that fact. Let us not constantly refer to it as though it were something brand new We accept that fact, but we make the contention, as strongly as we can, that no instigator would be successful if there were no root causes in which he could prey. That is the point. The gunpowder was there, liberally sprinkled in the streets of Soweto and elsewhere, and when the fire fell, the whole place went up in flames

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR: Who supplied the fire?

Dr. A. L. BORAINE: Sir, the tragedy of the 1976 uprising is that it could have been avoided. In the first place the Government has been repeatedly warned that the policy of apartheid was leading Blacks into a situation of utter desperation which could only end in an anger which could not be controlled for ever.

I took the trouble to read some of the debates which followed in the House in June 1976. Obviously, all of us were desperately concerned about the state of affairs I would refer hon. members to the debate on Monday, 21 June 1976, only a few days after 16 June. Again and again one sees the kind of accusations hurled quite hysterically from this side of the House: It was the Press that was to blame; it was the communist Press, which included the *Sunday Times* according to one member; the hon. member for Bloemfontein suggested that the main reason was subversive propaganda and gave a long list of such propaganda. Even this particular party was blamed for what took place

HON. MEMBERS: Of course.

Dr. A. L. BORAINE: Now the Cillié Commission's report is before us and it lists

as our policy but the policy of the Government as being to blame

When the then hon. Minister of Justice announced that there was going to be a one-man commission of inquiry, there was quite a lot of debate on that I took part in that debate and asked that the terms of reference include, at least, an analysis of the warnings which had been sounded from this side of the House with monotonous regularity down the years. Year in and year out we warned about the situation existing in the townships in our land. That was dismissed that was not necessary In order that we can show that warnings were given but ignored, I want to turn now to the record. First I want to refer to a question put by myself on 27 February 1976, six months before the rioting broke out, and answered by the then Deputy Minister, Dr. Andries Treurnicht I asked (Questions, 27 February 1976, col. 400)—

> (1) Whether any school principals have since February 1975 applied for permission to deviate from the fifty-fifty basis in the use of the two official languages as media of instruction; if so, how many;
>
> (2) whether any applications were refused; if so, (a) how many and (b) for what reasons in each case.

Mr. J. M HENNING: Mr Speaker, may I ask the hon member a question? [Interjections.]

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order! The hon member has intimated that he is not prepared to reply to questions.

Dr. A. L BORAINE: The interesting feature of this question put six months before the riots broke out was the reply given to me by the then Deputy Minister He said that he conceded that this was taking place but said he could not give all the information He added, and I quote (col 400)—

> I do not deem the requested information of such importance to instruct my Department to undertake this time-consuming task to obtain the required information

We did not have the information, because that hon Minister would not give permission and would not instruct his officials to get the information.

Mr. J. M. HENNING: Was that in February?

Dr. A. L BORAINE: Yes, that was February 1976.

*Mr. J. M HENNING: What did you do then?

Dr. A. L. BORAINE: That was in 1976.

*Mr. J. M. HENNING: How did you know it, then?

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order!

Dr. A. L. BORAINE: Now I come to the second question, because we know how to ask important questions, not the stupid questions people like that hon. member asks The second question I asked was whether any members of the Meadowlands Tswana school board had recently been dismissed, and what for, etc. The reply was that they had been dismissed because their actions were not in the interests of the Bantu community or the education of Bantu What was their appeal, however? Their appeal was to move away from the 50:50 language medium basis. They were sacked from the board because it was not regarded as being in the interests of Bantu education to have people daring to ask questions like that. My third question was asked on 4 June 1976, and I quote (col. 1127)—

> Whether the pupils of any schools in Soweto recently refused to attend classes.

I asked for details. That hon. Deputy Minister gave me the details by saying that a total of 2 250 children had boycotted schools. What was the reason? I have it here from the hon. the Deputy Minister—

> Pupils in Std 5 and form I say they object against the 50·50 medium applicable in these classes.

How are we dealing with it? The answer—

> The school boards concerned are negotiating with the pupils.

Remember, the number of pupils involved was 2 250 That was part of the reply of the hon. the Deputy Minister

Another question by an hon. member who is no longer in this House (Hansard col. 1185 11.6.1976)—

> Whether there had recently been a protest demonstration by pupils of Maledi High School in Soweto. If so, what was the reason for the demonstration?

That was 4 June—

> Whether police had to be brought in to end the demonstration, whether any persons were injured and what damage was caused?

The hon. the Deputy Minister answers as follows—

> (1), (2) and (3): My department has no knowledge of such an incident.

Where did we get that information? We read it in the Press. [Interjections.] That hon. Deputy Minister, however, does not even read the newspapers.

The final question I put to the hon. the Deputy Minister was on 11 June when I asked whether five headmasters had approached him and asked permission to deviate from the 50:50 language medium requirement. His answer was that they did approach him but that no permission was given because they seemed to be able to cope all right. All these questions—obviously I can only select some—had to do with the language issue and, in particular, with Bantu education. The Deputy Minister concerned was, of course, the present Minister of Tourism. It was also this hon Minister who disregarded the warning given by the Institute of Race Relations by way of a telegram and by way of a visit by Percy Qoboza, and it was this hon Minister who, one day after 16 June, said, and I quote from an interview in *die Beeld*—

> Where the Government supplies schools, gives subsidies and pays teachers, it surely has the right to determine what the language in those schools ought to be. Why are pupils sent to schools where they are not satisfied with the language dispensation.

Then six months later, on 6 February 1977, it was that hon. Minister who was asked by the *Sunday Times* if he had ever visited Soweto. One must remember the importance of his portfolio. He stated that he had actually been once, during 1976, and I quote him—

> Our helicopter landed in Soweto briefly during the riots, but it was not a thorough visit. The Minister added that he hoped to visit Soweto, but no date had been fixed because he was very busy with Parliament.

Probably other things as well. This is a clear dereliction of duty and there can be only one conclusion, and that is that that hon. Minister must go He must do the honourable thing and resign, and I call upon him to do so before the end of the debate If he does not do so, if he refuses to do so, then I call upon the hon. the Prime Minister to sack him in the same way as he sacked Dr. Connie Mulder The main charge against Dr. Connie Mulder was maladministration. He did not know what was going on in his department. I say the same charge is applicable here. That hon. Minister did not know what was going on in his department, and it is dangerous for the Cabinet not to know, it is dangerous for the Government not to know, it is dangerous for this Parliament not to be informed and it is dangerous for all our security

During the last few minutes at my disposal, I do not want to dwell on 1976. I want to ask the question: Are we any better off in 1980? Firstly, whilst of course there have been improvements in the quality and quantity of Black education, it is still woefully short of what is required. In the course of this session of Parliament I have put two questions to the hon the Minister. The per capita expenditure on Black children in urban areas in 1978 and 1979, was given to me as being R71,28, which is in very sorry contrast to the amount spent on White children, viz R640 per child per year. As long as that situation pertains, we are simply not going to go forward. Secondly, I believe that Blacks will always remain suspicious as long as they are under separate departments of education. I want to say that this Government has missed a golden opportunity in not placing education for

Blacks under National Education, instead of once again placing it under the Department of Co-operation and Development. I urge this Government to learn from its mistakes and to make the changes now. There is no doubt that Blacks are opposed to the Government's policy, and Black education bears the brunt of it. There is the growing militancy amongst young Black people now, and therefore Black education is in the firing line and extremely vulnerable. If that is true, however, it is equally true that Black education holds one of the crucial keys to the resolution of conflict by relatively peaceful means in South Africa. What this Government does in the field of Black education, will largely determine whether we go the way of revolution or whether we go the way of reform Considerable goodwill still exists in this country, but we seem to imagine that we have the money in the bank and that we can draw cheque after cheque without putting anything back into the bank The Cillié Commission's report is a bitter pill for the Government to swallow, but it will have to swallow it, for it is in the learning of this lesson, costly though it may have been in terms of human life and property, that we must realize that sooner or later an oppressed people will give vent to its anger and distress, and the learning of this lesson which can lead to urgent, decisive and significant change in the negotiation with Blacks could lead, I believe, to the healing of a nation, if we are prepared to take that kind of medicine.

*The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING· Mr. Speaker. in the course of my speech I shall come back to the speech by the hon. member for Pinelands I wish to start off by saying that educational opportunities are most certainly among the most important matters to the children of any nation and of any community. In the case of the Black people of South Africa, it is certainly a matter of paramount importance Nobody knows that better than we Afrikaners, who also regarded education as a means of advancement, and still do I therefore wish to state that both my department and the Government approach education in that spirit and disposition

That is why this department is writing a remarkable chapter in the history of the education of the Black people, with dedication and sacrifice and in co-operation with the Black people For that reason it is also stated in the Education Act which came into operation on 1 January this year, that the aim is to enable every Black child to develop to the maximum of its potential. We have this report now, and one has to ask oneself what to do with it. On the one hand one can single out all the negative arguments, and on the other all the positive arguments The hon. members on the opposite side have singled out all the negative arguments. I believe, however, that the proper thing to do is to approach this report in a positive state of mind and to see how we can make the best of it.

I therefore wish to deal with the negative arguments raised by hon. members on the opposite side. All the hon speakers on the Opposition side alleged that this report showed up the policy of the Government as a failure. I wish to remind those hon. members that when these riots took place, and even before 1976, there were attempts by young people and students in educational institutions in many countries, to turn the world upside down. Is that not true? Is it not true that the government of President De Gaulle was shaken by Red Danny, an out-and-out communist? [Interjections.] Is it not also true that in America, the help of the Army had to be called in to contain the riots? Now, I wish to ask those hon. members whether the policy of the South African Government was then being applied in those countries [Interjections] Surely they were not applying the policy of the South African Government there? They were applying the policy of the official Opposition there, or a similar policy [Interjections] And there were riots. [Interjections]

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order!

*The MINISTER· Surely it has not been proved that the policy of the South African Government was not successful The fact is that there was a revolt against the policy of the day in those countries Regardless of what that policy was, there was revolt against it. The same applied in South Africa.

I now wish to state a second reason why those hon members have got it wrong That was also the finding of Mr. Justice Cillié. Everything the hon. member for Pinelands has raised, was considered by the judge. He

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I now wish to state a second reason why those hon. members have got it wrong That was also the finding of Mr Justice Cillié Everything the hon. member for Pinelands has raised, was considered by the judge He

considered all those things. Mr. Justice Cillié arrived at the following finding—

> Weens hierdie intimidasie en die wye omvang daarvan, saam met die duisterheid waarin die motiewe en finale oogmerke van die intimideerders gehul bly, kan nie gesê word dat die oproer die Swart man se wilsuiting was of dat hy daarmee sy stem verhef het nie.

That is the finding of the judge. [Interjections] However, hon. members on the opposite side are not interested in seeing this report in its proper perspective. They are interested in doing only one thing. This brings me to what the hon member for Pinelands has just said with regard to the then Deputy Minister, the man who is now the Minister of Public Works and of Tourism The hon the Minister has replied to every single thing the hon. member for Pinelands enumerated Can the hon. member deny that? The hon. the Minister reacted to all those things The hon. member received replies. On that, too, Mr. Justice Cillié gave a verdict, when he said the hon. the Minister could not be blamed, that he was innocent. The judge stated—

> Die beskikbare inligtinge vir die Adjunkminister was dus dat daar op plaaslike vlak na 'n oplossing gesoek word en dat dit reeds in 'n mate geslaag het.

The report exonerates the hon the Minister The hon. member for Pinelands, however, finds him guilty But quite the opposite is true The report mentions that agitators and intimidation were an important motive force during the riots But members of the Opposition do not condemn them. [Interjections] No, there is not a single word of denunciation on the part of the hon members of the Opposition. They did not say that this is an evil that has to be eradicated, something one has to be combated. [Interjections.] No, they are revelling in it. I wish to quote to hon members what Mr Justice Cillié had to say about this [Interjections.]

*Mr SPEAKER. Order!

*The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, Mr. Justice Cillié said . . . [Interjections]

*Mr. SPEAKER: Order!

*The MINISTER: Mr. Speaker, Mr. Justice Cillié stated that intimidation was perhaps the chief motive force in the insurrection. But hon. members of the Opposition wish to deny that. The hon member for Durban Point quoted only one sentence here in support of his argument that intimidation did not play a role. That is what he did. [Interjections.] The hon. member said intimidation did not play a role at all. [Interjections] I think what happened was that he happened to read only that one single sentence in the entire report. [Interjections]

*Mr. SPEAKER. Order!

*The MINISTER: The judge stated—

> Selfs voor 16 Junie was intimideerders al bedrywig en tydens die oproer het hulle mense op alle vlakke van die Swart gemeenskap deur dreigement of geweld gedwing om op die een of ander manier aan opstand en onluste deel te neem.

That took place everywhere Wherever there was insurrection, there was intimidation That was the case even before 16 June 1976 [Interjections] I wish to quote further from what the judge stated—

> Sowel openbare sprekers as getuies voor die kommissie het verklaar dat die oproer van 16 Junie in Soweto spontaan uitgebars het en dat die onluste wat daarna elders voorgekom het, ook spontaan ontstaan het. Daar is oortuigende bewys dat dit nie so is nie.

But hon. members opposite do not agree with this. The judge went on to say—

> Getuies uit die onlustegebiede het amper tot vervelens toe herhaal dat vreemdelinge kort voor of tydens die pleging van onluste in die omgewing opgemerk is

The hon. member was asked by another member how he had known of certain things on certain dates. The judge referred in his report to the evidence of certain witnesses, and stated—

> Credo Mutwa, 'n toordokter van Soweto en 'n wêreldwye skrywer, het getuig dat skoliere van die Hoërskool Morris Isaacson aan hom sou gesê het dat onluste tussen Junie en Julie asook later in Soweto verwag kan word

It was long before the riots that the hon member put his question. When those pupils knew that riots were going to break out, this hon member began to put his questions. He asked us how they knew about it. I am asking him to tell us how they knew. The judge went on to say—

> Dit het ooreengestem met wat 'n Swart man vroeër in die jaar aan hom tydens 'n warm argument in Los Angeles gesê het.

In other words, a Black man in Los Angeles also knew that riots were going to break out in June and July. I want to ask the hon member whether he also knew that I am quoting further from the report—

> 'n Lid van die Veiligheidspolisie het vroeg in 1976 tydens 'n ondersoek na wederregtelike optrede in die Ciskei, van 'n PAC-lid verneem dat hy en waarskynlik ook sy organisasie oproer en revolusie in Junie maand verwag

That was in February. I am asking the hon member. Did he also know that? [Interjections] The hon member said the Minister and everyone else must have known that such a huge uprising was imminent The judge stated—

> Skynbaar het die leerlinge nie verwag dat die protesoptog hul skoolbywoning vir langer as een dag sou onderbreek nie .

The pupils themselves expected that it would not last longer than a day—

> . . . en daarom moes Mashanini hulle aansê om nie die volgende twee dae skool toe te kom nie. Dat die doel van die organiseerders egter anders was, is nie te betwyfel nie

In other words, if the pupils did not know that this procession would last longer than one day and that their school attendance would not be interrupted for longer than one day, then how was any person on earth to have known that . . .

*An HON MEMBER: Except the hon. member for Pinelands

*The MINISTER: . except the hon. member for Pinelands? If he had known that, it would not have surprised me. I wish to state further—and the hon. member for Virginia also referred to this—that shortly before the riots, an opinion poll was conducted on the question of language medium in education. The hon. member has stated that 63% of the school boards throughout the country had expressed themselves in favour of the policy as it was at the time.

*Dr. A L BORAINE: What does the report say?

*The MINISTER. It is stated on page 49 of the report that an opinion poll had been conducted

I wish to refer to the question of the language medium. The commission found that the implementation of the language-medium policy had created misunderstanding and dissatisfaction among the people of Soweto The commission also found that at the time when the talks with the Minister took place shortly after the commencement of the riots, the question of Afrikaans could no longer have been a grievance or a reason for insurrection In other words, shortly after the start of the riots, that grievance had been eliminated. The hon. member for Virginia has indicated that Afrikaans had not been the medium of instruction at the secondary schools in Soweto where the riots occurred. In areas such as the Cape Province and Natal, there was a 100% and not merely a 99% deviation from the policy. Riots nevertheless occurred here, and the question of language medium could not have been the cause here [Interjections.]

Mr SPEAKER. Order! This debate has so far been conducted on a fairly responsible level and I am not going to allow it to degenerate as a result of interjections The hon. the Minister may proceed

*The MINISTER· They occurred in those

areas where there had been a 100% deviation from the language-medium policy at the time. It therefore happened while the hon. the Minister was the responsible Deputy Minister of that department Provision had been made for exemption. There were ways and means of doing so.

The fact remains, however, that it caused misunderstanding, and the question arises: What is being done to obviate similar misunderstandings in future? That is an important question. In respect of this specific matter I can state that it was, of course, already eliminated on 19 June, and there could no longer have been misunderstanding about that. However, one may put this question: What about other matters on which a misunderstanding may arise? How can one eliminate them? The first thing that has to be done, which has also been done in the past, and which is now being taken further, is an improved system of communication. In that connection, my department has established a liaison division, because it transpired during the riots that the Press, who are not educational experts and who would not be in a position to obtain all the information, also blundered in certain respects, and it is therefore important that the correct information should be furnished to the Press. Consequently, this liaison division has been created. We are also getting information from the Press, however. All the offices throughout the country are sending all the press reports written on education to this division of the department, and there they are studied in order to see what has to be done; in other words, in this way we are also making use of the Press to trace all misunderstandings immediately and eliminate them.

We went further and increased the number of regions from five to seven The number of circuit inspectors and inspectors has been increased in order to establish a greater measure of communication between the local schools and the control organization. We went even further The decentralization of powers has been taken further in that more powers have been granted to school boards to perform certain functions at the school; in other words, to delegate direct responsibility to the committee that has been elected by the parents

At present we are also engaged in involving the Community Councils in certain local functions, for example to determine where educational facilities should be situated so as to serve the population best, and to assist us in acquiring the premises. This is also being done with a view to exercising control over certain funds, *inter alia*, the old levy fund, and to deciding where and how these funds could best be applied in the best interests of that community. The involvement of the communities concerned has therefore been increased. In that respect it is the policy of the Government that people, nations and communities should have a say over their own affairs That is why, out of this department, which was established in 1959, 10 other departments have already been born, departments charged with 63% of the total Black population for which we were initially responsible. Consequently there is involvement of the people themselves in education

What were the results of the riots? These were furnished by the judge One result of the riots was that the damage and destruction of school buildings and equipment merely aggravated the existing shortage of these facilities The commission stated that the education of the Black child was adversely affected by the riots It is a pity that this had to happen. It is a pity that they should have been the losers as a result of all these things in which the hon. member revels.

*Mr P. A. PYPER Who revels in them? [Interjections.]

*The MINISTER: Surely the hon member was delighted when the intimidators were running amok [Interjections] The commission found that education has suffered as a result. I wish to quote examples The provision of text books and reading books is a programme that was begun in 1974 and had been scheduled for completion in 1977. As a result of the riots it could only be completed in 1979

The other aspect is the building of classrooms, in respect of which there is a backlog If it had not been necessary to replace all the classrooms that we now have to replace, we would have been in a far more favourable position today. Those who really suffered were the children If hon. members were to study the annual report they would see that between 1960 and 1979 there was an annual increase in the number of Std. 8 and

Std 10 pupils who sat for examinations, but not in 1976. That was the only year in which the numbers dropped They rose in all the other years

What progress has been made in the field of education? I wish to state as a result of the excellent spirit of co-operation that prevails between the National Education Advisory Council, the Inspectorate—which consists mainly of Black people—and the teachers' corps, 99% of which consist of Black people, results have been achieved. Results have indeed been achieved. In 1955, when education was taken over by the State, there were 970 000 pupils in primary schools, and by 1975 this number had increased to 3,3 million.

*An HON MEMBER: Really?

*The MINISTER Yes That is a growth of 250% As far as secondary education is concerned, there were approximately 35 000 pupils in 1955, and by 1979 this number had grown to 508 000 That excludes Transkei and Bophuthaswana That is a growth of 1 350%, and if the figures for those two countries are added, it is more than 1 700%.

*An HON MEMBER. What are you trying to prove?

*The MINISTER: I shall tell you what I am trying to prove in a moment. Let me refer to matriculants. In 1955, when the Government took over Black education, there were 674 Black pupils in matric. That was the starting point. From their ranks we had to obtain the candidates to become teachers, to enter the professions, to man the Civil Service and provide the economy with manpower This number had increased to 23 400 by 1979, and to more than 50 000 by 1980. It is therefore a story of growth. If one considers how many Black people in South Africa are attending school, viz 22%, it may be said that in comparable countries

An HON MEMBER. [Inaudible]

*The MINISTER: No. I am coming to my point. In comparable countries with comparable conditions, there is absolutely nothing that can be compared with this [Interjections]

*Mr. P. A PYPER: But why did the uprisings occur, then?

*The MINISTER: It is therefore a story of growth I wish to explain why this is so. It is as a result of continual planning in order to apply and implement the best available knowledge in the world The one factor that can exert an important influence on what can be done and achieved in education, is the question of finance. The method of financing was changed as long ago as 1972. A new dispensation was then introduced, and this has had an immense effect. We have also made great progress with the preparatory planning for compulsory education Very good progress is being made. For example, as far as the provision of text-books and reading books series are concerned, this stage has already been reached; the same applies to the elimination of double sessions We have also made a great deal of progress with the reduction of the ratio between the number of teachers and the number of pupils, for example from 58 pupils per teacher in 1968, to 45 pupils per teacher in 1979. Surely that is progress I invite hon. members to show me anything better under comparable circumstances. In respect of the building of additional schools and classrooms, during the past year alone we built almost 3 400 classrooms Further progress has been made, for example, in lowering of the admission age, in upgrading initial education, and in introducing differential instruction, which includes remedial education I also wish to refer to the programme for technical education which arose from the Van Zyl Report of 1975. In every major centre in South Africa today there is a technical centre, a technical institute. In addition to the already existing technikons, the technikon at Mabopane Township enrolled its first students this year. The teachers' training colleges have a large number of students, and as a result of the fact that we now have 50 000 matriculants, we are rapidly approaching the time when we will be able to stipulate that in future a student will only be admitted to a teachers' training college if he has a matriculation certificate Surely that is remarkable progress that has been made Where in the Third World has anything been achieved that could be compared with this? There has been a vast increase in the number of students at our

Black Universities. Last year, the University of Fort Hare branched out to Zwelitsha and that branch began with more students than the University of Fort Hare itself had after 50 years of its existence. That gives hon. members an indication of how rapid the progress has been. We are also making tremendous progress with industrial training In respect of adult education, we have converted just about every single school into an educational centre for adults. Teachers can improve their qualifications there, and older people who never had the opportunity, can qualify themselves and improve their qualifications there

*Mr P. A. PYPER: Mr. Speaker. may I put a question to the hon. the Minister?

*The MINISTER. No, Sir, not now. All this progress and advancement has been attributable to dedicated planning on an ongoing basis since long before 1976. Since the establishment of this department, it has been its ideal to achieve all these things and to achieve even greater things in future Consequently, I reject the allegations made by hon. members on the opposite side of the House that it is the policy of the department to keep the Black man down by means of his education That is statement base and I reject it with contempt All the activities of the department indicate that what they are saying is untrue and that the opposite is true

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! The hon the Minister must withdraw the words "base statement"

*The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I withdraw them.

*Mr. F. HERMAN: Mr. Speaker, for three and a half years we have been waiting for this report to be tabled. Now that we have the report before us at last we find that the hon the Leader of the Opposition has failed dismally to use this opportunity in the interests of South Africa instead of using it in the interests of his own party. We find that the Soweto riots were discussed in the most important council chambers of the world, and in this regard I am referring to the UN and the Organization for African Unity, and nowhere was it advocated that the NP's policy should be changed or that preference should be given to the PFP's policy. On the contrary, we find that the Organization for African Unity used the Soweto riots in an effort to overthrow and undermine law and order in South Africa. I think this country would have appreciated it far more if the hon the Leader of the Opposition had come forward with a warning to the radical groups in this country instead of trying to bring his own policy in through the backdoor with the and of this report. I believe the hon the Minister of Co-operation and Development stated the matter very well when he said that this was a national matter and that this was not the time to level accusations The hon. member for Durban Point, who is not in this House at present, referred indirectly in his speech to the police, but only to hammer them in the process. He spoke of the opening of letters, the bugging of telephone conversations and said absolutely nothing positive about the police

Perhaps I should just like to dwell for a moment on the conduct of the police during the riots If we examine the report we find in Schedule B, Part 2, that a host of incidents occurred during the disturbances In the Cape Province alone there were between 400 and 500 single incidents Now I am not even referring to Soweto, the West Rand, the East Rand and all the other places throughout the country There was a vast number of incidents of arson, stone throwing, murder. assault and all the attendent violence The police stood firm in the midst of all these incidents, in order to preserve the peace and maintain orderliness in this country. But so far we have not heard a single word of gratitude to the police from the Opposition

Schedule F lists the number of people who died as a result of the looting, assaults, resistance, theft and everything that accompanied these violations. The figure is extremely high It is 575 In the Cape alone approximately 274 people were killed Once again I want to point out that of the 575 almost half were policemen. In the Cape alone there were 107 of them. I believe that one cannot allow the discussion of this report to go by without mentioning the S.A Police and their part in preserving the peace and maintaining orderliness in this country The police had to intervene It is also noted in the report that they often had to act with selfrestraint, and did this effectively I believe

that in this regard they deserve only the greatest praise from this House as well as the leaders of the Opposition parties However, those hon members remained silent on this point.

There was constant defiance and provocation, there were assaults on the police, quite apart from the damaging of police property—to say nothing of all the insults that were hurled at them. In the midst of all of this the police remained calm. On page 294 of the report—I do not have time to quote it now, mention is made of all the praise for the police which Mr. Justice Cillié heard.

One must understand very clearly that the police could not have prevented the malady They could perhaps have alleviated it, but they were not able to prevent it. This is very clear if one reads the whole report in context. On page 626 one reads that the commission found that (para. 28 1)—

> die onvermoe van die polisie om die dreigende oproer voor 16 Junie in Soweto te voorsien . . . 'n samelopende omstandigheid was wat die oproer veroorsaak het.

Suppose the police had foreseen the uprising and had taken counter measures. I maintain that the riots would still have broken out on 16 June 1976. In other words the riots were concerned with things other than the language issue, as some of the other hon. speakers correctly pointed out These riots would still have broken out. This is clear from the whole report The language issue was used as an excuse.

Two days later riots broke out in the Cape Province. The report states that the police were not responsible for and had no part in the riots which broke out here in the Cape—in the Transvaal, yes, but not in the Cape. I find this rather strange I cannot quite understand this obscurity in the report. I believe that the worst that could be said of the police is that the degree or the proportions which the riots assumed could perhaps have been contained a little if the police had known about the riots in advance They could perhaps have been contained a little by the preparations they would have been able to make However, to state, as some people have done, that the riots could have been prevented if the police had known that they were impending is, in my opinion, not altogether correct. The riots, the marches and everything that happened as a result. remain illegal and we must see it in that light. They remain illegal and the police had to take action I shall now quote from the report, page 626, paragraph 28.3—

> Daar was gevalle waar die Polisie se optrede in die bedaring van oproer daartoe gelei het dat die onluste heftiger geword en uitgebrei het

However, suppose counter measures were taken, as the judge sketched them in the first paragraph? Surely the riots would also have increased in intensity after the police had tried to stop them. Therefore, as far as this matter is concerned as well, it seems to me as if there is a contradiction in the report Many other things are also mentioned in the report I want to point out in particular the part played by mischief-makers during the riot situation I am also referring specifically to the colleague of the hon. member for Pinelands Reverend Russell. Hon members will recall that at that time all of us received these and other pamphlets from Reverend Russel, and I am referring to the pamphlet entitled: "The riot police and the suppression of truth." If we read what the judge has to say about Reverend Russell in his report, we see how poorly Reverend Russel comes out of it. Consequently I merely want to point out in passing to the hon. member for Pinelands that his colleague is described as a liar in this report. Furthermore we have also seen what happened to certain clergyman further north. I believe this should also be a warning to this clergyman, an indication of what could perhaps happen to him

The report also states very clearly that the Press was guilty of incitement in certain cases It is stated very clearly that there was incitement by the Press. I believe one should take cognisance of the fact that the Press was not directly in favour of the riots, yet the Press did in fact influence these young people very strongly to continue the riots, to the detriment of South Africa The Press cannot be exonerated completely from this seditious reporting at that time.

To conclude I merely want to emphasize very clearly that South Africa is greatly indebted to the S.A. Police It is time that this country and the world realize that we are

dealing with a formidable police force in South Africa, a police force which is not only able to avert domestic terrorism, but is also able to act as a deterrent to our immediate neighbours and the outside world—if these may have any ulterior motives I believe that all of us in this House can speak only with praise of the conduct of the police in cases which occurred after the riots, and in the case of very recent events as well.

*Mr. D. H ROSSOUW: Mr. Speaker, allow me on behalf of my colleagues in the SAP to convey my sincere appreciation to Mr. Justice Cillié and his staff When one reads the two volumes, one realizes what an enormous and difficult task they must have had to carry out, and we owe them our sincere gratitude for it

The greatest danger in South Africa, when we conduct this debate today and discuss the report, is that terrorists and agitators may gain the impression that their conduct in the past was justified South Africa cannot afford that. Since then we have had four years of change and adjustments, and I think only naive people would not admit that a great deal has happened since 1976 However, we must ask ourselves the question: What is the point of this discussion? Are we having this discussion today to create an opportunity for mud-slinging, for deriving political benefit from it, or are we trying to prevent a repetition of what happened four years ago?

I want to congratulate the hon. the Leader of the Opposition on the calmness with which he commenced his speech this morning It is only a pity that some other members on his side of this House were not as calm as he was. The purpose of this debate must be to avoid the mistakes of the past, and if we do not bear this in mind, we are not acting in the best interests of South Africa today I am absolutely convinced that the circumstances which gave rise to this uprising in 1976 were not the cause of what happened I am also convinced that the uprising was not spontaneous. It is obvious that this uprising was planned. It was planned not only for Soweto, but for the entire country. Of course causes for it must be advanced, for example the language issue, transportation, salaries, housing, the treatment meted out by officials, etc Something which, I believe, really deserves attention is the way in which officials treat people of other colours However, I do not believe that these things were sufficient to cause an uprising. Inferiority of Black education, influx control, the shortage of facilities, etc , certainly had something to do with the circumstances which prevailed there.

The problems did exist People were susceptible to dissatisfaction and wanted action I agree with the hon. member for Pinelands that it was like widely scattered gunpowder-kegs requiring only a spark to ignite them Was it necessary to strike the spark? I do not believe it was necessary. In its report the commission declared that not all the grievances were necessarily causes of the uprising. I have already said that it would be naive people who would believe that these things that were mentioned were the reason for the uprising. I am convinced that intimidation was an important element in this effort to overthrow this Government by force of arms as the commission found If the uprising was caused by dissatisfaction amongst scholars—as we are being given to believe—I want to ask why we have experienced further problems in South Africa over the past four years, until we have reached the stage where we find that terrorists with arms imported from Russia are launching attacks If the reason was the dissatisfaction with the language issue among scholars, they would most certainly not have required Russian arms to obtain satisfaction It seems very clear to me that these problems we have experienced and are still experiencing in South Africa, were and are being organized from beyond our borders The commission stated very clearly that it had no doubt that the ANC was constantly active in the uprising and that its activities most definitely had an effect on the outbreak and continuation of the uprising If we examine the contents of the pamphlets it is clear that their aim was to incite and to organize and encourage demonstrations and protests We can examine the words of one of the pamphlets mentioned in the report It speaks of—

> . . brutal murder of our children, our brothers and sisters in Soweto and other townships

If one tells this type of thing to young people surely one can expect it to cause trouble When there is an uprising it is the duty of the police to impose discipline and restore order

and consequently the police are only doing their duty when they take action. If it becomes necessary for the Police to take harsh action they are fulfilling their duty to everyone in South Africa If in this process the agitators are injured or killed, surely one cannot refer to "brutal murder", for surely those people knew, before they protested and before they began to organize the protest marches, that their lives would be in danger One thing is certain, viz. that the people behind the riots were certainly not to be found in the front-lines. They did the spade-work and used the children and intimidators to complete the dirty work. The report before us teems with references to the part played by student organizations

This brings me to my one major point of criticism, which is that student organizations on the various university campuses enjoy far too many freedoms. They are being watched and at times are also restricted However, good order on university campuses is not the duty of either the State or the police It is the duty of the university authorities May I ask whether the time has not arrived for South Africa to set an example to the world and in the first place to bring it home to the universities themselves that discipline is their own responsibility, and in the second place to bring it home to students that they are privileged people who are studying at universities on a subsidized basis, that they are there at the expense of the taxpayer and of the State, that they are definitely there to study and not to agitate. Consequently drastic measures are necessary to eradicate subversive activities on our university campuses at all times Activities of this kind pose very grave threats to our country and its people

The hon. the Minister of Education and Training referred earlier to Red Danny. We do not want any Red Dannies in South Africa. South Africa has always managed without them If there are any Red Dannies in South Africa, they should leave the country as soon as possible We are living in a time in which a process of change is taking place, and if feelings are aroused, those desired changes could be handicapped by the attitude of certain people. When a waggon becomes bogged down in the mud, one does not alight and fill it with mud One gets down and pushes it out of the mud. However, these people want to fill the wagon with mud

The most disturbing aspect of this report is its reference to the inability of the police and the officials to foresee the outburst in Soweto. I do not want to go into this matter in detail. I realize that there must have been certain problems. However, if I consider how competent our Police Force is and what they are achieving today in particular, it is disturbing to consider that there was a time when they did not read the signs correctly. The ominous signs and the warnings that were issued to the police and the authorities, as we have already heard here today, were apparently ignored; or perhaps not regarded in a serious light. But that was a mistake That the police, in a place such as Soweto, were not prepared is perhaps unforgivable as well.

*The MINISTER OF POLICE. Where is that stated in the report?

*Mr. D H. ROSSOUW The report creates the impression that the police were not ready, that they were not prepared when these things happened

I know the hon. the Minister feels very strongly about this matter. I read his statement to the Press However, I also read in the Press that there was a difference of opinion among police officers

*The MINISTER OF POLICE I am extremely sorry that it happened.

*Mr. D. H ROSSOUW: Yes, I agree with the hon. the Minister. These are the allegations and this is also the background against which we are conducting this debate today In the report we also read about the teargas-canisters which were used by the Police, canisters on which the date 1943 appeared I believe that our policemen deserve the protection which is their due, particularly in circumstances such as these Consequently I want to request that a situation such as this never be allowed to arise again, a situation in which a policeman threw a teargas-canister which was thrown back at him

If this debate produces nothing else today, I hope that we shall at least receive a frank assurance that we shall not have a repetition of this We also want the assurance that the police will be ready for action at all times and will take action in time, and that they will also be well-equipped for their task

I note in the report—and I am very proud of this—that reference is also made to the conduct of the police in Port Elizabeth. The police in Port Elizabeth acted in good time and in so doing prevented arson, murder and violence It so happened that I was also in Port Elizabeth at that time At that time I occupied a position in which I had naturally been informed of what was going on. At all times we felt that the police had full control over the situation Consequently there was no arson or other problems in Port Elizabeth, although efforts were made to foment an uprising and commit arson. Fortunately, however, the police acted in time Therefore I want to pay tribute today to the former District Commissioner of Police in Port Elizabeth, as well as to his men I want to congratulate them on their efficiency.

Instigation by agitators must be stopped. If such instigation originates from beyond our borders, it is one thing, but if it originates within this country, if it originates with leading figures in this country, it is quite a different matter, a very serious matter In the past week we have been conducting a debate here on the Coloured Persons Representative Council, and we heard of the irresponsibility of certain people, *inter alia*, the chairman of that council This House and I would be neglecting our duty if we did not take cognizance of the words of Reverend Hendrickse, who occupies a leading position—thank Heavens it is only until the end of this month—on this situation I quote from page 631 of the commission's report—

> Die spreker kan die jeugdiges nie vir hulle optrede veroordeel nie want hy is trots op wat hulle gedoen het; hulle het slegs simbole van afsonderlike ontwikkeling vernietig . . .

If they kill people, are they also destroying symbols? [Interjections]

> . . hy keur nie geweldpleging goed nie maar sê vir hulle: "Power to you"

He went on to refer to the parents and said that they should rather have entered the political arena themselves because—

> . . daar is niks wat in die vryheidspad staan nie, hoewel sommige op die pad sal sterf

*Mr J. M. HENNING: Is that Reverend Boraine? [Interjections.]

*Mr. SPEAKER. Order!

*Mr. D. H ROSSOUW: That is Reverend Hendrickse. When a clergyman, who is moreover a leader of his people, uses this type of language, are we not neglecting our duty if we do not do something about it?

It was always the traditional policy of the old South African Party, the United Party and the present South African Party that homelands should be the basis of the political rights of the Black man, but to that end the homelands must be developed properly and rapidly before there can be talk of independence so there cannot and will not be an influx to the White areas That influx would then be discouraged Every commission that has given attention to this matter has up to now found it essential that there should be influx control. I reject the fact that influx control is being held up to us today as a reason for uprisings and trouble in this country.

We shall have to have influx control at all times, influx control which must be applied effectively We do not want a repetition in South Africa of the post-war Sophiatown and Alexandra, and even less of the present-day Crossroads.

On behalf of my colleagues I pay sincere tribute to the men of the Police Force and the Defence Force who had to take up the cudgels when South Africa was in grave trouble I trust the hon the Minister does not think that I was criticizing the police too strongly. I was merely pointing out the problems that I saw But the fact remains that when we, who were safe in our homes, saw on TV how those men had to take action, and the dangers to which they were exposed to, our hearts swelled with pride for the work the S A Police was doing It gives us peace of mind to know that we have men in the S A. Police and the Defence Force to look after our interests.

*The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS, OF STATISTICS AND OF TOURISM. Mr Speaker, we all listened attentively to the speech of the hon. member for Port Elizabeth Central, and I think the impression all of us gained was that of a very well-balanced and

responsible approach to the report on the events which preceded the report and as a result of which the report was compiled I should also like to associate myself with hon speakers on this side of the House, i.e the two hon. Ministers who spoke and the hon members for Schweizer-Reneke, Virginia and Potgietersrus It has been very clearly apparent from the debate up to now that the Opposition does not really have a serious case and that the reproaches and accusations which are being hurled at this side of the House, really do not have the sting to which we were to be subjected, according to what we have been reading since last weekend

Firstly, I wish to pause for a moment to reply to what the hon. member for Pinelands said I agree with him that we cannot stand still at the events of 1976 I agree with him that in 1976, there were certain phenomena—and there are such phenomena even today—which gave rise to concern and in respect of which we should act soberly, and with equilibrium and with wisdom. If he says he cares for his country, he cannot outbid anyone on this side of the House as regards loyalty to his country and the extent to which he cares for his country I do not wish to say that I sometimes have doubts, for then I may perhaps be offending him, but I do have certain questions which I wish to put to him I agree with him that there is much goodwill among White, Black, Coloured and Indian people There is much goodwill Those hon members are now trying to imply that at the time of the 1976 riots, no goodwill whatsoever remained in this country among Black people. I wish to deny most strenuously here that this was the general climate among the Black people I also wish to say with the utmost emphasis that a great measure of goodwill, a great measure of understanding and a great measure of loyalty existed among the vast majority of Black people, precisely in that situation where they were being subjected to extortion and blackmail.

The hon member quoted a passage from the report of the commission referring to what was said by certain Black witnesses, viz. that the purpose of Black education was allegedly to keep the Black man a slave of the White man. Did the commission endorse that statement? I maintain that the commission did not endorse that statement. Consequently I wish to ask the hon. member this question· Why, then, did he quote such a passage in this House? Why did he do so? To create an atmosphere? I wish to put a further question to the hon. member. Five months before the riots he had knowledge of certain questions, and he had misgivings Did the hon. member know about the planned resistance and agitation in February 1976 already?

*Dr A. L BORAINE· No

*The MINISTER: I accept his word. However, the hon member was exceptionally well-informed on questions which were being asked at that time.

*Dr. A L. BORAINE: I read the newspapers every day.

*The MINISTER: Does the hon. member believe everything that is printed in the newspapers?

*Dr. A L. BORAINE. No, not at all.

*The MINISTER. Oh!

Dr. A L BORAINE. That is why I asked you a question.

*The MINISTER. You believe only what suits you and you also read only what suits you The hon. member waxed eloquent here and advised the hon the Prime Minister that I should resign from the Cabinet.

*HON. MEMBERS. Yes.

*The MINISTER. I say to that hon. member. You may as well cut it out. I shall not resign for the reason which he is now advancing

*Dr. A. L. BORAINE: For what reason then?

*The MINISTER: We are now dealing with the report of this commission Surely you gave the advice on those grounds. On my level I was not only implementing the policy, but I ascertained that Afrikaans was not being crammed down people's throats I ascertained that. I was constantly in contact with the Secretary, as the chief official, but those hon. members, so it seems to me, expected the

hon the Minister under whom I was serving and I myself, whenever a disturbance occurred or whenever an inquiry was received by these hon. members, to trot down to the area where such a commotion was allegedly occurring. I was with the hon. the Minister when we met the Black leaders and we did not encounter any feelings of hatred, such as those which the hon. members have suggested there were, among those Black leaders On the contrary, we encountered something else there. I say to those hon. members and their people· Cut it out; stop making a political issue of the ashes of burnt-out buildings. Stop offering assistance to a small group of agitators. I am not saying that they are doing it intentionally, but from what they say it can be deduced that at least they are sympathetic towards people who use means of that kind I say· Stop trying to blackmail the Government into a policy of capitulation in which there is no salvation for any nation in South Africa, not for the White nation nor for the Coloured people nor for any Black nation in South Africa.

Secondly, I want to come to a reference which the hon the Leader of the Opposition made to an article by Mr. Percy Qobosa in *Post* He did not even read out the quotation correctly

*Dr F VAN Z. SLABBERT I quoted from *Beeld*

*The MINISTER I have *Beeld* with me as well I have here the article written by H G. Grosskopf, Editor Southern Africa of the newspaper, and one finds here firm agreement with the finding of the commission which reads—

> Dat die owerheid inderdaad herhaaldelik gewaarsku is en dat die plofpunt verskaf is deur die hantering van die voertaalkwessie en nie deur 'n sameswering nie

We come now to the real point The report reads—

> So skryf mnr Percy Qobosa, destydse redakteur van die intussen verbode *World* en nou redakteur van *Post*, dat hy enkele dae voor die uitbarsting dringend na Kaapstad gevlieg het om oor die voertaalkwessie te waarsku

The report goes on to state—

> Hy het met groot moeite 'n onderhoud gekry met dr A P. Treurnicht, destyds Adjunk-minister belas met sulke sake, en hom gewaarsku. Dr. Treurnicht se antwoord was: "As ons betaal vir die onderwys van u mense, moet ons tog darem die reg gegun word om te besluit oor hoe en wat hulle geleer moet word."

I wish to make a few comments with reference to this article, written by Mr Percy Qobosa He alleged that he went to a great deal of trouble to obtain an interview with me. I wish to say that I am not prepared, for the sake of good relations—and in that no one can outbid me—to admit to being guilty of an untruth. That he went to a great deal of trouble to get to see me, was not caused by my office Instead I went out of my way, because at the time I was Deputy Minister with a task in which Black people had an interest, to grant interviews to these people who were spokesmen of their people. I want to go further. Mr Qobosa maintains that he flew urgently to Cape Town to warn me about the language medium issue To me he said that he was paying a courtesy call and that he had just returned from America He did not tell me that he had flown down especially from Johannesburg to have an urgent discussion with me on this matter. To his credit I wish to say that he was in fact courteous and I received him with great courtesy I wish to go further by saying that we did discuss the language medium issue, but that he did not in any way create the impression that there was a crisis which he wanted to discuss or that a threatening eruption was imminent. On this point I shall say that I am not precisely certain when the visit took place, but my impression is not that it was just before the riots My impression is that it was shortly after the visit which Chief Minister Mangope paid to Cape Town when I granted him and his Cabinet an interview. In the discussion with Mr Qobosa I referred to the discussion which I had had with Chief Minister Mangope—now President Mangope—of Bophuthatswana. I told him the general, accepted policy was a 50 50 policy If my memory does not fail me, I told Mr. Percy Qobosa that my nation—the Afrikaners—knew what it meant to have another language crammed

down their throats and that my nation had no intention of doing this to another nation I adopted the same standpoint when the Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana and his Cabinet were here, pursuant to certain events among his people in Meadowlands. I said my people had no intention of committing language imperialism This was our attitude and this was our approach to the matter. He made another statement. He imputed to me that I had allegedly said that if we paid for the education of his people, we should at least be granted the right to decide how and what they should be taught

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: That is not the same

*The MINISTER: Mr. Qobosa's statement was an afterthought. I say it is a distortion. It is one thing to bring it to the attention of a person in a friendly way that if the State provides the money it certainly has the right to ensure that the money is not incorrectly spent. That is one thing But it is another thing to say: "I am paying for this, and you have nothing to say about the matter." I say here this afternoon· This is a distortion of the conversation; it was not said, nor was it done in practice If one or two officials, in the implementation of this policy, gave the impression that coercion was being applied in respect of the use of Afrikaans on an equal basis with English in these schools, I shall repudiate it, for in the discussions which I and the chief officer of the department, Mr. Rossouw, held, and in talks with Chief Minister Mangope and other Black leaders, it was emphasized over and over again that the policy in general was a 50:50 policy, but that in practice it had been deviated from to such an extent that in various regions there was not even a single school which used Afrikaans as a language medium for education in those schools

I do not wish to go into the language medium policy again Mr Speaker, I shall respect your ruling in anticipation because the hon. the Minister of Education and Training and the hon member for Virginia have already gone into this aspect in detail However, I am going to sum up a few points to make my argument a cohesive one. Prior to 1955 the language medium in the schools and institutions was the medium of the church which provided those people with education Up to that stage Afrikaans was not even being offered as a subject in certain schools. But after 1955 we accepted the principle that the mother-tongue should be the medium and that it should be developed, and as long as it was not yet possible to provide tuition in the mother-tongue, on the secondary level as well, both official languages were used and prescribed as medium, i.e Afrikaans and English. That is the way it was prescribed and implemented. What fault can be found with that? I can remember my very first day at school. I came from a farm where we did not speak English. We simply waited until we went to school. There we would learn to speak English The very first English sentence which I learnt in my life was "The cow has a long tail". I can still remember it now. English was a language which was strange to us, but we did not commit arson and we did not rebel In discussing this policy now, hon members are trying to imply—these are the hon members with the afterthoughts now—that the dispensation of Afrikaans and English as the two official languages in which tuition would be given at secondary level was an unhealthy phenomenon from the start, that it was rejected and that it was a sin to have done this As long ago as 1951 the report of the Commission on Native Education appeared. In paragraph 924 of that report the following was said—

> We also wish to point out that witnesses, particularly the Bantu, laid great stress on the need to teach both official languages We are therefore of the opinion that provision should be made for instruction in both these languages even in the lower primary school, and this should be done in such a way, that the Bantu child will be able to find his way in European community; to follow oral or written instructions; and to carry on a simple conversation with Europeans about his work and other subjects of common interest

That was the standpoint at the time, and it has been pursued over the years The report of the Cillié Commission also refers to this practice In chapter 1 2 2 we find the following—

> Afgesien van opvoedkundige oorwegings was 'n doel van die dubbelmediumonderrig, of driedubbelmediumonderrig,

nie net om die leerling akademies op te lei nie, maar om hom ook wat sy kommunikasievermoe betref, voor te berei vir die werkkringe wat hy waarskynlik sou betree

I shall not go into the history of this matter any further Exemptions in respect of this rule were there from the beginning. Apparently there was misunderstanding in this regard, but there were exemptions when there were no qualified teachers who could provide tuition in the language concerned or when there were no textbooks available in the language concerned There is a reference in chapter 1.3 5 of the report which reads—

> Indien daar 'n onderwyser op die perseel is wat byvoorbeeld landbou deur medium van Afrikaans kan gee, dan moet dit gedoen word ongeag die leerling se kennis van hierdie taal

As it stands there, it appears to be very coercive. Yet the fact of the matter—and we should not forget this—is that Afrikaans as a subject was given up to standard six After that it was also taught as a subject In other words, the likelihood that a secondary pupil would have no knowledge of Afrikaans is virtually non-existent.

I wish to go further. Teachers were to try to become bilingual before 1959. Special courses were introduced for them. All training colleges were to offer Afrikaans and English as media. Then came the survey in 1973 Reference has already been made to this, but I should just like to single out one facet. This applies to the Transvaal Soweto is situated in the Transvaal I am referring to the Transvaal because a very interesting observation was made here in respect of the data This survey was conducted by school boards —i e. the Black people themselves— regional directors and circuit inspectors The following question was asked. What do you recommend· Should the tuition on secondary level be only in English or only in Afrikaans, or in both languages The interesting reply was as follows 61% of the school boards, the Black people, said "in both languages", 99,7% of the regional directors said "both languages" and 87% of the circuit inspectors voiced the same opinion. These last two groups are the people whom one can regard as the experts who have their finger on the pulse of education, and of Black education as well. But even 61% of the Black parents, the school boards, voted in favour of the 50.50 dispensation

I wish to point out that any school could apply for a deviation I submit—and we were told this time and again by the chief officials —that the policy was applied with so much leniency that no school in the Cape or in Natal used Afrikaans as a medium, and nine out of ten—this is the figure mentioned here—of the senior secondary schools in Soweto did not do so either Over a period of twenty years we had no problems worth mentioning

The hon. members have been discussing boycotts now There were boycotts at that stage as well But what has the experience of the Department been in respect of boycotts? Allow me to mention a few examples In 1959. for example, a school in Tierkloof near Vryburg, if I remember correctly, was burnt down because of the expulsion of a student. In 1956 an entire school in Ventersdorp was destroyed because of the actions of the principal, In 1956 a number of schools in Zeerust were also destroyed Then there is also the case of the Stofberg Memorial School at which all the male students went on strike in 1953. Why did they do this? It was over a question of beans on the table. The point I want to make is that when we speak of boycotts, it has been the experience of the department over many years that it had to examine the phenomenon of boycotts very critically so as not to allow itself to be stampeded by them The practise we followed was to hold negotiations between the principal, the school committee, the school board and the pupils This procedure was also adopted in the present cases It is that procedure with reference to which the former member for Parktown, Mr. De Villiers, showed me the telegram from Mr. Van Wyk on the basis of which, after I had made inquiries with the Secretary, I told him· This is the situation. With those particulars I came to this House and provided him with information in this regard

With reference to the persuasion of the pupils, one reads on page 558 of the report that the following was said (para 2.3 4)—

> Die departement het tevergeefs probeer om hierdie misverstand uit die weg te ruim.

Consequently the department did its best to eliminate any misunderstanding What I want to say about the Tswana pupils is that responsible people said in that situation that it would be no use writing to the department because the reply would simply be the same! If any person is now able to say that he is deciding in advance that the reply will not suit him, or that the reply will be negative, where does one stand in regard to discipline within a Department, or discipline in a school? The report found that officials did not make an accurate analysis of the situation. That is true I need not make any further reference to that. References were also made to the actions of the police, but I shall mention only one school, the one at Naledi. Unrest developed there, but why did it develop? It was not as a result of the language issue. The reason was that the police came to the school in search of a pupil whom they wished to question. Arising out of that there was trouble and molestation. It was not an educational matter. It was a police matter which was being investigated

I am sorry that my time has almost expired. However I just wish to mention that that hon. member is now asking me to resign. Where does the judge suggest that I should resign on the basis of this report? That hon. member would do well to read what is stated at the bottom of page 94

Dr. A L BORAINE. He made recommendations

*The MINISTER· I quote—

> Die Adjunk-minister was dus geregverdig om aan mnr. De Villiers die antwoord te gee wat hy wel aan hom gegee het

That is the crux of the whole matter, but those hon gentlemen are reproaching me for not having done my duty. As far as I am concerned, I say to them· Cut it out!

*Mr. P A PYPER. Mr Speaker, I take no pleasure in attacking the hon. the Minister. He is a sensitive, intelligent person. However, it is a great pity that he made a speech here today from which it is quite clear that he has no absolutely regrets about what happened [Interjections.] Apart from the hon. the Minister of Co-operation and Development, there was not a single hon member on the other side who took the attitude that they are sorry about what happened On the contrary, I sensed instead a defiant attitude on the other side. We say the hon the Minister should resign and we say this for two reasons in particular. One aspect I will deal with specifically later, i.e. the fact that he was incompetent and should have known better. He should have paid more attention to things said about this matter in this House

There is, however, a second aspect. The hon the Minister can so easily say things and make statements without considering what an insult it may be for people of colour in South Africa. It makes no difference that he says that there was perhaps a difference in intonation The fact remains that according to *Rapport* he said the following in Windhoek—

> In Blanke gebiede van Suid-Afrika waar die Regering die geboue verskaf, die subsidies gee en die onderwysers betaal, is dit sekerlik ons reg om te bepaal wat die taalbedeling moet wees.

[Interjections] If he says something like this, how does he expect to be interpreted? When this statement was read to me four years ago, I said it sounded like the language of Milner This is the type of attitude that is adopted In 1976 there were Coloured school children who participated in riots, and how does the hon the Minister know that some of them are not also playing rugby today? That hon Minister, however, interferes in rugby and says that one should not play with these people

*The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS You are talking nonsense

*Mr. P. A PYPER: The hon the Minister says I am talking nonsense, but he should really think twice before issuing statements. He should consider how they could assail the human dignity of other people It is for that reason that we tell him that he should disappear from the political scene. South Africa cannot afford such things

†It is quite easy to get up and to say "I

told you so " When one is referring to these riots, however, and the tragic consequences that resulted, I believe that to say "I have told you so" or even "I am sorry" or "You should have known," is to no avail, because it can never bring back to life the hundreds of people who were killed during the riots Secondly, we must also think of the fact that the irreparable damage that was done to good race relations in South Africa can never be rectified in that way.

What we must try to understand, at this point in time, is why there is this inability on the part of the Government to heed warnings timeously and to accept criticism in the way they should For that reason I must say to them: "Yes, of course, we have told you so." If one looks at the Cillié Report, it contains the absolute proof, which nobody can deny, that there was dissatisfaction about the medium of instruction, as well as a degree of discontent which gave rise to the riots of June 1976

The fact that the judge had to quote so many different circulars which dealt with medium of instruction indicates that this was of the utmost importance I should also like to mention that, as early as 29 April 1976 the hon member for Umhlanga had the following to say in this House I am sorry to see that the hon Ministers who are concerned with Black education, have disappeared at this stage This hon. member said, however, and I quote from his Hansard (29 April 1976, col. 5708)—

> I am speaking of regulations in respect of the medium of education in African secondary schools situated in the schools situated in the White urban areas . . .

He went on to say—

> Pupils . . have to study for and write examinations in both official languages of the country, two or three subjects in English and two or three subjects in Afrikaans At all other secondary schools that is to say schools for Whites, Coloureds and Asians and African secondary schools in the homelands, the pupils are allowed to study for and complete their examinations in one of the official languages I shudder to think of the indignation that would be expressed were these regulations to apply to . .

And he went on to mention a number of well-known White schools, such as Jan van Riebeeck Hoerskool and Bishops. What was the reaction at that time of the hon. the Minister? He immediately replied to that, and his reaction was typical of the kind of reaction one gets from that side of the House. When one makes an informed attack or comes with informed criticism, they throw in everything to try to make out that one is uninformed, that one does not perhaps know what one is talking about, when they fully know that one has levelled valid criticism. His reply to the hon member for Umhlanga was that it is applied very leniently and then said—(Hansard, 29 April 1976, col. 5739)—

> But in practice the 50:50 is being applied in such a way that it is predominantly English in the secondary schools!

Then he said—

> . . . we are applying the policy in such an accommodating way that it is in fact "one horse, one rabbit" and the horse in this case is definitely not Afrikaans.

Then he quoted the situation in matric classes and said that there it was 95% English and 5% Afrikaans When we look at page 71 of the report of the Cillié Commission, however, what do we find? We find a column where schools are mentioned where Afrikaans was not used as medium, and if one subtracts that, one finds the percentage where Afrikaans was used as a medium of instruction Let us look at these figures. In Form I it was 77,1% Only 22,9% of the schools had no Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. In Form II, 53,6% had Afrikaans as a medium of instruction In Form III 35,4% had Afrikaans as a medium of instruction It is true that in Form IV none of the schools had Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. In Form V, only 10% of the schools had Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. The hon. member for Umhlanga made a speech in which he spoke about instruction in secondary schools The hon. the Minister rallied around and gave the figures only for matric. They were the correct figures but it is symptomatic of the "glibberigheid" we get from the other side when they are attacked That is why I say he is totally incompetent or has been misled to that extent

by his own officials, because if they could give him the exact figures for matric, he should have known what the figures for the lower classes were. This is exactly what happened. In fact, even in schools where English was the only medium of instruction this tendency could be seen developing Even today, however, the hon. the Minister of Public Works and of Tourism persists in using only the argument of the 90% relating to matric pupils Meanwhile people also knew what was taking place in the lower standards Why, when one refers to secondary schools, the only reaction one gets is a glib answer only reflecting the situation with regard to matric pupils?

The information on which the hon. member for Umhlanga based the speech to which I have already referred, was a letter received by the old United Party, from a Black inspector of education, in November 1975. On a previous occasion I quoted from that same letter. That was on 25 April 1977 I should like to quote from it again (Hansard, Vol. 68, col. 6068)—

> I trust the UP will persuade the Minister of Bantu Education to amend his regulations to allow African secondary pupils to study their subjects and to write their examinations in one official language, instead of in two as at present. They are the only racial group so handicapped, and the African community resents this very strongly It leads to a dislike of Afrikaans, which is regrettable . .

He then continued to say—

> I have written at some length to ensure that you have the background to this, I realize, somewhat explosive situation

This was the information on which we reacted. The attitude of hon members opposite, however, when they are confronted with valid information, is always one of "let's laugh about it; let's fob it off; let us give them insufficient information in order to try to conceal the true position". This is our problem I should like to add that I believe all the work that was done by this commission . .

The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! What does the hon member mean by the words "let us fob it off"?

Mr. P. A. PYPER: Mr Speaker, that is the same as to say "let us laugh it off".

The ACTING SPEAKER: I understand what it means, but what I want to know is in what sense it was used by the hon member?

Mr. P. A. PYPER: Mr Speaker, the hon. member for Umhlanga, in the speech I referred to, was trying to challenge the then Deputy Minister on the situation in secondary schools The Deputy Minister then gave him only the figures for matric. Possibly because we have a government that is so strong in numbers and that has been in power for such a long time, one finds that this sort of attitude has unfortunately permeated into certain State departments as well This is what one finds when one reads this report carefully That is the same type of thing that seems to have occurred and to which reference is made in the report. That is why I submit that should we want to prevent a recurrence of this type of incident in South Africa there must be a change of heart of the part of hon. members of the NP. This is the same reason why I was so utterly disappointed by the speech of the hon. the Minister of Public Works and of Tourism. In his speech he surely reflected no change of heart at all I see he has disappeared from the House He is not even here now

Of course, if one reads through Hansard one finds more than sufficient proof of this specific sort of attitude that I am trying to illustrate I can refer for instance to the speech made by the former Minister of Bantu Administration and Development when he replied to the said speech made by the hon member for Umhlanga. What did he do? He only quoted figures relating to the numbers of new pupils in schools, comparing the situation in 1977 with that of 1910 and of 1955, etc All that was quite irrelevant. I can go on to quote numerous other examples to prove that hon Ministers and hon members of the NP always try to follow some escape route in order to try to avoid facing the real issues They always refer, for instance, to all the improvements resulting from the policy of the Government. Why do they never stop to think and to realize that all these things are completely irrelevant The real question they should ask is why it is that, in spite of all the so-called tremendous advances and improve-

ments, this sort of situation still occurs. They should do their homework better. There is also this constant changing of Ministers. In the 10 years I have been in Parliament, there have been four, maybe even more, Ministers controlling Black education They are not even allowed sufficient time to become masters of their own subjects. I want to quote from a report of a Commission of Inquiry into the Teaching of Official Languages and the use of Mother-tongue as Medium of Instruction in Transkei Primary Schools. This Cingo Commission of Inquiry sat in 1962. I quote from page 10—

> . . . the Commission heard criticism of the policy of employing the official languages on a 50:50 basis as media of instruction in the secondary school Some of the criticisms were that dual media in foreign languages constituted a hardship on the pupil and that this policy was educationally unsound

A little further on the Regional Director of Bantu Education in Transkei had the following to say—

> . . . to apply this instruction rigidly, then I must say they are wrong

That is a warning about the 50 50 system. The considered recommendation of the commission reads as follows—

> . . in the opinion of the Commission, . . the enforcement of the policy is of doubtful wisdom from all angles. The Commission recommends the employment of only one official language as medium of instruction in the secondary schools

As long ago as 1962 a commission already considered this and even on educational grounds found that at high school level a 50.50 system was unsound The interesting reasons they gave, were that Afrikaans teachers in the schools were inadequately qualified and that these teachers had a low standard of attainment. What did Justice Cillié find? He found that one of the reasons why these people caused such difficulties, was because the teachers themselves were not proficient and sufficiently trained

An HON. MEMBER: Why not?

Mr. P. A. PYPER: Why not? [Interjections] It is not very easy I can tell the hon member that I was educated at an Afrikaans university and when I started teaching at high school in the medium of English, I found it very hard and very difficult. How can one expect teachers with a std. 6 qualification . .

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR I said "one of them"

Mr. P. A PYPER: Oh, one of the reasons? This is the problem. According to this report eminent educationists, such as P. R T. Nel, who later on became the Director of Education in Natal, and Prof. Boshoff served on this commission

I want to refer to another matter. On 30 April 1976, when the hon the Minister replied to the accusations about the medium of instruction at secondary schools, the then member for Port Elizabeth Central asked the following (Hansard, 30 April 1976, col 5739)—

> I should like to ask the hon the Deputy Minister whether the choice is not left to the community in which the school is established

Later on he asked—

> Is there a choice, which the parents, the children or the public in the place where the school has been established may exercise?

What was the reply? I quote—

> In practice . . the language proficiency of the teacher . . is taken into consideration What is also taken into consideration is the language . . in that specific area. We adhere to the 50:50 principle .

The question that was put to the hon the Minister was whether the community had a say in the matter Afterwards they pleaded innocent about all this What does it help to come with amendments, changes and adjustments later on? Why come with it later on when we in South Africa have had to pay and nearly 575 people have had to die?

I should like to continue by saying that in dealing with Blacks, and especially in dealing with this particular matter, the Government has right throughout, even in this debate, adopted an attitude of being far too clever by half. It will be of no avail if we merely try to make cosmetic changes in this respect.

*Dr P. J. VAN B. VILJOEN: But you have always been wrong about education. You have been wrong since the earliest years.

Mr P A. PYPER: You do not even play in this league.

*Mr. B W B. PAGE: You are too dense to be stupid.

Mr. P A PYPER. The hon. the Minister of Co-operation and Development spoke about all sorts of wonderful improvements, but if one wants to solve the problems of education in South Africa, one will have to find a political structure where people will be able to improve their own lot through due democratic processes To come along at this stage and speak about municipal rights, or slightly more, is totally inadequate. As long as this Parliament has to decide what the total amount is which is to be spent on education and as long as we have to carry that responsibility as far as the education of urban Blacks is concerned, we will run the risk of a repeat of the tragic circumstances we experienced a few years ago. It is on that basis that I believe the hon. the Minister and any other hon Minister who shows any disregard for the feelings of Black people or for people of colour will have to treat them with the respect that they deserve and not make such statements as have been made by the hon the Minister of Public Works. That type of person we do not need in politics in South Africa.

*Mr. C. UYS. Mr Speaker, I have listened attentively to the hon member for Durban Central. He concentrated on the question of education, and that is understandable, since he is an ex-teacher However, I could not help gaining the impression that the hon. member for Durban Central was actually advocating that Afrikaans should not be used in Black schools

*Mr. P A PYPER: Who said so?

*Mr C UYS: That was the impression I got. [Interjections.] What is more, when this debate began this morning, the hon the Leader of the Opposition said—and I think he was right in doing so—that although the events which gave rise to the publication of Mr. Justice Cillié's report took place four years ago, he hoped we would conduct this debate against the background of the present. The hon. member for Durban Central made a long speech about the question of education in the Black schools, which allegedly led to the riots at that time In the light of the appeal made by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition that we should discuss the report against the background of present-day circumstances, I do not believe that any hon. member on the other side of the House, including the hon member for Durban Central, pointed out any problem to us which exists in any Black school at the moment in respect of the medium of instruction His speech was completely irrelevant to the real debate All he was trying to do was to score debating points and to apportion guilt, but in the light of the present circumstances, he really did not make any significant contribution

It is true that Mr Justice Cillié found that the question of the medium of instruction, the use of two languages in certain Black schools, was the direct cause of the riots, but what I am asking myself is why some of the Black young people objected so fiercely to the use of Afrikaans There is a reason for that Has it not been our experience that over the years, the enemies of the Government have referred to this Government, to all who would listen, as the "Afrikaner Nationalist Government"? Has it not been customary over the years for the Afrikaner, and the Afrikaner in particular, to be presented to all who would listen, to the Black man in South Africa, as the culprit and the cause of all his problems?

Is it not a fact that—I am not saying this is intentional—the Afrikaner is hated by a large section of the population of South Africa? This is what we have been up against This is why this attitude towards Afrikaans developed among some of the young Black people. Not only at that time, but right up to this day—have hon members read this morning's editorial in *The Cape Times*?—reference

is made repeatedly to "this Afrikaans Nationalist Government". Time and again this connotation is used by the enemies of the Government. Now I want to sound a warning to those who sow hatred against the Afrikaner among people of colour in this country; I want to warn that the matter will not rest there. They may succeed in making White Afrikaners the target, but in the end the true victim will be the entire White civilization in South Africa—Afrikaans- as well as English-speaking

If I may go on to something else, there is another matter I wish to raise. The hon member for Schweizer-Reneke asked the hon member for Pinelands why he had not referred to the role played by certain of his spiritual associates in the Cape in consequence of the events, especially those at Langa and Nyanga. An important part of Mr. Justice Cillié's report is devoted to the allegations made against the South African Police by certain clergyman in the Cape, led by Rev Russell. We all know that the writings of Rev Russell and his spiritual associates contained the most slanderous allegations concerning the S.A. Police In the debate up to now—which the hon. the Leader of the Opposition has said we should conduct objectively, considering all aspects of the report—no word has been said about this yet.

*Dr A L BORAINE: How many speakers have they had?

*Mr C UYS: What was the finding of the commission? I should be glad if the hon member for Pinelands could tell us whether he agrees with Mr Justice Cillié in his findings in respect of Rev. Russell and Co. We find that the commission was anxious for Rev. Russell to give evidence before it What does Mr Justice Cillié tell us in his report? He says there was an indication that the commission expected the authors, and especially Rev. Russell, to give evidence. The report mentions this specifically, and says—

> Die kommissie weet dat eerw. Russell by daardie geleentheid, en ook by 'n latere geleentheid toe die opstellers weer uitgenooi is om te getuig, in die saal teenwoordig was.

Sc Rev. Russell was present when the invitation was extended The report goes on to say—

> Eerw Russell en die ander opstellers het nie getuig nie.

When these most reverend gentlemen of the cloth, who alleged so sanctimoniously that they were only interested in justice and the truth, were invited and had an opportunity to substantiate the slanderous allegations they had publicly made against the South African Police, therefore, they were conspicuous by their absence What was the finding of Mr. Justice Cillié in connection with the report and the memorandum of Rev Russell and Co.? I quote what is said about this on page 409 of the report—

> Die doel van die twee dokumente was nie om te vra dat die bewerings en verklarings van 'n aantal ooggetuies ondersoek moet word nie; die opstellers het die verklarings aanvaar en beskou as steun vir hulle aantygings teen die polisie; hulle het reeds die onluste-polisie aan die beskuldigings skuldig bevind

Therefore the situation was deliberately handled in a completely prejudiced way in order to cause further problems for South Africa. I should like to know from the hon member for Pinelands what he thinks of this behaviour of Rev Russel and Co

*An HON. MEMBER They support it

*Mr C UYS: There will be a deathly silence on the other side of the House about this subject It is also interesting that it emerges in the report that even the ANC and the PAC actually used so-called church organizations as front organizations to cause problems This fits into the same pattern, where on the one hand we have clergymen who allow themselves to be used in order to slander South Africa, and our police in particular, and on the other hand we find the ANC, the PAC and the Communists using church front organizations to promote their cause in South Africa.

A great deal has been said about this report, but nowhere has the Opposition referred to any positive finding in the report. They concentrate only on the negative side, and we admit that there are negative parts.

Dr A L BORAINE. Tell us about it

*Mr. C. UYS: I believe the hon member for Pinelands listened to the hon the Minister of Co-operation and Development and others who have spoken, and who have already told us what was done long before the report even appeared. However, there is one other matter I wish to discuss before I conclude. There is something that has been pleaded for in the Press, or I should rather say insisted upon, in respect of Mr. Percy Qoboza It is now being insisted upon that the ban on *The World* and *Weekend World* be lifted. The impression is being created by Mr Percy Qoboza himself that this report completely exonerates those two newspapers Surely that is not the truth The report of Mr. Justice Cillié deals specifically with the period between 16 June 1976 and 28 February 1977. *The World* and *Weekend World* were not banned during that period, after all Those two newspapers were only banned at the end of October 1977, and not necessarily because of the conduct of those two newspapers during the period of the riots, as investigated by Mr Justice Cillié Therefore, to argue today that the report of Mr Justice Cillié completely exonerates those two newspapers and that for this reason. their banning was not valid, is not logical The fact remains that long before those newspapers were banned, Mr Qoboza was repeatedly warned that there would be problems if his newspapers persisted in the attitude they had adopted

It is interesting, and one should take cognizance of the fact that after these two mouthpieces had disappeared from the scene, the unrest in South Africa died down.

Mr Speaker, I wish to conclude The man who, in the special circumstances of South Africa, disregards the difference between races, between peoples, between groups, is disregarding the truth The man who in South Africa, with its particular circumstances, disregards the preferences of races, but also the prejudices of races, the man who disregards the preferences and the prejudices of various groups in South Africa, is making the greatest mistake of his life In everything we plan, therefore, we shall have to take this fact of life into account at all times

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Mr. Speaker, I do not have time to deal with the speech of the hon member for Barberton in any detail. I just wish to say two things The first is that if he wishes to know about the actions of the Rev. David Russell the best thing is for the Government to unban him so that he will be able to answer the questions which the hon. member has posed in the House

Mr. C. UYS. Why did he not give evidence?

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Ask that of the Rev. David Russell. If he is unbanned, I am sure he will be able to answer that question. Secondly, the hon member is of course not right when he says that the banning of *The World* and *Weekend World* had nothing whatever to do with the unrest because those newspapers were only banned in October 1977 while the unrest began in June 1976. The hon member himself then told us that Mr Qoboza had been called in time and again and warned about the statements the newspapers were carrying and the sort of leading articles which were, according to the Government, provoking further unrest. The commission's report shows one thing very clearly, and that is that the Press did not have anything to do with either the outbreak of unrest or the continuation of unrest. Therefore, I think the demand that both *The World* and *Weekend World* should be unbanned is a reasonable one, and I personally would support it

Sir, we are reaching the end of a long and interesting debate and a lot of hon. members have had much to say about the Cillié Commission's report. I should like to add a few comments of my own The first is that I am on record as criticizing the tardy appearance of the Cillié Commission's report. I do not withdraw that criticism What I do withdraw, however, is the further comment I made, which was that because it has taken so long to produce, it would have no value I withdraw that remark because I do believe that the report does, in fact, have value

*Mr. H. J. D VAN DER WALT: Simply because it suits you now

Mrs. H SUZMAN: Firstly, it presents, in detail, a very vivid picture of the disaster that struck South Africa.

*Mr. H J. D. VAN DER WALT Had it not suited you, you would not have accepted it

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Mr Speaker, I hope I am going to get the same treatment from the Chair as other hon members have got.

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order!

*Mrs H SUZMAN: Thank you. It presents, in detail, a vivid picture of the disaster that struck South Africa with such devastating consequences on 16 June 1976 and which continued, in fact, well beyond the period examined by the commission, because the commission's report ends with events that took place on 28 February 1977, whilst the riots went on well into the first half of 1978.

Secondly, the report analyses the causes of the unrest and, most important of all, contains an unmistakable indictment of Government policy. Therefore it is very valuable. There are, of course, some parts of the report with which I am not in agreement, and I shall come to that in a moment Before that, however, I cannot resist pointing out to hon members, including the noisy hon. member for Schweizer-Reneke, some of the things that they said in 1976 when the riots were debated in this House [Interjections.] The hon. member for Schweizer-Reneke said that the riots were timed to coincide with the independence of the Transkei. Have hon. members ever heard such nonsense!

*Mr H J D. VAN DER WALT I still maintain that.

Mrs. H SUZMAN. The hon member for Verwoerdburg put it all down to the machinations of the PFP, as we then were, and, of course, to the Press, which is, according to them, always busy advancing the cause of Moscow. He was joined in his opinion by the hon members for Koedoespoort, Hercules, Stilfontein and Pretoria West, all of whom made the same foolish accusations. [Interjections.]

I now want to join with those hon. members here who have stated that the major blame for the initial outbreak of the unrest should not have been laid, as the commission has laid it, at the feet of the relevant officials in the erstwhile Department of Bantu Education, but at the feet of the Minister of Bantu Education and the Deputy Minister in charge of education at the time It should, indeed, have been placed at their feet [Interjections.]

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! The hon member for Houghton is in no mood for interjections today

Mrs. H SUZMAN: Thank you, Sir. They were warned over and over again The hon the Deputy Minister said a little earlier in this House that he had inquired of the Secretary for Education and had been assured that the situation was under control. He also asked whether we expected him to have gone down to find out for himself. The answer is "yes"

Dr A L BORAINE Absolutely!

Mrs H SUZMAN: He should have caught the next 'plane to Jan Smuts Airport when he heard, earlier in the year, in April, May and again in June when he was warned by urgent telegrams given to him by the then hon member for Parktown, that great trouble was brewing. He should have caught a 'plane, gone to Jan Smuts Airport . .

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Only one telegram.

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: There were two telegrams Anyway, he should have consulted with the school boards, with the PTAs, with the leading members of the community and with the headmasters of the schools concerned Maybe then the instruction, regarding language medium, which everybody said was causing so much unrest in the schools in Soweto, would have been withdrawn and maybe, with a bit of luck, we would not have had the terrible uprising that we had What we had instead, was the hon the Minister and his Deputy—I am not sure which deputy, but I think it is the present deputy—paying one visit to Soweto in all the six months that followed upon the outbreak of unrest, from 26 June until the end of the year, because I asked a question in Parliament of the then hon Minister and the answer was that they had paid one visit.

Dr A. L BORAINE: By helicopter.

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: What happened was that after the unrest started, the Minister of Bantu Administration took off for the Greek Isles and his Deputies took to the hills [Interjections] We never saw or heard of them again

The MINISTER OF POLICE You are being absolutely ridiculous now.

Mrs H SUZMAN: We never saw or heard of them again The whole thing became one vast police exercise and nothing else. That is what it became. [Interjections] What we had, was unrest spreading from one Black township to the next, and let me ask the hon. member, whoever he was, who said that there was no language question in the Cape, and yet there was unrest in the Cape, whether he does not realize that shootings had taken place already and that the country was aflame like a veld fire The unrest spread from one township to the other. There has never been such a display of solidarity among the Black people as there was in those months following the outbreak of unrest in June 1976. It was not only among the Black people that this solidarity was displayed in place after place as the commission's report shows, but amongst the Coloured community in Cape Town as well there was solidarity with the Black community I include the Coloured community in the Black community.

I should like to say a few words about the role of the police. We have had some words of praise for them from the hon member for Barberton. I want to say quite unequivocally that I find the commission's exoneration of the police, except for Day One unacceptable In regard to Day one the police are criticized—firstly, because they did not know what was going on; secondly, because they were badly equipped and, thirdly, because they were under-strength The criticism of Day One is, of course, understandable, because the police were untrained, there was no loudspeaker to warn the crowd to disperse, and they evidently had no knowledge that a student demonstration had been planned But why they did not know, with all the Security Police running around, I do not know. They were too busy tapping phones and intercepting mail to worry about the outbreak of one of the biggest disasters that has ever hit this country They had no loudspeakers, the tear-gas cannisters which they had, were ineffective—apparently only one of them exploded—and so on. One only has to read the report to see exactly what went on [Interjections.] What happened then was that the police fired into the crowd—whether it was before or after the throwing of stones is apparently still a matter of doubt—and two young Blacks were killed. Hastings Ndhlovu and Hector Petersen were shot dead by the police; the tinderbox was now alight, and the disaster which was to engulf South Africa for two full years commenced, leading to unprecedented loss of life and injury to people, and I agree with the hon member for Durban Central that it is shocking that not one Government member except the Minister of Co-operation and Development has expressed any regret or sorrow for the dead and the wounded of the riots of 1976. We had billions of rands worth of damage, economic depression in South Africa, universal condemnation abroad, a mandatory arms embargo and a most tragic deterioration in race relations at home, something from which I believe we have not recovered, and I doubt that we are going to recover.

One wonders what would have happened if, on that fateful day in June 1976, the students had been allowed to have their protest meeting without police opposition, or if the police had refrained from using their guns. One wonders what would have happened if, instead of untrained, badly equipped men, an experienced anti-riot squad had been used to cope with the situation on 16 June and thereafter, and the subsequent unrest What would have happened if the police had refrained in the subsequent days and months of unrest from appearing at the funerals of young people who had been shot dead by the police, from appearing in their camouflage uniforms and armed to the teeth? What would have happened if the Police had refrained from raiding the homes of the parents of students and arresting students in the early hours of the morning, and if they had refrained from entering schools and arresting students after, at long last, they had been persuaded to go back to school? I believe that these actions were provocative to the extreme, and I believe that all of those things added fuel to the whole terrible situation that had arisen. What if, and I believe that this is the most important "what if" of all, we had had an intelligent Minister of Police and Justice at the time, in charge of affairs on June the 16th, instead of a man whose entire attitude was geared to the whole "kragdadige" attitude of his Prime Minister, who put into detention every recognized adult Black leader, who had thousands of young students

locked up and for many months refrained from providing the protective equipment to the riot police, something which could have acted as a deterrent and have saved many lives On 22 June 1976, in this House, when 1,14 people had already been shot dead by the police—only six days after the riots began—the then Minister of Police, replying to a question put to him by the hon. member for Sandton about why the police had not had face-guards and water-cannon at their disposal, said (Hansard, Vol. 63, col. 10102)—

> In fact, it was not suggested anywhere that members of the Police Force were injured on a large scale.

The then Minister of Police gave this reply as if that was the object of the question He then went on to say—

> Therefore, to have our policemen running around like knights of the Middle Ages, heavily armoured with coats-of-mail and visors, and goodness knows what else—policemen in such garb pursuing fleet-footed little Bantu all over the veld—is something I can hardly imagine.

I can hardly imagine a responsible Minister of Police giving that sort of answer here in the House when he was asked why the riot police had not been provided with proper equipment. He then went on to say—

> Not only would it be ridiculous. it is also completely unnecessary. In any case, a police officer will hardly be able to handle his rifle if he is also wearing a heavy flak jacket and a face-guard.

Obviously, the idea of saving lives and of reducing casualties never even entered the mind of that Minister of Police. So, for a long time no special riot equipment was provided People continued to be shot by the police because at times the police's own safety and their own lives were threatened and they had no protective equipment. Also, they shot because of the attitude which was handed down from the top.

The commission fixed the number of people actually killed by police action at 445, and the number wounded at 2 389. A further 124 were killed by other means and there was a much higher number of casualties by other means as well, apart from the number I have already mentioned. There are, of course, people who doubt those figures and say they were much higher. I have also seen much higher figures. In any case, however, it surely seems to me that the commission's figures cover only 8½ months, and that is from 16 June 1976 to 28 February 1977. The unrest continued in fact until June 1978, according to the finding of the commission itself. Therefore there must have been more casualties The point I am making, however, and I am making it quite clearly, is that I personally cannot reconcile the enormous number of people killed by the police action with the behaviour of a Police Force which was intent upon using a minimum of force, and which was equipped to deal with riots of this nature

I have some comparative figures which, I believe, show this very clearly During the 1960's the USA was rent by unrest and riots. One other hon. member has mentioned this here today It was estimated by various commissions that were appointed thereafter that between June 1963 and May 1968—that is over a period of five years—more than two million American citizens took to the streets in rioting on university campuses and in the streets The cities from the east coast to California went up in flames. All that happened because of civil rights issues and, of course, in protest against the war in Vietnam Do hon. members know how many people were killed during that time as a result of police action? Less than 200. I put it down to the fact . . [Interjections.] America was in an uproar when four students were killed at Kent State university, and I put it down to the fact that police are properly trained to handle crowds in conditions of rioting and unrest. [Interjections.]

Mr. F J LE ROUX (Brakpan): You are certainly no friend of the police.

Mr. M W DE WET: You hate the police

Mrs. H. SUZMAN: Mr Speaker, I am a friend of . [Interjections.]

Mr. SPEAKER: Order!

Mrs. H SUZMAN: I am a friend of South Africa and I should like to tell hon members here that if the attitude of Black people continues to be one that reviles the police as

their enemies, this country is doomed. Unless we can establish relationships between the Black population of South Africa and the Police Force that has to maintain law and order on an amicable basis, we will never get anywhere in South Africa. [Interjections] I believe that the foolish attitude of the then Minister was a cause of police action leading to high mortality, for unprotected policemen are much more inclined to use fire-arms than properly equipped ones.

I have to say that I believe that the fact that so few Blacks, particularly young Blacks, gave evidence before the commission because they were intimidated by their own people against doing so—this is what the commission says—or because they were worried about security police action if they did give evidence or because they considered the commission to be a creature of the apartheid system, the fact that only 15 Blacks under the age of 18 gave evidence to the commission has led to an imbalance in the findings of the commission regarding the actions of the police, many of whom gave evidence before the commission, as did many officials. The frantic calls I received from desperate parents during those terrible months after 16 June 1976 and from eye witnesses to shootings from police cars—I handed in affidavits about a green Chevrolet and a white Valiant—panic-stricken appeals for something to be done about the hostel dwellers of Mzimhlope who were raiding the residences and ravaging through the townships, and even the wild scenes which the hon member for Sandton and I saw with our own eyes when we went to Alexandra Township while a police raid was actually taking place, lead me to believe that the commission's complete exoneration of the riot police's behaviour after 16 June is not an accurate reflection of what really happened.

The present hon Minister of Police has said that he considers that the police have come out of the riot commission's report very well The reality, however, is that what happened between the riot police and the Black people during the unrest, has embittered and radicalized hundreds of thousands of young Blacks who saw with their own eyes what took place in Soweto, Nyanga, New Brighton and everywhere else throughout South Africa. It has radicalized and has motivated thousands of young Blacks to leave South Africa to undergo training for terrorist activities

*The MINISTER OF POLICE AND OF PRISONS· Mr. Speaker, I have listened carefully to the hon. member for Houghton, but I am really not sure what the hon. member actually wanted to say.

*An HON. MEMBER: She ran out of steam!

*The MINISTER: She ran out of steam. I should like to react to her speech, but it would create a problem I think I should rather not do what she would perhaps like me to do, and that is to react to her speech in a spirit of excitement, so that too little time will remain to give attention to other matters. However, I do want to comment on one or two aspects of what the hon member said.

In the first place, I cannot understand why the hon. member makes use of the opportunity in one debate after another to make remarks which can only cause adverse publicity for our country abroad [Interjections.] The hon. member is constantly making interjections when other hon members are speaking, but the moment she is speaking and others do the same, she appeals to the Chair. I should like to ask her where it says in the report that "They were running around tapping 'phones instead of doing their work in Soweto." Why did she say that?

Mr D. J DALLING: It is probably true. That is why.

*The MINISTER: The hon member makes these mischievous remarks only for consumption outside this House, but she does not make any contribution to the debate. The hon member asked what would have happened if those students had been allowed to hold their protest marches that day without any outside interference However, the hon. member has not read the report. If she had, she would have seen in the report what preparations preceded the marches, who the persons were that were involved in them and what they had been ordered to do on the day of the marches and if the police should bar their way. After all, these were not peaceful marches through the streets by students in order to raise funds

for their school. The hon. member knows that, but now the hon member asks this question to create the impression that we were dealing with thousands of little angels on that occasion.

The MINISTER OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS: Helen's angels.

*The MINISTER OF POLICE AND OF PRISONS: Precisely. Helen's angels. Then came the big bullies of the S A. Police and they moved to bar the way of Helen's angels, and so we had riots that lasted for two years That is what the hon member is telling the world Surely this is not the behaviour of a responsible member of this House. The hon. member also referred to what had happened in the USA It is true that fewer people were shot dead in the USA. This is for reasons which are surely peculiar to their circumstances After all, all of us who have been to the USA since the 'sixties know the battered appearance that some parts of the USA still retain because of those riots I can give the hon. member one good and well-known example. The hon member knows what Fourteenth Street and its environs in Washington look like There are the monuments "of the cities in the United States that went up in flames", according to the hon. member We cannot allow that in our country We cannot allow cities to go up in flames in our country.

I am really sorry that the hon. member made this kind of speech this afternoon We are dealing with a really serious matter this afternoon. It is a serious matter which we have to debate here None of us can be indifferent to the report of the Cillié Commission. None of us is indifferent to the circumstances which gave rise to the riots and their consequences There is no hon member of this House who is not giving serious consideration to the report, who is not to the best of his ability taking cognizance of the recommendations and the findings in the report, and who will not give attention to these in the future in order to create a constitutional and social order in South Africa in which this kind of thing can be avoided. Surely we are adults Paradise cannot be created overnight. Heaven on earth cannot be created overnight.

To those hon. members on the other side who wish to create the impression that hon. members on this side of the House are indifferent to the report I want to give the assurance that this is not the case at all. After all, in introducing the debate on this side of the House this morning, the hon. the Minister of Co-operation and Development repeatedly gave the assurance, in reply to the first speaker on that side of the House, that this was the standpoint of this side of the House If it has not been repeated by every other member, surely this is no justification for accusing this side of the House of being indifferent to it. I want to say repeatedly that we view this matter in the most serious light.

I should like to take the opportunity of assuring the Commissioner, Mr. Justice Cillié, and his staff of our appreciation for the great trouble that was taken with this report and for the careful attention they gave to all relevant facts I also want to take the opportunity of saying that it was a privilege for the S.A. Police to try to co-operate with the commission and to assist the Commissioner under difficult circumstances What I am going to say about certain aspects of the report this afternoon will not be said in a spirit of detracting from the status of the commission I do not wish to do that at all However, it is unfortunately true that I want to and have to place a different construction on one particular aspect from the one placed upon it by the commission The only real criticism of the police in the report relates to the events shortly before and on 16 June, and it is dealt with in paragraph 3 9 of the report in particular The most important criticisms are made on page 126, in paragraph 3 9.1 of the report, and I quote—

> duidelike tekens van broeiende onrus in die laaste paar weke voor die sestiende is verontagsaam . omdat die polisie nie die belangrikheid van hierdie voortekens besef het nie, is daar blykbaar geen verdere of genoegsame ondersoek ingestel nie Daarom was hulle onbewus nie alleen van die oproer wat sou kom nie, maar ook van wanneer dit sou plaasvind en daarom was

> hulle op die dag onvoorbereid wat mannekrag, toerusting en gemoedsgesteldheid betref.

These are basically the criticisms that are levelled against the S A. Police. The commission motivates its standpoint as follows (page 126, paragraph 3.9.1)—

> Dit is moeilik om te begryp dat 'n groep jongmense drie dae lank kan voorberei vir 'n demonstrasie deur 15 000 of meer skoliere aan skole dwarsoor Soweto, en dat die polisie die eerste, onvolledige berigte daarvan eers ontvang op die aand voordat die betoging sou plaasvind. Inligting dat so 'n onwettige optog van so 'n omvang georganiseer word, sou enige kenner van die omstandighede laat besef het dat gevaar dreig en, indien dit sy plig was, sou dit hom die nodige maatreels laat tref het Die kommissie meen dat die polisie in 'n groot mate self verantwoordelik was vir hulle gebrek aan kennis van wat beplan was en dus ook vir hul eie onparaatheid.

Then the commission finally comes to the conclusion—

> . . . dat die onvermoë van die polisie om die dreigende gevaar voor 16 Junie in Soweto te voorsien en teenmaatreels te tref, 'n samelopende omstandigheid was wat die oproer veroorsaak het. Dit beteken dat die polisie gesamentlik verantwoordelikheid moet dra vir die besondere insident.

This is an extremely important finding, because it affects the status of the police with regard to the maintenance of law and order. Therefore it is a serious matter. For this reason I, as the responsible Minister, and others in this hon. House must ask ourselves what gave rise to the commission's finding Is it well-motivated, or can we place a different construction on it? With great respect towards the commission, I should like to give a different interpretation to these matters which I think should also be emphasized and brought to the attention of the public. I cannot accept that the police should be held co-responsible, along with these other elements, for the riots. I want to emphasize a few aspects. The commission says, *inter alia* (page 101, paragraph 3 1 2)—

> Sonder dat die onrustiges, die amptenare of die polisie daarvan bewus was, het leerlinge van sekondêre skole en hulle helpers onder leiding en aansporing van die Aksiekomitee wat uit SASM-lede bestaan het, noukeurige voorbereidings vir 'n gesamentlike protes en vertoon van vasberadenheid getref.

I repeat "sonder dat die onrustiges, die amptenare of die polisie daarvan bewus was . " I wish to emphasize a further aspect to hon members I quote from the report (page 102, paragraph 3.1.4)—

> Die geheimhouding van die planne was merkwaardig Die vergadering van die dertiende Junie is by talle skole bekendgemaak en pamflette met 'n oproep tot bywoning is onder die leerlinge versprei. Op die bepaalde dag is die byeenkoms in die DOCC-saal gehou, feitlik binne gooiafstand van 'n polisiestasie Daar was later vergaderings by vyf skole in verskeie dele van Soweto en oral is plakkate deur die leerlinge voorberei Nogtans het inligting nie voor Dinsdagmiddag by die polisie uitgelek nie, en toe was dit nog vaag en onvolledig. Waarskynlik was dit ten dele om die geheim te bewaar dat die organiseerders die datum van die betoging slegs drie dae tevore bekendgemaak het, en ook nie by die owerheid die nodige verlof vir 'n optog in die strate van Soweto aangevra het nie

That is what the commission says. Arising from this, I want to mention that at that stage, and for a long time afterwards, one had to apply to the proper authority, being a magistrate or the Commissioner of the area, for a permit in order to hold a public meeting or assembly or a protest march down a street. No such application was made. If application

had been made, it would inevitably have come to the attention of the police.

I wish to refer to a further matter and to emphasize it again. In this connection I quote from paragraph 3 2.4 on page 103 of the report—

> Die feit dat 'n openbare optog op die 16de in Soweto onwettig sou wees, het vir die polisie verskeie verpligtings meegebring. As hulle bewus was van die skoliere se voornemens om deur die strate te marsjeer, moes hulle dit pligshalwe probeer verhoed het. 'n Getuie het aan die hand gedoen dat hulle die leerlinge by die skole moes voorgekeur en huis toe laat gaan het Of die polisie met so 'n poging sou geslaag het om die opmars van duisende skoliere te voorkom en die vrede ook te bewaar, kan nie nou met sekerheid vasgestel word nie; hulle het nie van die voornemens en die voorbereidings geweet nie en daarom is so 'n poging om die optog te verhoed en die vrede te bewaar nie aangewend nie

Once again, this is the finding of the commission and not of a witness On page 104, paragraph 3.3 1, of the report, the following is said—

> Dit was die plig van elke skool se afgevaardigdes op die Aksiekomitee om die ander leerlinge kennis van die optog te gee. Dit is nie duidelik hoeveel inligting op enige bepaalde tydstip aan die skoliere oorgedra moes word nie Dinsdag het Motapanyane, wat 'n leier en organiseerder was, sy mede-leerlinge by die Naledihoerskool toegespreek en aangesê om hulle plakkate die volgende dag skool toe te bring Dit is moontlik dat hulle toe nog nie geweet het dat hulle die volgende dag nie eksamens sou aflê nie, maar aan 'n optog sou deelneem

In the following paragraph 3 3.2 the commission goes on to say—

> Die enigste kennis wat die polisie vooraf van die beplande optog gehad het, het hulle Dinsdagmiddag en -aand ontvang.

The commission also mentions that around 4 o'clock that afternoon, a certain Major G. J. Viljoen was informed that there were going to be problems at Naledi High School, that Col Kleingeld was informed that a meeting would be held at one of the high schools in Orlando the next day and that the pupils of another high school had said that the children would march from there the following day. Having analysed this information, the commission says—

> In hierdie geval kon die beriggewer ook nie meer besonderhede verstrek nie.

The commission goes on to mention that three reporters from *The World* were aware on the previous afternoon of the action the students had planned for the following day However, it is striking that the commission mentions immediately afterwards that the editors of all the other newspapers in Johannesburg only told their reporters to go to Soweto the next morning So these people did not know either.

Dr A L. BORAINE. It is the job of the police to know

*The MINISTER I am not saying it was the job of the reporters to know I am only outlining certain aspects of the report that have to be emphasized. We must ask ourselves. Did the police know or should they have known in advance about this protest march and should they have taken measures to prevent it? If not, do they share responsibility for the riots which broke out in South Africa? The commission's report mentions on page 127, in paragraph 3 10 2—

> Om verskeie redes het die polisie die erns van die situasie nie begryp nie en was hulle onbewus van die organiseerders se bedrywighede. Gevolglik is die organisering sonder bemoeiliking van die polisie voortgesit.

I wish to emphasize further that during the whole preceding process, for very good

reasons and in co-operation with other bodies, the police maintained a low profile, except when they were specially called out to deal with law-breakers. For this reason I say that looking at the findings of the commission only, I am very sorry that I have to place a different emphasis on the finding that the police were co-responsible for the riots that broke out Another important factor is the fact that the police were dealing here with children and not with adults We all know how unpredictable the behaviour of these children, and other children in similar circumstances, had been during the preceding years. For this very reason, it was the policy of the S.A Police to maintain a low profile in order to prevent rebelliousness at schools when the police made their appearance there. At the small number of meetings of which the police were aware, the police had to make use of the services of informants, and as the commission confirmed, no information of large-scale protest marches—let alone the proposed marches and riots of the following day—reached the police It did not come to the notice of the police before 4 o'clock on the afternoon of 15 June

I just wish to emphasize a different aspect, and that is what happened when the information did come to the notice of the police. The necessary steps were then taken That is why I said in a Press statement before the debate that the police were never indifferent to any event which took place in Soweto. The police took cognizance of everything when that happpened That afternoon and early evening of 15 June, when the particulars came to their notice, the necessary steps were taken In any event, the police were already on the alert throughout Soweto, as well as in other parts of the country, because of a threatening bus boycott. The necessary patrols were sent out early the next morning Soweto is a very big place; one cannot simply climb a hill and observe the lay of the land from there. Therefore the necessary precautions had been taken.

I understand that my time has almost expired, and therefore I just want to add that if the police had acted differently and more harshly during their first encounter with those children, the results could have been even worse than they were. However, we must bear in mind that the police had to deal first with hundreds and later with thousands of children. From then on, the agitators, the intimidators, the people who were really stirring up trouble, the hooligans and all the other scum who later became involved, really came to the fore. Active steps were taken against them.

I just wish to emphasize one or two aspects, namely that I should like to give this House the assurance that we have all learnt from these circumstances, including the S A. Police. We have learnt a great deal with regard to equipment, behaviour, preparedness, etc However, the police cannot be accused of not having been prepared for the events. The police were prepared Even if some of the tear-gas was old and did not explode when it should have. nobody is to blame for that One does not have an opportunity to try out tear-gas to decide whether it will still work However, I do not have time to discuss the details Precautions had been taken, but I want to give the assurance that although we were prepared for the events and the circumstances created further problems for us, the S A. Police is today equipped with the most modern protective devices, the most modern equipment in sufficient quantities to be used by large numbers of policemen in such circumstances. This applies to our methods and our arms as well. When people on the other side of the House talk about attitudes, I want to ask who promoted the best attitudes during the riots in Soweto and elsewhere. It was the police officers Who can disagree with me when I mention the name of Brig Visser? He made one of the largest contributions from the part of the State to improving the relations in Soweto. Those relations still exist today. [Interjections.] Soon he will retire on pension Therefore I want to pay tribute to those policemen who took action in Soweto, the present Commissioner of Police and other senior officers who were involved I want to say that it was a great disappointment to me

that some of our newspapers interviewed a few senior police officers and presented this as "police quarrelling about report". A brigadier whose present conduct does not do credit to the Force is being presented by them as the mouthpiece for confirming that the police was not prepared on that occasion. As for me, I want to pay tribute to those police officers who made that positive contribution, not only in combating the riots, but also in the splendid example they set in building human relationships. I have two pages full of examples here which I could have given the hon member for Houghton if I had had the time and the opportunity to do so I want to express my regret about the fact that the man who was the commander in Soweto and who did not see to it that his people had food to eat during the first three days. who did not see to it that his people, according to him, had proper weapons, who is crying now about tear-gas canisters that did not explode, and who did not provide the basic logistical support for his people, is now being used as the mouthpiece for denigrating the police in the Press

Finally I should like to say that I am really grateful to the commission for having examined so carefully every action on the part of the police Reading the report, I could point out ten or twelve splendid examples of where the commission found that the police had behaved firmly, reasonably and correctly under the most difficult circumstances, under the most dangerous circumstances. I could also point out examples of tribute which is paid to the police by the commission. For this reason I am also grateful for the fact that, apart from the remarks made here by the hon. member for Houghton, remarks which I believe were somewhat mischievous, the police have not been dragged into the political arena in this House today. I am very grateful for that I am also grateful for the fact that I have been afforded an opportunity to place this one aspect in a different perspective. I believe it is necessary, for we cannot allow the impression to continue that under serious circumstances, those responsible for maintaining law and order in South Africa were not able and ready to do so. This is really not so. Together with this, I assure the hon members that we have also learned our lesson. The country may rest assured that the S A Police has the most modern equipment today and is fully prepared to deal with similar circumstances

*The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr. Speaker, since my hon. Cabinet colleagues who are in charge of the relevant portfolio's have in my opinion replied in full to the charges that have been levelled, I do not feel it incumbent upon me to reply to the debate at this stage, except to point out one thing Except in the few cases where the debate became a little heated, this debate has been conducted on an exceptionally high level I appreciate this, particularly because it is a very sensitive matter. With leave of the House I consequently move—

That the motion be withdrawn

Agreed to

Motion, with leave, withdrawn.

*Mr. SPEAKER: I, on my part, just wish to add that the way in which this important matter has been discussed here today was a credit to this House

ADJOURNMENT OF HOUSE

(Motion)

*The PRIME MINISTER Mr. Speaker, I move—

That the House do now adjourn.

Agreed to

The House adjourned at 17h18.

Dlamlenze's 'avoid school boycotts' guidelines

NM 27/10/80

(274)

African Affairs Reporter

MR H H DLAMLENZE, secretary-general of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa gave guidelines to the Government to avoid school boycotts and dissatisfaction among African teachers.

The guidelines which he called 'the' five commandments' were applauded by pupils and parents at the weekend.

Speaking at the prizegiving day at Makhumbuza Secondary School in Umlazi, Mr Dlamlenze said there were about 60 000 pupils in the Eastern Cape and Bloemfontein who were not in school because the Government decided to close the schools due to school boycotts and disturbances.

The Government in defence of its action had referred to school buildings, books, and salaries of teachers, and said pupils were not aware of those improvements.

'But is that what pupils are demanding?' Mr Dlamlenze asked.

Giving the first commandment which should be observed by Pretoria, Mr Dlamlenze said the Government should examine pupils' complaints closely because children were honest and would not protest for nothing.

He said the Government should stop subjecting teachers to unnecessary inspection and respect them.

'Free men cannot be taught by slaves.'

Personal relationship betweeen the Government and teachers should be encouraged for a good system of education.

The Government should improve the qualifications of teachers because failing to achieve that would provoke pupils to boycott schools.

A luta continua!



October 19 – a dedication to the fight for freedom

"I SAY without doubt I have done the right thing. I chose to try and stop the unrest in my country." So said Mr Jimmy Kruger, then Minister of Justice, on the day of the banning of 18 organisations, the closure of three publications, and the detention without trial of at least 45 people on Wednesday, October 19, 1977.

Today, three years ago,

By JOE LATAKGOMO

For from being snuffed out, black aspirations are running higher than ever.

The past three years have proved that Mr Kruger was mistaken. We knew he was wrong and told him so. But nobody believes us. Even today.

Mr Kruger said that causes of the unrest After nearly three years the commission found that genuine black grievances were the cause of the unrest. Which was not difficult to establish. in the first place.

Today, pro-Government arguments take the following line:

And so, Black Wednesday will be remembered today. It will be another day in which we dedicate ourselves to fighting for justice. For freedom. For full political rights.

We cannot afford to step back in the struggle. We will be judged not on what we have achieved but on what we failed to achieve.

Our task has assumed great urgency. We hope the Government has learnt the lesson that bannings, detentions and other repressive measures will not remove the problem.

Sunday Post
19/10/80
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the public eye all black organisations they believed to be stirring up trouble and unrest. They banned The World and Weekend World, "our own, our only newspapers". They also banned the Christian Institute publication, Pro Veritate.

Despite Mr Kruger's justification of the bans and detentions, this country continues to be a troubled one. Unrest is still rife throughout the country. The Eastern Cape is in turmoil. The Western Cape is in turmoil. The Northern Cape and Free State are in turmoil. The Northern Transvaal is in turmoil.

And this week, Soweto erupted once more. Oissatisfaction still abound.

tions were funding local organisations and helping them continue "on a path of resisting the Government." He said organisations were banned and people detained because of "the threat they presented to the welfare of the country".

There is no doubt that the Government's repressive measures of October 19 are directly related to the events from June 16, 1976.

Even today, the Government still wants to convince the world that June '76 happened because of some "communist plot", and not because of genuine grievances.

Only this week, the Minister of Prisons, Mr Louis le Grange, told a meeting in Bloemfontein that the government is aware of the "communist-inspired terror cry", that South Africa's black urban areas would be the "bushes" from which they would wage war, as the latest Soweto violence indicated.

We warn "the radicals, intimidators, and unrest instigators, that they will never win. The people who try to bring down the government in this manner have done enough wrong. The enemy will be spoken to sword in hand. The confrontation they seek, will be met with confrontation," he said.

The statement suggests that Mr Kruger was not as successful as he thought he would be in his action of October 19. It is also understood that, when the decision to ban these organisations was taken, the Cabinet was split. It needed the then Prime Minister Mr J B Vorster's casting vote to push the measure through.

At the height of the unrest in 1976, the Government set up a Commission of Inquiry into the

The Department of Education has made "great strides"; Soweto's boundaries are to be extended; R150-m is being spent on the electrification of Soweto; another R150-m is to be spent on upgrading Soweto's services; ten day hospitals are to be built at between R1-m and R2-m each; Orlando Stadium is to be improved to the tune of R220 000; George Goch Stadium is to get a R400 000 facelift etc etc.

But, unfortunately, the point has been missed. The fact is that education is sitll segregated. That the expenditure on white school children is still much, much higher than on black school children; that the Government is still pursuing its bantustan policy and stripping people of their birthright; that influx control measures are being tightened up; that migrant labour continues; that there is still an acute shortage of housing; that people are still being shunted around.

The government obviously has its own priorities. But these are different from ours. We still seek a South Africa that is guided by the principle of justice and freedom of all. We still demand the scrapping of job reservation, of detention without trial, of the Group Areas Act, of the pass laws. We still believe that a national convention is the only positive way to resolve the problems this country faces.

It does not matter, therefore, what the Government does. They can ban the present black organisations, close down newspapers again. They can lock up black leaders, ban them. But as long as no attempt is being made to accommodate black political aspirations, that's how long there will be unrest.



Three years later and the arrests continue. This young man was being taken away by police in Soweto on Wednesday.



Mr Dennis Etheredge . . . solutions to SA's problems 'a long-term matter.'

'Upheavals will be signposts of change'

STAR 14/10/80 274

By John Cavill

LONDON—Future disturbances in South Africa will be the "prominent signposts of a changing society" not of disaster, Mr Dennis Etheredge, chairman of the gold and uranium division of the Anglo American Group said here yesterday.

Speaking to international metal traders and bullion dealers at the American Metal Market London Forum, Mr Etheredge said South Africa's ability to continue as a vital and reliable supplier of industrial raw materials to the Western economies depended partly on its own political and social stability.

Changes were being made but he said the world should be patient. "No other country had social and racial problems as complex as those in South Africa. The solution will be a long term matter."

Mr Etheridge said, however. "I believe there is now room for confidence that the Prime Minister is determined to achieve a series of reforms which will hopefully eliminate statutory discrimination and provide structures for ongoing political evolution.

GENERATIONS

If he seems at times to have moved slowly, it is because generations of racial prejudice have to be broken down before a policy of reform can succeed.

This is happening, maybe by fits and starts, but it is happening.

I think the possibility for peaceful evolution in South Africa is now higher than it has been for years.

This does not mean that the decade ahead will be trouble-free. It is appropriate to make the point to South Africa's friends and critics alike that the process of change is inherently a troublesome one.

Mr Etheredge said he did not believe South Africa would "encounter a level of internal disruption which will prevent it from regularly meeting its mineral supply commitments."

While South Africa often shared its predominance as a supplier of key minerals with Russia, the Soviet bloc consumed much of its output with exports going mainly to satellite states.

South Africa's strategic importance had been further enhanced by a 'significant decline" in Russian exports to the west since 1977.

The gap left by this withdrawal had given South Africa "an even firmer foothold in the market place"

But, he emphasised, the dependence of the United States, Japan, and the European Economic Community on South African minerals probably gave "undue emphasis to South Africa's so-called strategic position . . . I feel it also underlines how important are these markets to South Africa.

"We need their custom just as much as they require our minerals, perhaps even more so. Expansion of the minerals industry and its ability to earn foreign exchange is even more crucial to the South African economy now than it ever was. . . ."

● Mr Etheredge is leading a nine-man trade mission to Britain holding seminars and discussions in six cities to highlight opportunities provided by the South African market

60 000 pupils not in school

from page 1

problem even for blacks with school qualifications"

If the situation is not resolved soon, we are looking for trouble. There is an angry feeling among so many young black people in the country, which opens the path towards civil disorder and worse"

All black schools in Port Elizabeth were reported to be completely deserted today.

Parents are keeping their children at home fearing intimidation after Tuesday's disruption of classes.

The intimidation spread to Uitenhage schools yesterday but had not affected Grahamstown schools, said Mr J Schoeman, deputy PRO for the Department of Education today.

Most parents were frightened to comment and one, who asked not to be identified, said he had told his eight-year-old son to stay home for his own safety

60 000 black pupils not in school

STAR 8/10/80

By Sheryl Raine, Education Reporter

More than 60 000 black pupils are now idle and stand to lose a year or more of schooling in the wake of the Government's indefinite closure of 80 schools countrywide..

Thousands more black children have had their education disrupted at 33 lower primary and higher schools in the Port Elizabeth area.

Educationists and economists fear that the situation will have far-reaching implications when the economic boom is in full swing

Schools now closed include Kirkwood (1), Johannesburg (1), Oudtshoorn (1), Paarl (2), Adelaide (2), Grahamstown (2), Bloemfontein (3), Cape Town (14), Kimberley (18), Port Elizabeth (17), Worcester (2) and Uitenhage (17)

These details were disclosed today by Mr Gerhard Engelbrecht, PRO of the Department of Education and Training

Economists and [illegible] who have expressed deep concern about the growing number of idle pupils predict that the full impact of the schools boycotts and closures will be felt in years to come

This year the number of blacks enrolled to write matric exams is virtually double that of last year, largely as a result of school boycotts after the 1976 riots

In 1979, 23 251 blacks wrote matric. This year there are 43 765 registered to write the exam.

Because of the delays in education after previous boycotts matriculated blacks are reaching the labour market later than they would have at a time when the country needs all the skilled labour it can get

Among those who have expressed concern that the situation could worsen is Mr J C Rees, director of the Institute of Race Relations.

Effects

"The effects of the schools closure are already being felt in many urban areas where frustrated youths have nothing to

"The Institute is concerned that if the number of idle youths continues to swell the possibility exists of a co-ordinated expression of dissatisfaction or solidarity among frustrated groups"

Dr Alex Boraine Opposition spokesman for Education and Labour pointed out the link between the schools unrest and that of the labour field in the Eastern Cape

"Apartheid chickens are coming home to roost in the educational as well as the labour field Black young people have reached a point of desperation

"It is no coincidence that the hotbed of schools unrest is occurring in the Eastern Cape and the Ciskei where there is already an alarming unemployment

To Page 3, Col 4

Boycott parents look to schools in 'Kei

PARENTS of many of the black pupils now locked out of Cape schools want to send their children to boarding schools in Transkei next year. There are indications, however, that the pupils will boycott the move and that the Transkei Education Department may be unable to accept them.

"The Transkei Government is ridiculous and its education system is the same as the one we hate here. We will not go," one pupil said this week. A spokesman for the Transkei Education Department said his school facilities were not adequate to cope with a massive influx of Cape pupils.

But the parents are adamant. Frantic with worry about their children roaming the streets "looking for trouble because they are bored" and about the rising pregnancy rate among their daughters, they see the Transkei as their only choice.

"We must do something," a mother said this week. "Many parents I know are sure the Government will not reopen the Cape schools, and even if they do the children will not attend. Some are prepared to attend, but are frightened that they will be beaten up by the boycotters."

The woman, who asked not to be named, works as a domestic. Her husband is a packer. Together they earn R60 a week, but are prepared to face financial hardship if they can get their children back to school.

"Recently my daughter disappeared for a week. We were mad with worry, but she reappeared a week later, quite unconcerned. She had been to Paarl."

The rift between parents ed in many cases. Some parents feared repercussions from their own children if their names were used.

"We have worked hard to get what we have. We don't want to lose everything by having our house burned down," said a Guguletu father of six.

A Nyanga father has already sent his six children and his wife to the Ciskei.

"I saw the trouble coming at the beginning of this year," he said, "so I sent two of my children to boarding school because I can only afford the R70 a year fees for two. The others must go to day school in the Ciskei."

Children interviewed in the Golden Acre complex this week said they would refuse to go to schools in Transkei.

"Our parents have been talking about it, but we will not go," one matric pupil said. "This is exactly what the Government would love. They give us a third class education system, and we refuse it. Their policy is also to get all the black people out of the white cities, but we won't do that either."

Many parents are hoping the Government will reopen the schools next year. — SUNDAY POST Correspondent.

SUNDAY POST, October 5, 1980 (56) (256) (274)

'The Press is to blame'

By MANDZA NDLAZI

A FORMER Robben Island prisoner, now headmaster at Alexandra High School, blames the Press for the education crisis that has closed schools in many parts of the country, affecting a total of 58 000 pupils.

Mr P E O Rikhotso was imprisoned for the part he played during the anti-pass campaign in the 60's and served three years on Robben Island.

Mr Rikhotso also said it was not a wise decision by students to boycott schools and said the mass resignation of teachers in 1977 was no way to bring about change.

Mr Rikhotso said because the Press was far from the problem, it could not be as effective as those who are close to it: "The involvement of the Press will disrupt rather than correct the issue," he said

He continued: "The wrongs do not have to be exposed but corrected. Exposure in this case means throwing the baby to the wolves."

Writing in the monthly magazine of the Transvaal United African Teachers Association (Tuata) he said: "The Press has enjoyed too many concessions in the past. This is the time to call a halt."

Mr Rikhotso wrote: "It is a matter of opinion whether the ills of Bantu Education were shielded for too long. The Act has been drastically amended since 1953.

"There is an expression in English: 'To fish in troubled waters.' This means that as long as there is trouble, someone gains by exploiting the unfortunate position. Many newspapers gain their readership through the worst type of reportage — specious reasoning and exaggeration.

"My dear reader, just read through the [illegible] cation and the present system?

"No, it a change in terminology, like when Native Education became Bantu Education, with no change in the content. The content has changed, but not satisfactorily.

"The recent school boy- [illegible] just fie[illegible] nothing wrong with the present system of education?

"This is not the method the teachers should use to change a system '

● Do you agree that the Press gave Atasa and Tuata's call to change the country's education policy prominence?

"I am critical of reporters who covered news in general, and not only on matters that concerned schools and education. I do not have a favourite newspaper. Some periodicals are better than newspapers because they don't rush anything to print."

● What do you think of

Former Island prisoner rejects school boycott



Mr Rikhotso . "The Press is running the schools."

[illegible] nges in the content [illegible] system of educa- [illegible] The pupils took an [illegible] decision to boy- [illegible] it only because they [illegible] alternative.

[illegible] t do you say of [illegible] who feel they have [illegible] let down in their [illegible] e for a better sys- [illegible] education by teach- [illegible] o claimed they saw

[illegible] tionalised the issue.

"I'm highly critical of both black and white reporters in all the newspapers and in every aspect of life."

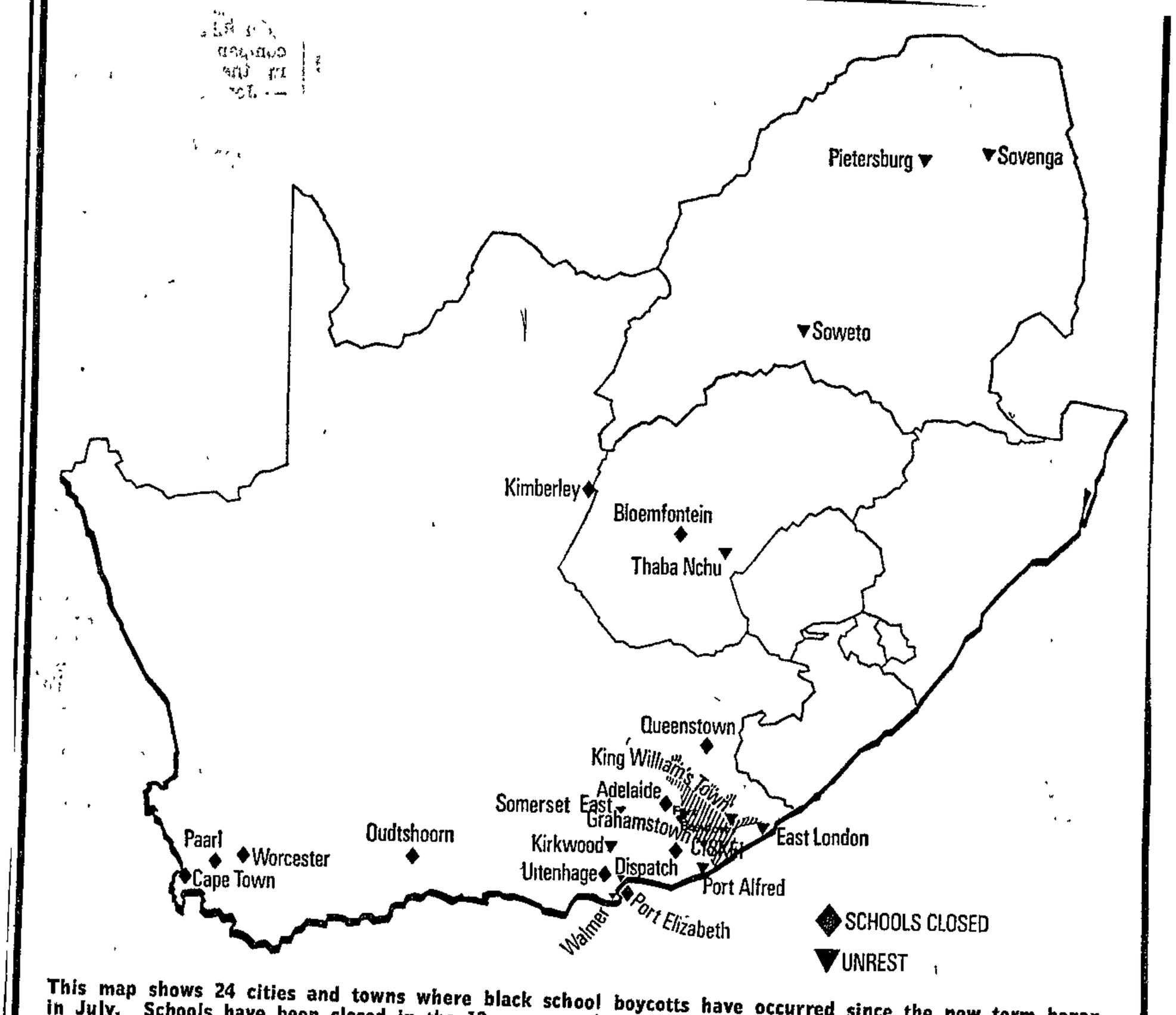
"The Press must be improved, and it must be pushed to a high standard of journalism, and not what I call yellow journalism."

[illegible] teachers in 1977?

"This is not the way to bring about change. They should effect change from within."

● It is said teachers who did not join the mass resignations weakened the forces of change.

"The majority of those who resigned are back in the class."



This map shows 24 cities and towns where black school boycotts have occurred since the new term began in July. Schools have been closed in the 12 areas marked with a diamond and areas of unrest are marked with a triangle.

School boycott 'may lead to serious unrest'

By Craig Charney

Black educationists warn that the stalemate over the widespread black school boycotts could lead to serious unrest.

The present situation is "definitely more explosive" than that in 1976, says Mr Nick Mogatusi of the Black Education and Research Project.

"You are approaching a conflict. Emotion is building up." Other black educators echo his warnings privately.

Already, 77 schools have been closed in 12 cities and towns in response to boycotts. Most are in the Eastern and Western Cape, but 18 of the schools are in Kimberley, 3 in Bloemfontein, and 1 in Soweto.

About 58 000 pupils have been locked out of their classrooms.

In a number of other cases, some boycott-hit schools are struggling to remain open. This is the case in Bloemfontein, East London, Kimberley, Grahamstown, Fort Beaufort and Pietersburg.

Widespread boycotts and unrest have been reported throughout the Ciskei, despite heavy police crackdowns.

Since July, class boycotts have occurred in at least 26 cities and towns throughout the country. Natal remained unaffected and only two schools in Soweto were touched.

By comparison, the disorders of 1976 grew out of a boycott of just four schools in Soweto, and never even touched many of the places involved in the present boycotts.

The new wave of boycotts began when black pupils in Cape Town, Grahamsotwn and Port Elizabeth refused to end their sympathy boycotts after coloured pupils returned to class in July.

Their boycotts spread along the Cape coast.

In Kimberley and Bloemfontein, pupils walked out of classes late in July.

In the vast Mdantsane township outside East London, "it's never been so tense, not even in '76," says Valerie Sullivan, local representative of the Institute of Race Relations.

Her counterpart in Grahamstown, Professor Rodney Davenport, says the same is true there, where sporadic violence has replaced the relative calm of 1976.

"I understand that in every single centre (in the Ciskei) there's a bad situation," adds Mrs Sullivan. "Even in the rural areas, the children are coming out."

Numerous clashes between police and pupils have been reported in the Ciskei in the past several weeks, and more than 900 pupils were reportedly arrested there in the past week alone.

When asked the cause of the tension, Professor Davenport said: "The impression I get from some of the senior pupils is that the type of education they receive is for the birds."

Mr Mogatsi agrees. "There is only one cause: the education that is afforded blacks is not one that can help black students to advance."

However, a spokesman for the Department of Education and Training said it was doing all it could to improve conditions in black schools. He asked whether boycotters did not have "political motives."

Use the sjambok on rioters, says Nat MP

DM 22/8/80 (274)

Political Correspondent

NATIONALIST MP Mr Nico Pretorius yesterday called for greater use of the sjambok against rioters and agitators.

If the sjambok were put into use more often 'things will go better for our people', he said.

Mr Pretorius made his suggestion in a short speech thanking the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, for his replies to motions at the Natal congress of the National Party.

sic committee, Mr ... Ledwaba; chaplain Rev W J Motlot.

'Fire in 76 did force changes'

By MATHATHA TSEDU

STUDENTS who took part in the 1976 uprisings against Bantu Education had achieved through fire and stones what teacher organisations had failed to achieve with volumes of memoranda on the same issue.

This view was expressed by the Head of the Department of History of Education at Turfloop University, Dr M C J Mphahlele, when he addressed the 74th annual conference of the Tuata at Seshego at the weekend.

Dr Mphahlele said the black child was "thoroughly conscientised and politicised to an extent that artificial creation of a black middle class and granting of independence to the homelands will not divert his attention from his main goal, full citizenship in the country of his birth."

He said just as the Arabs have discovered oil as an international weapon, "the black child has discovered fire as weapon of destruction, to bring about changes and improvements."

PRECIOUS LIVES

"When disenchanted with the use of Afrikaans, in addition to English, as a medium of instruction, the black child resorted to fire and achieved at once what Tuata and Atasa could never achieve with their volumes of memoranda on the same issue.

"Tragically this achievement was accompanied by a terrible loss of precious lives. But this will never be the same again."

Tuata president Mr, Leepile Taunyane was unanimously re-elected.

Other office bearers: Vice-president, Mr S J Moseneke; general secretary, Mr B Y Maveza; treasurer, Mr A Masipa; editor Mr E Rikhotso; chairman of cultural committee, Mr B Mosesi; chairman of finance committee, Mr S G Maake; chairman of music committee, Mr T M Ledwaba; chaplain Rev W J Motlot.

Students in bid to burn down teacher's house

STUDENTS from the Dlangezwa High School near Empangeni in Natal tried to burn a teacher's house, and Eastern Cape police are investigating several cases of arson after a weekend of continued violence in black townships.

The attempt to set the house on fire follows an alleged campaign of intimidation of pupils.

A group of about 25 pupils calling itself the "Gestapo" beat up many pupils and forced girl pupils out of dormitories in an effort to get them to stay away from school yesterday.

KwaZulu's assistant secretary for Education and Culture, Mr James Ndlovu, said yesterday that about 20 ringleaders behind recent disturbances at the school had not been re-admitted.

"It would appear that they and others formed themselves into a group called the "Gestapo", and intimidated the other pupils in an effort to get them to stay away from school in sympathy with those who had been excluded.

"Some boys tried to set fire to a teacher's house. Many pupils fled to the nearby university and to Esikaweni," Mr Ndlovu said.

The school was open, but very few boys were in class.

In the Eastern Cape, police are investigating cases of arson where serious unrests started on Friday, building up to confrontation between police and stone-throwing blacks in which teargas and birdshot were used. The main trouble spot was Fort Beaufort.

A police spokesman said a mob which burnt a beer hall on Friday night took about 10 000 litres sorghum beer. Another 100 000 litres were destroyed in the fire which caused damage estimated at R8 000.

Policemen on foot patrol in a local black township later that night were stoned.

Malnutrition link with faction fighting

7/8/80 N.H. 274

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

A MSINGA doctor has established a link between malnutrition and faction fighting in the grossly overpopulated Msinga district.

Faction fight hotspots were pinpointed as the worst-hit malnutrition areas by a health team when they mapped out malnutrition cases discovered in their area.

This was revealed by Dr J P McCutcheon, the medical superintendent of the Church of Scotland hospital at Tugela Ferry.

The economic distress that touches so many families there stems from faction fighting, he said.

'Many men working on the mines and living in hostels in towns away from the location leave their jobs in fear after being dragged into the faction fights.

'Families are left without breadwinners — either when their man deserts his job — or when he is killed in a fight,' he said.

It was almost impossible for anybody to remain aloof to the fighting as the men were put together in tribal groupings in the hostels.

The doctor and his wife are two of a handful of whites who live in the valley

Few men injured in fights are treated at the hospital Invariably a face 'appears' at a window, hunting out the patient.

The patient is then transferred to another hospital and his bed left empty for the night to prevent an innocent patient from being found assassinated in the morning.

This year there have been two faction fights — full-scale attacks scheduled between clans in the district — interspersed with sporadic murder, according to Greytown police:

'The police try to keep the factions apart but it's a difficult task,' Dr McCutcheon said.

Weapons range from 'anything sharp' — to crude, home-made firearms.

Trying

Wits anthropologist Johnny Clegg said: 'The fighting is the death spasm of a rural people trying to find an outlet for frustrations invoked by Government shortsightedness.

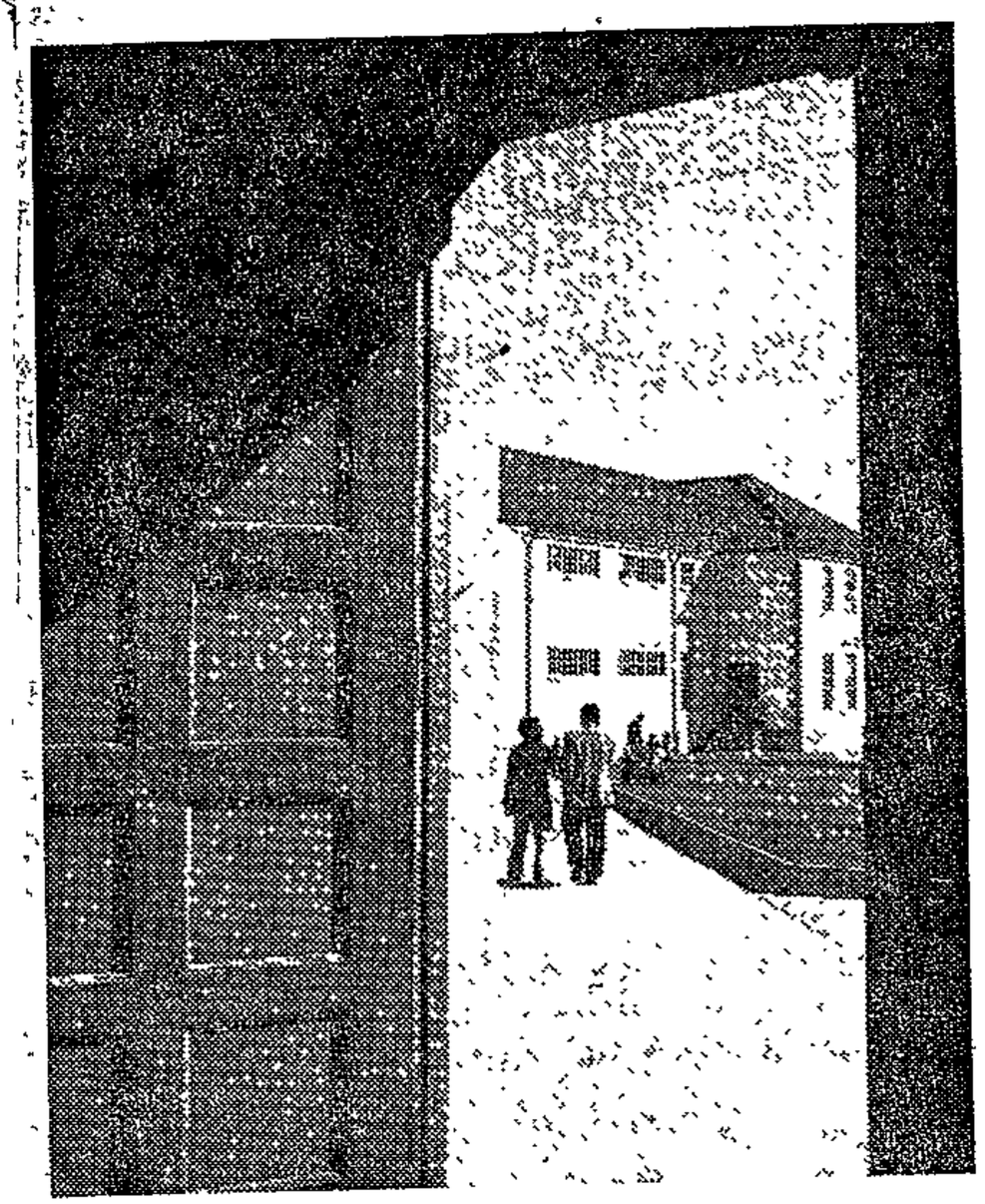
'Old grievances over land, women and cattle have been compounded through forcing so many people into a small area by Government legislation.

'Many people are dragged into the fighting because of the pass system. Every man has to carry a pass which identifies his family, no matter where he lives, giving him corporate loyalty to a clan.'

9/8/80 ARGUS (274) (HA)

'E Cape is heartland of black politics'

THE Eastern Cape is a highly politicised area. Academic analysis suggests black student and labour unrest is due to historical factors, more than to recent political agitation by hot-heads intent on exploiting dissatisfaction, writes Rodney Jackson-Smith.



Fort Hare University

Professor Michael Whisson, head of the department of anthropology at Rhodes University, believes this politicisation had its roots in the Xhosa wars which ravaged the region last century.

In a paper published recently, he said: 'Those who seek to establish the political temperature of black South Africa are wont to push their thermometers into Soweto as the biggest and most articulate centre of the population. . . But a brief recollection of past decades will remind us that the political heartland of black South Africa is in the Eastern Cape.'

He said it was there that political skills were learned the hard way; in the frontier wars and the negotiations which punctuated them.

'There rose the educational institutions of Lovedale, Healdtown and Fort Hare in which many leaders of liberation struggles learned the essential techniques of communication,' said Professor Whisson.

After the banning of the African National Congress two decades ago it was the Eastern Cape that gave birth to the now outlawed Black People's Convention in 1967, which saw the emergence of the black consciousness movement, and provided ideological blueprints for larger centres.

It was the Eastern Cape too that was the stamping ground of such men as Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko, described in Professor Whisson's paper as 'the latest in a line of martyrs in the cause of civil rights.'

Another factor is that until the mid-1930s, blacks in the Cape had the franchise and this was a great motivating force to become politically conscious and politically active.

When the franchise was withdrawn the process did not stop. The ANC campaigns were extremely effective in the vacuum caused by blacks being denied the vote and parliamentary representation.

According to Professor Whisson, it is in Port Elizabeth that the pace of industrial and political development is being set.

'There the business and industrial sector is seeking a settled and increasingly skilled labour force.'

'There, rather than on the Reef, a society is rapidly outgrowing its demand for unorganised migrant labour,' he said.

The labour unrest of October did not involve miners and dockers as in the past, but workers at the most sophisticated multinational companies.

'Further, the strikers were not uneducated and unskilled migrants, herded into vast compounds far from home, but relatively well-educated, permanent urban residents, integrated into a politicised local community,' said Professor Whisson.

In this situation the effectiveness of black power to withhold labour is greater.

'You can replace one unskilled labourer with any of a million unemployed others, but you cannot replace a thousand striking artisans.'

Against this background, Port Elizabeth is blazing a trail for the rest of the country, but Professor Whisson has a word of caution.

Whether that blaze became a 'bloody conflagration' would depend on the city's secondary industries' ability to meet the arising expectations generated by the progressive multinational companies, and on advances in the quality of black urban life — both material and political.

'The gold bonanza has helped industry and could be used to build a stable political community too, but the present rate of progress gives little cause for optimism,' he said.

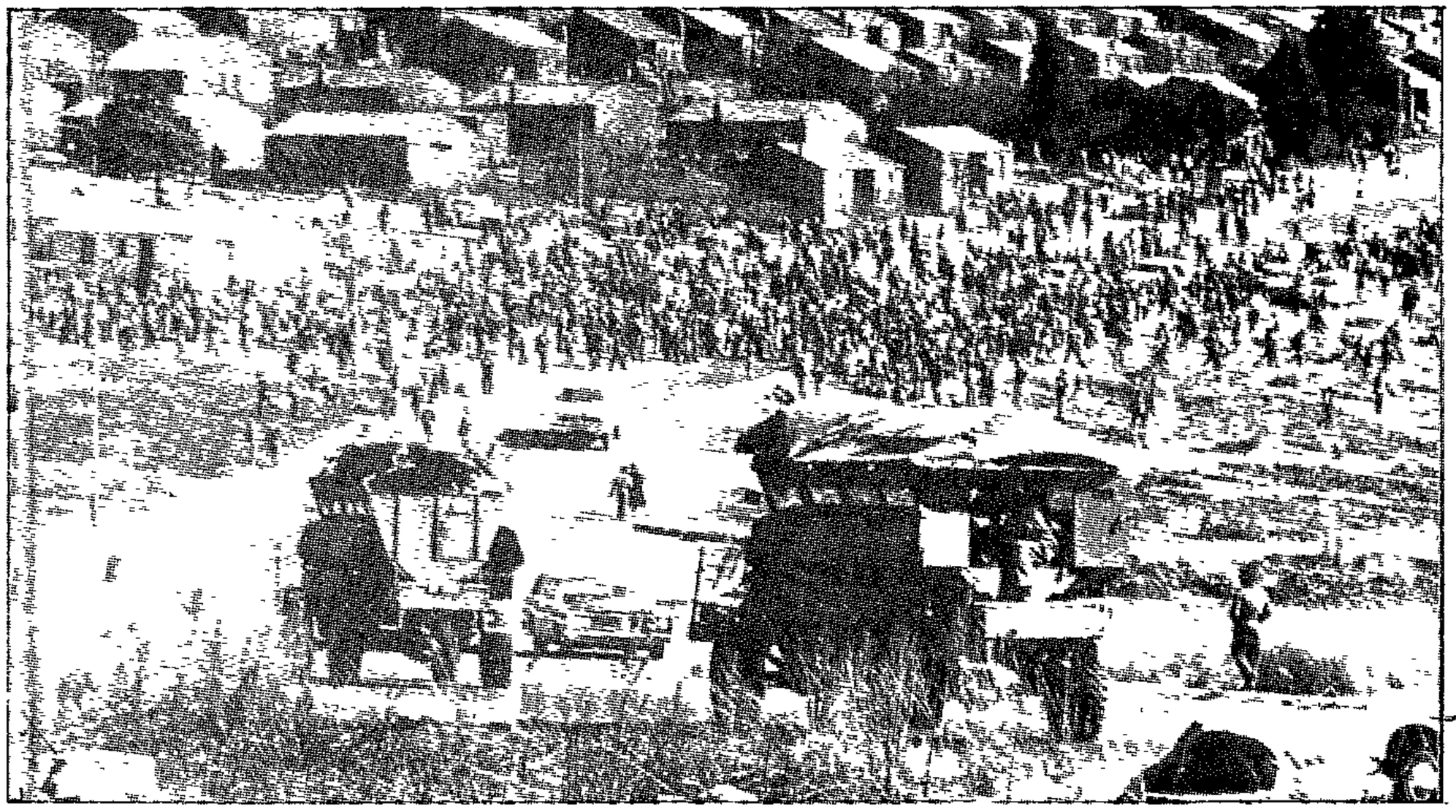
In 1978, and there is once again evidence of it, there was an epidemic of petty thieving in Grahamstown by young blacks and in a thesis anthropologist Mrs Mercia Wilsworth suggests this could be in response to growing pressure of poverty and a spreading of covert rebellion against all symbols of white power.

'In spite of sacrifices, hardship and good intentions, educational rewards remain in short supply,' she said.

Living **Talking point**

Riots — do firms insure those who need it most?

What happens when disaster strikes? Do your well-earned investments vanish? Today most Whites are aware of the situation and insure accordingly. But what is the situation for Blacks? How aware of the problem are they? Where and how can they go about insurance? This week we look at the technicalities of the problem. Next week we will look at the people themselves and the problems they face.



• Soweto during the 1976 riots. Picture: PETER MAGUBANE

THE INCREASING threat of political riots and natural disasters has led to a growing number of Black township dwellers wanting to insure their homes.

But insurance companies have little experience in these areas and they are not coping with the demand. They are also loath to give insurance cover for riot damage.

According to insurance broker, Mr Herbert Ramushu, Blacks are unsophisticated buyers of insurance who tend to be uninformed.

Insurance companies, which base their policies [illegible], had least the only time this is done is as a result of commercial pressure.

At the time many policies which were standing fell away

"Although most insurers met the claims that arose from the riots, careful scrutiny of the riot cover conditions suggested

which Blacks are forced to adapt to modern western society, he said.

And the result was that when Blacks took on insurance, there was a suspicion they might be spies or agents of the police.

Various factors have contributed to Blacks being more aware of their homes and of the need to protect them.

The 99-year-lease plan was born fairly recently and blacks are now far more house proud.

Because of the gross shortage of housing, they often find that for years they have to live with mothers-in-law, fathers

comes business.

But the rates are only for fire, theft and storm.

Only one company — a consortium of all the insurance companies in South Africa which has a restricted liability — will touch riot cover. The South African Government is liable for the balance.

"This [illegible] sult of claims arising from politically motivated riots.

"The reason for the enabling legislation is that adequate cover for this type of risk has been difficult for even large South African companies to obtain, at reasonable cost, in the massive world reinsurance markets let alone in [illegible]

ing or renovations. Often Blacks are not aware that some type of policy does exist or what it's coverage is.

• When building society loans are given for houses, repayments usually include insurance cover.

SASRIA, the insurance consor[illegible]

experience in this field, he said.

"They lack statistical knowledge and thus do not know what the claim demands might be. This means they cannot assess the situation."

However Mr Ramushu assured me it was not because the companies suspected Blacks might be bad debts.

He said they did run the risk of "tsotsies" and insurance companies taking advantage of them after a quick sale.

"On the other hand, the tribal structure has it's own inbuilt insurance where the family helps in times of strife.

"Two to three generations often live in the same house as a result of the acute shortage of housing," Mr Ramushu explained.

Perhaps this conundrum was a result of pace at

cousins and friends.

When a family eventually obtains a home of its own they are determined to make it as comfortable as possible. They put in ceilings, plaster the walls, add extensions, and furnish the houses.

□ □ □

These steps often take years of saving hard-earned money. And today, Blacks want to protect this investment.

Besides the normal threats of fire, theft and storm, new problems loom ahead: political rioting.

Until now, the rioting which has taken place has been mainly in the Black townships which makes the problem very real to Black people.

Since the 1976 riots most insurance companies are reluctant to touch insurance in the townships. And

grounds for repudiation.

"In fact, claims totalling millions of rand by the West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board arising from these disturbances were contested by Santam and some other insurers," wrote Nigel Bruce in an article in Portfolio in 1978.

"A local Black insurance brokering firm, Afrobrokers, went into liquidation, as they were unable to explain to clients why their policies had fallen away," said Mr Ramushu.

Another factor that affects insurance in the townships is the commission which is low for both broker and agent.

But the essential question is — What insurance is available for Blacks?

The Crusaders Insurance Company is the most experienced in this field, and the company wel-

that in most other countries where the responsibility is taken entirely by the government concerned.

Wrote Nigel Bruce: "With surprisingly little public ado, legislation was passed in Parliament last June which will enable the Government to commit the South African taxpayer to a potential financial burden that could be of quite shattering proportion.

"Simply put, the Minister of Finance took the power to commit the Government to reinsure the total loss insurance companies may face as a re-

market."

□ □ □

If you want to take out ordinary fire, theft and storm insurance:

- The present rate for Whites is 1,1%, which means if you have property valued at R2 000 you will pay R22 a year.
- But Blacks pay a higher rate of 1,25%, which means they will pay R25 each year for an equivalent value.
- The Vaal Triangle Board has included insurance in its rentals and this includes riot cover but not the contents of the build-

riot coverage as long as a basic underlying policy has been taken out.

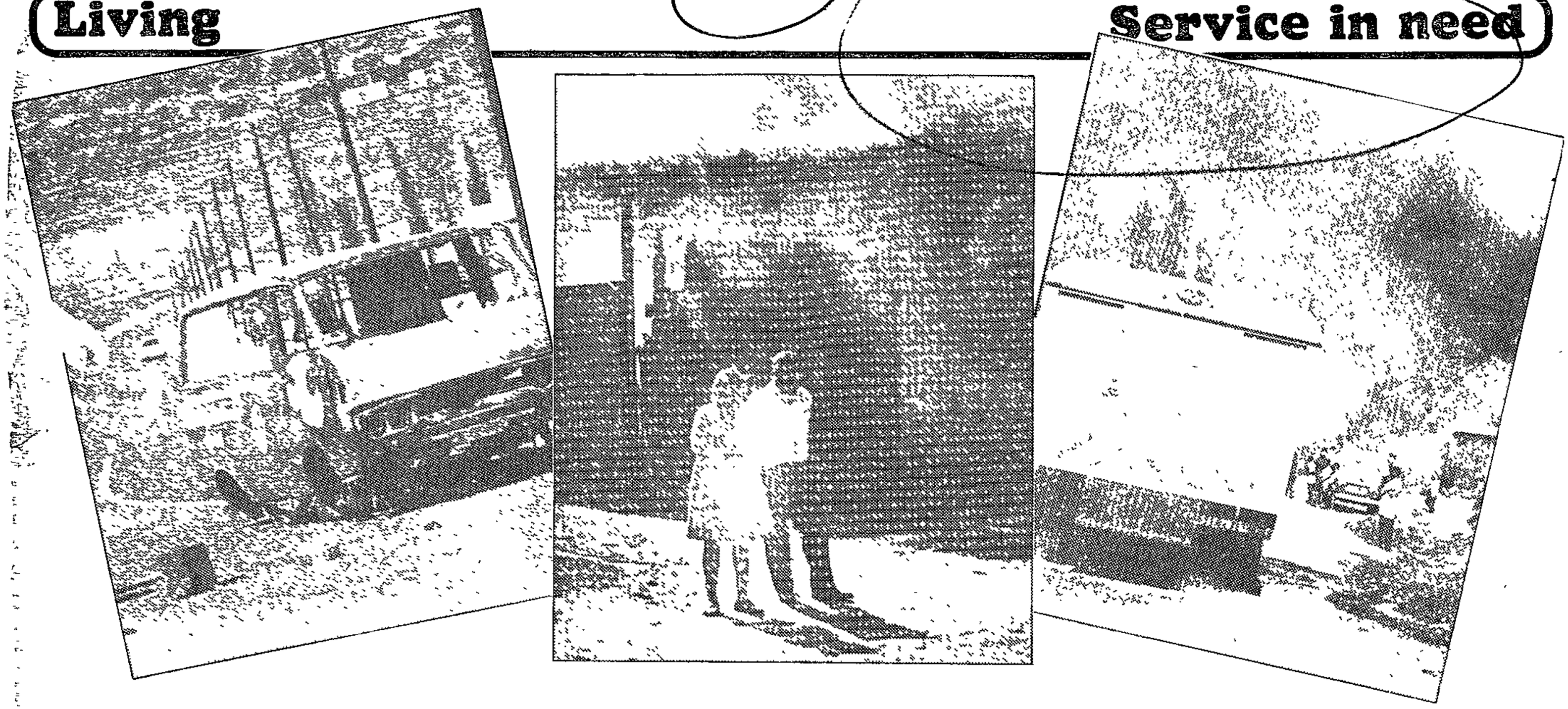
The rate for Whites is 0,025%, which means for R2 000 goods, they will pay 50c a year.

For Coloureds the rate is higher at 0,075% and they therefore pay R1,50.

And Blacks pay five times more — 0,125% — making repayments R2,50.

This then, is the case set out by the insurance firms. However, the people most concerned — those that dwell in the townships, have a different tale to tell. Read it next week.

By CHRIS LINDER



Why no riot cover for Blacks?

Last week LIVING looked at the insurance technicalities for Black people living in a riot situation, this week we speak to the people themselves, and listen to their needs and fears.

By CHRIS LINDER



MANY township people are aware of insurance and the security it brings

we will support them The companies must take you willingly, as it is no use if,

house is not theirs, much of their money is invested in it

Everything sparkles, and the focal point is a top-quality large round diningroom table with six chairs, and a hifi set to generate the music they love so much

Their house happens to be near a school Three weeks ago, the children stoned the principal's office The Tshabalalas were lucky their home escaped damage.

When she speaks to other Blacks about the problem they become suspicious, thinking she is a spy

Where can she find out about insurance? How can she aquire insurance with confidence, knowing that she won't be conned?

Employers who have had experience in this field can go a long way in assisting their employees in this field.

This is a new potential

Sunday Times
Extra, p5

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...companies and a lack of knowledge of the principles of insurance, they hesitate to use cover that is available to them.

Many of those interviewed felt a constructive programme of education plus the introduction of policies designed for their needs, is what is called for.

For those with businesses in the townships, the continuance of their livelihood depends on insurance.

Joseph Makati (an assumed name as he fears reprisals from tsotsis), has a supermarket which carries everything from cameras and radio equipment to canned foods.

The shop is like any other superette with thousands of rands worth of goods lining the the shelves

He lives in an attractive modern home with everything one could wish for including TV.

For him the very real threat is damage to his business, which has been insured for theft, fire and storm, but not for riot.

The premiums he pays are high. During the 1976 riots, when he was most threatened, his policy fell away. (As did all the standing insurance policies in Soweto at that time).

His house is not insured even though he says it is a neccessity.

Mr Makati feels that insurance companies should take the initiative. "When they give the word go to us Blacks, reluctance."

Cynthia Pitso and her husband run a family business in Meadowlands Neither her business nor her house is insured.

Before the riots it did not seem important but now she is, thinking seriously about insurance.

"The insurance people don't explain properly, they're just after profits," she says She tells of a friend who insured his shop, and was told he was covered completely. When he tried to claim for cigarettes after riot damage, he found this was not in the policy.

So a suspicion of insurance companies prevails.

Insurance then as far as she is concerned, is not that important. When she buys furniture and goods for the house she buys cheaply but adequately so as to lessen her risk in the case of rioting.

Lettie Tshabalala has lived with parents, in-laws and friends for years and now eventually her family have obtained their own home.

She applied for housing years ago Her name, at the bottom of an endless list, slowly, ever so slowly, snaked its way to the top like a predator in those winter months when it's reluctant to move

Eventually her name reached the top and for the last five years they have had their small rented four-room house, yet their very own.

She and her family take home.

It has two bedrooms, a kitchen, a diningroom but no bathroom. The hard-earned money of both parents has gone into plastering the walls, putting in a ceiling and furnishing.

...tank or electrifying Soweto they are saving for plug fittings, lights and modern electrical appliances.

She has two daughters aged 13 and 10. At night they study by candlelight. The stove burns coal. Even though the threat as petrol bombs often play a part in rioting and fire is a great fear. Before this happened she had never thought of insurance.

The threat of damage is real, but how can people like Lettie protect her investments?

more insurance companies move into this field, so that insurance for Blacks can be competitive.

The awareness is there but education is needed. And, most important of all — these are the people who need insurance the most.

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Trouble at varsity

POLICE baton charged students at the University of Fort Hare after there was an unsuccessful attempt to set fire to one of the rooms in Zola 2 Hostel for women students on Tuesday night.

In Soweto, the Johannesburg regional director of Education and Training, Mr Jaap Strydom, refused requests from Morris Isaacson students to reopen the school which was closed last week when students boycotted classes and demanded the release of a detained school mate, Mr Sipho Nhlapo.

The Fort Hare University's public relations officer, Mr Norman Holliday, confirmed there had been an arson attempt and said he was investigating the incident with police.

"But no serious damages were done," he said.

The station commander in Alice, Captain J van Wyk, said he believed police had baton charged students but could not comment further because the matter was still being investigated.

A student at the universaty said pandemonium broke out with the arrival of the police in camouflage uniform. He said some students had to be treated at Lovedale Hospital but were later discharged.

A spokesman for Lovedale Hospital said about 200 out-patients were treated but could not say whether they were students or not.

Mr Holliday said there were 1 554 students attending lectures yesterday. Some had left because of persistent intimidation on the campus while others had left because they had not paid their fees.

The acting rector, Professor G J J van Rensburg, confirmed that five students had returned home after receiving threatening anonymous telephone calls.

High, junior, secondary and higher primary schools in Port Elizabeth black townships were still deserted yesterday while at-

To Page 2

Regional director

From Page 1

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tendance at lower primary schools was reported normal.

In Johannesburg, Mr Strydom, regional director of DET, said he had no alternative but to close Morris Isaacson because the students there had refused to talk to his inspectors and had actually stoned one of their cars claiming they would not return to class until their detained school-mate was released.

Student representatives told POST that they wanted to put their case to Mr Strydom personally as they did not have faith in the inspectors whom they claimed had handled their previous grievances poorly.

Mr Strydom, however, would not comment on the request by the students and said they had not approached him on the matter. He added that nothing at this stage would redeem the school, as it would not be re-opened under "any circumstances."

Meanwhile another Soweto school which was closed last week, Mapetla Tswana Senior Secondary School has been re-opened — in four stages, for "administrative purposes," Mr Strydom said. Asked why the one school was re-opened while another was not, he said students at Mapetla had not said they would not return to class while those at Morris had repeatedly said so.

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TRANSVAAL

Telephone 27-6081.

This madness leaves us nauseated

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A CRIMSON swathe of violence lashed over the country at the weekend when over 34 people died in various scenes of mayhem.

Sociologists would argue that part of the problem is easily diagnosed, but some of the violence has been so senseless that it has rocked us with shock.

Eleven men died and 16 more were injured when tribal dancers returning from a competition turned Doelkraal mine into a battlefield. The mine is in the Western Transvaal.

All of the 150 men involved in the pitched battle at the gates of the mine had head injuries or knife wounds. Unconfirmed reports say the fight was over a disputed decision after a dance contest.

Sixteen people were killed in Soweto while faction fights in Natal are still going on sort of sotto voce.

The violence appears to be symptomatic of grievances, frustration and sheer anger that is sweeping the black population of this country. Some of the acts of mayhem have taken on almost maniacal proportions.

Minutes after dusk in the centre of Johannesburg hooligans went on a crazy spree of violence and attacked women standing in a bus and taxi queue. The women were robbed, kicked, slapped, punched and even stabbed by the youths who went from person to person along the queue coldly and systematically attacking the women.

This is a kind of madness that has really left us nauseated.

We have been among the first to admit that times are bad, that although the country is going through an economic boom, blacks are starving. But the kind of senseless attack on women is simply not on.

The other trouble spots

THE other trouble spots in South Africa:

● In **GRAHAMSTOWN** 58 people have been arrested since renewed violence erupted at the weekend. Damage estimated at R600 000 was caused to school buildings and equipment. Pupils were told they would have to look for other educational facilities if they continued their boycott.

● In **SOVENGA** the acting rector of the University of the North, Professor P C Mokgokong, addressed more than 2 000 students yesterday. He said the students promised to attend classes today.

● In **SOWETO** pupils at Mapetla High School in Soweto have been told to re-register on Saturday between 9am and noon. Pupils must be accompanied by a parent.

● In **KIMBERLEY** students at Tshireleco (Barkly Road) High School boycotted classes from 8am to noon yesterday. They dispersed peacefully.

● In **VEEPLAS**, Port Elizabeth district, a furniture truck was gutted on Tuesday after being hit by a petrol bomb.

(Reports by Sapa and Own Correspondent)

Continued

Unrest, now part of the daily pattern, has political roots

Political survey

by GERALD SHAW

EVENTS this week in various parts of the country left South Africans in no doubt that unrest has become endemic in this country, part of the daily pattern of life

The sight of men armed with sub-machineguns in the suburbs of Cape Town, for example, now seems to be becoming so much a matter of routine as almost to excite no comment

Whenever you open a newspaper the fact of endemic unrest is plain Somewhere in the country almost every few days some disturbance or clash between police and people is taking place, whether at Grahamstown, Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein or Bethlehem, Graaff Reinet or Worcester, Johannesburg or Cape Town

It may be a bus boycott, a school boycott, a labour dispute or strike or just an outbreak of riotous behaviour Often enough, it will be a matter of economic grievance, a demand for higher wages

Political

In whatever manifestation it surfaces, however, the unrest all stems from the same roots In essence, the unrest is *political* in origin It reflects the profound sense of alienation and oppression felt by people of colour in this country — and their apparent determination to do something about it It is this determination which is the new element There has been a subtle change in the atmosphere.

Anyone who is not blind, deaf or a hermit who never goes anywhere must have noticed the brittle quality which has crept into casual inter-racial contacts

In the Cape Peninsula, the smouldering resentment felt in the coloured community was plainly discernible after the troubles of 1976 and their forceful containment by the police This resentment is now stronger than ever following the bloody re-enactment of the troubles in June this year And the schools boycott has politicized the entire coloured community

On the other hand, there is also sharp resentment in the white community, which reacts badly to the menace of stone-throwing and calls for vigorous police measures against the culprits A process of polarization is in train

Around the country generally, there is a new political awareness among blacks, partly in consequence of the Soweto shootings, and subsequent clashes with police, but also as a result of the independence of the neighbouring ex-colonial territories. The victory of Mr Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe has been a strong stimulus

Awakening

It can be taken that a process of political awakening has taken place throughout the country in the disenfranchised communities and particularly among blacks The bus boycott which has been mounted with such remarkable discipline and self-sacrifice by Africans in Cape Town is one example of this new-found solidarity.

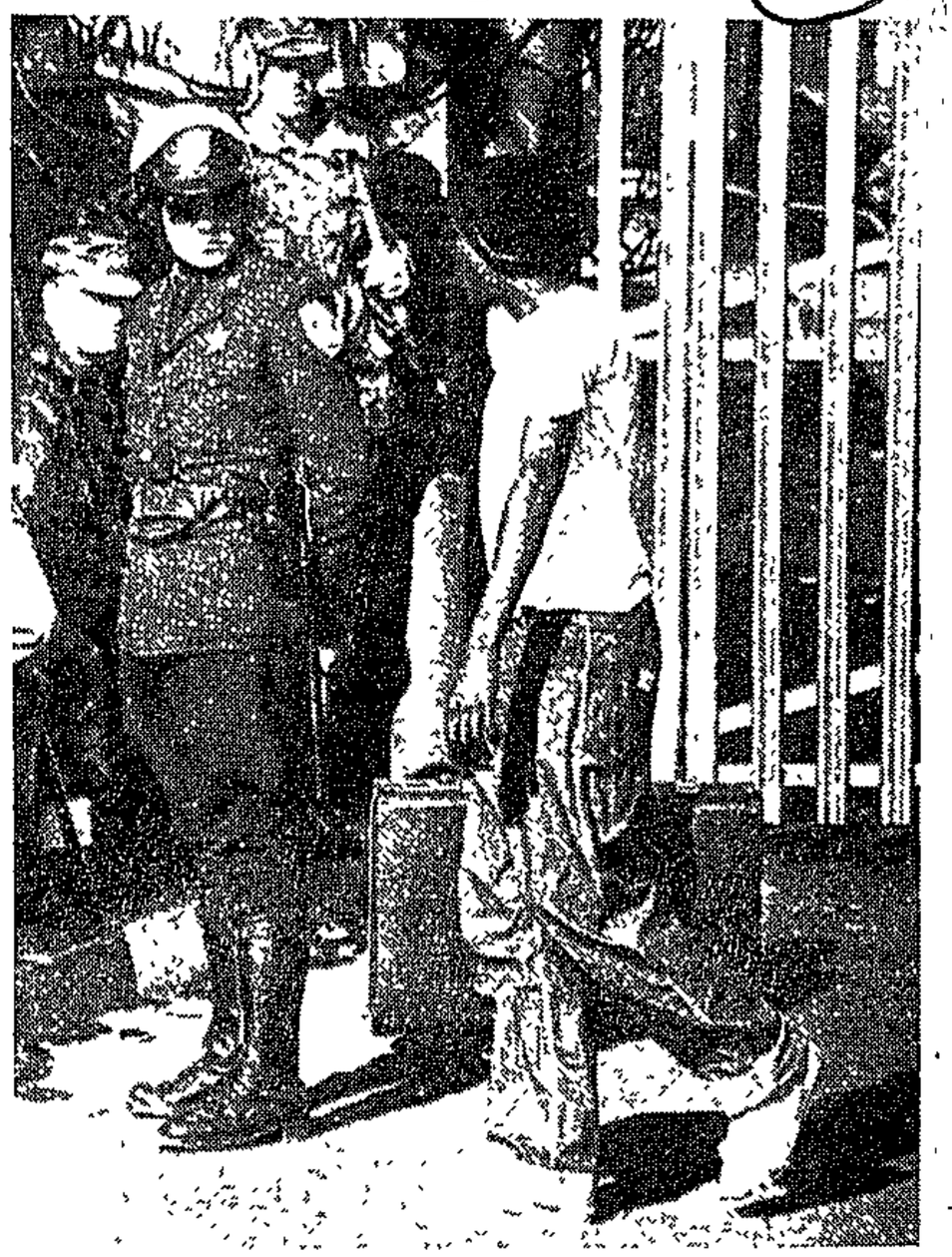
Harassment and intimidation of bus boycotters, with men standing by with sub-machineguns, is in these circumstances unwise and counter-productive The excuse is that action is being taken against "pirate" taxis But the transparent purpose is to force the people back on the buses whether they can afford the increased fares or not

How is this new political awareness and militancy going to be expressed? In the first place, it is likely to be most in evidence on the labour front where disputes and strikes, already sharply on the upswing, seem likely to set the tone of South African life in the 1980s

In the absence of proper political channels of expression, it seems probable that political frustrations will tend to find expression in, a proliferation of disputes at the workplace Such a tendency has certainly been discernible in labour relations in the past 12 months

Two schools

There have been two schools, of thought in evidence in the reaction to labour unrest. On the one hand, there has been the Wiehahn-type reaction which understands that the



"Militancy is most likely to be in evidence on the labour front" A striking Johannesburg municipal worker leaves a compound with his belongings after being dismissed this week A traffic cop looks on.

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up

days of settling labour disputes with police batons are over This school turns a blind eye to the fact that almost every strike by Africans is technically illegal. Instead of sending for the police, this school believes in establishing good communications with representatives of the workers (of the workers' own choice) and talking things out.

The other (punitive) school believes in sending for the police, sacking the strikers, prosecuting them and sending them back to the reserves where there is no employment The theory is that there will always be more men with hungry children to fill the jobs of the strikers.

It was one of the strongest points of the Botha administration's reform platform, which gained the support of the enlightened business community, that the whole field of labour relations would be thoroughly reformed To this end, Professor Wiehahn has laboured long and hard.

One does not have to be a specialist in labour affairs to question whether, in practice, much headway has been made by the government.

Johannesburg strike

The use of police and the letter of the law rather than negotiation to end the Johannesburg municipal strike suggests otherwise. Strong-arm stuff is no doubt effective and successful on the short-run But you cannot carry on in this fashion indefinitely. To paraphrase Edmund Burke, a labour force is not governed which has perpetually to be conquered.

In present-day South African conditions, reliance on the police rather than negotiation is both unfair to the police and subversive of the public peace.

In labour affairs as in the wider world of politics, the same truth applies. You cannot run a factory at the point of a gun. You cannot run a country at the point of a gun, for that matter. Not for long, anyway.

It is so very sad that the high hopes of the Botha reform have been disappointed in this fashion The government's failure to secure the consent and loyalty of the mass of the population and its insistence on doing things *its* way, whatever blacks or others may feel, are manifest.

As the situation deteriorates, the Nationalist propaganda media will keep on churning out the familiar mixture of self-deluding pabulum, medal parades and warnings about the communist threat. Everything will be made subservient to the so-called total strategy.

But the total strategy is a farce as long as the black and brown populations feel alienated in their own land As a (coloured) working man was overheard to say the other day: "Don't talk to me about *the* prime minister ... It's *their* prime minister ..."

That is the crux of the matter and there is no use fooling ourselves that things are otherwise.

The problem is not primarily that we are under threat from communist hordes advancing towards our borders The problem is not primarily one of agitation and subversion The problem is that the majority of the people of this country are thoroughly fed up and out of sympathy with established authority and the whole system under which they are governed without their consent

In such a situation, it would be remarkable if the Soviet expansionists did not seek to stir things up in this region with their traditional method of selling arms to dissident groups

As armourer

The Soviet menace in this region is mainly manifest as armourer of insurgents. But why are there such groups in existence in the first place? Why do young men from Langa or KwaMashu or Soweto go out of the country to be trained as guerillas and then return, armed to the teeth with communist weaponry, to mount campaigns of urban terrorism against their white fellow-citizens?

Is it not because they feel an intolerable burden of oppression — social, economic and political — which they despair of removing by peaceful means? And is not this burden of oppression the greatest menace to this country's security?

I remember talking once to a seasoned Nato commander, who was visiting South Africa, and he summed up the South African situation in a few crisp words. "How can you defend your country against invasion," he said, "if three-quarters of your population constitutes a fifth column?" How indeed?

In the South African situation, there is no lasting answer to boycotts, strikes, unrest, communist subversion, infiltration, urban terrorism and the like to be found in the use of force. The only real security lies in securing the loyalty and support of your own population. Without this loyalty, there is no effective counter to guerilla war, as the defence chiefs know. Without this loyalty, there is ample water for the guerilla fish to swim in, as happened in Rhodesia.

Whether on the shop floor, in the black townships or elsewhere, the only permanent answers are to be found in negotiation rather than strong-arm tactics, in political and diplomatic means rather than military

There is a necessary and difficult job to be done by the police at all times and that is to maintain the public peace. Likewise, the need for a strong military deterrent is obvious. But if the only response to *political* problems is to be a show of force by military or police, this country is doomed.

From the point of view of the white minority, negotiation should take place in good time from a position of strength. The lessons of Zimbabwe are plain enough.

It seemed at one point that the Botha administation had absorbed these lessons and was acting upon them. On this assumption, the business community looked to the future with new-found confidence and South Africa, helped by the price of gold, found itself moving steadily into an economic boom.

Ideal climate

The revival is now in full swing, providing an ideal climate for political advance. But Mr Botha has drawn back. The Botha reform has failed and the country, politically, is deteriorating as fast as it is recovering economically. Sooner or later, if confidence fades, an economic down-turn will follow the political down-turn And then the fat will be in the fire.

There are some hopeful and constructive developments, of course, such as the admirable Lombard plan for Natal, if Pretoria ever gives it a chance, which seems unlikely. If such a plan were tried, soon, who knows how dramatically the atmosphere could be transformed.?

Will the Botha administration respond in time and recover the initiative? We can only hope so.

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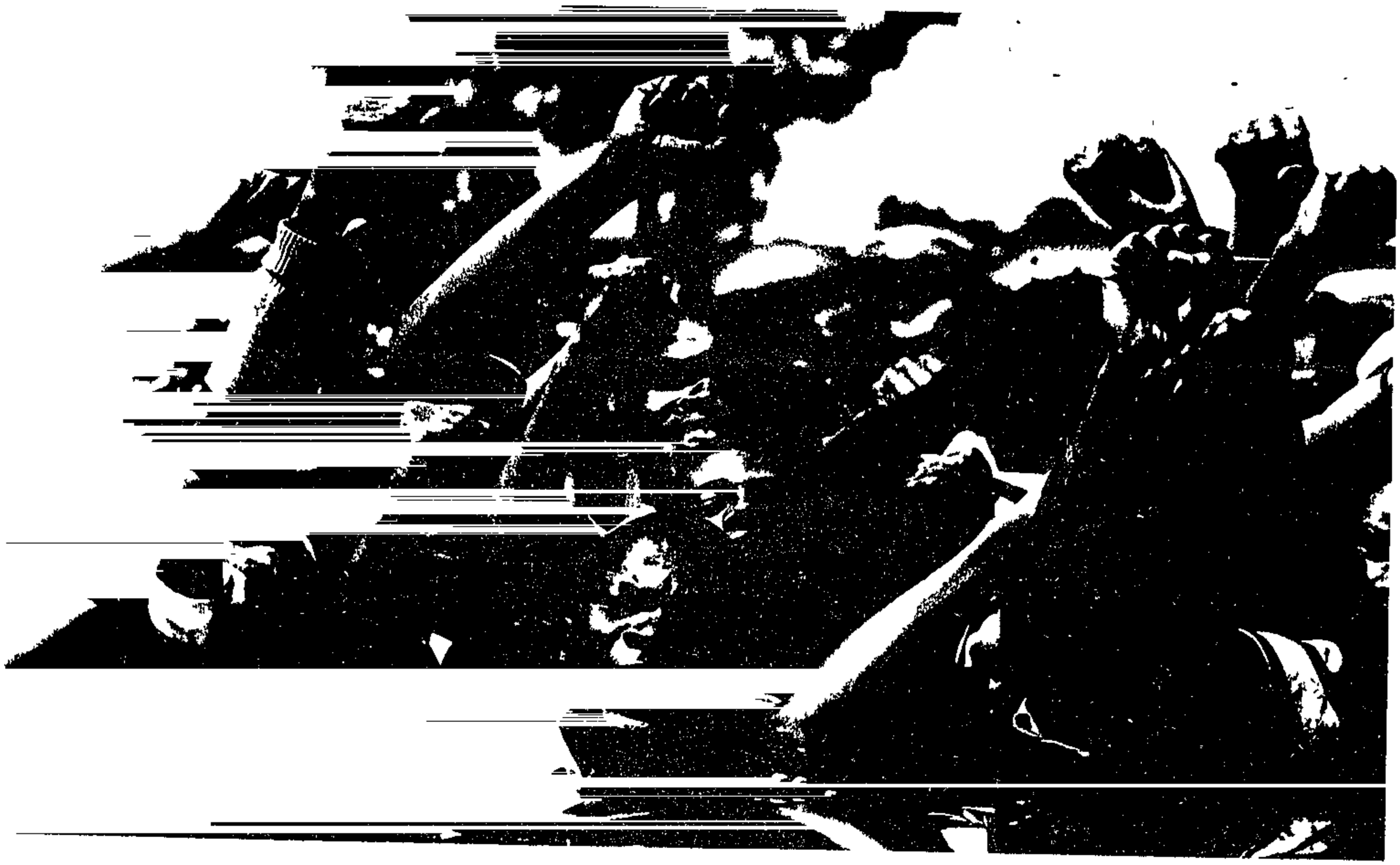
How can you tell whether it's REVOLUTION?



The answer is that YOU CAN'T

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By PROFESSOR CALVIN WOODWARD

Professor Woodward, a Canadian who teaches courses on revolution at the University of New Brunswick, is visiting fellow at the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes.

Way to revolution

Historians are fairly agreed on signposts that mark the way to revolution. Some of the major manifestations have been

- Prolonged and general restlessness or the spread of discontent among a significant portion of a populace.
- Marked and protracted emigration generally or on the part of a particular segment, such as the educated or middle class
- A falling away of intellectuals from support of the regime, a phenomenon that has been termed "the desertion of the intellectuals".
- Intensified and pervasive violent outbreaks and demonstrations.
- The appearance of irreparable divisions and open conflict within the circle of power holders, and indications, such as indecisiveness in regard to critical issues or obvious faults in the handling of disturbances, of a regime's growing inability to cope with the strains of managing society.

However, such markings only add up to revolution in retrospect. For them to spell revolution, they must be connected in such a way that historical analysis alone makes possible.

Chain of causes

Each sign or "cause" by itself may purely constitute an incident, problem or infirmity of the kind that periodically disturbs any nation.

In any case we cannot be sure. What we look for retrospectively is a chain of causes or events which we can relate to a revolutionary trend once we know that revolution has occurred.

The fact, then, is that, despite all our insights and accumulated wisdom, revolutions are not predictable (except, of course, by the odd soothsayer or ideologue) far in advance of violent eruption

Revolutions, in other words, are really not seen until they are at hand And this near-sightedness is a professional ailment from which others besides academics suffer.

Even such an astute revolutionist as Lenin, for example, did not foresee the collapse of Czarist Russia. Shortly before the regime fell he wrote that the revolution would not take place in his lifetime

And then it took the abdication of the Czar to make it clear that revolution had come In most cases such a demonstration is needed because a revolution may not at first appear as such

The French and American revolutions originated as movements for reform; both became revolutions as events unfolded rapidly in that direction once initial acts of protest revealed the strength of opposition that had developed to the regime.

Fundamentally, it is the very nature of revolution that makes it such a difficult thing to predict. Revolutions are essentially slowly developing phenomena which suddenly and dramatically peak.

The final collapse of a regime, often in a violent episode of shorter or longer duration, comes after an extended period of societal decay. We cannot perceive the developmental process and we cannot foresee the peaking.

Last to recognise

And in many instances it is the regime to be overthrown which is the last to recognise that its time has come Usually, that is made apparent by indications that the military can no longer be relied upon; when, for example, troops commiserate with demonstrators whom they are ordered to restrain or disperse.

To cite a recent case, it was at such a point that the Shah of Iran knew that his position was no longer tenable.

In regard to cases where extensive and prolonged violence actually precedes the overthrow of a regime, then the existence of a revolutionary situation may be more clearly perceptible.

Where, in particular, the overthrow of a regime is brought about by "revolutionary warfare", as for example happened in China, South Vietnam and Cuba, then perhaps there may be little doubt about the basic issue at stake. However, the final fall is still sudden and unpredictable.

Thus, in view of what we know about the onset and development of revolution, South Africa's anticipation of its own revolution implies a prescience which is rather exceptional.

Special foresight

Certainly, South Africa's situation is not that unique to warrant claim to special foresight regarding revolution in the future.

The gap between races in South Africa with respect to power and other resources is no greater than that between haves and have-nots in a great many societies. And colour does not necessarily make such divisions more apparent.

The relationship between the peasantry and aristocracy in Czarist Russia was not essentially dissimilar to that between black and white in South Africa.

But the really important point here is that revolutionary signposts are not in evidence in South Africa.

There are no sure indications of widespread discontent, the power elite evinces strength and confidence, and the use of force, even in selective fashion against a particular social segment, has not significantly increased over years.

South Africa, in short, has been and is a politically stable state

3/8/80

Sun Times

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SURELY no nation in modern history has so well prepared itself militarily for revolution as has South Africa, and none has devoted so much thought to ways and means of averting it.

Yet there is good reason to wonder about the extent to which revolution in South Africa is really understood.

Official concern has focused primarily on the uniqueness of the situation in South Africa, and general political debate has reflected divergent ideologies more than it has manifested an objective appreciation of the basic meaning and nature of revolution.

To a considerable degree, revolution in South Africa has been looked at essentially through the prism of partisan politics.

An important consequence of this particular approach is that certain significant and fundamental questions on which the whole issue of revolution in South Africa rests have neither been asked nor probed.

Is revolution, for example, a predictable event?

Even more important, if revolution is in the offing, is it possible to avoid it? And, if so, what is the best strategy?

Trouble spots around SA

IN South Africa's trouble spots yesterday:

● Police restored order in **Adelaide** after pupils set fire to their books and plundered the beer hall in the township.

According to Sapa's correspondent, several incidents of stone-throwing in the township were also reported.

Police arrived and restored order.

● In **Pretoria**, hundreds of pupils who sought re-admission to the Vlakfontein Technical High School in Mamelodi were sent home by police.

Parents had to sign an undertaking that their children would not be involved in "similar activity" while at school again.

Many pupils turned up without the undertaking.

● A move to revive the boycott at **Turfloop** — the University of the North — failed this week when two rival student groups disagreed on whether to continue the boycott.

The rector-designate, Prof P C Mokgokong, said: "I am not aware of any tension and the situation is normal."

● In **Alice**, University of Fort Hare students left the campus because of "fear and conscience," a student said yesterday.

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Post 29/7/80

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Now 'Mapetla' closed in crisis

LESSONS at another Soweto school, Mapetla (Tswana) Senior Secondary School, have been indefinitely suspended and students told by the Johannesburg regional director of Education and Training, Mr Jaap Strydom to re-register.

By CHRIS MORE

At Fort Hare University, 1 320 students were yesterday reported to have returned to lectures, the last day on which any student would have been allowed to re-register.

Officials in Port Elizabeth revealed that attendances at lower primary schools varied between 57 and 99 percent but that secondary schools were empty

In Grahamstown both primary and secondary schools were totally deserted yesterday in the wake of the weekend unrest while the boycott of primary schools in the Eastern Cape by African students entered the 17th day with few signs of abating.

There were other reports of sporadic boycott incidents. In the Ciskei, an undisclosed number of high school students boycotted classes in the Alice area. The Ciskei secretary of education, Mr S Bomela, said he had received reports from some principals that students had refused to go to class He, however, refused to comment on the matter until he had received full written reports from the principals.

Meanwhile police dispersed about 900 Morris Isaacson students who had gathered at the school to decide what action to take in the light of the regional director's order that they re-register. About 60 students have apparently re registered while the entire student body has ignored the order

Police also dismissed students at Mapetla (Tswana) Senior Secondary School, where a meeting was held to decide what action to take in the light of the closure of the school. The students rejected the call by the regional director to re-register and instead demanded the removal of their principal, Mr James Mabotja, whom they accused of having misrepresented their grievances to Mr Strydom. They also called for the removal of the vice-principal, Mr Molokoane.

EXPULSION

The students also accused the principal of threatening to expel or suspend them as he wished They complained about the attitude of a lady teacher who allegedly threatened them with expulsion if they differed with her in class

They alleged to have given the principal a list of grievances which include complaints about the locking of school gates in the morning and at lunch time and that there were only two tuck-shops on the premises which could not cater for more than 1 000 students in 45 minutes of the lunch break

The students demanded the replacement of the prefects who they claim were appointed by the principal and staff and were not wanted by the students. The re-instatement of four students, expelled by the principal was also included in their demands.

They condemned the action of the police stating that their affair was domestic and did not need outsiders. An appeal was made to other students to continue coming to school as they were not boycotting school but were merely requesting that they be given a fair deal.

Meanwhile stringent precautions are being taken by the police in black townships near Grahamstown after the weekend of violence in which many schools, two houses, a beer hall and a shop were either partly or entirely gutted by fire and three blacks lost their lives, according to the Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, Brig E S J van Rensburg

Brig van Rensburg said he had given instructions that all liquor stores in Grahamstown should close until further notice The instruction included bottle stores in the white area, but not hotel bars, lounges and clubs

LIQUOR

He had taken the measure because it was apparent that many of the 2 000 people who had taken part in the unrest at the weekend were under the influence of liquor, and were also the ringleaders of the stone-throwing and arson.

In Pretoria, the Liaison Officer of the Department of Education and Training Mr G En-

gelbrecht yesterday confirmed that the boycotting Mabopane East Senior Secondary School male students will have to bring their parents along on Friday for re-application.

The students at the ultra-modern school on the outskirts of Soshanguve were told on Thursday to pack and go after they had refused to attend classes.

The principal of the school, who did not reveal his name, yesterday refused to issue any statement or comment on the matter at his school which houses only Form 4 boarding pupils.

Male students at the school staged a sit-in following a stabbing incident between two pupils. According to a spokesman, they urged the principal to solve the matter without an outside party.

They finally decided on a sit-in after police were called "apparently" for the guilty party, according to Mr Engelbrecht.

All the female pupils were, however, allowed to stay as they were not involved in the boycott.

Conclusion

Comparison of the classification outlined in Appendix A and the indicators listed in Appendix B, shows, on the one hand, that welfare indicators can be chosen which fit reasonably well into the scheme suggested in Appendix A, which cover a fair proportion of the scheme and which refer to reasonably accessible data. On the other hand, some of them can be chosen to correspond to rather than to economic well-being, i.e. to be 'economic indicators'. A further investigation of the applications of the scheme suggested this further (we commented earlier that indicators do not relate as closely as possible to the 'cause and effect' of economic moving towards the economic indicators does not imply that hand, the comparison also shows that there are many areas (listed in Appendix A) which are not reflected by any indicators. This comparison can be facilitated by laying out Appendix B, in a form corresponding to Table 1; then it is clear which are absent, will be particularly displayed (see also Rao's indicators). This does not imply that it does help to keep the overall picture in mind. Such indicators or investigation might be of use in providing a more balanced perspective on the situation viewed.

In general, the process of data collection is expressible in terms of sensitive, rapidly responding social indicators, and which to many errors and imperfections. Thus even an aspiration and an effort to obtain and analyse the information to depict the situation at one particular level in the group's welfare feedback system (cf. Table 1 or the Abstract), one may obtain an erroneous impression of the situation at that level. Further, an indication of a bad situation at any one of these levels will almost certainly reflect serious problems at other levels (e.g. if the group considered has poor Access to Power, this will almost inevitably lead to problems at the Level of Living and State of Welfare

To do so, one can use the strong analogy between social and biological systems one can conceptualise society as a *cybernetic system* in which there are many *feedback loops whose function is to correct errors and to solve problems that arise in the functioning*

S. Post 27/7/80

Page 3

Unrest closes 3 schools in Soweto and Western Cape

SUNDAY POST Reporter

THREE schools — two in the Western Cape and one in Soweto — have been closed because of class boycotts and unrest.

The regional director of Education and Training in Johannesburg, Mr Jaap Strydom, announced on Friday that classes at Matetla High, Soweto, would be suspended until further notice because of unrest at the school.

In the Western Cape the pupils at Wynberg Senior Secondary School were expelled on Friday. Dr Frank Quint, chief inspector of schools for the Wynberg region, said the school would be reopened on Tuesday and all pupils would have to apply for re-admission.

The Klein Nederberg Junior Secondary School in Paarl was also closed after the police dispersed a group of pupils in the school grounds.

Principals at most schools in the Peninsula reported below-average attendance.

Police fired birdshot and used teargas to disperse stone-throwing mobs in Uitenhage, Despatch and Port Elizabeth on Thursday night.

A 16-year-old youth was wounded in the left thigh. He was identified as Mboyiseli Qoqo.

No pupils arrived at the Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto on Friday. The students were told to re-register after they had staged a sit-in in protest against the detention of a fellow student, Sipho Nhlapo, by police last week.

Authorities at the University of Fort Hare said nearly 1 000 students had returned to the university and were attending lectures.

Parents and educationists in Port Elizabeth and surrounding towns have expressed concern at the idea of the Minister of Education and Training that teachers in schools affected by the boycott may be transferred to other schools.

Dr George Molefe, a well-known educationist and civic leader, said the idea was going to bring confusion. "Already some of the schools are understaffed," he said.

Post 22/7/80

73 pupils arrested

POLICE yesterday announced that 73 Pretoria students were arrested while the boycott of schools in the Eastern Cape continued.

In the Ciskei, students refusing to enter classrooms were baton-charged back into them by police.

Police were called by the principal and senior education officials at two Ciskei schools.

Referring to the Pretoria students, Lieutenant Charles Erasmus, from the Police Directorate for Public Relations, said 50 girls and 23 boys from Walmansthal Secondary School have been arrested, and two others arrested were non-students. All were detained following disturbances at Mabopane on Friday.

Meanwhile, in Atteridgeville, Hofmeyr High School's former principal, Mr S Maboe, was recalled to head the school until the situation settles. Mr P G H Felstead, regional director for education and training, said as far as his department was concerned, the principal was Mr S Kekana.

Students boycotted classes until last Tuesday in protest against Mr Kekana and he was then told to stay home until air clears. It is not known when he will return to school.

Boycott

And in the Eastern Cape black pupils are continuing their boycott, despite appeals for them to return to school from teachers, principals, parents and community leaders.

Pupils have said they intend staying away until September, when the two-month ban on political meetings is due to expire.

Concerned parents met the Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, Brig E van Rensburg yesterday, to discuss the boycott.

Brig van Rensburg assured them that police would keep a low profile in future "provided there is no damage to property or danger to human life", and assured parents that pupils would be allowed to return to school premises.

A 16-year-old youth — identified as Boyboy Nobida — was killed and 13 people were wounded when police and crowds clashed in Grahamstown at the weekend.

The national road from Port Elizabeth to King William's Town was closed to traffic for a few hours at the weekend because of stone-throwing.

In Lebowa about 600 Hweti High School students in Sovenga yesterday boycotted classes. — Sapa.

They're quirts, not sjamboks

Crime Reporter

THE police are using "quirts" — short-handled riding-whips — and not sjamboks, to quell unrest in the Eastern Cape

This was said by the Police Directorate of Public Relations last night

The weapon was said to be part of a police move of "minimum force" to control conflict situations, especially where children were involved

The quirt is still being used experimentally in riot control — it is understood it will be used countrywide if it is successful.

A police statement referred to the instrument as a "karwats" and in a subsequent note said this should be translated into a "quirt".

The Concise Oxford English Dictionary defined a quirt as a "short-handled riding-whip with braided lash".

The statement — signed by Brigadier J A N Grobbelaar — came after reports that Eastern Cape police were using sjamboks in riot control were queried by the Cape Times.

The statement said: "The police strive in each conflict situation to use as little force as possible and they are therefore testing the use of quirts to disperse unruly crowds."

The method is being tested at the moment and falls in the same category — that of minimum force — as batons and tear smoke. It has been implemented because it is a lighter instrument.

Riot control: There's a sting in the tail

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's latest riot-control innovation — the quirt, a type of riding whip — is going to create a new wave of world interest in the Republic's methods of curbing unrest

Police announced the new sting to the tail of their riot control methods this week and said the quirt would be distributed country-wide if experiments in certain districts were successful

It has already been used in Port Elizabeth.

It joins the plastic batons, Perspex shields and helmets presently on issue to the riot police and forms part of the equipment to be used in areas where minimum force is neccessary.

Riot control experts said yesterday they had never before heard of whips being used to curb riots but a police spokesman said the "quirt" was more desirable than other forms of batons because it did not break bones

Made of plastic, the quirt is lighter and shorter than its big brother, the sjambok, and it will give a stinging sensation if it connects with human flesh

Meanwhile a controversy developed yesterday over what a quirt, in the sense used by the police, actually is In Afrikaans, the police call it a "karwats" which translated means a riding-whip or a hunting horse-whip

But a quirt is a short-handled riding-whip with braided leather lash

The sjambok, which is not what the present weapon is according to the police directorate, is a "stout rhinocerous or hippopotamus hide whip", according to Jean Branford's "A Dictionary of South African English"

It is accepted that serious body damage can be caused if hit by a sjambok. Police say the quirt is lighter than the sjambok.

But whatever the merits of the quirt, the unfortunate fact remains that this new police innovation is a whip and this will not be overlooked by world critics of South Africa's riot control methods.

A statement from the police directorate, signed by Brigadier J Grobbelaar, is at pains to point out that the translation of a "karwats" is a quirt

In the statement, the brigadier said: "The police strive in each conflict situation to use as little force as possible and they are therefore testing the use of quirts to disperse unruly crowds."

The statement said that in the past birdshot had been used against children that were violent and that the quirt was in comparison a better weapon

The weapon, which falls in the category of minimum force along with batons and tear smoke, again highlights the question of preparedness of the police to handle riot situations



The quirt. they will be issued nation-wide if crowd-control experiments are successful.

In March this year, the Press was shown the helmets, shields and batons that had been issued to the police in the Cape, but when unrest began in the Cape they were not put to immediate use

At the time, a police spokesman said that they could not be used effectively under conditions at the time

The gear, coming at a time when mob violence has broken out in the United States, in England, in the Netherlands and in South Africa, forces a comparison between the various methods of riot control

In Amsterdam in April this year when mobs protested at the time of the coronation of Queen Beatrix, police tried to contain them with mobile water cannons and teargas

Tanks, armoured cars and armoured bull-dozers were called in to take on the violent stonethrowing mobs Police dogs were also used

Pamphlets were dropped on the crowds warning them that under certain circumstances, police could open fire.

In race riots in Miami this year, national guardsmen were called in Armed national guardsmen with assault rifles attempted to quell the chaos which left buildings burning

In Bristol, at the end of March this year, police were forced to withdraw from a riot area for four hours till reinforcements could be called in English police, noted for their non-use of violence are now acting to defend themselves against violent crowds.

When the British were in control of India the police there used "lathis" for crowd control and they are still used by the police there today A lathi is a 2m bamboo cane, bound at intervals by iron bands .

The effectiveness of the quirt in South Africa may have interesting repercussions internationally — if successful.



A policeman demonstrates the quirt used in unrest in the Eastern Cape recently

Eyes of world will be on new riot control weapon

CAPE TIMES 17/7/80

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By STEPHEN WROTTESLEY
Crime Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA'S latest riot-control innovation — the quirt, a type of riding whip — will create a new wave of world interest in the Republic's methods of curbing unrest

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It is accepted that serious body damage can be caused if hit by a sjambok. Police say the quirt is lighter than the sjambok

But whatever the merits of the quirt, the fact remains that this new police innovation is a whip and this will not be overlooked by world critics of South Africa's riot control methods.

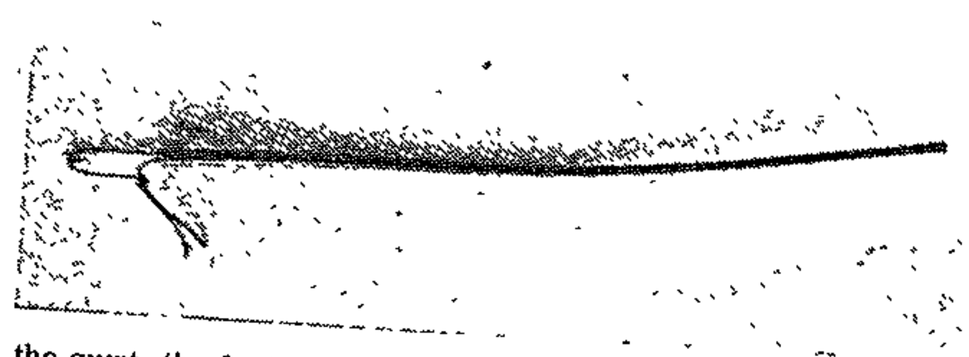
A statement from the police directorate, signed by Brigadier J A N Grobbelaar, is at pains to point out that the translation of a karwats is a quirt.

In the statement, the brigadier said "The police strive in each conflict situation to use as little force as possible and they are therefore testing the use of quirts to disperse unruly crowds"

The statement issued to the Cape Times said that in the past birdshot had been used against children who were violent and that the quirt was in comparison a better weapon



Above: The nearest thing in Cape Town to a quirt in the pure sense — a hunting whip. **Below:** Police say that the quirt they use is nothing like the sjambok pictured below



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When the British were in control of India the police there used "lathis" for crowd control and they are still used by the police there today A lathi is a bamboo cane, almost two metres long, bound at intervals by iron bands

The effectiveness of the quirt in South Africa may have interesting repercussions internationally if successful, but its use now still has to be fully assessed

WARNING

1. No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
2. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

to disqualification and to possible exclusion from
iversity

Tough police response expected

Continued

New unrest in black schools

STAR 11/7/80 276 274

New unrest in black schools

From page 1

man was stabbed with a knife and while unconscious was robbed of his firearm, Colonel Fischer said.

A shot was fired with the firearm and a black woman was wounded. Police retrieved the policeman's gun. About 20 youths were arrested.

● PRETORIA—The principal of the Hofmeyr High School in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, Mr Joseph Kekana, has been ordered by the Department of Education and Training to stay away from the school temporarily for his own safety.

Earlier he had to flee for his life when enraged students stoned his office and threatened to assault him.

Grievances were that the headmaster locked out pupils and teachers arriving at the school late, and also prevented pregnant school girls from sitting for examinations.

Mr Jackie Letshuf, principal of the Mamelodi High School, Pretoria, was injured yesterday when he was struck with a rock on the forehead by a group of demonstrating youths.

In the meanwhile, 127 students of a trade school in the Zwelitsha residential area in the Ciskei appeared in the Magistrate's Court at the town yesterday on charges of public violence. They are alleged to have used hammers, knives and pangas to threaten young children.

The hearing was adjourned to July 22. — Reports by Staff Reporters, Own Correspondents and Sapa.

A new wave of violence has struck black schools in several parts of the country, with at least one person dead so far.

A tough police crackdown to curb it is expected following a warning by the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, that unrest at schools can no longer be tolerated. He warned that police will strictly apply the proclamation prohibiting pupils from gathering on school premises. He has promised protection to those pupils wanting to attend classes.

By yesterday, at least 40 black schools and thousands of pupils in the eastern Cape alone had been affected by the unrest which has now continued almost uninterrupted since April. In a new tactic adopted since the term began, pupils from other schools again gathered in large numbers in the grounds of several major high schools in Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown singing freedom songs.

Hundreds of Soweto pupils stayed away from classes today. Attendances at most schools was poor and many pupils claimed that pamphlets calling for a school boycott have been circulated.

Soweto teachers professed bafflement at the absence of their pupils.

● PORT ELIZABETH — An eight-year-old boy received shotgun wounds in his back while playing in the street in the Veeplaas black township today.

Although police had a very strong presence in black townships today, they have emphatically denied responsibility for the child's shooting.

The liaison officer for police in the Eastern Cape, Major Gerrie van Rooyen, said the child, Simpipe Matukwana, was playing in Qeqe Street, Veeplaas, when a tank truck passed and a shot was fired from it.

The injured child was picked up by bystanders and rushed to Livingstone Hospital. His condition is not yet known.

Major van Rooyen said the child apparently had shotgun wounds, but it was not clear yet whether it was bird shot or buck shot.



Mr le Grange

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ships were armed with birdshot, he said.

● GRAHAMSTOWN — A 40-year-old black woman Mrs Violet Psile (56) was shot and killed by unidentified people here during unrest among black school pupils in the Eastern Cape yesterday.

Police used firearms, teargas and baton charges during unrest involving militant black pupils in the area, the Police Directorate of Public Relations said in a statement in Pretoria.

But the police had not used arms firing bullets during the incident at a school in Grahamstown after which the woman had been found dead from three bullet wounds, the statement added.

It said 27 blacks had been arrested on charges of public violence after a number of incidents including the setting alight of two vehicles.

● BLOEMFONTEIN — A policeman was stabbed and a woman was shot when schoolchildren at Onverwacht settlement near Thaba Nchu attacked the police station yesterday.

About 600 children boycotted the eight schools in the settlement and at about 9 am moved through the streets setting alight vehicles, a shop and plundering two other shops, the Divisional Inspector of Police in the Free State, Colonel I J Fischer, said.

The crowd then moved to the small police outpost and confronted the policeman on duty. The police-

To Page 3, Col 7

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES — GENERAL

1 AUGUST 1980 — 11 September 1980

Shawco to help allocate riot fund

C. Times 11/8/80

975

Chief Reporter

A FUND to help families of people who were killed or seriously injured in the mid-June disturbances in the Cape Peninsula was established yesterday on the basis of the R5 000 which was offered for this purpose on Wednesday by a Cape Times reader who wishes to remain anonymous.

The fund will be administered by the Students' Health and Welfare Clinics Organization (Shawco) in collaboration with the Elsie's River Social Welfare Association

The chairman of Shawco, Professor Richard Fuggle of the Department of Environmental Studies at the University of Cape Town, said yesterday after conferring with the Boland businessman who has offered the R5 000, that he would arrange a meeting next week at which details of how the money would be used would be discussed

Shawco (WO No 1836) has a long-established, large and active branch at Elsie's River, which was the centre of the June unrest, and it is through this branch, which is run by people from the Elsie's River area and which has its own WO number (1836/1), that practical help will be given to the families concerned

Needs of families

The Elsie's River Social Welfare Association (WO No 2972) has its own social-workers and the chairman, Mr Gilbert Thomas, principal of the Elsbury Senior Primary School, said yesterday the association would give all the help it could to Shawco in establishing the needs of the families.

Two of the children of one of the riot victims, Mrs Edith Lewis, are pupils at Mr Thomas's school.

The Cape Times reader who made the offer of R5 000 — if a properly-administered fund was established — said he had been prompted to do this after reading a full-page report of an investigation of the circumstances of some of the bereaved families by a Cape Times reporter, Miss Zubeida Jaffer.

His offer in no way implied approval of violent protest or condemnation of police action, and it was not meant to "buy back" some of the goodwill that had been lost.

● All donations to the relief fund should be sent to:

Shawco, 12th Avenue, Kensington 7405, Cape.

There should be a clear indication with each donation that it is intended for the relief of families of the riot victims

Cheques should be made out to Shawco. Shawco's telephone num-

E Cape expects funeral trouble

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — In the wake of another round of black township unrest in Port Elizabeth yesterday, the Eastern Cape faced a critical point today when trouble was expected for the third successive time around the graves of victims shot dead by police in Grahamstown.

The funerals of Mr Freddie Tsili (33) and Mr Tununu Nxawe (28) were planned for tomorrow but were shifted forward when a proclamation under the Riotous Assemblies Act banned all funerals this weekend in Grahamstown.

AFTER BURIAL

All liquor outlets apart from white bars have been closed indefinitely.

The reason was that police believed largescale drunkenness played a major part in the past weekend's violence.

Brigadier van Rensburg has also warned that no large crowds would be allowed at future black funerals in Grahamstown but only relatives and bona fide mourners.

The two men were killed last Saturday with birdshot when a police hippo truck was cornered at a barricade by a violent crowd who stoned it and threw a petrol bomb.

The crowd had come from the funeral of Boy-boy Nobiba (16) who had been shot dead with birdshot at unrest on the previous Saturday after the burial of Mrs Violet Tsile (57), another unrest victim.

FIREBOMBS

Major Gerrie van Rooyen said police had information of preparation being made by Grahamstown blacks for further unrest, such as an unusual amount of petrol siphoned from cars and a call for workers to stay away from work today.

In Port Elizabeth the almost daily incidents continued yesterday when damage of about R23 000 was done.

Police used teargas and birdshot to disperse mobs of up to 500 people who firebombed five vehicles.

The widespread schools boycott in Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and Uitenhage is continuing.

'Pirate' charge: Man's bakkie held

C. Times 1/8/85 MUM 275

Staff Reporter

A BELLVILLE magistrate yesterday refused to grant permission for the vehicle of a man charged with operating a "pirate taxi" to be returned to him

The magistrate, Mr M Miles, said he was acting on the instructions of the attorney-general The vehicle belonged to Mr France Mangolwane, 62, of Nyanga East, who is facing a charge of transporting people without a road transportation permit

Mr Mangolwane has pleaded not guilty to the charge His case was yesterday adjourned in the Bellville Magistrate's Court till August 22, and bail was extended till then

The case follows a crack-down on "pirate taxis" which have allegedly been providing commuters with alternative transport since the boycott of buses began two months ago

Mr Mangolwane told the court yesterday that he had been out of work for the past two months and he usually took his wife and daughter, both of whom worked in Bellville, to work and back in his 1964 bakkie

"When I fetch my wife, she is not standing alone and when she gets into the bakkie, the other people get in as well," he said "If I didn't do them that favour, my bakkie might get damaged"

He denied that he had ever accepted money from the people to whom he gave lifts

Mr Mangolwane said he agreed that people should boycott buses because bus fares had increased.

"I am quite happy to help people to go to work because there is no transport," he said

Asked by the prosecutor Mr F Smit, why he had made two trips between Bellville station and Nyanga on the afternoon of July 28, Mr Mangolwane said

"When we got to Nyanga, they said there are still people waiting in Bellville, you must go and fetch them"

Under cross-examination by counsel for the defence, Mr D Mias, Mr H J du Plessis, a transport inspector based in Pretoria, said he had seen Mr Mangolwane at Bellville station three times, loading and offloading people from his bakkie

When asked by Mr Mias whether many people might not view giving lifts to people who lived near them as their contribution to the bus boycott, Mr Du Plessis said "It might be so"

Burials pass quietly

GRAHAMSTOWN — Two victims of last weekend's unrest here were buried quietly yesterday afternoon — while riot police in hippo trucks and patrol vans watched from vantage points around the cemetery.

The funerals followed each other and the small crowd of mourners dispersed immediately afterwards.

Shortly before 1 pm the cortege following the funeral of Mr Tununu Nxawe, arrived at the cemetery. About 60 people travelled in cars and a bus, which were escorted by a riot police patrol van.

The graveside service lasted about 20 minutes and immediately afterwards the funeral procession of the second riot victim, Mr Freddie Tsili, 33, arrived.

The hearse bearing his coffin was followed by about 100 mourners on foot and another 100 in vehicles.

The funerals had been planned for today but were held yesterday because of a proclamation banning funerals this weekend in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Major Gerrie van Rooyen, said only relatives and close friends turned up at the homes of the two dead men.

A strong police presence in the township deterred others from joining the procession to the cemetery, he said. — DDC.

Police call for calm

GRAHAMSTOWN — Police have called for calm here today when two victims of last Saturday's rioting are to be buried.

Both funerals were planned for Saturday but were shifted forward when a proclamation under the Riotous Assemblies Act banned all funerals this weekend.

The divisional commissioner of police, Brigadier E. S. J. van Rensburg, yesterday appealed to people to be calm and allow the funerals to take place in an orderly manner

He warned that no large crowds would be tolerated and that only relatives and bona fide mourners would be allowed in the cemetery.

The victims were Mr Freddie Tsiki, 33, and Mr Tununu Nxawe, 28

Major Van Rooyen said yesterday there had been no incidents in the last 24 hours and no more people had been arrested — DDC

'Harassed' bus boycotters 'angry'

THE "harassment" of African commuters boycotting buses has led to increased frustration and anger, according to a statement released this week by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The institute was reacting to Tuesday's crackdown by police, traffic officials and Road Transportation Board authorities on pirate taxis at Claremont railway station.

The "taxis" were transporting black bus boycotters to the townships.

Tuesday's crackdown forced commuters to walk several kilometres to get alternative transport home.

The institute's statement said people had maintained a "very effective bus boycott" over the past two months after "having exhausted all other means of protest against the bus fares that are beyond their financial means".

The statement continues: "Their protest is essentially a peaceful one, and in spontaneous lift clubs and self-help schemes they have sought sensible ways of overcoming the acute problem of commuting.

"Now the situation is developing into one of harassment, which has led to increased frustration and anger."

The SAIRR said the government should "heavily subsidize to bring the cost of bus transportation within the means of township commuters".

"The onus is on the government to do this and is all the greater because, for ideological reasons, it has compelled the poorer section of our community to live so far from their places of work."

...nd he had to Mcatshelwa

Help us plea

MDANTSANE — The Grahamstown Citizens Committee is faced with the problem of finding witnesses to give evidence about the deaths of people killed when police dispersed crowds in the black townships.

The chairman of the committee, Mr Sigidla Ndumo, said the committee was investigating the deaths of Mrs Violet Tsili, Mr Boyboy Nombiba and Mr Black Tsili.

Mr Tsili was killed after the funeral of Mr Nombiba. He is to be buried tomorrow. The funeral service will be at his home in Tantyi.

He appealed to people who had information about the circumstances surrounding the deaths of the three people to come forward and assist the committee.

Another victim of the unrest in Grahamstown's black townships was one of the founders of the South Eastern Districts Rugby Union, Mr Nikile Mjekula..

He was stoned to death by looters.

Mr Mjekula played a leading role in cultural and sporting circles in Grahamstown.

The simplest and commonest procedure is to assume that the relation between the indicator and the index is *linear* (more is better, and in fact each increment confers the same additional benefit). Then the decision to be made is simply the choice of two critical indicator levels, a *minimal* level and an *affluence* level; an obvious linear transformation will then convert the indicator to the index (see [9]). Examples are evaluations of income levels in terms of a 'poverty datum level' and 'minimum effective level', or similar concepts; or evaluation of food intake in terms of a 'minimum survival level' and an 'adequate nutrition level'. However one may make a good case that the evaluation function should be *logarithmic* in many cases (thereby reflecting both the 'law of diminishing returns' of economics, and the Weber-Fechner logarithmic stimulus/response relation which holds in various biological situations) One might go further, and suggest a *quadratic function* (see [47] and § 4.5 above); then rather more parameters have to be chosen in each case. However it has the advantage that it also allows a realistic valuation of 'bads' (cf [81]). If some flow is bad for the group (e.g. mercury pollution, or hydrogen sulfide in the air) the corresponding indicator value will be negative, but in many cases a small enough quantity of a 'bad' is actually good for one (e.g. fluorine is very poisonous, but small amounts are good for teeth, bringing up babies in too aseptic environment makes them highly vulnerable to diseases, and so on). A quadratic evaluation function can allow for this suitably, evaluating a small amount of the condition positively but a larger amount negatively. We will not go into this further here; rather we shall assume that in each case a reasonable decision can be made as to the choice of the evaluation function, so the chosen aspects can be measured and evaluated on the normalised scale.

In some cases, it may not be possible to find a suitable cardinal indicator for the aspect we wish to estimate. In these cases, however, we may be able to construct an *ordinal indicator* [9] indicating how satisfactory or unsatisfactory this aspect of the situation is. This is achieved by stating a set of criteria that will cause this aspect of the level of welfare component to be graded as, grade IV (very unsatisfactory); grade III

2 The Cape Times, Saturday, August 2, 1980

Fund for families of unrest victims is AID

Chief Reporter

THE FUND established in Cape Town this week to help families of victims of the mid-June unrest in the Peninsula, on the basis of an offer of R5 000 for this purpose by a reader of the Cape Times who wishes to remain anonymous, is to be known as **AID.**

The Students' Health and Welfare Centres Organization (Shawco) has undertaken to administer the fund in collaboration with the Elsie's River Social Welfare Association Both organizations have centres and social workers in the Elsie's River area, which was the focal point of the unrest

Calling meeting

The chairman of Shawco, Professor Richard Fuggle of the Department of Environmental Studies at the University of Cape Town, intends calling a meeting next week at which details of how **AID** will operate will be discussed

All donations to AID should be sent to: AID, c/o Shawco, 12th Avenue, Kensington 7405, Cape.
Cheques should made out to Shawco.
Shawco's telephone number is ☎ 51-4871.

The Cape Times reader who made the offer of R5 000, a Boland businessman, said that he was prompted to do this after reading a full-page report last week of an investigation by a Cape Times reporter, Miss Zubeida Jaffer, into the plight of some of the families of riot victims

Police figures indicate that at least 34 people died and that at least 90 were injured, some of them seriously, in the mid-June disturbances

Some of victims

Victims whose families were interviewed by Miss Jaffer included

● An Elsie's River mother of 45 who was shot dead when she went to buy bread for her family on the night of June 17. Her husband and son were also shot when they went out to look for her They survived

● A boy of 15, said to have been shot when he went to fetch water at a communal tap in Transit Camp, Elsie's River

● A 22-year-old mother who died when she went out to look for her two brothers

● A 29-year-old father of two who was shot when, according to his wife, he entered a burnt-out shop at Elsie's River to see what had happened and "to look at the ruins".

● A father aged 34 who was shot while on his way to see a friend in Tiervlei

● An 18-month-old baby who was hit in the head by a stray bullet while asleep in bed in the Transit Camp, Elsie's River

● An 18-year-old mother who was shot dead in Elsie's River on her way home after visiting a friend

● A 14-year-old schoolgirl, said to be an onlooker, who was shot through the head by a riot police guard in an ambulance at Lavender Hill, Retreat

● A 25-year-old bank clerk and mother of a three-year-old boy who was shot dead while on her way home with her sister and friend Her child is now an orphan.

● An 18-year-old mother who was killed when she was sent shopping by her mother at Elsie's River.

● A youth of 17 who is said to have died three minutes after leaving his parents' home at Elsie's River to go and watch television

Professor Fuggle has given an assurance that all cases where aid may be needed will be thoroughly investigated by social workers before a decision is taken on what form if any the aid should take

Cape Argus C. T. 21/6/77

Pamphlets were dropped on Flats

THE CAPE TIMES knows of copies of at least two pamphlets — one condemning the "Release Mandela" campaign and the schools boycott, and the other calling for an end to the bus boycott — which were distributed at educational institutions and the Cape Flats.

At this stage it is not known whether either was produced or distributed by the inter-departmental government committee which Mr Pik Botha disclosed was responsible for compiling anonymous pamphlets in the recent unrest (See page 1)

The first batch was found by students at the University of Cape Town and at Cape Flats schools on April 17.

The pamphlet said the call to free Mandela was a political risk, and issued a warning to all students "who are meddling in political areas that will endanger the security of the state."

The second batch was dropped from a light aircraft over Mitchell's Plain and Athlone on June 8.

These called for an end to the boycott of buses and were signed by a group calling itself "Concerned Citizens of Cape Town."

Entitled "Stop hurting your community and yourself," the pamphlet said the bus company (City Tramways) employed 1 200 drivers.

A spokesman for the Department of Civil Aviation in Pretoria said at the time that he could "not recall off-hand" a request to distribute the pamphlets. Such a request would first have to be approved by the City Council if the pamphlets were to be dropped over the municipal area.

tor them. — Sapa

Most Peninsula pupils return to classes

Staff Reporter

PUPILS at Alexander Sinton High School, who had staged a stayaway in solidarity with boycotting black pupils on Thursday, returned to classes yesterday.

Most other coloured high schools in the Peninsula reported normal attendances and classes. Twenty-five pupils were absent from Oaklands High School in Lansdowne yesterday and on Thursday, the principal said

A spokesman for Trafalgar High School in Walmer Estate said 73 pupils were absent yesterday, of whom 12 had said that they were leaving school.

The principal of Rylands High, Rylands Estate, where several pupils continued to boycott classes earlier this week, reported yesterday that conditions were "absolutely normal".

The pupils decided to return to classes on Thursday after several detainees had been released. A regional committee of the Committee of 81 called for a return to classes because the authorities had started to release detainees.

Arcadia High in Bonteheuwel and Modderdam High in Bellville South, which were closed by the Department of Coloured Affairs on Wednesday, will reopen on Monday. Pupils must apply for readmission and parents will be required to give an undertaking that their children will abide by regulations under the Coloured Persons' Education Act of 1963.

Stone-throwing mob chase men

PORT ELIZABETH — Two men were forced to flee for their lives yesterday when a group of men began pelting them with stones.

Mr Johan le Roux of Port Elizabeth and Mr Jannie Breytenbach of Pretoria, had to run about 4 km before managing to escape from their attackers.

Mr Le Roux, a fitter at Swartkops Seeout and Mr Breytenbach, who works for a Pretoria firm which is repairing a pipeline at the salt works, were working in the squatter town of Little Soweto near here when the horde suddenly descended on them.

Each man ran to his own car parked nearby but Mr Le Roux found his vehicle ablaze. They then ran to Mr Breytenbach's vehicle whose windows had been smashed.

They tried to flee in the vehicle but found the road blocked by two bakkies. Mr Breytenbach pulled out a pistol but the firearm was struck from his grasp by a large stone.

They then decided to make a run for it. By this time Mr Breytenbach's vehicle had also been set on fire.

They managed to reach safety at the main building at the salt works about 4 km away but by then the mob had abandoned the chase.

The divisional commissioner of police in the Eastern Cape, Brigadier E. S. J. van Rensburg, said police were forced to use tear-smoke to disperse the mob. A few shots of birdshot were also fired. Three other vehicles were destroyed by fire. — SAPA.

pamphlet

Police and public

THE CONTINUED refusal of the authorities to make public the names of the men, women and children killed in the unrest in Cape Town on June 17 is increasingly incomprehensible. More than six weeks have elapsed and public information is still limited to a bare figure of the dead released by the police and an incomplete casualty list compiled by the newspapers from unofficial sources. Violent police action on this scale is a shock to public confidence in any circumstances. Even if there had been spontaneous evidence of government concern, with prompt details of casualties and an explanation of the broad background, with a ministerial assurance of an immediate public inquiry, the public would still have been worried about constitutional violence on a scale unique in the civilized world. But official policy seems to be to create an impression of detachment and callousness.

The position is made worse by the lack of any explanation for this policy of official reticence. Just why must the details of these bloody events remain some sort of official secret, shared only by the local police officers and police headquarters in far-away Pretoria, unrevealed except for some bare general statement from the directorate of public relations? It may be that the needs of national security, the maintenance of law and order, the requirements of good government, demand this reticence. If so, the public should be explicitly told. When people die violently the names of the dead are always provided by the authorities. The names of casualties in motor mishaps, train accidents and mine disasters, of victims of murder and assault, are made available as a matter of course and immediately (with perhaps a delay of a day or so while the next-of-kin are being informed). Why should there be any difference when the cause of death is associated with police action?

The directorate of police public relations should in particular be sensitive. In the absence of official information the rumour-mongers, the malicious, the agitators, are unrestricted. We do not believe that the police have anything to cover up but if there were a cover-up this procedure would suggest it. A public inquiry is the obvious counter to any such suspicion. If for obscure and unstated reasons a public inquiry is ruled out, the administrative response should be frank and sympathetic. This is particularly so in this instance where there are worrying features, like the number of women among those killed and the deaths of children.

And as is unavoidable in this country there is the racial angle. The 34 victims (official figure) all belong to the coloured community, to the voteless and segregated minority who have no independent parliamentary representation to express grievances and to demand information. We hope this is not a factor in Pretoria's decision to suppress casualty details. But the suggestion is not altogether unreasonable. An extravagant analogy illustrates this. On the inconceivable hypothesis that law and order required the shooting dead of 34 white inhabitants of the Free State, is it conceivable that the names would be withheld and those interested told to get in touch with the families of the dead or to wait for inquests?

Whatever the unstated reasons for government policy, we cannot understand what is being achieved by this official reticence. The names and details will dribble out in the course of the months as the inquests and court cases take place. And as soon as Parliament meets in October there will be a question asking for the names, races, sexes and ages of the victims. Are we going to be presented with the spectacle of Parliament being told to go and ask the family of the dead and to wait for inquests?

3-hour wait for taxi commuters

Staff Reporter

QUEUES of people travelling to Guguletu, Nyanga and Langa stood for over three hours at the Mowbray railway station waiting for taxis yesterday afternoon in the wake of police action last week against pirate taxis in the area.

Plainclothes policemen stationed themselves in parked cars across the road watching as the only three legal taxis picking up commuters loaded up

Bitterness against the police blitz last week on owners of pirate taxis was apparent among the people, most of whom were returning from work.

Those interviewed yesterday told the Cape Times the police had been present while they had been waiting to be collected, which in some instances was over three hours

Feelings were high among the boycotters who are determined to maintain their resistance to the bus fare increases, even if the taxis are refused permission to pick them up

"If this happens we will walk to our homes," one man asserted "We will fight them till the prices return to what they were"

Only three taxis, were available the entire afternoon to commuters — although many more legal taxis operate in the townships — and those standing in the queue believed this was because of police pressure

Bisseker classes back to normal

EAST LONDON — Normal classes were held at John Bisseker Senior Secondary School here yesterday for the first time in a week, according to the principal, Mr S. Naidoo.

He said almost 90 per cent of the pupils attended classes and there were no incidents.

Pupil sources said they had returned after receiving letters from their teachers asking them to do so and warning that action would be taken if they refused.

There was no drop in numbers towards the end of the day, as was the case last week when pupils stayed away in protest against the detention of one of their teachers, Mr Gregory Fredericks.

Mr Fredericks is being held under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act.

A University of Fort Hare spokesman said yesterday 1 601 students were attending lectures.

The university had stopped admitting students due to the proximity of the exams, he said.

Meanwhile, secondary and higher primary schools in Port Elizabeth were deserted again yesterday as the stayaway entered its fourth week and the boycott its third month.

Pupils at black secondary and higher primary schools have not attended classes since May 19. Until July 11, pupils gathered in the school grounds, but since then have stayed away completely.

Mr Dirk Crafford, of the Admininstration of Coloured Affairs said attendance was "quite normal."

He said absenteeism at Coloured schools was caused by flu and was not in response to a call by student leaders for pupils to boycott classes on the first two school days of each month.

Classes were disrupted at seven schools in Mamelodi near Pretoria yesterday.

Vlakfontein Technical High School in the township remained virtually deserted as only a handful of pupils accompanied their parents for re-registration following an ultimatum given last Thursday.

The deadline for re-application was noon yesterday. — DDR-DDC-SAPA.

3 000 pupils continue boycott

ABOUT 3 000 high school and higher primary school pupils of Cape Town's black townships continued the schools boycott yesterday

They did not heed a call by the Committee of 81, the pupils' body which regulated the schools' boycott in the Western Cape, to end the boycott All the schools in these areas were deserted.

One of the pupils said the pupils had decided to carry on with the boycott because the Department of Education and Training had ignored their grievances. He refused to give his name

● Black secondary and higher primary schools in Port Elizabeth were deserted again yesterday as the stayaway from schools in the Eastern Cape entered its fourth week.

Pupils have not attended classes since May 19. Until July 11, pupils gathered in the school grounds, but since then have stayed away completely

Attendance figures at coloured high schools were not available yesterday Mr Dirk Crafford, of the Adminstration of Coloured Affairs, declined to comment.

● Classes were disrupted at at least seven school in Mamelodi near Pretoria yesterday.

Vlakfontein Technical High School in the township remained virtually deserted as only a handful of pupils accompanied their parents for registration after an ultimatum given last Thursday. Schools affected by the disruptions were Ribane Lesha, Tsako Thabo, Rethabile, Lamagadlela, Mamelodi High School, Izikhulu and Dr Monare

Mamelodi High School was stoned by a group of youths in a bid to get the pupils out of their classes. — Staff Reporter and Own Correspondent

First donations received by AID

Chief Reporter

THE first donations to AID, the fund established last week for the relief of families of victims of the mid June unrest in the Cape Peninsula, have been received by Shawco at Kensington, which is administering the fund in conjunction with Elsie's River Social Welfare Association

They total R235 and were received from eight donors in Cape Town, Grassy Park, Grabouw, Pinelands, Milnerton and Rondebosch

Several of the donations were sent anonymously, including one of R2 from a well-wisher who identified himself or herself as an "old pensioner"

In an accompanying, unsigned letter this person said

A very small donation from an old pensioner who is full of sympathy and compassion for the unfortunate people God bless your good work

The AID fund was established after a Cape Times reader who wishes to remain anonymous offered R5 000 for this purpose, "as an indication that there are those of us who are concerned, and who care about the families of those who were either killed or seriously wounded in the unrest in the Peninsula

The anonymous donor said he had been prompted to make this offer after reading a Cape Times reporter's full-page account of an investigation she carried out into the circumstances of some of the families of victims — a number of whom were mothers and fathers of small children

Shawco has given an assurance that all cases will be fully investigated and assessed by social workers before relief is given, in one form or another

Donations should be sent to **AID, c/o Shawco, 12th Avenue, Kensington 7405, Cape.**

Cheques should be made out to Shawco.

● Shawco's telephone number is 51 1871

Man paralysed after shooting

A FATHER of five, who was shot in the head by police during unrest in Bonteheuwel, is now partly paralysed and unable to work

A social worker from Groote Schuur Hospital is assisting the family of Mr Kenneth Clark, of Leadwood Street, Bonteheuwel

A bullet, which entered above his right eyebrow and lodged in the left side of his skull, has left Mr Clark with only limited use of his right arm. His speech is slurred and at times incoherent and he appears to drag his right leg when walking

Mr Clark said yesterday he had gone outside to call his son at the height of the unrest in Bonteheuwel on June 17

A Cape Times reporter on the scene at the time reported: "We saw a man lying on his back on the corner of Jakkalsvlei Road and Leadwood Street. Police ran to him and a crowd began to form. A woman screamed and someone shouted 'The police have shot him.' The woman, identified by bystanders as the wounded man's wife, ran toward him and cradled his bleeding head in her lap. The man opened his eyes, but was too weak to speak."



Mr Kenneth Clark

Mr Clark is being treated at Groote Schuur Hospital, where X-rays of his skull were taken last week. He is due to attend hospital again today.

He said yesterday he remembered going outside the house to call his son in.

"As I rounded a corner, something hit me on the head. I woke up much later with severe pain in my head," he said.

His younger son, Rodney, 11, said he saw an ambulance drive up the road and told the driver that his father had been shot.

"They drove to my father and bandaged his head, which was bleeding badly. Then they took him to Groote Schuur Hospital."

Mr Clark, 37, who worked for a gas company filling tankers, is the only breadwinner. The family have five children.

He said he often suffered severe pain in the left side of his head and had been given pain pills at the hospital.

Star 18/5/80

200 pupils burn books

275

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH—Police used tearsmoke and made several arrests yesterday when the little Eastern Cape town of Adelaide suddenly experienced black pupil unrest.

The police liaison officer for this area, Major Gerrie van Rooyen, said that tearsmoke was used to disperse a crowd of about 200 African pupils at an Adelaide school when they were burning their books. Soon afterwards a policeman's car was stoned and a small East Cape Administration Board liquor store was looted.

2 buses and car stoned at PE

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH — Three vehicles were stoned in separate incidents in this area last night.

The police liaison officer in the Eastern Cape, Major Gerrie van Rooyen, said today two buses were stoned in the black townships. Damage in each case did not exceed R30.

The third vehicle involved was a private car from Uitenhage, the windshield of which was smashed at 7.45 pm on the main road to Uitenhage on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth. Damage was estimated at R80.

There was no police action and no injuries were recorded.

Major van Rooyen said altogether 38 people, adults and youths, had now been arrested for Tuesday's flare up of unrest in Adelaide, when vehicles were stoned and pupils burnt their books.

AID meeting wants victims fund doubled

Chief Reporter

THE immediate need of the **AID** fund, for families of victims of the mid-June unrest in the Cape Peninsula, is at least to double the R5 000 given for this purpose last week by a reader of the Cape Times who wishes to remain anonymous.

This was agreed yesterday at a meeting under the chairmanship of Professor Richard Fuggle, the chairman of Shawco which is administering the fund in collaboration with the Elsie's River Social Welfare Association.

The meeting was called to discuss details of how the fund should be run

It was decided that as a first move, a list should be drawn up of families of people who died or who were seriously injured in the mid-June unrest.

The specific needs of any of these families will then be investigated and assessed by qualified social workers of the two administering organizations.

A committee, representing both bodies, will finally decide on the form that any assistance should take, and on whether aid should be immediate or in the long-term.

The amount in the **AID** fund rose to R5 321 yesterday, the R321 received this week having come from 13 individual donors in the Western Cape. Their donations have ranged from R1 to R100

The hope was expressed at the meeting yesterday that firms, schools, service organizations, church groups and other bodies would help swell the fund.

All donations should be sent to: AID, c/o Shawco, 12th Avenue, Kensington 7405.

Cheques should be made out to Shawco.

- **Shawco's telephone number is 51 4871.**

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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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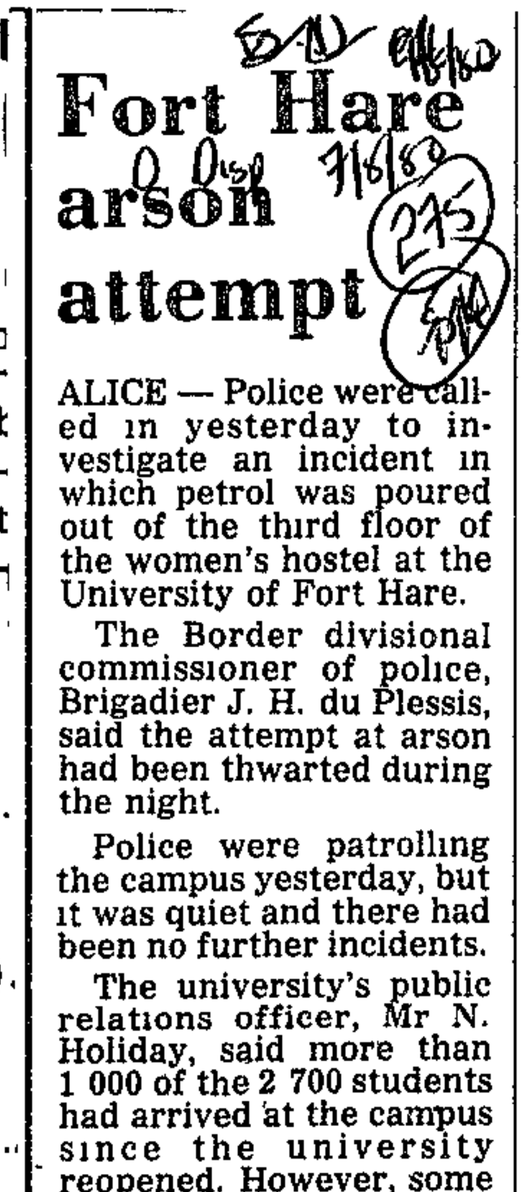

Fort Hare arson attempt

ALICE — Police were called in yesterday to investigate an incident in which petrol was poured out of the third floor of the women's hostel at the University of Fort Hare.

The Border divisional commissioner of police, Brigadier J. H. du Plessis, said the attempt at arson had been thwarted during the night.

Police were patrolling the campus yesterday, but it was quiet and there had been no further incidents.

The university's public relations officer, Mr N. Holiday, said more than 1 000 of the 2 700 students had arrived at the campus since the university reopened. However, some of them had returned home because they had not paid their fees.

Students interviewed leaving the campus denied this and said they had all paid their fees. One student said she was leaving because a curfew had been imposed from 11 pm to 5 am.

The deputy rector, Professor A. Coetzee, and the executive of the senate were to hold discussions on the issue later yesterday. — SAPA.

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amination Paper)

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank

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NOTE CAREFULLY

1. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
2. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
3. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
4. Do not write in the left hand margin.

WARNING

1 No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed

2 Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.

3 No part of an answer book is to be torn out.

4 All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

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Cops use 'force' to disperse EL strikers

POLICE used force to disperse workers who downed tools at an East London battery factory, Raylite, yesterday morning.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for Border, Brig J H du Plessis, confirmed that the police used force to disperse the strikers for holding an "illegal meeting" but did not know whether they used batons or quirts.

Most of the strikers said the police used batons and sticks. A large number sustained cuts and weals all over their bodies. They were treated at the surgery of a Mdantsane doctor.

The trouble started when factory management refused to recognise union committee members elected by factory workers who are members of the South African Allied Workers Union.

The workers refused to go to work in the morning but assembled on the factory premises and demanded to see the management.

The management gave them an ultimatum to either go back to work or leave the premises. The workers did neither and the police arrived on the scene and dispersed them.

The managing director of the factory, Mr D Saunders, said the workers refused to return to work in the morning because management refused to accept a works committee which had been nominated outside the premises.

"The workers were asked to leave the premises. Some left and I gather others were forced to leave the premises, but I did not call the police."

He said it was made clear to workers that the factory gates would be open to them at the normal time and they would be re-engaging or recruiting staff.

Brig du Plessis said workers refused to go to their work and congregated illegally on the premises. Police ordered them to disperse or go to work. They refused and were dispersed by the police.

Students complain of beatings

ALICE — Police are investigating complaints by Fort Hare students following an incident at a women's hostel on Tuesday night in which six women are believed to have been injured.

The divisional commissioner for the South African Police in the Border, Brigadier J. H. du Plessis, said yesterday police had questioned students in connection with the incident.

"There are allegations against the police of teargas being used and of beatings," he said.

"These are still being investigated."

Meanwhile the acting rector at the university, Professon G. J. J. van Rensburg, has told student the university could not be held responsible for the incident.

In a notice to students he said: "I am sorry this has happened but I want to assure you the matter has already been reported to the highest authorities and will be investigated at the highest level."

He appealed to students to be calm and to proceed with their studies.

"The university authorities will do their utmost to act in favour and for the protection of students," the notice said.

Professor Van Rensburg could not be contacted yesterday, but a spokesman at the rector's office said the matter was under police control.

"They have promised all will be open and above board," she said.

The university's public relations officer, Mr N. Holliday, said police had been called in on Tuesday night after campus security guards found traces of petrol in the Zola women's hostel.

The station commander at Alice, Captain J. van Wyk, said his men had gone to the campus after a report of attempted arson.

He said his men had returned to base shortly afterwards and he was not aware of any incidents.

Police patrolled the campus the following day.

The secretary of the black staff association at Fort Hare, Rev M. A. Stofile, said the campus was quiet yesterday but "quite a lot" of students were leaving.

He said six students had been treated at Lovedale Hospital here and discharged. Hospital authorities could not confirm this yesterday.

Mr Stofile said the university Senate met on Wednesday to discuss the situation.

He said it appeared the matter had already been reported to high-level South African and Ciskeian police as top ranking officers were on campus taking statements.

The head of the Ciskei Intelligence Service, Colonel Charles Sebe, denied Ciskei police were involved.

"I know nothing about this," he said. — DDR

Boost for AID puts fund near R6 000

Chief Reporter

NEARLY R1 000 from donors in many parts of the Western Cape has been received in the past few days by the **AID** fund for relief of victims of the mid-year unrest in the Cape Peninsula. With the R5 000 offered by a reader of the Cape Times, the fund now stands at just short of R6 000

The fund was given a R600 boost yesterday when Shawco, which is administering the fund in collaboration with the Elsie's River Social Welfare Association, received through the post another eight donations, including one of R250, two of R100 and two of R50.

The sender of one of the R50 cheques indicated that this payment would be made monthly.

It is the immediate aim of the fund at least to double the R5 000 pledged anonymously last week, and it is hoped that firms, schools, churches, service organizations and other bodies, as well as individuals, will contribute

The Cape Times' reader, a Boland businessman, who made the initial offer said that he had done so after reading an account of a two-week investigation by a Cape Times reporter into the circumstances of some of the families of victims of the unrest

These included mothers and fathers of young children, and the investigation also revealed that a number of the victims were passers-by or people who had gone out to look for relatives when the shooting started

All cases where aid might be needed in some form or another are to be fully investigated by social workers of the two administering bodies, and a committee will decide on the form the relief should take

All donations should be sent to:

AID, c/o Shawco, 12th Avenue, Kensington 7405, Cape.

Cheques should be made out to Shawco.

Shawco's telephone number is ☎ 51-4871.

Unrest death: police take blame

GRAHAMSTOWN — Police have admitted responsibility for the death of Ms Violet Tsili, whose body was found some distance from a school here after riot police dispersed boycotting pupils with birdshot on July 10.

Brigadier Izak van Rensburg, divisional criminal investigation officer for the Eastern Cape, said yesterday that although the police had claimed previously that Mrs Tsili was not killed as a result of police action, it now appeared that she had been killed by the police during unrest and stone-throwing in the townships.

He said investigation of her death had been completed and the docket would be sent to the Attorney General for a decision. — DDC.

SUNDAY POST, August 10, 1980

Police arrest 38 as school unrest continues in Cape

POLICE arrested 38 pupils under the Riotous Assemblies Act in Adelaide following another wave of unrest in the rural areas of the Ciskei.

The incident followed a boycott of classes at the Amajingqi Secondary School and the Khobonqaba Higher Primary School.

Pupils are demanding the closure of schools until a "new system of education is introduced, one education for all."

The inspector of schools called for a meeting of the parents and told them to bring the children to school. When some parents responded to the call pupils organised themselves in the townships to prevent non-boycotters from attending school.

In the ensuing clashes police used teargas and baton-charged the students. A car belonging to a policeman was stoned and a beerhall was stormed. Police then arrested 38 pupils.

A church hall in Kwazakhele, Port Elizabeth was set alight while sporadic cases of stone-throwing continued in the black townships.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to set fire to a Walmer bottle store.

Fort Hare University students are claiming that police used teargas and charged a group of them with quirts — injuring several women — when they were gathered outside a hostel where security officers were investigating a suspected arson attempt.

Police are investigating the claims, and the acting director of the university, Professor G J J van Rensburg, has issued a statement to students expressing his regret at the incident.

SUNDAY POST Reporters

Six women were reported to have received hospital treatment for injuries but no confirmation of this could be obtained.

Professor van Rensburg said police authorities had assured him the matter would be thoroughly investigated and that "nothing would be hidden".

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Border, Brigadier J H du Plessis, reportedly said police had questioned students in connection with the incident.

It is reported that the schools unrest is causing a large number of pupils and students to flee South Africa to neighbouring countries like Lesotho and Swaziland.

Four known refugees are Fort Hare University students from the Border and Transkei. They are Mr Moyisi Majeke from Qumbu, Mr Headman Makhonco from Mdantsane, Mr Pascal Macamba from Mdantsane and Mr Bandile Ngcelwane from Fort Beaufort.

A former Transkei magistrate, Mr Majeke was reading for a B Juris degree.

More released today

AT LEAST 17 detainees held under the Internal Security Act at Modderbee prison, including Dr Joe Variava, an executive member of Azapo, will be released today.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said 17 detainees would be released and about nine would remain in detention.

"However I don't have the names of those who will be released," Col Coetzee of the Police Directorate said.

He added: "I do not have any details about detainees in other areas in the country."

A spokesman for the attorneys for Dr Variava confirmed that he would be among people released today.

That Eastern

WARNING signals, in the form of recurring black student and labour unrest in the Eastern Cape, have gone unheeded for decades and the grim spectre of sporadic outbursts of violence seem set to plague the region for the fore-



Cape time bomb...

ROD JACKSON-SMITH probes the background and causes of the riots and unrest in this highly politicised cauldron

QUOTE Those who seek to establish the political temperature of black South Africa are wont to push their thermometers into Soweto as the biggest and most articulate centre of population . . . but a brief recollection of past decades will remind us that the political heartland of black South Africa lies in the Eastern Cape — PROFESSOR WHISSON

Whether these devastating flare-ups can be contained and solved peacefully is heavily dependent on rapid meaningful change in the material and political lot of the blacks.

Monitoring of the area's long history of unrest and analyses of its possible causes by various academic groups at Rhodes University in Grahamstown indicate that these two options are the only ones available in a highly politicised area of the country.

It is precisely this politicisation which has been identified as one of the chief factors contributing to the unrest, but the awareness on this level is attributable more to history than what is popularly believed to be political agitation by a few hotheads hellbent on exploiting dissatisfaction.

urban residents, integrated into a politicised local community," said Professor Whisson.

In this situation the effectiveness of black power to withhold labour is greater than ever before.

As could be expected, political awareness among the Eastern Cape's black labour force has filtered through to their children who, because of the region's tradition, place a high premium on education and the quality of their institutions.

Significantly, again, it was an Eastern Cape high school — in the black township at Grahamstown — which was the first to join the on-going schools boycott — an indirect cause for bloody and violent action in the township during the past few weeks which has shaken whites and blacks alike in this Eastern Cape education and cultural centre.

In three weeks of violence there have been six deaths in the township which accommodates 38 000 of Grahamstown's total population of 57 800.

Of the 12 schools in the township, six can no longer be used following a wave of violence recently. The violence erupted after the funeral of a police shotgun victim when one school was razed and the other five were partially damaged by fire. Damage amounts to R500 000.

In a wave of angry violence at a funeral three weeks ago a 15-year-old boy was shot dead by the police.

After a week of tension the worst wave of violence erupted when police moved in on a crowd of several thousand which went on the rampage two Saturdays ago after the boy's funeral.

Three people died — two from birdshot fired at close range by the police when a crowd attacked a Hippo truck with stones and a petrol bomb. A third man died after being stoned when he tried to stop the looting of his shop which was burnt to the ground. Residents claimed the man was a police informer of longstanding.

Bottle stores

White residents of Grahamstown were made fully aware of the seriousness of the situation in the township on Monday last week when all bottle stores in the town were closed for an indefinite period.

In the meantime the black township had been declared an operational area and the very visible presence of a large force of camouflaged riot police in Grahamstown heightened tension among whites — particularly as the township merges with the city itself, without a buffer zone common to most towns and their locations.

Tension inside the township reached alarming proportions last week when the chief magistrate of the city issued an order, at the request of the police, prohibiting all funerals scheduled for the weekend.



Anthropoolgist Mercia Wilsworth

A shaken Grahamstown will be licking its wounds for a long time, but according to local anthropologist Mercia Wilsworth, the present unrest in the towns as a result of the schools boycott — could be foreseen as long ago as 1974 following a crisis in the township regarding classroom accommodation and then again in 1978 when several classrooms were gutted following widespread dissatisfaction with amenities.

In her still-to-be-published thesis which deals intimately with problems in Grahamstown's township, she says: "The initial dissatisfaction about schooling facilities and teaching standards at the high school particularly was first voiced nearly two years before the Soweto school protest of 1976."

"Despite sacrifices hardship and good intentions educational rewards remain in short supply," she

Pik Botha, Boraine in clash over pamphlets

Sunday Express 10/8/80

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

"I WILL do it again if necessary," the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, told a packed by-election meeting in the Cape in response to a challenge from the Progressive Federal Party that he should denounce his department's role in distributing anonymous anti-strike pamphlets in the Western Cape

Earlier, Mr Botha had been challenged by Dr Alex Boraine, PFP MP for Pinelands, to denounce without qualification the role of the South African Information Service in distributing the controversial secret pamphlets

The existence of the pamphlets came to light following the exposure of a special inter-departmental committee appointed in an attempt to control the spate of boycotts, strikes and disruptions in the Western Cape

Mr Botha rejected charges by Opposition leaders that he was resorting to "Info scandal" tactics and lashed out at the Press for "interrogating" him in connection with the pamphlets He said the Government would use all the resources at its disposal to maintain law and order in South Africa.

He then challenged the Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, to appear with him on the same platform and said he would "hammer him before the people of this constituency"

"If Dr Boraine thinks that I am going to apologise for protecting the people of this country, he is making the biggest mistake of his life," Mr Botha said. "I will do it again, whenever there is such a situation"

Referring to "faceless agitators" who had been disseminating "distorted lies" Mr Botha said he would sow confusion in their ranks

o Reacting to Mr Botha's remarks, Dr Boraine told the Sunday Express he was "gravely disappointed" that a man of Mr Botha's national standing should defend such methods. "He would have done better to say nothing at all," Dr Boraine said

"It is again made abundantly clear that Dr Connie Mulder was merely the National Party's fall guy for the Information scandal, and that his "no rules apply" philosophy is still official policy," he added.

Of intensity is the
result of genuine
uncertainty which
can be dealt about it

Society may decide to
produce ~~a~~ movies
subsidised ~~cinemas~~ subject
to greater uncertainty But
this should be understood how
what it is. — a subsidy

Van set on fire

POST 12/8/80

AN ANGRY mob set fire to a Post Office maintenance van at the Nyanga bus terminus, Cape Town yesterday after police had forced passengers out of 'pirate taxis'.

There were also several reports from different sources that cars had been stoned. An eye-witness said the burning of the Post Office van took place after a pirate taxi was hit with a baton by police during an argument.

Motorist killed after Cape stone-throwing

CAPE TOWN — A white motorist was killed and another seriously injured when their vehicles left the road after being stoned in two separate incidents in Klipfontein Road near the Crossroads squatter camp yesterday afternoon

The name of the dead man has not yet been released SABC radio news reports that the police have asked anyone who witnessed the incidents to contact their nearest police station as soon as possible

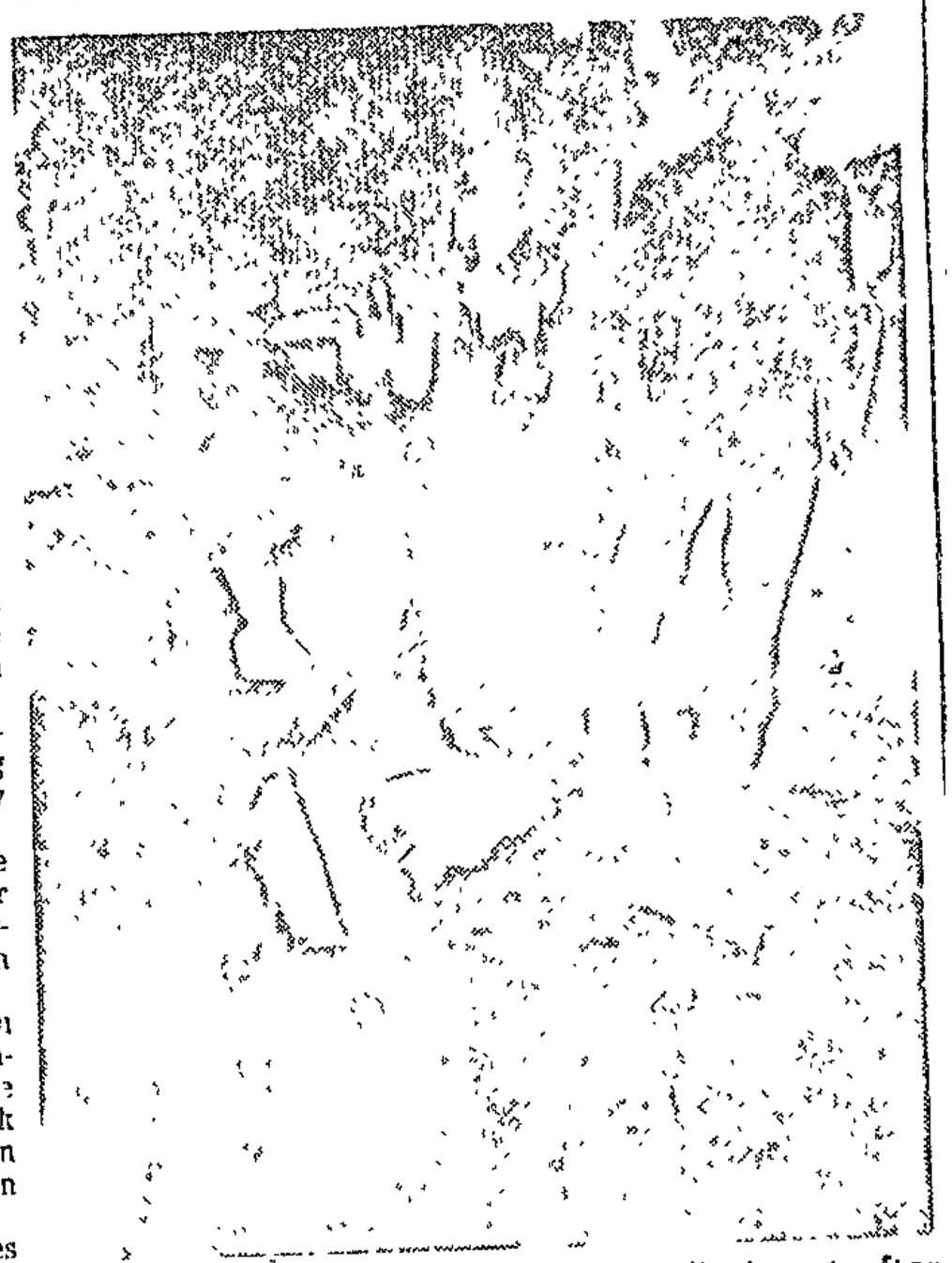
This follows other incidents of stone-throwing and the burning of a post office vehicle at Nyanga Township earlier in the day. No arrests have been made

The incident is said to have stemmed from passengers being forced out of pirate taxis by police

The burning of the post office van apparently took place after a pirate taxi driver had allegedly been hit with a baton by a policeman during an argument

Police have been keeping an eye on the township after rumours that residents would be prevented from going to work to commemorate the day on which the 1976 unrest started in Cape town

All the schools in the cities three African townships were closed according to an the Argus report. — Sapa



Mr Frederick Janson, who was badly burnt after his bakkie was stoned near Crossroads.

STONING DEATH: POLICE WATCH ON TOWNSHIPS

12/8/80 ARGUS (275)

RIOT police, keeping a low profile, were out in force today in Cape Town's black townships where in stoning incidents yesterday a man was killed, another seriously injured and several were hurt.

The body of Mr George Beeton, 59, of Josika Court, McKinley Road, Kenilworth, was found at the side of the road in Old Klipfontein Road, near the Crossroads squatter camp.

Mr Beeton's multiple injuries could have been caused by both pangas and stones.

His burnt-out vehicle was overturned next to his body.

The dead man arrived in South Africa from Zim-



Argus 11/8/80 continue

275



MRS DOREEN BEETON, 58, in her Kenilworth flat today. Her husband, George, 59, was stoned to death yesterday

'He died in land of milk and honey'

Argus 12/8/80 2.7 S

IT IS worse here than ever it was in Rhodesia. These were the words of Mrs Doreen Beeton, 58, whose husband, George, was stoned to death when a mob attacked his vehicle near Crossroads yesterday.

Mr Beeton, 59, a contract supervison for a Philippi firm, left his wife and eight children and stepchildren.

They are Garth, 25, Gavin 23, Geoffrey, 21, and Andrew, 17. Mr Beeton's stepchildren are Rodney Barnard, 27, Alfred Barnard, 35, and Neville Barnard, 40. A fourth stepchild and the only daughter is Mrs Jenny McCormick, 31.

The Beetons came to South Africa from Salisbury, Zimbabwe, six months ago.

'We came here to the land of milk and honey,' Mrs Beeton said today. 'But it is worse here than ever it was in Rhodesia. We thought it would be safe here. What do we do now?

'I'M JUST BITTER'

'If the Government doesn't do something about this situation soon, I don't know what will happen. I'm just bitter,' a quietly distraught Mrs Beeton added.

Mr Beeton was born in Rhodesia and lived there most of his life. When the family left Zimbabwe for South Africa, they left with nothing.

'When I came here I couldn't get work,' Mrs Beeton said. 'I don't know what I'm going to do. In Rhodesia there is a fund which pays for funeral expenses. I don't know if there is such a thing here.'

Mrs Beeton, a South African by birth, married her husband 12 years ago.

'He always loved this country,' she said today. 'I just pray to God that this doesn't happen to anyone else.'

● Wife did not recognise husband — Page 3.

● Victim of violence - Page 11

[illegible] ago with his wife and children. He was an engineer.

Operation

In another stone-throwing incident — about 1 km from where Mr Beeton's body was found, Mr Frederick Jansen, a building contractor of Disa Road, Pinelands, was found unconscious and with multiple injuries. He had been stoned and much of his clothing was burnt.

An emergency operation was carried out on Mr Jansen at the Tygerberg Hospital last night.

Today his condition was reported as 'fairly serious'.

He was reported to have burns varying from 55 percent to 65 percent

Other whites whose vehicles were stoned in Nyanga received less serious injuries — lacerations to the head and face.

Mr Beeton, who is a father of four and has four stepchildren, died at about 3.30 pm yesterday.

Minutes later, Mr Jansen, who was driving down Klipfontein Road from The Strand side, was met with a hail of stones.

When an Argus team arrived shortly after 4 pm, Mr Jansen was sitting in a puddle of water a short distance from his vehicle. He was conscious but unable to speak.

Mr Jansen's face was a mask of blood.

Riot police, who had been on duty in the area since early yesterday, stood by helplessly and tried to restrain Mr Jansen from moving.

Layabouts

Several thousand people stood silently some distance from the scene.

Hundreds of bricks surrounded the cab of Mr Jansen's vehicle.

With the help of ambulancemen and police, Mr Jansen walked to an ambulance and got in.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier D B Nothnagel, said today he believed only a small group of layabouts were responsible for yesterday's violence.

He said he was confident police had full control of the situation.

SHOCKED and frightened a woman sits in her car shortly after it was stoned in Lansdowne Road adjoining Crossroads.



AN UNCONSCIOUS Mr Peter Losper is helped into an ambulance after he was struck on the head by a stone in Lansdowne Road late yesterday.



A seriously burned Mr Frederick Jansen sits dazed after his vehicle was stoned and set alight.

Riot squad out in Cape after man dies in fire

STAR 12/8/80 (2)

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Riot police were out in force in the Cape Peninsula today, but all was reported quiet after last night's violence in which one man died and a number of people were injured.

The dead man is Mr George Beeton (59), an engineer who immigrated to South Africa from Zimbabwe six months ago.

His car was stoned and set alight on the old Klipfontein Road near the Crossroads squatter camp, and his body was later found with multiple injuries.

Mr Frederick Janse (46), a building contractor, was found about a kilometre away, with serious injuries and burns while his car, which had been stoned, burned at the roadside. His condition is serious.

Police reported today that a number of cars were stoned in the areas near Crossroads, Nyanga and Guguletu in renewed violence at the black townships of the Peninsula.

While conducting rescue operations, the police fired two shots when petrol bombs were thrown at them. It is not known whether the shots caused any injuries.

Earlier the police had used teargas to disperse crowds of young people in the area.

During yesterday's unrest a post office vehicle was stoned and then set alight and destroyed, while an estimated 20 vehicles, including buses, delivery vehicles, police cars and a vehicle of the Western Cape Administration Board, were stoned.

Yesterday's violence in Nyanga was the result of "relentless official clamping down" on alternative transport being used by bus boycotters.

This was said in a statement signed by several members of the Mowbray Inter-race Group (MIRGE).

UNWISE

"Whatever the Road Transportation Act says, it is monopolistic and extremely unwise to deny people a reasonable private enterpise solution to economic and transportation problems," the statement said.

"In this boycott the authorities are not dealing with a group of strikers, but with the entire township communities. The Government must realise it is quite impossible for African workers living so far from their places of work, to afford the present high prices for bus transportation."

The statement is signed by: S Chaphole co-chairman MIRGE, V Mzileni, S Skweyiya the Reverend S Gqubo and D Wilson, chairman of the Cape Eastern Region SA Institute of Race Relations.

'Worse than Rhodesia,' mourns wife of mob victim

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — "It is worse here than ever it was in Rhodesia."

These were the words of Mrs Doreen Beeton (58), whose husband George was stoned, burnt and hacked to death when a mob attacked his vehicle near Crossroads yesterday.

Mr George Henry Beeton (59) was the father of four children. Mrs Beeton has four children by a previous marriage. Mr Beeton was a contract supervisor for a Phillippi farm.

The Beetons came to South Africa from Salisbury, Zimbabwe, six months ago.

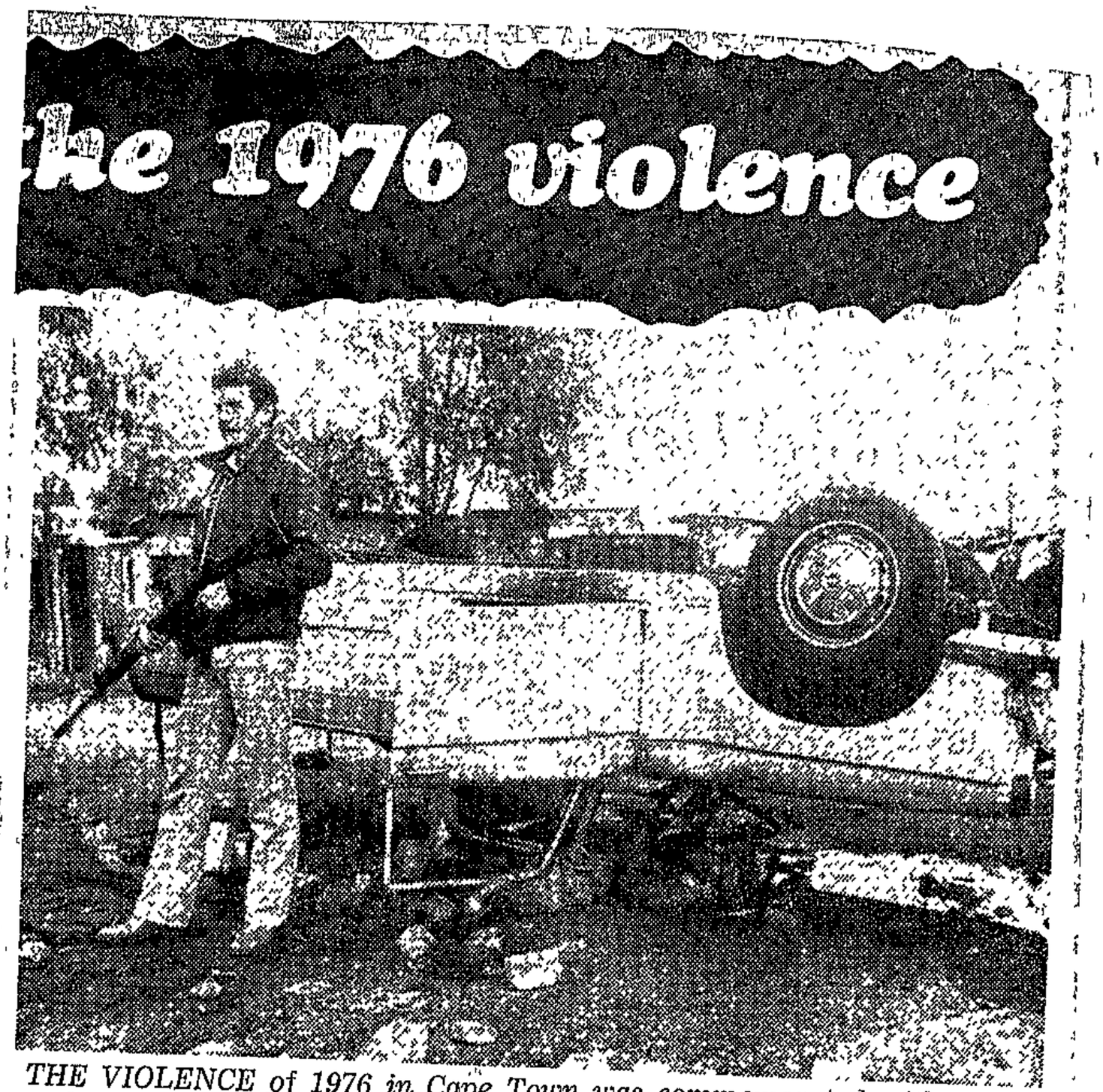
"If the Government doesn't do something about this situation soon, I don't know what will happen," a distraught Mrs Beeton said.

And Mrs Joan Jansen's husband — building contractor Mr Frederick (Fritz) Jansen — is still fighting for his life in the Tygerberg hospital today after he was set alight and mutilated when rioters stoned his bakkie near Crossroads yesterday afternoon. He has 55 to 65 percent burns and other injuries.

"When he left our home in Pinelands yesterday afternoon my husband had not the slightest idea that he would be involved in the terrible violence near Crossroads," Mrs Jansen said today.

"My husband had no idea what he was going into.

The 1976 violence



THE VIOLENCE of 1976 in Cape Town was commemorated with more violence yesterday. Constable M E Hodson of the Riot Police stands guard over Mr Frederick Jansen's bakkie which was overturned and set alight by a mob in Klipfontein Road, adjoining Crossroads at 3.45 pm yesterday.

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Pictures by Doug Pithey

12/8/80



A SILENT CROWD at Crossroads watches while police and the Press wait for help.

13/8/80 E. Times

Violence caused by clamp-down

Staff Reporter

THE violence that had erupted over the bus-boycott situation resulted from rigorous official clamping-down on alternative car transport being used by Africans, the Western Cape chairman of the Institute of Race Relations, Miss Daphne Wilson, said in a statement.

She said this week that whatever the Road Transportation Act stated, it was monopolistic and extremely unwise to deny people a reasonable private-enterprise solution to economic and transport problems.

She asked how long the government thought commuters could endure with patience the strong show of force that thwarted all their peaceful efforts to show their unanimous rejection of high bus tariffs.

In this boycott the authorities were not dealing with a group of strikers but with entire township communities, she said.

The government should realize it was impossible for workers, obliged to live so far from their place of work, to pay high prices for bus transport.

Miss Wilson added: "If City Tramways cannot bring its fares within the range of commuters' salaries then it is the urgent duty of the state either to provide cheap state-run bus transport or to subsidize fares to a price that is realistic."

1 killed, 2 injured in new violence

Times 275 13/8/80 304

By LEW ELIAS and STEPHEN WROTTESLEY

ONE MAN was killed and two were seriously injured last night as violence flared again near Crossroads.

Traffic police cordoned off all entrances to Crossroads as camouflaged riot police armed with shotguns and rifles moved into the area.

There were two incidents last night, one of them near the spot where two people were stoned by a mob on Monday afternoon, one being killed instantly The other, Mr Frederick Jansen, 46, died in Tygerberg Hospital yesterday

In the first new incident yesterday a petrol-bomb was thrown at a truck outside the Philippi Cash Store in Lansdowne Road at 7.10pm The truck caught fire, one man was decapitated and another injured.

The dead person was a 45-year-old man known only as Jackson

The man injured in the truck fire is Mr S Funani of Utterford Farm, Kuil's River. Early this morning he was in a satisfactory condition in Tygerberg Hospital, where he had been treated for cuts and burns.

The name and condition of another man injured in an incident less than two kilometers away was not known early this morning He is also in the Tygerberg Hospital.

By 8 pm much of the area had been sealed off by traffic police and it was then that violence flared for the second time in an hour

Riot police moved into Klipfontein Road next to Crossroads after a lorry and a car had been set alight Members of the Divisional Council fire brigade using a mobile water-supply point followed the police and tried to put the two blazes out.

In pouring rain a strong police contingent moved into the trees opposite Crossroads



Riot police examine an injured man found at the side of the road in Klipfontein Road last night after a truck and car had been stoned and set alight

Near blazing car

At the same time other policemen found an injured man lying near the blazing car. He was taken to the Guguletu police station Police could find no sign of the occupants of the lorry. The other occupants of the car set alight had also not been found by early this morning.

Early this morning the situation was calm, with one police vehicle on stand-by at the main entrance to the Crossroads squatter camp.

● The Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier D B Nothnagel, said last night that the two incidents were not caused by skollies, but by a "criminal tsotsi element" roaming around attacking vehicles.

● Mr Frederick Jansen, who died yesterday from wounds received when his bakkie was set alight on Monday, was a building contractor and father of two He lived in Disa Avenue, Pinelands.

Meanwhile, a Zimbabwean group has offered help to the wife of the other victim of Monday's violence, Mr George Beeton, 59, of McKinley Road, Kenilworth, who died during the attack Mr Beeton, a contract supervisor for a Philippi firm, is survived by his wife Doreen, three children and four stepchildren.

The Cape Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1980

Stop it now!

THE dreadful events near Nyanga on Monday in which one man was killed and another fatally injured have stirred intense emotions in all sections of the community and universal sympathy for the bereaved families. Let us hope that there will be a respite in which inflamed feelings will subside and some of the lessons of this tragedy will become apparent. The front page picture in the Cape Times on Tuesday of the injured man waiting at the roadside for an ambulance expressed more poignantly than a thousand words could ever do the human cost of endemic unrest. Is this the road ahead for the Peninsula and for South Africa? A vicious circle of violence and counter-violence on the Ulster pattern? Is there to be no more peace, and no security on the public roads?

Here were two people going about their lawful occasions when through no fault of their own they were engulfed in mindless mob violence. It could have happened to anyone. What is particularly sad is that this outburst was foreseen. It need never have happened. Warnings to the authorities in these columns and elsewhere were disregarded. On August 5, for example, a Cape Times editorial ("Blood out of a stone") warned the Nationalist government that the official campaign of harassment of illegal taxis, designed to drive black workers back to the buses, was causing "a dangerous measure of inter-group resentment and tension." Africans who could no longer afford the increased fares were fully entitled to boycott the bus service. The so-called "pirate" taxis were stepping in to fill an opening in the market. In a free enterprise economy, such enterprise should be encouraged and the entrepreneurs assisted to take out taxi licences — rather than be harassed and intimidated and their passengers forced to walk.

But Pretoria had decided on a strong-arm solution and was not to be gainsaid. The harassment was intensified. Whatever the immediate cause, on which point the Nyanga Resident's Association have their own very definite views, it can hardly be doubted that this week's unrest flows from an ill-conceived, provocative and insensitive official policy. There are occasions when a wise authority does not insist on enforcing the fine print of regulation. This was obviously one of them. The police cannot be faulted for carrying out the law on instructions from Pretoria. But this was a case for Pretoria to issue instructions for a blind eye to be turned to the taxi regulations — and for the State to keep out of the dispute between the bus company and its customers.

Even at this late stage, it is to be hoped that the lessons of this ghastly tragedy will be learnt in Pretoria and instructions will be issued forthwith for the anti-boycott campaign to cease. Otherwise the risk is grave of more violence in the sorely-tried Peninsula — which has done nothing to deserve such a fate. This vicious circle of violence must be stopped now before it gets out of hand.

Two more deaths in Cape unrest

275 RDM 13/8/80

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — One man was killed and two seriously injured last night as violence flared again near Crossroads.

One of the two incidents was near the scene of the death of one man and the injury of another on Monday afternoon. The man injured on Monday died yesterday in Tygerberg hospital.

The fresh outbreak of violence occurred on the anniversary of the start of the 1976 riots in the Western Cape.

In last night's incident a petrol bomb was thrown at a truck outside the Philippi Cash Store, in Lansdowne Road. The truck caught alight, one man died and another was injured when the truck ran over him.

Riot police and the fire brigade arrived at the scene but were unable to salvage the truck, which burnt out.

The dead man was unidentified. The injured man was taken by ambulance to Tygerberg Hospital.

By 8pm much of the area had been sealed off by traffic police and it was at this stage that violence flared for the second time in the space of an hour.

The man who died yesterday after Monday's violence was Mr Frederick Jansen, the 42-year-old building contractor. His bakkie was stoned, overturned and set alight on Monday on the Cape Flats.

Mr George Beeton, 59, of Kenilworth was killed in the attack. He had injuries which could have been caused by pangas and stones, and burns.

Several other people were injured in the stonings.

Mr Jansen died about noon yesterday in Tygerberg Hospital from his burns and other injuries. He received 80% burns after his bakkie was attacked about 3.15pm on the Klipfontein Road, next to the Crossroads squatter camp.



MR FREDERICK JANSEN
. . . 80% burns on body

Mr Jansen, of Pinelands, was returning from taking employees home.

Police who rushed to the scene found him bloody and dazed and sitting in a pool of water near his vehicle.

They had to prevent him trying to stand up as they waited for an ambulance to arrive.

Yesterday his wife, Joan, was too distraught to comment on his death.

Mr Beeton, a contract supervisor for a firm at Philippi, died minutes before the attack on Mr Jansen. He leaves his wife, Doreen, three children, and four step-children.

Zimbabwe-born Mr Beeton came to South Africa from Salisbury with his family about six months ago because he was worried about the situation there.

"He wanted to get out," his son, Mr Garth Beeton, 25, said yesterday.

33 facing trial on charges of violence

13/8/80 STAR

GRAHAMSTOWN — Thirty-three people appeared in the Grahamstown Magistrate's Court vesterday on charges ranging from murder and arson to public violence arising out of recent unrest in Grahamstown.

All were formally remanded in custody until September 12.

Four men and a woman were charged with the murder of Mr Nikele Mjekula, a shop owner who was stoned to death on July 26.

Two youths aged 15 and 16 were charged with malicious damage to property arising from the stoning of a bottle store.

An 18-year-old youth was charged with arson in connection with the burning of the Samuel Ntsika Lower Primary School.

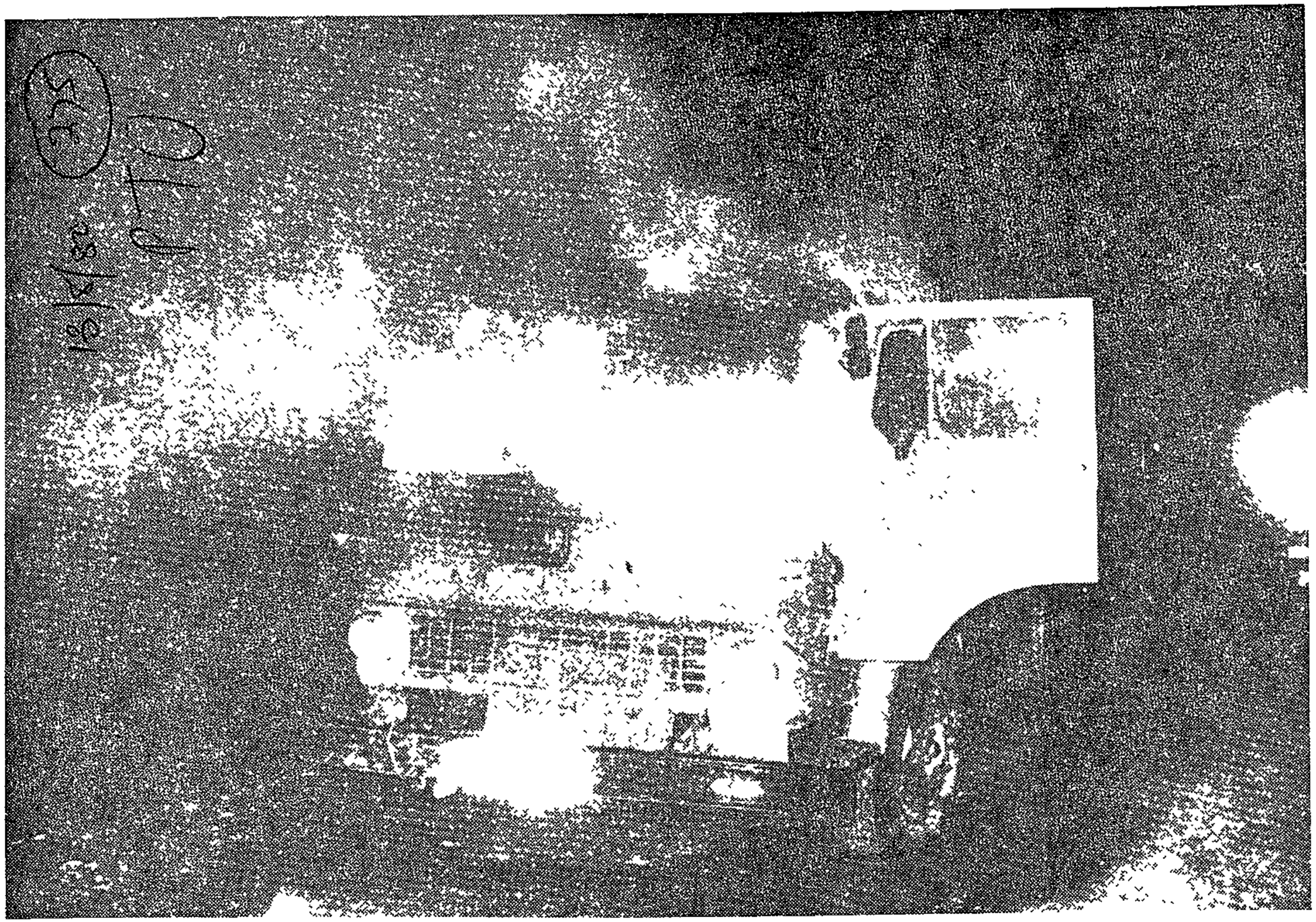
In another arson case six men and one woman were charged with setting fire to the home of a leader of the Peacemakers vigilante group.

A 23-year-old man and two young women were charged with public violence and theft, while nine men, aged 17 to 36 were charged with public violence, arising from the stoning of a police truck.

Another public violence charge was brought against a 20-year-old man.

Three men aged 21 to 26, and two girls aged 14 and 17 were charged with malicious damage to property.

Firebomb attack on truck - man dies



A TRUCK blazes after two petrol bombs had been thrown through the windscreen near Crossroads last night

CALM returned to Nyanga today after a night of violence in icy weather in which one man died and two were injured.

Riot police were patrolling the area and a senior police officer expressed surprise the violence had occurred on such a cold and wet night.

'We usually find the rain is our best policeman,' he said.

Mr Jackson Kantini, a contract worker from Transkei, was killed when two petrol bombs were thrown through the window of the truck in which he was travelling.

DECAPITATED

He leapt from the vehicle and was decapitated by a passing car in Lansdowne Road.

His employer, Mr Johannes van Helsdingen, a Kuils River farmer was slightly hurt and a third man in the truck, Mr Samuel Funani was taken to Tygerberg Hospital with burn wounds

Mr Kantini's death brings to three the number of fatalities in the outbreak of violence this week.

VICTIM DIES

Mr Frederick Jansen, 46, died yesterday afternoon in Tygerberg Hospital, 24 hours after his bakkie had been overturned and set alight in Klipfontein Road adjoining Crossroads.

Another man, who has not yet been identified, is being treated in Tygerberg Hospital, after he was forced to stop his car in Klipfontein Road by a hail of stones and petrol bombs.

Mr van Helsdingen was driving down Lansdowne Road shortly after 7 pm last night when he noticed a group of 'youngsters aged about 15' at the side of the road.

But Mr van Helsdingen, a grass farmer of Goed-

(Continued on Page 3, col 5)

(215) 13/8/80 ARGUS



MR JOHANNES VAN HELSDINGEN, 47, owner and driver of the truck, said: 'I think these people should express themselves in another way.'



MR SAMUEL FUNANI with riot police after he had survived the attack on his employer's truck. He is a contract worker from Transkei.

13/8/80 Argus

Unrest: 33 (275) (234) remanded

Argus Representative

GRAHAMSTOWN — Thirty-three people, aged 16 to 40, were remanded in the Magistrate's Court yesterday to September 12 on charges arising from the recent disturbances in the black townships here.

Charges ranged from murder and arson to malicious damage to property

The murder charge relates to the stoning to death of a shopkeeper, Mr Nikele Mjekulu, a prominent member of the African community and boxing promoter, on July 26

Firebombs claim 3rd Cape victim

STAR 13/8/80 275

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A farm worker was decapitated last night bringing the number of deaths in two days of renewed violence in Cape Town's black townships to three.

Mr Jackson Kantini, a contract worker from Transkei, was killed when he jumped from the cab of a burning truck hit by a petrol bomb in Lansdowne Road, Phillippi. A passing vehicle struck him.

Another occupant of the truck, Mr Samuel Funani (47), is in a satisfactory condition in Tygerberg Hospital. He has burns on his face and hands.

The driver of the vehicle, Mr J P van Helsdingen, owner of a Kuils River farm, was uninjured

"It doesn't make me very angry, no," said Mr van Helsdingen later today. "But I think these people should express themselves in another way. From now on I'll carry a gun with me I have to pass there every day"

Mr van Helsdingen said that just before the attack he saw a group of "youngsters, aged about 15," at the side of the road

"They threw two petrol bombs through the windscreen. Everything was burning"

In the cab of the truck with Mr van Helsdingen were two employees, Mr Kantini and Mr Funani

"One of the men was sitting next to me," Mr van Helsdingen said today. "The other was at the door. Mr Kantini jumped out and ran into the road Somebody else, another car, knocked him down and killed him"

In a similar incident last night an unidentified coloured man was seriously injured after being forced to stop his car in Klipfontein Road by a hail of stones and petrol bombs.

Firemen and riot police found him lying near his vehicle while they fought the blaze. He had head injuries and a knife wound

Both incidents took place near where Mr George Beeton (59) and Mr Frederick Fritz Jansen (46) were viciously attacked on Monday.

Mr Beeton, who had migrated to South Africa from Zimbabwe only six

To Page 3, Col 7

Night terro in Lansdowne Road. This truck was firebombed and a man, jumping clear decapitated

3/8/80

275

star

Firebombs claim a third life

from page 1

months ago, was found dead in Lansdowne Road. His body was surrounded by bricks.

Mr Jansen died in Tygerberg Hospital yesterday from injuries received when his vehicle was stoned and petrol bombed.

In last night's incidents firemen were stoned by groups which police described as the "tsotsi element."

Riot police last night sealed off entrances to Crossroads squatter camp and a large contingent set up a temporary base in trees opposite the camp.

Later today it was reported that the chairman of the Nyanga Residents' Association, Mr Oscar Mpetha (71) and the Association's secretary, Mr Leion Mqhakayi, had been detained by police.

Mr Mpetha was quoted yesterday as saying that the unrest in Nyanga on Monday was caused by police provocation and confrontation with pirate taxi drivers.

The Cape Times

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1980

Murderous violence

THERE is a new and ominous element in the violence in the Nyanga-Crossroads area which has taken the lives of three unsuspecting passers-by. Rather than public violence of the unhappily familiar sort, involving large-scale clashes between police and people, this week's incidents took the form of murderous attacks on passing motorists, with stones and petrol bombs exploding out of the dark and gloom at the roadside. The effect is to create a so-called "no go" area. It would be a rash motorist who ventured down these roads after dark in present circumstances. Although one of the victims happened to be a black man, it is painfully obvious that the attacks were directed at *white* motorists. It does no good to imagine that this has been a routine outbreak of criminal violence, perpetrated by tsotsis or skollies, and that it is unrelated to the acute inter-group tensions of recent times. Of course it is. There is no point in playing ostrich. Who can question that these vicious attacks are rooted in social and political conditions and are politically motivated? Of course they are.

It is regrettable that the response of authority should be so manifestly inadequate. The Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange, and the Nationalist candidate in Simon's Town, seeking to deflect responsibility from the Nationalist government, are suggesting that the newspapers are somehow blameworthy in the unrest situation. They are hardly convincing. Nationalist policies have brought this country to the brink of civil war. With determined enemies forming up across the Northern borders, the South African people, instead of standing together in common loyalty, have been bitterly divided by the apartheid heritage. Inter-group tensions are at a dangerous pitch. Politically-motivated violence and unrest are becoming endemic.

The response of the Nationalist government, predictably, is to mount a propaganda assault on the newspapers and seek to stifle the free flow of news. As if ignorance could protect the public from half-bricks and petrol bombs! On the contrary, what is needed is the fullest possible flow of information, including accurate intelligence on the extent of the unrest and its causes. If motorists or others are kept in ignorance of what is going on, they can unwittingly land in serious trouble, endangering the lives of themselves and their families. The answer is not to attack and restrict the press or arrest respected spokesmen for the black community, although these are no doubt popular, crowd-pleasing moves among Nationalists.

The urgent task is to put an end to these murderous attacks. The immediate rash of stone-throwing and petrol-bombing can be stemmed by police action, no doubt, and it should be curbed without delay. These crude weapons are deadly — and readily available to anybody who is able to hurl a missile or strike a match. And stone-throwing and petrol-bombing will inevitably recur unless the roots of violence in social and political conditions are eradicated. The priority is to bring the culprits to book — and ensure that public roads in the Peninsula can again be traversed in safety by day or night. But the security achieved by police action is in the nature of things temporary. Unless the social, economic and political causes of unrest are removed, violence will flare again. And the police will be called upon to restore the peace, again and yet again.

As well as restoring the peace, a wise government would abandon the provocative campaign against the bus boycotters, which is stirring up bitter resentment. A wise government would begin a process of genuine inter-group negotiation, both at the local and national levels. In a situation of raw emotion, let there be calm and wisdom in high places — and appropriate action to save South Africa

4 pupils arrested after march, fined

Staff Reporter

FOUR pupils were arrested at Arcadia High School in Bonteheuwel yesterday when police were called in to disperse a march by pupils.

The principal of the school, Mr W. Daniels, said about 17 pupils who had not applied for readmission to classes, entered the school premises and marched with placards.

Arcadia High was closed by the Administration of Coloured Affairs recently and pupils were told to apply for readmission and sign a statement pledging to abide by school regulations.

'Rest ran away

Mr Daniels said the police arrived on the scene and arrested four pupils while the rest ran away. Those arrested were three senior pupils and a junior pupil.

Mr Daniels said he did not call in the police.

A spokesman for the Administration of Coloured Affairs, Mr E Bydell, said he did not know of the arrests, but had heard that "there were hooligans on the school premises". He said the Administration had not called in the police.

A police spokesman said four pupils were arrested and charged with trespassing. They paid admission of guilt fines of R5 each and were released. The pupils may not be named as they are all under 18 years.

Eastern Cape

● According to the Cape Times correspondent in Port Elizabeth, the closure of a high school, arson, stoning of a bus and police vehicles, detention of pupils and a walkout by more than 600 pupils from a high school, have been reported from Ciskei schools.

Nathaniel Pamla High School was closed on Tuesday following intermittent unrest. Pupils would have to reapply to be admitted, a teacher said.

At Mzomhle High School the staff room was severely damaged by fire, while the principal's office and the homecrafts classsroom suffered minor damage.

Police vehicles and a bus were stoned near a cinema in Mdantsane on Monday Six Mzomhle school pupils have been detained

AID also for Crossroads' dead

Chief Reporter

REPRESENTATIVES of the **AID** fund, started two weeks ago on the basis of an offer of R5 000 by a Cape Times reader to help the families of victims of unrest in the Cape Peninsula, are inquiring whether the families of the victims of mob violence this week, near Crossroads, may need the fund's help

The fund, with full editorial support from the Cape Times, was established specifically to help families of people who were killed or seriously injured in the mid-June unrest in the Elsie's River and neighbouring areas.

But it was decided yesterday, in consultation with the donor of the R5 000, a Boland businessman, that **AID** should also offer any immediate help that may be needed by the families bereaved in the flare-up near Crossroads.

In the attacks on vehicles and their occupants on Monday Mr George Beeton, 59, of McKinley Road, Kenilworth, was stoned and burnt to death and Mr Frederick Jansen, 46, of Disa Avenue, Pinelands, died on Tuesday of wounds received when his bakkie was stoned, overturned and set alight.

● Mr Beeton, a contract supervisor for a Philippi firm, is survived by his wife Doreen, three children and a four stepchildren He brought his family to the Cape from Zimbabwe six months ago because he considered it would be safer for them here, and because he was particularly fond of the Cape.

● Mr Jansen was a building contractor and a father of two boys, aged three and 18 months, and three daughters by his first marriage.

His business, Oregon Construction, established only a few months ago, was said to be going well and he was gradually recovering from the recent slump in the building industry

He was assaulted and fatally burnt after he had taken some of his labourers back to their homes in the townships.

● On Tuesday night Mr Jackson Kantini became the third victim of this week's outbreak of violence when he was run over and killed by an oncoming vehicle after jumping out of a lorry that had been stoned and set alight by a petrol bomb in Lansdowne Road, Philippi

In all cases where families, bereaved in the mid-June unrest as well as in this week's flare-up near Crossroads, may need help from **AID** these are being investigated and assessed by social workers from Shawco and from the Elsie's River Social Welfare Association.

The form in which help will be given, in the light of the social workers' reports, will be decided by a committee appointed by the administering bodies.

Meanwhile nearly R2 000 has been received by **AID**, in addition to the R5 000 given by the Cape Times reader who wishes to remain anonymous

So far nearly all the donations have come from individual readers of the Cape Times, and they range from R1 to R250

It is hoped their efforts will be substantially backed by donations from commerce and industry and from schools, service organizations, churches and other bodies

● All donations should be sent to:
AID, c/o Shawco, 12th Avenue, Kensington 7405, Cape.
Cheques should be made out to Shawco.
Shawco's telephone number is 51 4871.



The picture that sent a shock-wave through the Western Cape this week Published on the front page of the Cape Times on Tuesday, it shows Mr Frederick Jansen, 46, a building contractor of Pinelands, sitting in a pool of water at the side of Klipfontein Road after his bakkie had been stoned, overturned and set alight near Crossroads on Monday afternoon Mr Janson, father of five children, died in hospital on Tuesday.

Help offered to wife of victim

By STEPHEN WROTTESLEY
Crime Reporter

A ZIMBABWEAN group has offered assistance to the wife of one of the victims of the violence near Crossroads on Monday.

Mr George Beeton, 59, of McKinley Road, Kenilworth, died during the attack. His injuries could have been caused by both pangas and stones. He had also been burnt.

Mr Beeton, a contract supervisor for a Philippi firm, died minutes before the attack on another man, Mr Frederick Jansen. He is survived by his wife, Doreen, three children and four stepchildren.

One of his sons, Garth, 25, said a Zimbabwean group in Cape Town had offered his stepmother assistance. However, she had turned down offers of financial support and had only asked that they tried to find her employment.

Mrs Beeton has been unable to find employment in Cape Town since her arrival here.

Garth said he had been telephoned at his work in Saldanha Bay by his father's employers and had been asked for his father's home telephone number. Worried, he had rung his stepmother who contacted the firm.

She was told her husband had been in an accident. It was only later she had found out how he had died.

Zimbabwe-born Mr Beeton came to South Africa with his wife about six months ago after he became worried about the situation in his birthplace.

Mr Beeton will be cremated at the Maitland Crematorium at 11.20am today.

Mr Jansen, a building contractor father-of-two, sustained between 65 and 80 percent burns in the attack at about 3.15pm on Monday in Klipfontein Road next to the Crossroads squatter camp, and died in Tygerberg Hospital on Tuesday.

Mr Jansen, of Disa Avenue, Pinelands, had taken employees home before he was attacked. Police rushed to the scene to find a dazed Mr Jansen sitting in a pool of water near his vehicle

Petrol bomber shot dead

14/8/80 (275)

Staff Reporters

AN unidentified 18 year-old black man was killed last night during police action near Crossroads.

This was confirmed by the Divisional Commissioner of Police, Western Cape, Brigadier D B Nothnagel,

Brigadier Nothnagel said police had opened fire on the man when he threw a petrol bomb at a police vehicle

At 9.15 police discovered a burnt out "bakkie" on the border between Crossroads and Nyanga on the old Klipfontein Road and the remains of two burning mattresses that had been set alight.

Police blocked off the Klipfontein-Landsdowne Road intersection but motorists were allowed to proceed at their own risk

There were minor incidents of stoning of vehicles in the Peninsula throughout the day, but by late last night everything was quiet.

Last night's shooting marked the third successive night of unrest in the Crossroads area.

On Monday two people died when their vehicles were attacked. Mr George Beeton, 59, a recent immigrant from Zimbabwe was killed in one of the attacks near Crossroads and Mr Frederick Jansen, 46, was severely burnt in another petrol bomb attack near the same spot. He later died from these injuries.

On Tuesday there were petrol bomb attacks on two vehicles. Mr Jackson Kantini, a contract worker from Transkei, was killed and two others were seriously injured, when they were attacked in Landsdowne Road.

Brigadier Nothnagel, has described the attacks as the work of a "roaming tsotsi element".

Police have appealed to anyone who witnessed the incidents on Monday to contact the nearest police station

Unionist pair held in wake of Cape flare-up

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN
Labour Reporter

TWO trade unionists, who are also black community leaders in the Western Cape, were arrested yesterday, apparently in connection with the unrest near the Crossroads squatter camp this week in which three people died

Lawyers acting for the unionists said they had been told by police that the two men are being held in connection with a charge of murder, arising out of the Crossroads unrest

One of the men is 71 years old and a diabetic

However, the Rand Daily Mail's Cape Town correspondent reports that police would only say that the men were being held for questioning

Police stressed that the unionists had been arrested by the Murder and Robbery Squad and that Security Police were not involved

They are being held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which provides for 48 hours' detention, after which detainees must be charged

The detained pair are Mr Oscar Mpetha, national organiser of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, and Mr Leon Mqhakayi, organising secretary of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union in Cape Town

Mr Mpetha is chairman of the Nyanga Residents' Association and Mr Mqhakayi is its secretary

Mr Mpetha is 71 years old and a diabetic, according to officials of his trade union, who say they fear for his health

The Transvaal branch of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union yesterday issued a statement criticising the arrests

In a statement last night, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union, which represents more then 6 000 commercial workers throughout the country, expressed shock at the arrests

It said the two men were "important leaders in the Cape black community and also important leaders in the trade union movement there"

CCAWU said it was arranging bail and legal assistance for the two men

The unrest near Crossroads was sparked by police action against "pirate taxis" which have been ferrying black commuters — who are boycotting buses — to and from work

The boycott, prompted by fare increases of between 30% and 70%, has now entered its 10th week, and has become a major political issue in the Peninsula's black and coloured communities

The arrest of the two men follows the detention earlier this year of several officials and supporters of Cape-based unregistered trade unions

All have since been released

Sapa reports from Cape Town that police described the situation in the Peninsula yesterday as quiet after the Crossroads flare-up on Tuesday night which left one man dead and two seriously injured No further incidents had been reported

The latest victim has now been identified as Mr Jackson Kantini, 45, who was decapitated when he jumped out of a burning truck after a petrol bomb exploded in the cab

The driver, Kuilsrivier farmer Mr J P van Helsdingen, 47, and several farmworkers were stoned as they left the burning truck.

Mr Van Helsdingen escaped unharmed, but another passenger, Mr Samuel Vumani, 45, suffered severe facial burns

The farmworkers fled

● In Kimberley yesterday, four pupils were detained under the Riotous Assemblies Act after police used canes and dogs to disperse boycotting pupils in Galeshewe township, a police spokesman said

[illegible] section of this report has been excised. The statement issued yesterday by the Transvaal [illegible] African Food and Canning Workers' Union as well as portions of a statement by the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union have been removed because the Rand Daily Mail's lawyers have advised us that they contravene the Police Act

DD 14/8/80

Arson, walkouts at Ciskei schools

EAST LONDON — The closure of a high school, arson, stoning of a bus and police vehicles, detention of pupils and a walkout by more than 600 students from a high school have been reported from Ciskei schools.

Nathaniel Pamla High School in Peddie was closed on Tuesday following intermittent unrest. Students would have to reapply to be admitted, a teacher said.

Incidents of arson were reported from two schools in Mdantsane.

At Mzomhle High School the staff room was severely damaged by fire while the principal's office and the homecrafts classroom had minor damage.

Police estimated damage at the school at R1 500 and confirmed they were investigating.

At Ngcelwane High School curtains were burnt in the principal's office. Police estimated damage at R900 but a teacher said the damage could not be more than R100.

Police vehicles and a bus were stoned near a cinema in Mdantsane on Monday. Six Mzomhle High School students have been detained.

All the pupils at Khulani Commercial High School, Mdantsane, walked out of the school at 11.30 yesterday after handing over all government supplied books to the school's office.

They were addressed by the circuit inspector, Mr P. B. Cossie, and a police officer before walking out of the school premises. There were no incidents

Another walkout by some students was reported from Phandulwazi High School, Alice. No figures were available yesterday but trouble was reported to have started last Saturday when some girls walked out. Boys joined in later but it was mainly in the higher classes that the walkout was effective.

Attendances were reported to be high and "almost back to normal" at most schools in Mdantsane yesterday.

Police have arrested 13 men and youths in connection with fires at three Somerset East schools on Tuesday and four youths in connection with a fire at a Cradock school last month.

A police spokesman said all would appear in court soon on arson charges.

Those arrested in connection with fires at the Mjoli Higher Primary school, the Kazakazi Lower Primary school and another higher primary school in Somerset East were between 16 and 23, the spokesman said.

The other youths, who are between 13 and 16 will appear in court in connection with a fire at the Nxuba Lower Primary school on July 25. — DDR-DDC.

MRS BORINA PETERSEN, 27, at her mother's home . . . "I still haven't been able to cry."

14/8/80 ARGUS

(225)

MOB KILLINGS—3 HELD

A BOY aged 15 and two girls aged 15 and 17 have been arrested in connection with the death of Mr Frederick Jansen and Mr George Beeton in Old Klipfontein Road on Monday.

Mr Beeton died immediately after his vehicle had been set alight and Mr Jansen a day later in hospital

Colonel A P 'Dries' van den Heever, CID chief for the Western Cape, said more arrests were expected.

The youths will appear in Athlone Magistrate's Court tomorrow.

Mr Peter Petersen, 31, died in hospital yesterday, two days after he was injured in Lansdowne Road, Philippi, when a rock was thrown through the window of a vehicle in which he was a passenger.

Mr Petersen, a clerk at a Paarden Eiland meat factory, lived at a Methodist mission station in Philippi and is survived by his wife Borina.

An unidentified man was shot dead by police last night when he was allegedly igniting a petrol bomb to throw at a riot-control vehicle in Old Klipfontein Road, not far from where Mr Beeton was killed.

There was sporadic stoning of buses in Nyanga today, but no injuries were reported. Riot police were still patrolling.

Divisional Council workers, with the help of a front-end loader and with pangas were yesterday clearing a large area of bush between Lansdowne Road and Crossroads.

According to a senior police officer, this was to prevent groups of people gathering in the bush to light petrol bombs.

As the men worked in the rain, women from Crossroads followed, removing the wood and roots for firewood.

Five people are known to have died in the violence in the Nyanga area this week.

Police are anxious to speak to the driver of the vehicle which decapitated Mr Jackson Kantini when he leapt from his employer's truck on Tuesday night after a petrol bomb had been thrown into the cab in Lansdowne Road, Philippi.

The driver is asked to contact Captain du Toit at Philippi police station.

Police arrest three youths after killings

(275) (DM 15/8/80.

CAPE TOWN. — Three youths have been arrested in connection with the deaths of Mr Frederick Jansen and Mr George Beeton in Old Klipfontein Road, Cape Town, on Monday.

Mr Beeton died when his vehicle was set alight and Mr Jansen died in hospital on Tuesday.

Mr Beeton, a Zimbabwean immigrant, was stoned and hacked to death with pangas, and Mr Jansen died in hospital from burns.

Colonel A P Dries van den Heever, CID chief for the Western Cape, said yesterday police investigations were continuing and more arrests were expected.

The three, a boy of 15 and two girls aged 15 and 17, will appear in the Athlone Magistrate's Court today.

There were two isolated incidents of stone-throwing at buses in the Nyanga black township yesterday morning.

The incidents came after the death at Crossroads Squatters Camp last night of an unidentified young man who was shot by police when he allegedly tried to hurl a petrol bomb at a police vehicle

The Divisonal Commissioner for Police in the Western Cape, Brigadier D B Nothnagel, said that the incidents were "minor" and very little damage had been done.

Brig Nothnagel has called on motorists not to drive down Lansdowne Avenue and the Old Klipfontein Road after dark

He said the stoning and petrol-bombing of the past three days were caused by layabouts.

"The stone-throwing takes place only in the vicinity of Crossroads.

"The situation elsewhere in the black areas is completely normal," he said.

Mr R Simpson, a bus driver of City Tramways, was struck in the face by a brick yesterday afternoon.

The fourth man to have died since the violence started on Monday was Mr Peter Petersen.

He was seriously injured near Crossroads when bricks smashed through the windscreen of his car.

Mr Petersen, a clerk, died in Victoria Hospital.

Earlier, Mr Jackson Kantini was decapitated by an oncoming car when he jumped from a burning truck.

The violence erupted after the Government decided to take action against pirate taxi drivers, whose numbers increased when black commuters embarked on a boycott of buses in protest against higher fares.

Police spokesmen said pirate taxis could not be allowed to operate freely as they did not carry the necessary insurance cover to protect passengers in the event of road accidents.

A spokesman for the South African Institute of Race Relations attributed the violence to rising resentment among black commuters over action by the authorities against pirate taxis.

Commuters claimed the authorities had teamed up with bus companies against individuals. — Sapa.

VIOLENCE BREAKS OUT AGAIN IN CAPE

16/8/80 Argus (27)

By CASSIE DU PLESSIS

PORT ELIZABETH. — A police squad has been ambushed, a beer hall and several houses burnt down and 15 people were arrested in renewed violence in the Eastern Cape.

In Fort Beaufort, 20 000 litres of sorghum beer flowed down the streets yesterday after a beer hall was gutted in the location earlier in the day.

Last night in the same location, a small police foot patrol was ambushed by a stone-throwing mob which put one policeman in hospital for treatment.

BIRDSHOT

Police retaliated with tear-gas and birdshot and arrested 15 people under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Major Gerrie van Rooyen, said the incident took place at Tinis township after the beerhall had been gutted.

Earlier in the day a house was burnt down and a van load of bread stolen in Fort Beaufort.

PUPILS MARCH

Trouble started at 9 am when pupils from two schools marched to another school and chased pupils out of classes.

Police were stoned by a crowd of 1 500.

In Port Elizabeth, nine shanty-type houses in the location of New Brighton were destroyed by fire at 3 am today. No one was injured and damage was estimated at R3 000. Arson is suspected.

Major van Rooyen said the police foot patrol in Fort Beaufort was the first of its kind used to quell unrest.

Because of the dangers inherent in night-time foot patrols it was unlikely they would be used in the large black townships such as those in Port Elizabeth.

the build-up of unrest was different

(275) STAR 15/8/80

Whatever the cause and whoever is responsible for the violence t Crossroads in the Cape this week, the restraint of the uthorities is wearing thin."

the entrances to Nyan- were sealed off by affic police.

It was at Crossroads, ditionally a non-violent a, that the unrest took form that was to char- erise it for three days

Two white motorists, within a few minutes of each other, drove into a hail of stones, their vehicles overturned and set alight One died immediately, the other a day later.

Police spokesmen were at pains to point out the random attacks which followed were the work of layabouts.

The Divisional Chief of Police for the Western Cape, Brigadier D B Nothnagel, denied the action of the police against the pirate taxis was the cause of the unrest.

This has been hotly contested by Mr Oscar Mpetha, the chairman of the Nyanga Residents' Association, who asked why the police were protecting City Tramways and said it was police action which had precipitated the violence.

This view was endorsed by Mrs Daphne Wilson, chairman of the Western Cape Region of the Institute of Race Relations

Mr Mepha, and the secretary of his association, have subsequently been detained by murder asd robbery detectives and no charges as yet have been formulated

Police action has been restrained thus far, but then again they have not been up against large crowds at any stage

One man was shot while allegedly lighting a petrol bomb.

At the scene of the stoning of Mr Frederick Jansen a huge crowd gathered while police and Pressmen waited for an ambulance.

For a horrifying 45 minutes the crowd mutely watched the dying man sitting in a puddle of water

There was not a clenched fist to be seen or a defiant shout to be heard.

Whatever the cause and whoever is responsible for the violence this week the restraint of the authorities is wearing thin

A young traffic officer, standing in the rain near Crossroads for the third successive day, said "Anyone who comes near me is going to get blasted"

He meant it.

BACKGROUND

Cape violence:

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The unrest in the black township of Nyanga and the adjacent Crossroads squatter camp this week has been markedly different in its buildup and expression to the unrest of June this year and in 1976.

There were rumours last week that a stayaway to commemorate the start of the unrest on August 11, 1976 was planned for Monday.

There was little evidence to suggest there was, in fact, a stayaway, although there were reports that groups of youths in Guguletu tried to stop workers from making their way to waiting taxis The boycott of City Tramway buses by Cape Town blacks has been almost complete since the bus boycott started on June 11.

The trouble started when, according to eyewitnesses, police in plain clothes forced passengers out of pirate taxis and urged them to board empty buses.

A crowd of youths then set fire to a post office maintenance van

The familiar pattern of a police baton charge against an angry crowd did not take place and for several hours nothing happened, though police continued to patrol and some

Unrest has not upset output

By GORDON KYLING

COMMERCE and industry in the Cape have been left largely unaffected by the undercurrent of politically-motivated violence, strikes and boycotts in the region for the past several months although fears for the future appear to be intensifying.

Businessmen contacted yesterday by the Cape Times were reluctant to discuss the implications of the unrest on their firms and most did not want to be identified with their comments.

The general attitude was: 'We are living in changing times but basically firms are there to get on with the job and rely on their employees to do the same – which they are doing.'

No fall off in standards or productivity was apparent but major employers believed that it would be almost impossible to quantify the effects of the disturbances on the workplace at this time.

National problem

"Why single out Cape Town?" asked one executive. 'If there's a problem, it's a national one.'

Not everyone agreed. The director of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, Mr Brian MacLeod, has said that he believed business in the region could suffer considerably from the disturbances simply because they were becoming more severe than in the Transvaal.

Economic growth in the Cape was already lagging behind that in the rest of the country. 'None of us can afford an additional handicap.'

Businessmen agreed that the disturbances and boycotts were disturbing. 'I'm very concerned,' said one, 'but the problems of business are South African. You can't really try to localize them and there is a boom on.'

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The Cape Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1980

Antidote for violence

FIVE PEOPLE have died in the wave of violence in the Nyanga-Crossroads area. It is apparent that feelings are running high on both sides of the colour line.

On the black side, residents in the area blame the police and road transportation officials, whose provocative harassment of commuters, they say, sparked off the violence. On the white side, there is intense anger at the killing of innocent passers-by, fathers of families, who had no part in the quarrel between the people and the bus company and were unsuspectingly going about their business when viciously attacked with stones and petrol bombs. Angry readers have telephoned newspapers, including some who telephoned the Burger, it appears, and who expressed themselves in favour of reprisals.

Amid the clamour, inter-group fears and resentments are building up in ominous fashion. Certain public roads are not safe for whites, including a busy route to D F Malan airport. In such a situation, there is a distinct danger that some citizens might take the law into their own hands. There is a danger of escalation of communal violence and counter-violence. Accordingly, there is an urgent need for positive measures to calm the atmosphere. Police action can meet the immediate threat; and it appears that five arrests of juveniles have been made in connection with the killings. It would be reassuring if the violence now ended.

If violence is to stop and to stay stopped, however, police action is not enough. Apart from this and the obvious political reforms, more is needed, something positive and constructive. Of the five people who have died in this week's violence, so it happens, two were white, one was a so-called coloured man, and two were African, one a victim of the stone-throwing and petrol bombing, and the other an alleged petrol bomber. All sections of the Peninsula community have suffered bereavement. Families have lost fathers and breadwinners. So it is an excellent thing that the administrators of the AID fund have agreed that victims of this week's violence are to fall within the ambit of the fund, and not only the casualties of the mid-June disturbances.

What better gesture of reconciliation could be made than for all sections of the community of the Cape Peninsula to support this fund — as an expression of sympathy and practical support for the next-of-kin, the innocent victims of violence, be they white, black or so-called coloured? Business houses whose customers are to be found in all sections of the community could set the lead.

In all the Peninsula communities there are a majority of people who long for peace — and for some means of helping to calm the inflamed inter-group atmosphere. It is not always easy to see what individuals can do. The AID fund, it is suggested, is one channel of assistance and healing which ordinary citizens and community and business leaders alike might consider. This is an opportunity for those who believe in peace to do something constructive, helping to bind up wounds and ease the pain in a society sorely tried by violence. The address of the fund, which is given full editorial support by the Cape Times, is AID, c/o Shawco, 12th Avenue, Kensington 7405, Cape (Telephone 51-4871).

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
EXAMINATION ANSWER BOOK

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has answered), leave columns (2) and blank.

	Internal	External
	(2)	(3)

pieces of paper or other material into the examination room
s are so instructed
not to communicate with other
th any person except the invi-

s must be handed to the com-
n invigilator before leaving the

wer book is to be torn out.

Stoning deaths:

Five detained

Crime Reporter

FIVE PEOPLE — three youths and two girls — have been detained in connection with the death of Mr George Beeton, 59, and Mr Frederick (Fritz) Jansen, 46, who were attacked on the old Klipfontien Road next to Crossroads on Monday.

They are being held in terms of Article 22 of the General Law Amendment Act which provides for detention without trial for a maximum of 14 days

The detentions were confirmed last night by the Divisional CI chief of the Western Province, Colonel A P (Dries) van den Heever

Since Monday five people have died and an unknown number been injured by stone-throwing crowds

Colonel Van den Heever said that five people, all from Nyanga East, had been detained after intensive investigations into the deaths. The girls were aged 15 and 17, two of the youths were 17 and the other 15

All five are expected to appear in the Athlone Magistrate's Court today

Mr Beeton and Mr Jansen were stoned and severely burnt by petrol-bombs thrown at their vehicles when they were driving past Crossroads on the old Klipfontien Road on Monday. Me Beeton died instantly and Mr Jansen in Tygerberg Hospital on Tuesday

On Tuesday night Mr Jackson Kantini was killed by a passing car when he jumped from a truck after a petrol-bomb had been thrown into the cab The driver, Mr J P van Helsdingen, and a second passenger, Mr Samuel Vumani, drove for a short distance before abandoning the burning truck

Mr Vumani received serious burns and was taken to Groote Schuur Hospital

About the same time, a car and truck were stoned and set alight with petrol-bombs when they stopped on the old Klipfontein Road

The driver of the car was found unconscious next to his burning vehicle He was taken to Tygerberg Hospital with head wounds and a knife wound in the back

Police warning to night drivers

Crime Reporter

THE Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Province, Brigadier D B Nothnagel, yesterday called on the public not to take chances and to avoid using the roads bordering Crossroads after dark

He said that although there had been a few isolated cases of buses and cars being stoned yesterday, the police had the situation in hand

It was impossible to be "everywhere at once", so it would be in the public interest to avoid driving along the old Klipfontein Road and Lansdowne Road next to Crossroads after dark, till all was quiet again, he said

Bushes and shrubs bordering Lansdowne Road on the Crossroads side were being removed by council workers in an attempt to eradicate hiding places from which to ambush oncoming traffic

Although there were no serious incidents yesterday, police, aided by traffic police, kept a close watch on the flow of traffic to the area

6 vehicles damaged

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western

1578/80 ARGUS

Crossroads 'won't tolerate' arson

RESIDENTS of Crossroads were against violence and would not tolerate stone throwing or arson.

Mr Timo Bezuidenhoud, Western Cape chief commissioner of the Department of Co-operation and Development, was told this yesterday by members of the Crossroads executive committee.

The committee members also said that a tsotsi element from other residential areas had tried to involve Crossroads children in the unrest and stone throwing.

Mr Bezuidenhoud said in a statement that the committee had assured him that they strongly disapproved of this action. They had requested parents to ensure that their children attended school.

The committee was perturbed that the new clinic at Crossroads could not function because medical personnel were not prepared to enter the area.

Victim's widow bears no grudge

THE wife and family of Mr Frederick (Fritz) Jansen, 46, a victim of this week's violence at Crossroads, today thanked the people of Cape Town for their 'tremendous and spirited response' to their bereavement.

Since Mr Jansen died on Tuesday, the family has received a flood of bouquets, flowers, telegrams and other tokens of condolence from people of all races and religions, a relative said today.

To the people of Crossroads, Mrs Joan Jansen had this message: 'I bear no grudges because I know they were not responsible for my husband's death. It was the bad elements.'

Mr Jansen, who was a father of five children, was severely burnt in Crossroads on Monday evening after his vehicle had been stoned and overturned.

He was to be cremated at the Maitland Crematorium this afternoon.

15/8/80 Argus

More held in dragnet after Crossroads killings

(278) (309)

Crime Reporter

POLICE are holding two girls, three boys and two leading Nyanga residents in connection with the violence near Crossroads this week in which five people died.

An unknown number of Crossroads residents, including the chairman of the Crossroads Committee, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, were also taken into custody early today by Murder and Robbery Squad detectives.

The assistant CID chief for the Western Cape, Colonel Willem van der Merwe, said he was aware that the people were being held, but he said he could not give details until he had received further information.

The three boys (two aged 17 and one 15), two girls (aged 15 and 17), the chairman of the Nyanga Residents' Association, Mr Oscar Mpetha, and the secretary of the association, Mr Leon Mqhakayi, are being held under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act. This provides for 14 days' detention without trial.

The five youngsters were to have appeared in the Athlone Magistrate's Court today but the changing of the terms of their detention made this unnecessary.

There were no serious incidents in trouble-spots yesterday though units of

(Continued on Page 3, col 1)

More held

(Continued from Page 1)

the riot squad patrolled throughout the day.

Police have been unable to contact a man who was hurt when his vehicle was set alight in Lansdowne Road, Philippi, on Tuesday night. The man was found unconscious next to his vehicle but disappeared before he could be taken to hospital.

Koornhof peace plan for W Cape

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A peace plan to bring an end to unrest in the Western Cape is to be worked out with black community leaders after talks in Cape Town yesterday between the leaders and the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof.

A committee was formed to make recommendations to Dr Koornhof's department within a month.

An undertaking was also given that written replies would be given soon to issues raised by the Cape Town Community Council.

Mr Alex van Breda, MP for Tygervallei, who took part in the discussions, said today: "I am very optimistic that a pattern for peace and order can be created, acceptable to both white and black."

The main issues discussed were the unrest and lawlessness in black areas and the conditions under which the black community had to live and work.

Mob victim still 'serious'

Crime Reporter

A MITCHELL'S Plain man who was seriously injured when he was assaulted after his vehicle was stoned and burned by a mob in Klipfontein Road on Tuesday evening, regained consciousness in Tygerberg Hospital yesterday.

Yesterday the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Province, Brigadier D B Nothnagel, said the man, Mr Ivan Adams, 22, of Hibiscus Road, Mitchell's Plain, was unconscious when police found him next to the burning car near Crossroads.

Yesterday doctors told the police his condition was still considered serious.

Beer hall burnt down in E Cape

(275)

C. T. 16/8/80

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A beer hall and 20 000 litres of sorghum beer were destroyed, a house burnt down and a van load of bread stolen in a day of violence in Fort Beaufort yesterday.

Nobody was injured and no arrests were made, the liaison officer for police in the Eastern Cape, Major Gerrie van Rooyen, said last night

Trouble started at 9am when pupils from Tinus and Lawson higher primary schools marched to the Makonna lower primary school and chased pupils out of classes

A crowd of about 1 500 gathered on nearby vacant land Police arriving on the scene were stoned and tear gas was used to disperse them.

Later a crowd of between 400 and 500 gathered in Tinus township Attempts to set alight a delivery van belonging to a Fort Beaufort bakery failed. The vehicle was stoned and all the bread was stolen The damage amounted to about R400

Early in the afternoon the mud and grass house of Mr Boyace Kula, who works in the Fort Beaufort Magistrate's Court, was burnt down.

At 2 30 A crowd of about 300 to 400 broke into the Eastern Cape Administration Board beerhall in Tinus township, destroyed 20 000 litres of sorghum beer and burnt down the hall. Damage was estimated at about R15 000, Major Van Rooyen said.

250 at service for stoning victim

PTO

Moving scenes at funeral

16/8/80

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Staff Reporter

ABOUT 250 PEOPLE filled the chapel at the Maitland Crematorium yesterday for the funeral of Mr Frederick Jansen, 46, who died on Tuesday after his bakkie had been stoned and set alight near Crossroads on Monday.

While the simple service was being led by the Rev Bob Benjamin of the Ottery Baptist Church, six of Mr Jansen's Moslem colleagues praved for him at a nearbv mosque

After the service the six men joined fellow employees of the Oregon Construction Company at the chapel to offer their condolences to Mr Jansen's family

Mr Jansen, who was responsible for building work done by the company, was taken to Tygerberg Hospital on Monday after being attacked on the old Klipfontein Road near Crossroads His bakkie was stoned, overturned and set alight He received between 65 and 80 percent burns He died on Tuesday He had been taking workers home when his bakkie was attacked

Yesterday all work by the company stopped at noon to allow employees to attend Mr Jansen's funeral

After the service the family retired to a reception room, where members of the congregation expressed their condolences A large party of workers led by a foreman, Mr M Armien, who had been at the mosque in Maitland, filed into the room

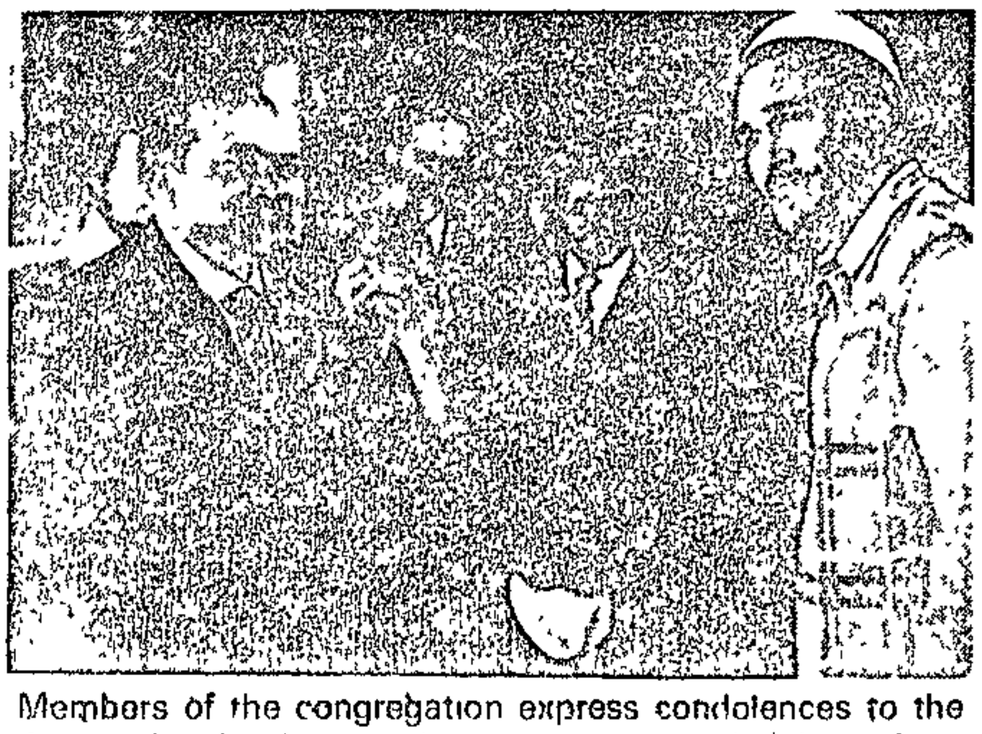


Mr Frederick Jansen

Mr Armien said that he told Mrs Joan Jansen that her husband was a good man and a "perfect example of what a human being should be" Mr Jansen had been very popular, and the workers "felt hurt" at his death

Similar comments were expressed by other employees Mr Salie Lodewyk, who worked "for years" for Mr Jansen, said Mr Jansen had "felt something for everyone", irrespective of race "He was always the best "

The funeral of Mr George Beeton, 59, a contract supervisor for a Philippi firm, was held at the Maitland Crematorium on Thursday He died on Monday when the vehicle in which he was travelling was attacked near Crossroads



Members of the congregation express condolences to the Jansen family Among them are workers, led by a foreman, Mr M Armien, right, who prayed for Mr Jansen at the mosque in Maitland.

16/8/80

27 S

Jansen, said Mr Jansen had "felt something for everyone", irrespective of race "He was always the best"

The funeral of Mr George Beeton, 59, a contract supervisor for a Philippi firm, was held at the Maitland Crematorium on Thursday He died on Monday when the vehicle in which he was travelling was attacked near Crossroads

On Tuesday night Mr Jackson Kantini was killed by a car when he jumped from a truck after a petrol-bomb was thrown into the cab On Wednesday police were informed that Mr Peter Peterson had died after his car had been stoned Police have detained five people in connection with the death of Mr Beeton and Mr Jansen

According to the Chief Commissioner, Western Cape, of the Department of Co-operation and Development, Mr Timo Bezuidenhout, the Crossroads Committee has said that Crossroads residents opposed all violence. They blamed the violence on a tsotsi element from other areas who were trying to involve "their children" in the stone-throwing.

Messages of sympathy

Chief Reporter

THE Jansen family of Pinelands has received "countless" messages of sympathy — most of them from black people — since the death of Mr Frederick Jansen, one of the victims of petrol-bomb attacks on vehicles near Crossroads on Monday.

Mrs Mona Devereux of Monte Vista, Mr Jansen's sister, said yesterday that in thanking their well-wishers from all sections of the community, the family, through the Cape Times, wished to make it known that they held no grudge against black people because of what had happened

"My brother's wife Joan has been overwhelmed with kindness and we have all undergone a great and moving human experience in the messages of sympathy, gifts and moral support we have received from all over the place and from people of all races

"The telephone has been going non-stop, and people we have never met or seen before have been arriving at Joan's home with flowers, parcels and comforting messages

"A very moving thing is the tremendous amount of sympathy we have had from black people — and Joan has asked me to say a special 'thank-you' to them She has also asked me to convey to the black community that she holds no grudge against them for what has happened She realizes the circumstances in which this terrible thing took place"

Mrs Devereux said the messages from black people were not only to offer sympathy, but also to say that black people as a whole dissociated themselves from the actons of those who had assaulted occupants during the week

Mrs Devereux said the picture on the font page of the Cape Times on Tuesday of a severely-burnt Mr Jansen sitting at the side of Klipfontein Road after his bakkie had been stoned and set alight had naturally shocked the family "But we feel that if that picture has had the effect of shocking people into a realization of what is going on, and of the situation weare all in, then it will have done a lot of good"

Mr Jansen's daughter by a previous marriage, 13-year-old Audrey, has not been able to speak since the news was broken to her on Tuesday of her father's death Shewas among members of the family who attended the service for Mr Jansen at the Maitland crematorium yesterday.

Cape violence: Koornhof and Heunis in talks

JOHN BATTERSBY REPORTS ON THE KILLINGS AT CROSSROADS

RACE relations experts say the Ulster-type violence which shocked the Cape Peninsula this week was an almost inevitable by-product of the Government's failure to resolve the dispute between Black commuters and a bus company.

The dispute has lasted for 2½ months and involves the White-controlled City Tramways

The Minister of Transport, Mr Heunis, has agreed to meet a delegation from the Cape Western Region of the South African Institute of Race Relations to discuss the steps necessary to defuse the situation

In another move, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof, yesterday held urgent talks with senior members of the local administraton board and the leader of the Cape Community Council

Five people have been stoned, shot or burned to death in the violence which broke out near Crossroads this week Motorists were attacked with stones and petrol bombs

Three boys and two girls, all between the ages of 15 and 17, have been held in connection with the violence, which police have blamed on roving tsotsi elements Two Black community leaders and an unknown number of Crossroads residents have also been held

South African Institute of Race Relations president Dr René de Villiers told the Sunday Express the Crossroads violence was an almost inevitable by-product of the race confrontation which followed the failure to resolve disputes between Black and White

"It only needs some thoughtless or deliberately provocative act by either side to trigger a chain reaction That is why one is critical of the handling of the bus boycott

"At a time when everything possible should have been done to defuse the situation and bring all sides together around a table, the authorities saw fit to insist on the strictest implementation of the Transportation Act provisions about unlicensed carriers

"Low wages, high fares, long distances to travel, unsatisfactory channels of communication between the disputing parties, and the absence of even elementary political institutions lie at the root of the bus boycott troubles," said Dr De Villiers

"Nobody in his right mind approves of or can possibly condone violence and the resulting loss of life, but it is up to the authorities to ensure that social, economic and political conditions are such that the danger of violence is reduced to the minimum"

In an interview with the SABC this week Mrs Daphne Wilson, chairman of the Cape Western Region of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said the outbreak of violence at Crossroads followed a confrontation between police and commuters waiting for pirate taxis at a bus stop where empty buses were standing

According to Mrs Wilson, armed riot police in plain clothes tried to force the commuters to board the buses.

"The people refused to get into the buses — they walked instead — but six pirate taxis actually defied the authorities by forming a convoy and turning their lights on full with blaring hooters," she said

Mrs Wilson believes the Crossroads violence is directly attributable to the authorities' ill-timed clampdown on pirate taxis, used extensively by commuters to avoid buses

Mrs Wilson said there was unanimous support for the bus boycott in the townships

The row began when the existence of anti-boycott pamphlets, issued anonymously by Mr Pik Botha's South African Information Service, was exposed

Towards the end of last month the authorities began strong-arm action against the operators of pirate taxis and made wholesale arrests

Police and armed officials of the Road Transportation Board stood at pirate taxi ranks and prevented commuters from entering them

This led to strong feelings of resentment in the Black community and has been cited as the underlying cause of the recent violence

E Cape unrest goes on

(275) STAR 18/8/80

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Eastern Cape police are investigating several cases of arson after a weekend of continued violence in black townships.

The main trouble spot was Fort Beaufort, where serious unrest started on Friday, building up to a confrontation between police and stone-throwing blacks in which teargas and birdshot were used.

A police spokesman said a mob which burnt a beer hall on Friday night took about 10 000 litres or sorghum beer, and another 10 000 litres were destroyed in the fire which caused damage estimated at R8 000.

Violence, arson in E Cape

18/8/80 Argus.

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Argus Bureau

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STONED

A group of policemen patrolling on foot in the black townships later that night were stoned by people hiding behind houses.

Teargas and birdshot were used to disperse them.

On Saturday night pupils saw a fire at the Newton coloured school in Fort Beaufort. It was extinguished before any damage was done.

A fire was also detected at the Fort Beaufort coloured Congregational church on Saturday night, and damage amounting to about R100 was done before it was put out.

At Bedford a fire on Saturday night in a farm school was extinguished by farm workers.

Beerhall fire: 15 charged

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Fifteen people will appear in the Magistrate's Court here today on charges of public violence after a beerhall was burnt down and looted and police stoned at the weekend.

Police are also investigating several other weekend fires in the Eastern Cape.

Fort Beaufort police station commander, Lieutenant B van der Westhuizen, said a mob which burnt down the beerhall on Friday night took about 10 000 litres of beer. Another 10 000 litres were destroyed in the fire which caused damage estimated at R8 000.

A policeman who tried to control the mob, Sergeant Van Rooyen, was admitted to hospital after being hit on the leg by a stone.

A fire in the Fort Beaufort coloured Congregational church on Saturday caused damage estimated at R100. At Laerskool Newton, also in Fort Beaufort, pupils spotted a fire and extinguished it before anything was damaged.

Gqweta gets R500 bail

EAST LONDON — The national organiser for the South African Allied Workers Union, Mr Thozamile Richard Gqweta, who appeared in court here yesterday charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act, was granted R500 bail.

However, the granting of his bail was suspended to allow police to complete their investigations and will only become effective from August 28 when certain conditions will also be attached relating to his bail

Mr Gqweta was again not asked to plead to the charge, which dealt with alleged intimidation of workers at Raylite Batteries here, and no evidence was led

His appearance followed a strike at the car battery plant last Wednesday

The hearing was postponed to August 28

In another hearing four Mdantsane men, Mr Ndiphiwe Makatala, 31, of Zone Eight, Mr Lancelot Booi, 30, of Zone Four, Mr Vuyisile Pato, 25, of Zone Three, and Mr David Tandani, 27, of Zone Eight, appeared briefly charged with inciting workers to strike or to proceed with a strike.

They were not asked to plead and no evidence was led Bail of R100 each was fixed but will also come into effect on August 28. — DDR

Teenager wounded in E Cape unrest

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — A young black woman was injured by birdshot when police opened fire once when unrest continued in Fort Beaufort last night.

The police liaison officer in the Eastern Cape, Major Gerrie van Rooyen, said the woman, aged 19, was receiving hospital treatment under police guard for a birdshot wound in the thigh. Her condition was not serious.

She was wounded when police dispersed a crowd of about 150 people who had surrounded the house of a teacher, Mr N Williams, in the black Tinus township at about 8.45 pm. Teargas and birdshot were used because the crowd started throwing stones at police on their arrival at the scene.

About an hour earlier, police used tearsmoke to disperse a crowd of about 300 pupils and adults gathered on vacant land adjacent to the same township when they threw stones at police.

A police spokesman in Fort Beaufort said today that another three arrests had been made in connection yith the unrest, after 15 arrests on Friday night, when a group of police on foot patrol were ambushed by stone-throwers in a black township.

ARRESTS

Of the 15, whose ages ranged between 17 and 26, eight appeared in the local magistrate's court yesterday charged with public violence, but were remanded for further investigation. The other seven, of whom some were to be used as witnesses, had been released, he said. More arrests were expected.

Fort Beaufort has since Friday been the focal point of unrest in the Eastern Cape, following a trail of unrest in other towns.

Between Friday morning and yesterday, a beerhall was looted and gutted in Fort Beaufort, a bakery van looted and an attempt made to set it alight, a Government employee's house was gutted, pupils at a primary school were chased from their classrooms by older pupils from two other schools, police were stoned and attempts made to set fire to two coloured schools

Reef faction war rages

Gunmen slay five

By KINGDOM LOLWANE
and MZIKAYISE EDOM

FACTION fighting has led to another outbreak of gun slaying in which five men were shot in cold blood on the Reef.

The shootings took place in Soweto and the East Rand. More than two dozen Zulu tribesmen have so far been shot in faction fight in 10 weeks.

The slayings take place in broad daylight and have spread from the Reef to outlying towns and districts in Natal

Soweto's CID chief, Colonel Steve Lerm, yesterday confirmed the gunning down of a Meadowlands Hostel inmate, Mr Dingithini Mncunu (31), Mr Sonnyboy Shingo (21) of 1561B Mofolo Village and Mr Ndakuzempi Ngabe (40) of 113D Dube Hostel.

Col Lerm said no arrests had as yet been made.

Another shooting incident involved a 26-year-old East Rand woman, Miss Constance Jabela, who was gunned down during an argument with unknown men.

Col G N Myburgh, Divisional Commissioner of Police in the East Rand, said Miss Jabela was shot three times in the chest. Two other East Rand men were shot dead, and police suspect faction fighting. The men have not yet been identified.

Soweto police announced the murder of nine other people in the township. All were knife victims.

Miss Shirley Moeketsi (23) was stabbed by an alleged boyfriend during a visit to Orlando East. Miss Moeketsi is originally from Tembisa.

Other knife victims are Mr Serafu Radebe (25), of 2503 Orlando East, Mr Patrick Golwane (20), of 290 Dube Village; Mr Phillipson Sedi (23), of 5925 Orlando East; Mr Gayithanu Gono (31), of 8527A, Zone 6, Pimville; Mr Cyrion Zwane (20), of 594 Zone 3, Meadowlands; Mr Zephania Linda (22), of 562 White City Jabavu and Mr Solomon Moshoeshoe (33), of room 24, Meadowlands Hostel.

Also reported to the Soweto police were 12 rapes — the victims' ages range between 12 years to 27 years, three burglaries and eight motor car thefts. Four people have been arrested for these crimes.

Police raided 24 shebeens and confiscated 160 dozen beers.

Nineteen stolen vehicles were recovered and police have arrested eight men.

An Indian man was arrested for illegally dealing in Vesperax tablets

A domestic worker was burnt to death, and approximately damage of about R100 000 caused when a fire swept through the house of a Pretoria veterinary surgeon at the weekend.

Mrs Mary Maseko, who was in her early thirties, was found in her quarters at the home of Dr David Meltzer of Waterkloof Road, early on Saturday.

The doctor and his family were on their Northern Transvaal farm when the fire started. A police spokesman in Pretoria said the cause of the fire had not yet been established.

Birdshot in PE area

PORT ELIZABETH — For the second successive night a youth was injured by birdshot in unrest in Fort Beaufort last night. Two motorists and an eight-year-old child were injured by stones.

Police believe trouble-makers moving to various townships in the Eastern Cape were responsible for the unrest.

In Dorrington Township yesterday about 60 black youths stoned a car and two police vehicles. They were dispersed with birdshot and no injuries were recorded.

Later five youths threw stones at the car of Mrs A M Jubert of Alice, breaking a rear window and slightly injuring her daughter's head.

Mr R Hoskin of Hogsback, also had a head injury when his car was stoned.

Early today a classroom of the Wezodiso black primary school in Fort Beaufort was destroyed by fire causing damage of R1 000.

New unrest in E Cape

20/8/80

C-Times

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Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A fresh outbreak of violence flared up in Fort Beaufort on Monday night and yesterday after a weekend of unrest and looting.

Yesterday several vehicles were stoned in a township and two people were slightly injured when private cars were stoned on the national road.

A 19-year-old woman received birdshot wounds when police fired at a stone-throwing crowd on Monday night.

Major Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said a group of between 50 to 60 people yesterday stoned a delivery vehicle in in the township.

Later in the morning a group of between 50 and 60 people stoned private vehicles and police patrol vans at the same spot. Police used birdshot to disperse the crowd. Nobody was known to have been injured, Major Van Rooyen said.

Two cars had windscreens smashed when they were stoned on the Fort Beaufort/Alice road, three kilometres outside Fort Beaufort yesterday An eight-year-old gir, A Joubert, whose address was given as care of Fort Hare University, was struck on the head.

Bedford police have arrested two men, both aged 23, in connection with a fire which gutted a one-room farm school in the district at the weekend.

Vehicles stoned at Beaufort

FORT BEAUFORT — A fresh outbreak of violence flared up here on Monday night and yesterday.

Yesterday several vehicles were stoned in the black township and two people were slightly injured when private cars were stoned on the national road.

A girl of 19 received birdshot wounds when police fired at a stone-throwing crowd on Monday night.

Major Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said a group of between 50 to 60 people stoned a delivery vehicle in Dorrington Road in the township yesterday, leaving it badly dented.

Two cars had windscreens smashed on the Fort Beaufort-Alice national road and a man and an eight-year-old girl were injured. — DDC.

Adelaide pupils freed as charges dropped

ADELAIDE — Charges of public violence have been withdrawn against 10 scholars here.

Forty-one scholars appeared briefly in the magistrate's court here yesterday. Ten were freed as charges against them were withdrawn and 31 were remanded in custody.

The case against the 31 has been postponed to September 10.

The children's ages range between 14 and 19. An Mdantsane lawyer, Mr Ben Ntonga, is defending them. — DDR

PE pupils agree to resume classes

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Representatives of black pupils in Port Elizabeth have unanimously decided to call off their massive class boycott, now in its fourth month while the total stayaway at higher primary and secondary schools is in its sixth week.

They will return to school on September 2.

This was said today by the chairman of the parents' committee which has been negotiating with them, the Rev James Haya.

He said the decision was announced by the Port Elizabeth Students' Council (PESCO), a committee of about 20 pupils, when meeting with the parents last night.

The pupils had thrashed out their decision during meetings yesterday.

The parents' committee had appealed to the pupils to return to classes to show "a positive step" from their side while the Government was reacting positively to their demands.

"We told them to take into account the short-term improvements announced by the Government, such as the erection of new school buildings.

Many have lost jobs

SIR, — The bus boycott must stop! Many people, including my parents lost their jobs because of it.

People lost their jobs because there was no transport.

The taxis were always overloaded, and sometimes just drove past without even stopping.

We just can't do without the buses. The boycott should therefore stop.

WILLEM VAN WYK
Elsies River

CAPE HERALD

The Paper that Cares

Eliminate the grievances

DURING the recent school boycott, police raided a meeting of the Committee of 81 and took photographs and names and addresses of those present. Subsequently these pupils were fetched and taken to a meeting with police officials. It was all very friendly, but probably unnerving to the youngsters involved.

It was during that time, too, that pupils, responding to the call by Minister Marais Steyn to discuss their problems with him—'my door is open' —sarcastically suggested that his door was open all the way to prison.

Later, some members of the Committee of 81 were detained and subsequently released without charges being preferred.

During the bus boycott, gentlemen with military-type weapons were to be seen 'keeping the peace' at bus queues.

The recent strike of municipal workers at Johannesburg was put down by the simple expedient of bussing some of the strikers away from Johannesburg to their respective homelands. And again police were much in evidence.

When people fail to gain even an understanding ear from the Government and feel the need to take unusual (but not illegal) action to make the powers that be sit up and take notice, it would be foolhardy of them to announce their identities, knowing the attention they will get from the police.

With such shows of strength, it is not to be wondered at that many people prefer anonymity. And rather than criticise the Press for publicising the activities of faceless bodies, Minister of Police Le Grange should acknowledge that there are grievances to be eliminated, and should do his best to eliminate them without having people live in fear of being the next detention statistic.

Arson spreads in Eastern Cape

23/8/80

c (Uitenhage) 27

UNREST and arson was the order of the day throughout the Eastern Cape until Sunday night In Port Elizabeth nine families lost their homes and some possessions in a fire which caused damage of R3 000

Fort Beaufort was equally hard hit by arsonists and looters who set alight a beerhall destroying about 10 000 litres of beer.

Earlier they helped themselves to a similar amount of beer. The value of the beer was R8 000, according to a police spokesman.

A policeman, was stoned when he tried to put out the fire and had to be treated in the Fort Beaufort Provincial Hospital for wounds he received.

A Congregational Church in the coloured township was also fired but was quickly put out by residents. Only R100 damage was caused in this blaze

The Newton Primary School was the scene of an attempt at arson but pupils spotted the fire immediately after it was started and put out the blaze before any damage could be caused.

Near Bedford a school on the farm of Mr G Wienands was also set alight but prompt action on the part of pupils again prevented serious damage.

A police spokesman said that 15 people would appear in the Fort Beaufort Magistrate's Court during the week in connection with last week's unrest but by Monday morning they had not made any arrests in connection with the past weekend's arsons

Police fire shots to disperse mob

PORT ELIZABETH. — In a weekend of violence in the Eastern Cape, a mob tried to set fire to a police van, two Grahamstown women were injured and properties and vehicles were damaged or burnt.

Major Jan du Toit, acting police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said yesterday that Port Elizabeth riot police had fired four shots to disperse a crowd of about 50 black youths who tried to set fire to a police van in Zwide on Saturday night

He said the van, driven by a constable of the Port Elizabeth CID, overturned. The policeman radioed for help when a threatening mob congregated at the accident scene.

Riot police constables PJ Dibben and R Price, who arrived soon after, fired four shots when the mob tried to set fire to petrol which had leaked out of the van.

In one of several incidents on Friday and Saturday in Raglan Street, Grahamstown, Miss R Marx, of Campbell Street, Grahamstown, was injured about 7 pm on Friday when the car in which she was a passenger was stoned by two black youths.

A stone shattered her window and struck her on the head She was treated at Settlers Hospital and discharged.

At 5.20 pm on Saturday, Miss Louise van Dyk, 17, of Boskey Dell farm, outside Grahamstown, was struck on the head in another stoning incident in the street, which goes through a black area. She was not seriously injured.

No arrests have been made in either case

Students on public violence charges

(273) post 25/8/80

DISTURBANCES at various schools in the Border has had sequels in magistrates courts in the area.

Students have appeared in various courts on charges of sabotage and public violence.

At Mdantsane four Khulani High School pupils have appeared in court on charges of sabotage.

The case has been postponed to September 3. No evidence has been led and they have not been asked to plead.

Facing the charges are Zukiswa Mapeyi (19), Malusi Mbidlana (29), a 16-year-old girl and a 19-year-old boy.

Another 17-year-old boy from the same school is facing charges of public violence. The case has also been postponed to September 3.

At Siseko High School in Middledrift 18 pupils have been charged for public violence.

They will appear in court on Thursday at the Middledrift Magistrate's Court. They are out on R100 bail each.

They are Mlandeli Kwesani, Thabo Ngcanase, Mzwaupheli Gqeba, M Zweni, B Mgabadeli, P Yazini, T Folly, M Twaku, B Nanto, M Dondashe, Z Mali, B Hlawu, M Lamani, N Mize, A Gobozi, K Fali, T Ngcenge and Z Nqone. All are boys.

Their appearance is a sequel to the burning of books at the school and the stoning on police.

At Adelaide charges of public violence have been withdrawn against ten scholars.

Forty-one scholars appeared briefly in the Adelaide Magistrate's Court on Wednesday. Ten were freed as charges against them were withdrawn and 31 were remanded in custody and their case against them postponed to September.

Stonings, fires mar E Cape weekend

Argus Bureau
PORT ELIZABETH —

The chairman of the Port Elizabeth Community Council, Mr Norris Smgapi, and his wife were among many people stoned in a weekend of violence in the Eastern Cape black townships

At least three people were injured by stones and many buses and other vehicles were damaged

Several schools and other buildings were set alight, when violence flared in Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Uitenhage, Alicedale, Adelaide, Kenton-on-Sea and Alexandria

Police fired birdshot in Port Elizabeth on Saturday night to disperse about 50 black youths who tried to set fire to an overturned police van

No injuries from police shooting were recorded

CHANTING

Mr and Mrs Smgapi were stoned yesterday by chanting youths after a rowdy meeting in New Brighton on the schools boycott

Mr Smgapi had reported back on an interview by a six-man delegation from the Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown community councils with the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, in Pretoria last week

Under a barrage of stones from a crowd of about 100, the couple rushed to a car of another community councillor, but it sped off before they reached it

They sought refuge in a neighbouring house

Mr Smgapi, bleeding from a head wound, is believed to have escaped through the back of the house as police dispersed the mob

Crossroads fears white reprisals

POST 25/8/80

275

CAPE TOWN – After a week-long rioting in the coloured township here which has seen passing white motorists allegedly attacked and murdered, there are ominous signs that factions in the white community want to seek revenge for the killings by taking the law into their own hands.

While an uneasy calm now prevails in Crossroads, the sprawling squatter camp which has been the focus of the recent troubles, a leading Afrikaans-language newspaper reported receiving calls from incensed white residents asking why reprisals could not be taken.

Police have now declared a "no go" area for whites in the Nyanga-Crossroads' areas and this covers a main route from Cape Town to the local international airport. The authorities take the view that the roads there are not safe for whites.

The official death toll is five. Two whites and two blacks died as a result of attacks on their cars with bricks and petrol-bombs. The fifth — a black youth — was shot dead when he was allegedly igniting a petrol bomb.

Mr Oscar Mpetha and Mr Leon Mqhakayi were arrested at their Nyanga homes at 4 am on Wednesday (August 13) by detectives of the Murder and Robbery Squad.

Mpetha, aged 71, is the chairman of Nyanga Residents' Association and a national organiser of the Food and Canning Workers' Union.

Mqhakayi is secretary of Nyanga Residents' Association and an organiser of the National Union of Commercial and Allied Workers.

Mr Barnett Ntsoto, an executive member of the Guguletu Residents' Association and secretary of the Western Province General Workers' Union, blames the police for the violence and deaths.

"The police harassment of so-called pirate taxis and provocation of the commuters was a thorn in the flesh of the black people. We have long warned of the people's frustration," he said, and called for ar urgent inquiry.

The current unrest, while it obviously has its roots in apartheid, does seem to have been triggered directly by the police response to the boycott of buses.

Recently the police stopped several "pirate" taxis who were transporting commuters home from work. One of the "pirate" drivers protested and a policeman lashed out at him with his baton.

Soon the entire township, especially the area near Crossroads squatter camp, was gripped in violence.

Ntsoto said civic organisations had already warned that violence would erupt if the State came out in favour of City Tramways, whose buses have been boycotted for almost 12 weeks in protest against increased fares.

State action has not stopped at the arrest of illegal taxi operators, who provide one of the main forms of alternative transport for black commuters (and at a charge considerably below that of the buses).

Inspectors from the Department of Transport, armed with semi-automatic carbines, have been patrolling stations and bus terminus. Commuters have been forced out of "pirate" taxis and in some cases allegedly threatened with arrest for refusing to board the buses.

Crossroads is a "victim" community. Since it started life in 1975, when families from scattered camps were rounded up and given permission to build shacks in the bush, Crossroads' 40 000 residents have been hounded by the State.

For a time they enjoyed certain freedoms. They made and enforced their own rules, built their own homes, and ran their own schools, co-operatives, sports clubs and community organisations.

London Observer News Service.

25/8/80 DD

Singapi stoned after rowdy meeting

NEW BRIGHTON — The chairman of the Port Elizabeth Community Council, Mr Norris Singapi, and his wife were stoned by a mob of chanting youths after a rowdy meeting on the schools boycott at the Centenary Hall here yesterday.

The stoning followed a report back by Mr Singapi on an interview by a six-man delegation from the Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown community councils with the Minister of Education and Training, Dr F. Hartzenberg, in Pretoria last Monday.

The mob, which had earlier stormed into the hall singing freedom songs and hurling abuse at Mr Singapi, attacked him as he left the hall after the meeting.

Under a hail of stones from the mob of about 100, Mr Singapi and his wife rushed to the car of another community councillor. It sped off before they could reach it.

The couple then sought refuge in a neighbouring house. Mr Singapi, bleeding from a head wound, was said by onlookers to have escaped through the back of the house as police dispersed the mob.

During the meeting two windows of his chauffeur-driven car were smashed by the mob. The car was driven away before the meeting ended.

On Saturday, posters calling for a stayaway from the meeting were put up in the townships.

Mr Singapi told the meeting of numerous threats on his life since his efforts to find a solution to the continuing schools' boycott.

He said his family had also received a number of anonymous calls threatening violent action if he did not "lay off."

Mr Singapi attacked the Parents' Committee and its chairman, the Rev James Haya, during the meeting for saying it did not recognise the council.

Mr Singapi said it was a "multiple lie" that he was not elected by the people. He, being a leader, had to act on the boycott without first going to the masses for their mandate, he said.

Later, the mob of about 100 youths stormed in, banging doors and jeering, and many of the audience left the hall. Mr Singapi appealed to those remaining to be calm, and the meeting continued amid the commotion.

Mr Singapi said after the stoning the attack was senseless and it would not make him change his views.

"I did not invite the police, which I could have done because the meeting was for the good of the people," he said. — DDR-DDC.

E Cape violence

DD 25/8/80 (275)

PORT ELIZABETH — In a weekend of violence in the Eastern Cape, a mob tried to set fire to a police van, two Grahamstown women were injured and properties and vehicles were damaged or burnt.

Major Jan du Toit, acting police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said yesterday Port Elizabeth riot police had fired four shots to disperse a crowd of about 50 black youths who tried to set fire to a police van in Zwide on Saturday night.

He said the van, driven by a Constable Maqaqa of the Port Elizabeth CID, overturned at the corner of Johnson and Kojana Streets. The policeman had radioed for help when a threatening mob gathered at the accident scene.

Riot police constables P. J. Dibben and R Price, who arrived shortly afterwards, fired four shots when the mob tried to set fire to petrol which had leaked out of the van.

Nobody was injured and the crowd dispersed. No arrests were made, said Major Du Toit.

In one of several incident in Raglan Street, Grahamstown, Miss R. Marx, of Campbell Street, was injured at about 7 pm on Friday when the car in which she was a passenger was stoned by two youths.

A stone shattered her window and struck her on the head. She was treated at Settlers' Hospital and discharged.

At 5.20 pm on Saturday, Miss Louise van Dyk, 17, of the farm Boskey Dell, outside Grahamstown, was struck on the head in another stoning incident in the street which goes through a black area She was not seriously injured.

No arrests were made in either case.

Major Du Toit said another three cars had their windscreens shattered and a police van was stoned on Saturday night. Estimated damage to the vehicles was about R1 200. Two youths were arrested.

In Port Elizabeth at 1.30 pm on Friday a mob stoned and broke all the windows of a house in Khomza Street, Kwazakele, and on Saturday another house in the township was destroyed when a mob set fire to it.

On Friday and Saturday, seven buses were slightly damaged in separate stoning incidents.

In Uitenhage, which Major Du Toit said was "relatively quiet," two buses were stoned in Kwa Nobuhle early yesterday morning. Seven windows were broken.

In attempts to fire schools in different parts of the Eastern Cape, a door of the Mwisiswana School in Kwazakele was burnt on Saturday night The fire was extinguished before any further damage was done.

[illegible]ice

Shorthand Records from Eastern Offices

2/8/50 ARGUS

12 arrested in PE crackdown

Argus Bureau

A LARGE police task force arrested 12 people in the black townships of Port Elizabeth last night in a clean-up operation intended to curb the current spate of crime and unrest.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Major Gerrie van Rooyen, said senior police officers were pleased with the success of the operation, which was the biggest and most organised since the start of a concentrated crime prevention campaign last weekend.

ARSON

He said the task force consisted of members of the various police branches, but he would not disclose numbers.

They went into the townships at 9 pm last night and came out at 6 am, after arresting six people for arson and malicious damage to property, stemming from the recent stoning and burning of vehicle and other property.

Other arrests were one each for theft, motorcar theft, dealing in liquor, dealing in dagga, robbery and escaping from custody.

When the campaign started last weekend, two arrests were made and in subsequent police action during the week, another 11 arrests were made.

Meanwhile, following a wave of violence in the Eastern Cape at the weekend, the black townships have been calm in the past 24 hours. The only incident reported was arson at a house in Veeplaas, Port Elizabeth, yesterday.

No one was injured and damage was estimated at R1 000.

Big claim after riot

CLAIMS amounting to nearly R100 000 were made under the Divisional Council of the Cape's insurance policy as a result of damage sustained during the unrest in Cape Town in June this year.

Much damage was caused by stoning, involving a number of cars, two cash offices, the Civic Centre and hall at Matroosfontein and the Civic Hall and library in Elsies River.

The bulk of the cost of the damage was the result of arson.

Three shops in Elsies River which were completely destroyed, claimed a total amount of R80 177, while two cash offices were petrol-bombed.

27/8/80 Post 275

Unrest delays building plans

GRAHAMSTOWN — A R550 000 building programme to improve two black schools here has been postponed in the wake of arson and unrest last month — but the Department of Education and Training is adamant that no schools destroyed by fire will be rebuilt.

This means that more than 1 500 scholars are without classrooms. Those who have returned to school — about 50 per cent of lower primary school children — are being accommodated in double sessions at other schools less badly damaged by fire.

"We are right back to square one," said the circuit inspector, Mr G W. Merbold

"It has taken us years to do away with the platoon system and double sessions had all but been eliminated in Grahamstown."

He emphasised that while scheduled building programmes would go ahead at schools where no classrooms were burned," not a single burnt-out classroom or smashed window pane will be repaired with departmental money"

"The department's attitude is that it is not prepared to replace buildings destroyed by the children themselves But if they show they care about their schools, improvements will be carried out"

Two lower primary schools were totally destroyed by fire while at NV Cewu Higher Primary School only two of 16 classrooms can still be used

At other schools children sit in classrooms without any window panes Mr Merbold said some 4 000 panes were broken at several schools and would cost R10 000 to replace

This time the money will have to come from the community."

However, a building programme scheduled for the Nathaniel Nyaluza High School and Andrew Moyake Higher Primary School is likely to go ahead

The programme, which will cost about R550 000, will add 12 classrooms to Nyaluza and eight to Andrew Moyake, and will upgrade all buildings at both schools

Building was due to start in September but has been postponed because of the "volatile" situation in the township.

According to Mr Merbold, contractors were unwilling to start work while unrest continued, but he hoped the building programme would begin before the end of the year.

Another result of the schools boycott and arson here has been that private donors, responsible for thousands of rands worth of bursary grants each year, have advised the department that these grants are being withheld for 1981 — DDC.

Riot: police explain

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Two Ciskei police captains, from Mdantsane, have denied Ciskeian police entered classrooms at Khulani High School, at Mdantsane, to control students there.

The denial related to a situation at the school, on August 13, when the police were called to the school to quell a riot.

Capt M G Pakade, station commander at Mdantsane, and his second-in-command, Capt E Kutta, said the impression created by a report which appeared in the press on August 20 was that the police had acted irresponsibly.

The policemen were explaining police action on that day, during an interview arranged by Col Charles Sebe, head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services.

Col Sebe said police who acted aggressively towards students in riot situations were not doing so at the instance of police authorities in the Ciskei.

The Ciskei police officers were particularly worried about the case involving Gcobisa Madikane, 17, who sustained weals on her thigh when police used quirts to control the riot at Khulani.

Police action in controlling the riot was criticised by Gcobisa's father, the Rev E M Madikane.

Both Capt Pakade and Capt Kutta confirmed the police had apologised to Mr Madikane when they heard Mr Madikane's story that Gcobisa was one of the majority of students who were in class when some rioters burnt books.

The two captains denied emphatically police had beaten up the students who were in class, but admitted police had entered some classrooms "because there were suspects we wanted who were involved in the burning of books," Capt Pakade said.

He said the names of the suspects appeared on some of the books which were salvaged from the fire and when he was asked if the police assumed the names immediately branded as suspects the owners, Capt Pakade said the names were the first point of investigation.

"Regarding the beatings one should understand the police had not contended only with book burning on the day, but also with stone throwing directed at the police by the rioters," he said.

He said police would have apologised to any parent whose child was caught in a situation "not of his making" like Gcobisa had been "and that should not be interpreted as admission by the police that they had erred following irresponsible action." — DDR

Sebe: we want pupils at desks

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The Ciskei Government's greatest educational concern at the moment is to get schoolchildren back into their classrooms.

This was revealed here by the head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Col Charles Sebe.

Col Sebe denied the Ciskei Government was advancing the cause of "Bantu Education, as is claimed in some quarters."

He said: "The Ciskei Government has never championed the cause of Bantu Education and what the government is saying is that our children must attend school and make use of the education system that is available to them at this moment."

He did not say what kind of educational system was in use in the Ciskei, but said: "It is the greatest concern of the Ciskei Government to get these children back to school so that they can receive their education."

Col Sebe, who has imposed a news ban on riots in the Ciskei, said he would give the press full details next Thursday on the riots, which would reveal the real situation in the Ciskei regarding the unrest. — DDR

29/8/80

Court dismisses R3 000 claim

Cape Times

BCCA

R75

Staff Reporter

MR JUSTICE BURGER yesterday dismissed a claim by the "mayor" of Crossroads, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, for R3 000 damages against the Minister of Police for an alleged assault at the squatter camp.

Mr Justice Burger handed down a judgment in favour of the minister in the Supreme Court He awarded the minister costs.

Mr Ngxobongwana was arrested in a police raid on Crossroads on September 14, 1978. He claimed he was unlawfully arrested and unlawfully assaulted by members of the police force.

The minister of police denied that the arrest was unlawful and said that no more force than was reasonably required was used

Evidence was that on the night of September 13, 1978, police raided Crossroads. Residents had heard that a person was shot by police and the atmosphere was tense.

Residents assembled in front of Nxolo School and a community hall the next morning between 7 and 9. Mr Ngxobongwana said they intended meeting in the hall which was being prepared

Police evidence was that a meeting took place at the time in front of the hall. Mrs Laetitia Zondani, called on Mr Ngobongwana's behalf, said the aim was to sing hymns and collect money for the burial of the person shot

Mr Justice Burger said the legality of Mr Ngxobongwana's arrest depended on whether the gathering outside the hall was illegal under the Riotous Assemblies Act He found that on Mr Ngxobongwana's and Mrs Zondani's evidence the gathering was illegal.

It had a "common purpose" when the people started singing hymns and were addressed by Mr Ngxobongwana, who said he asked the people to stay calm and assured them the police would not harm them.

Police 'jeered'

Police evidence was that there was gathering addressed by Mr Ngxobongwana and others, which sang jointly and which jeered and "deliberately" pushed forward women and children to embarrass police in the event of any action taken

Mr Justice Burger found Mr Ngxobongwana was one of the organizers of the gathering. On whether undue force was used in the arrest, he said Mr Ngxobongwana's evidence had to be assessed.

Mr Justice Burger said Mr Ngxobongwana had not been a reliable witness. His description of various assaults did not conform with details noted by two medical doctors

Mr Justice Burger's criticisms of Mr Ngxobongwana's evidence included that Mr Ngxobongwana made changes in his evidence-in-chief and under cross examination and was inclined to be evasive and argumentative.

Mrs Zondani, who gave an account of the alleged assault, had also been an unsatisfactory witness. Her evidence initially appeared plausible, but she became vague when pressed for details.

Satisfactory

The evidence of two policemen, Constables F J Botha and R C Burger, had been far more satisfactory. Their story had no inherent improbabilities and fitted in with all the objective facts.

Counsel for Mr Ngxobongwana, Miss M de Swardt, had relied strongly on evidence by Mrs Susan Williamson, of the Women for Peace organization, who arrived on the scene, but was "only there for a few minutes".

She saw Mr Ngxobongwana being "thrown into the air" by policemen She was unable to observe events further as a policeman warned her to leave.

Mrs Williamson was "a lady of character and a very sincere person". However, her evidence was not sufficiently strong for him to reject the constables' evidence or cause him to accept Mr Ngxobongwana's account of "kicks, blows and the use of undue force".

Miss De Swardt was instructed by Mallinick, Rees, Richman and [illegible]

Youth dies as man drives into rock-hurling mob

28/8/80 ARGUS

275

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — An unknown youth was killed last night when a motorist drove his car into a mob of people who were stoning his property in Tinis township, Fort Beaufort.

The motorist, Mr Zamile Nondumo, is one of two residents in Tinis township whose property was damaged in unrest which followed incidents earlier in the day when police fired birdshot to disperse a mob.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Major Gerrie van Rooyen, said the flare-up of violence in Fort Beaufort started when a crowd gathered in front of the magistrate's court.

Thirty-three people were appearing on charges of public violence and arson arising from violence in the township earlier this month.

The people were asked by police to disperse. They then marched on the police station, where another appeal was made to them to disperse.

They broke up, but about 200 moved through the town where they stoned police vehicles and cars. Police opened fire with birdshot and the mob dispersed.

At 9 pm about 150 people gathered outside the house of Mr Nonduma. They hurled rocks at his house and two motor vehicles parked outside. The vehicles were irreparably damaged.

Mr Nondumo arrived in another vehicle and drove into the crowd. A youth was found dead after the crowd dispersed.

Police disperse mob

(275) DD 28/8/80

EAST LONDON — Violence flared in Fort Beaufort yesterday

Violence broke after a crowd of about 1 000 gathered in front of the Fort Beaufort magistrate's court yesterday where 33 people appeared on charges of public violence and arson arising from incidents in the township at the weekend.

Major Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said the crowd was asked by police to disperse.

They then marched on the police station where an appeal was made to them to disperse. The crowd broke up but about 200 moved through the town, where they began stoning vehicles.

The windscreens of four private vehicles were smashed. Police then opened fire to disperse the crowd.

Maj Van Rooyen said the mob was dispersed and people returned to the township. He said as far as was known there were no injuries.

No arrests had been made.

The 33 students who appeared in the magistrate's court on a charge of attending an illegal gathering were given over to their parents on warning to appear on October 1. No evidence was led.

In another court appearance, 10 other pupils, aged between 14 and 17, also appeared briefly in an in-camera hearing on a charge of public violence.

At Fort Hare a total of 1 228 students are now attending lectures and arrangements are going ahead for the end of the year examinations, a spokesman for the university said yesterday. — DDR-DDC.

'Burnt schools will not be rebuilt'

PORT ELIZABETH. — A R550 000 building programme to improve two black schools in Grahamstown has been postponed in the wake of arson and unrest last month.

And the Department of Education and Training is adamant that no schools destroyed by fire will be rebuilt.

This means that more than 1 500 schoolchildren are without classrooms. Those who have returned to school — about 50% of lower primary school children — are being accommodated in double sessions at other schools less badly damaged by fire.

"We are right back to square one," said the Grahamstown circuit inspector, Mr G W Merbold. "It has taken us years to do away with the platoon system and double sessions had all but been eliminated in Grahamstown."

He emphasised that while scheduled building programmes would go ahead at schools where no classrooms were burnt "not a single burnt-out classroom or smashed window pane will be repaired with departmental money".

"The department's attitude is that it is not prepared to replace buildings destroyed by the children themselves," he said.

Two lower primary schools were totally destroyed by fire while at N V Cewu Higher Primary School only two of 16 classrooms can still be used. At other schools, children sit in classrooms without any window panes. Mr Merbold said some 4 000 panes were broken at several schools and would cost R10 000 to replace.

"This time the money will have to come from the community."

However, a building programme scheduled for the Nathaniel Nyaluza High School and Andrew Moyake Higher Primary School is likely to go ahead.

The programme, which will cost about R550 000, will add 12 classrooms to Nyaluza and eight to Andrew Moyake and will upgrade all buildings at both schools.

Building was due to start in September but has been postponed because of the "volatile" situation in the township.

Another result of the schools boycott and arson in Grahamstown has been that private donors, responsible for thousands of rands worth of bursary grants each year, have advised the department that these grants are being withheld for 1981.

During the past two months, the beautiful and usually sleepy city of Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape has been rocked by waves of violence and arson which erupted in its black township when a school boycott turned sour.

Why did a sleepy city explode?

275 STAR 30/8/80

Robin Cooper, who left Rhodes University recently to join The Star, is doing post-graduate research on the Eastern Cape. He outlines the origins and course of the recent disturbances in Grahamstown.



Black school pupils take to the streets to protest about the quality of their education.

In June, township students who had joined the patchy national boycott of black schools were attacked by members of the "Peacemakers" — a local black vigilante group — who tried to force them back into their classrooms (Many black suspect the vigilantes of acting under directions from the police)

The students fought back and one of the vigilantes, Mr Alfred Soya, a taxi driver, was stoned to death.

Then, a few weeks later, Mrs Violet Tsili was shot dead when police dispersed 5 000 boycotting students.

The police denied responsibility for her death, but a chain reaction of black rage was set off in which six people were killed and R500 000 damage was caused — mainly to schools — six of which were almost totally destroyed.

Funeral

Briefly, this is what happened:

Mrs Tsili's funeral on July 19 was followed by a weekend of violence in which Mr Boyboy Nobiba was killed.

On July 26 1 000 people attended Mr Nobiba's funeral and, when violence broke out between mourners and the police, two people were shot dead: Mr Freddie Tsili (the son of Mrs Tsili, the second victim of the violence) and Mr Tununi Nxawe.

Later, Mr Nikele Mjekula, a shopkeeper and suspected informer, was killed by a mob and his shop gutted. Mr Mjekula had apparently spent some time on Robben Island.

Following Mr Mjekula's death, five schools were burnt and the home of the headmaster of Nathaniel Nyaluza high school was set alight.

Crackdown

The funerals of Mr Tsili and Mr Nxawe were planned for the weekend of August 2 but the police shifted them forward to August 1, when they were held under heavy police guard with only close family and friends in attendance.

The townships were declared an operational area and all liquor outlets in Grahamstown except white bars were closed. Police blamed drunkenness for much of the disorder.

After a massive crackdown by the police using helicopters, armoured "Hippo" vehicles, teargas, birdshot and quirts, the cycle of violence and death seems to have ended, although the boycott is still continuing and the townships are reported to be tense, with many youngsters having fled the city.

Why did it happen?

Protest against Bantu Education is nothing new in Grahamstown.

Black students demonstrated against the poor quality of their schooling in 1974 when a number of classrooms were gutted.

This year, when Grahamstown students joined the wider schools boycott they drew up an 18-point list of grievances indicting the Bantu Education system in general and demanding an 'education equal in quality to that of whites.

Their demands included.

- Better qualified teachers — a major complaint has been that primary school teachers are being used at secondary level;
- The general improvement of school facilities which are often appalling or non-existent;
- Equal teachers' salaries;
- Open access to universities, and;
- The provision of sports facilities.

Unless the quality of black education improves, (which means spending a lot of money on it) and unless the philosophy behind Bantu Education changes (which will be a painful step for Nationalists to take because it means greater integration and equality), it is unlikely that the school boycotts will come to an end permanently.

Backlog

The recent tightening up of influx control has also increased the urgency with which young blacks are seeking an escape from endemic poverty.

The Riekert Report recommended that only the precise number of black labour-units deemed necessary by Government planners be allowed to migrate to the cities with their relatively high standards of living.

For the less fortunate forced to remain behind in the homelands, on white farms, or in small towns like Grahamstown where jobs are few and poorly paid, the future is bleak indeed.

In the 1960s, the Government froze all building as part of its policy of inhibiting urban migration by limiting the amount of accommodation available. The policy did not prevent people moving into Grahamstown from the surrounding areas, but it did make their lives more miserable.

There is now an official backlog of 3 000 houses, and 65 percent of all homes consist of backyard lean-to shacks cobbled together from scraps of iron and whatever else can be combed from the nearby rubbish dumps. Conditions are reported to be so crowded in many houses that their occupants have to wash, dress

The townships have almost no amenities. The estimated 38 000 residents must get all their water from a small number of street taps, sewerage is irregularly collected in buckets, the roads are full of holes and without street lights, and the crime rate is high

Grahamstown blacks spend millions of rands each year in the white shops in the city centre (few blacks are allowed to own shops) and they are understandably bitter that so little money is spent in return on improving conditions in the townships.

Existence

Unemployment, or rather under-employment, is a critical problem. Because of the lack of local industry, and because influx control prevents free emigration to other areas where jobs in Grahamstown are very low, even by South African standards.

In 1973, the average wage for black men was estimated at R30/R40 per month and for black women R10/R20 Wages have risen but not by very much, especially when inflation is taken into account.

In 1978, there were about 17 000 adults in Grahamstown's townships. Only 10 000 of these had regular jobs. The rest had to live a hand-to-mouth existence as woodcutters, hawkers and part-time labourers.

Thousands of white householders employ gardeners for fewer than three days a week — that way they don't have to register them and pay the official levy.

The infant mortality rate — a horrific barometer of poverty — is one — 378 out of every 1 000 black infants die, mainly from malnutrition or malnutrition-related diseases

On top of this, township residents have been made to feel insecure about their right to live under even these unenviable conditions.

The Minister of Cooperation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, has only recently reprieved thousands of blacks who were under threat of arbitrary removal to Committee's Drift — an inhospitable resettlement camp in the Ciskei, from where some of them would have had to commute impossibly-long distances each day to their jobs in Grahamstown.

Lack of leadership, the rioting and the arson have deeply divided the black community and caused tensions.

Some observers believe that lack of effective munity has outraged township norms of sharing and helping and has led some of the older residents to blame outside elements for the outbreak of violence

Fear and suspicion of informers — widely believed to be everywhere — have thrown up class conflicts At the height of the unrest the small number of moderately well-off blacks feared being thought "collaborators" because of their "wealth"

People with phones were also in danger of being thought informers. A great deal of suspicion was aroused because the Post Office suddenly connected a number of telephones in the townships last year after a long period in which it was practically impossible for blacks to get them.

Some observers believe that lack of effective tion may have been a main cause of the violence. What was orginally a non-violent school boycott may have got out of hand not just because violence was used against the pupils, but because there was no authority capable of preventing it.

According to a researcher at an institute of Rhodes University (who asked not to be identified), blacks are no longer willing to come forward and be identified as leaders for fear of arrest and intimidation. As a result, a peculiar state of leaderlessness now exists in the community.

The Grahamstown Community Council, under the chairmanship of Mr Nduna, is the official authority structure. It is thought to have a very small following and yet there is no one else with whom the authorities can negotiate.

In any case, meaningful negotiations between the authorities and the students seem to have been precluded by the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, who said at the National Party's Natal congress that the Government would not hesitate to use strong measures to put down further unrest at black schools and that he would not negotiate with black students.

Appeal

On Monday August 18 the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, met the chairmen of the Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown Community Councils — Mr Singapi and Mr Nduna — in Pretoria to discuss the boycotts.

Mr Nduna, the chairman of the Grahamstown Community Council, held a report-back meeting with boycotting students in Grahamstown on Sunday and appealed to them to return to school. He got little response.

Meanwhile the boycott goes on and there seems little prospect of it ending in the near future In any case, even if it did end, many students would have no classrooms to go back to as the Minister of Education and Training had stated categorically that none of the gutted classrooms will be rebuilt by his department.

The Government has refused to make any meaningful concessions to the boycotting students and

MOTHERS OPPOSE BAIL FOR SONS

Cape Herald 30/8/80 R75

FIVE Ashton youths have been granted bail, pending appeal, in spite of the State having called on their parents to oppose the application.

Cape Herald reporters

They had been found guilty on charges of public violence and each sentenced to five months' imprisonment. They are Reuben Jaftha, Ntsau Nsinkhaya, Mtembisi Mangcala, Siphiwo Mphini and David Dangazela, all aged 18 and all from Zolani Township in Ashton.

Bail was set at R100 each but at the time of going to press it had not been paid.

The five appeared with 24 others at the Montagu Magistrate's Court on July 27 following incidents at the Community Primary School in Zolani on July 27 where pupils were boycotting school.

The ages of the other accused range between 10 and 17.

The prosecutor, Mr A O Mouton, called on five parents and one grandmother of the accused to testify against their children.

They told the magistrate, Mr J H A Rossouw that their children were responsible for their actions.

Charges against 12 were withdrawn. The remaining 17 were found guilty. The sentences of four were deferred for three years, eight received five cuts each and five were sentenced to five months imprisonment each.

At the trial last month none of the accused was represented. The bail application last week was conducted by Mr A M Omar.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1

(275) 1/9/80

Firebomb raids on principals

THE homes of the headmasters of Sizamile High School in Nyanga and Fezeka High School in Guguletu, Cape Town, have been attacked by an angry mob throwing petrol bombs and stones.

The violence on Tuesday night followed a day in which riot police arrested two pupils and struck others with batons when they dispersed a group of pupils who gathered in a Guguletu church to discuss the schools boycott in Cape Town's black townships.

Few incidents were reported in the Eastern Cape, Bloemfontein and Kimberley, areas hit by unrest this week. Bloemfontein was said to be quiet, while student leaders in the Eastern Cape have deplored the indefinite closure of their schools.

Doctorsen Tshabalala reports that authorities in Bloemfontein are poised for "stronger action" to end the schools' boycott, following sporadic action by radicals against pupils who began returning to school this week.

In Batho yesterday, police and Education Department officials and community councillors committed themselves to "neutralise instigators" and to solicit the aid of parents in normalising the situation at schools by Monday.

In Cape Town, the home of Mr P Tukulu, principal of Sizamile High, was stoned and severely damaged by fire after a petrol bomb was lobbed through a window.

Later, the home of the principal of Fezeka High Mr Gcaji, was stoned, all the windows shattered and his car parked in the yard was set alight.

The homes of two other teachers were also attacked and damaged by the angry crowd.

The attacks followed the beating up of some teachers and school pupils in their classrooms on Monday afternoon after the pupils had registered to return to school at the weekend.

The principal of Sizamile said a mob of angry youths burst in at the front door.

He said his family stood by helplessly as the youths ransacked his fridge and sprayed petrol over the furniture.

"Earlier, I was approached by three youths. They threatened me with death and as I was about to leave somebody took out a bayonet and told me: 'I'm going to kill you'

"I ran to my home and when I got there a mob of about 50 youths boys and girls had already burst in.

Another group was busy overturning my new car and when the petrol escaped, they set it alight.

The principal of the Fezeka School, Mr Gcaji said last night he was alone at home, when he heard knocking on his door.

"When I looked out I saw a mob of about 80 youths standing in front of my home.

"They did not say anything but when they saw me they started stoning the windows.

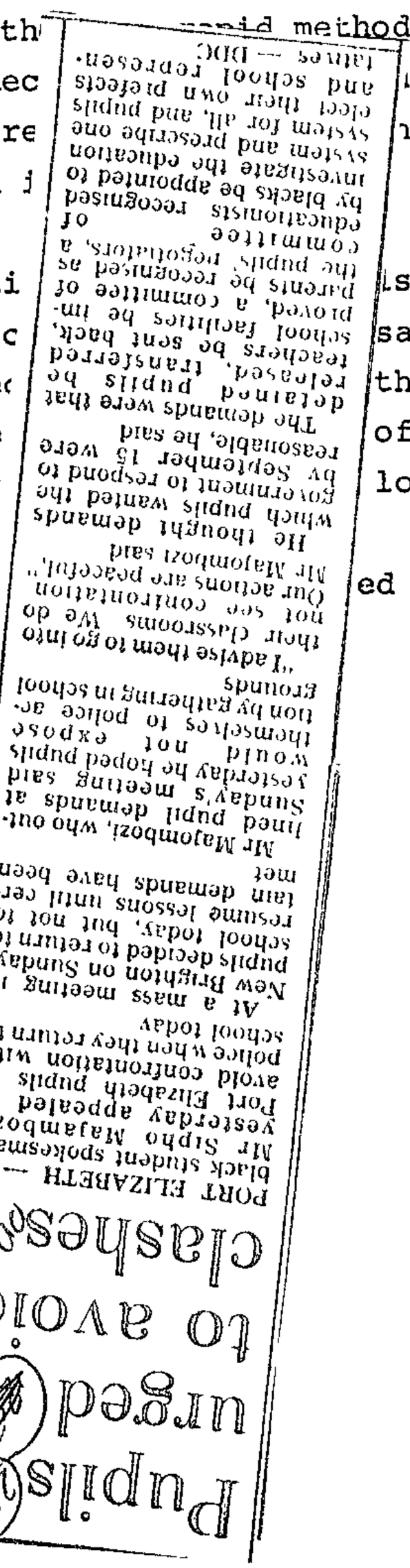
"When they realised I was not coming out, they overturned my car and set it alight.

Re: Term 3: Here it is suggested that a discount factor equal to (or slightly higher than) the interest rate on a comparable loan should be used for this term. This stream is riskier than the stream in Term 2 because the lessee requires to have a taxable income to get the cash flow.

Re: Term 4: The riskiness of this flow is likely to be equal to that of Term 3 thus the same discount factor is suggested. To facilitate a fair comparison with leasing th[illegible] method of depreciation allowed by the Rec[illegible]ould be used. Further- more depre[illegible]ntext includes the invest- ment and [illegible]

Re: Term 5: The riski[illegible]s likely to be equal to that c[illegible]same discount factor is suggeste[illegible]the tax shield arising from the [illegible]of the interest on an equivale[illegible]loan.

The general approac[illegible]ed to the problem in MAN. 530 which follows.



Pupils urged to avoid clashes

PORT ELIZABETH — A black student spokesman, Mr Sipho Majambozi, yesterday appealed to Port Elizabeth pupils to avoid confrontation with police when they return to school today

"I advise them to go into their classrooms. We do not see confrontation. Our actions are peaceful," Mr Majombozi said

He thought demands which pupils wanted the government to respond to by September 15 were reasonable, he said

The demands were that detained pupils be released, transferred teachers be sent back, school facilities be improved, a committee of parents be recognised as the pupils' negotiators, a committee of educationists recognised by blacks be appointed to investigate the education system and prescribe one system for all, and pupils elect their own prefects and school representatives — DDC

Mr Majombozi, who outlined pupil demands at Sunday's meeting said yesterday he hoped pupils would not expose themselves to police action by gathering in school grounds

At a mass meeting in New Brighton on Sunday, pupils decided to return to school today, but not to resume lessons until certain demands have been met

Deaths: Sebe blames govt

DAILY DISP. 27

KING WILLIAMS TOWN — Chief Minister Lennox Sebe yesterday blamed the deaths at Sada on the South African Government's failure to inform them of the move to close schools in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage

"Their failure to exercise common sense and courtesy caused the unrest at Sada," Chief Sebe said.

He said if the Minister of Education and Training, Dr F Hartzenberg, had warned them about the closure, the Ciskei would have made plans to forestall interference in its schools as 80 per cent of the students in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage were Ciskeians

"Our problems had been eighty per cent solved but the closure of schools in the urban areas changed our situation," he said

"We have information that boys from Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Grahamstown are working in the area

"They have accomplished their aims in having schools closed in their areas and they are now concentrating on the Ciskei, particularly, Mdantsane, Dimbaza and Zwelitsha"

"We would have made plans to forestall interference by elements who may have tried to contaminate our students. You can imagine what happens when such a big number of students have been thrown out on the streets and allowed to roam about freely."

Chief Sebe was commenting on the stoning to death of Constable Lungile Mbebe, 31, of Queenstown, and the death of Michael Masimini, 16, a pupil at the Nompumelelo Intermediate School, who was shot during the unrest.

Chief Sebe said before the unrest "strange people" were seen at Sada and his government believed the strangers orchestrated the riot

But he warned whoever was behind the riots was making a "great mistake" as the Ciskei Government would not be intimidated

He said Const Mbebe's death was a great tragedy because he was a promising young man. The manner in which he had died was highly disturbing

"When he was felled with a big stone his head was smashed to a pulp But his attackers kept on throwing stones at his head, a method of killing which is completely foreign to the Ciskei"

Chief Sebe's claim that outside elements were to blame for the school unrest was echoed by the secretary for Ciskei intelligence, Colonel Charles Sebe

Commenting on yesterday's arson at Lwazi Secondary School in Mdantsane where two classrooms, the principal's office and a storeroom were gutted and R30 000 damage caused, he said pupils from other schools had stoned Lwazi on Thursday night

There was a minor arson attempt at Wonelethu High School in Mdantsane

Pupils from various schools had grouped in thirties on Thursday night and there had been several incidents early in the night, Col Sebe said

He said his men were now on Phase Two of their strategy and the upheavals would be quelled.

Meanwhile, the Daily Dispatch traced the Masimini family yesterday who said they had not been given any details about the death of Michael, a Std 7 pupil.

Mrs Elsie Masimini, 60, said one of her other sons had gone to Queenstown's Frontier Hospital to identify the body

At Zwelitsha, a total of 300 Thembalabantu High School pupils appeared briefly in the magistrate's court charged under the Ciskei emergency regulations yesterday.

All were remanded to September 26 — DDR



A shambles of cracked roofing and twisted desks litter a classroom at Lwazi Secondary School.

WARNING

1. No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
2. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

to disqualification and to possible exclusion from
University

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Examiners' Initials			

Students guilty of public violence

275
3/9/82

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Sixty Zwelethemba Trade School students were found guilty yesterday by Mr J. Kotze in the Zwelitsha Regional Court on charges of public violence.

Originally 126 students were charged but charges were withdrawn against some. Later 71 were subpoenaed to appear on the charges.

The case, which was heard in camera, was a sequel to alleged violent behaviour by the students on Jul 7 — which the state alleged created a riot at the Zwelitsha township — where the students allegedly threatened to assault people while armed with dangerous weapons and actually assaulted others.

All the accused had pleaded not guilty to the charge. Their defence was that they had carried weapons to defend themselves against a tsotsi element at Zwelitsha, which assaulted them each time they visited the township.

Those acquitted yesterday were Mr Zandisile Nobatyi, 18, from Sikhobeni location near here, Mr Zolile Tini, 19, from Mdantsane, Mr Vusumzi Nani, 18, from Kwazakhele, Mr Michael May, 18, from Kwazakhele and Mr Amos Sotolashe, 19, from Carletonville.

The prosecutor, Mr F. Erasmus, conceded when the trial resumed yesterday that the five accused's story that they had not been part of the group that had allegedly committed the crime of public violence" could be reasonably true."

Mr Erasmus submitted that they should be acquitted.

Sentence against six juveniles in the case was postponed for three years, while the other accused were sentenced to 90 days' imprisonment, suspended for five years on condition they did not commit a public violence crime or assault anyone during that time. Failure to comply with this would result in a prison term without the option of a fine.

In finding the accused guilty, Mr Kotze relied on the evidence of Constable Vuso "who, although obviously not highly intelligent, was an impartial witness who did not taint his evidence."

He said whereas Constable Vuso's demeanour was commendable the same would not be said of Mr Vuyo Vambe, 25, one of the accused who was called to testify for the accused.

Those who received suspended sentences were Mr Eric Frans, 22, Mr Andile Mdingi, 19, Mr Andile Siwa, 18, Mr Zollsa Qabaka, 20, Mr Christopher Qabazi, 21, Mr Vukile Mgijima, 21, Mr Mkhuseli Xolimbila, 18, Mr Pinkie Somtsewu, 21, Mr Wilbey Releni, 21, Mr Mongameli Malgas, 20, Mr Siphiwo Tyoba, 20, Mr Kude Dibinkonzo, 19, Mr Mzingisi Tsotso, 19, Mr Mbulelo Vazi, 23, Mr Michael Mpitipiti, 18, Mr Goodwin Makoba, 20, Mr Monde Mayekiso, 26, Mr Vusimzi Nxiba, 22, Mr Branch Makamu, 22, Mr Mzukisi Bazi, 19, Mr Xolani Mabutho, 19, Mr Wandile Mbengashe, 19, Mr Judge Gwana, 19, Mr Tabo Mangali, 24, Mr Lamla Ngcongca, 20, Mr Banzi Mali, 20, Mr Ngubengwe Nyongwana, 19, Mr Fuyisizwe Zuma, 19, Mr Mongezi Mpulampula, 19, Mr Monwabisi Qwanyashe, 20, Mr Michael Centane, 24, Mr Mandla Hlangwana, 19, Mr Mzwandile Siza, 18, Mr Maxwell Zapi, 19, Mr Lulamile Hobongwana, 21, Mr Fotwana Potwana, 18, Mr Lucky Jubase, 20, Mr Vusumzi Ndyambo, 22, Mr Mzln khulu Ncanywa, 19, Mr Vuyo Vambe, 25, Mr Zongezile Mah, 19, Mr Similo Zondani, 22, Mr Mhlangabezi Qamba, 20, Mr Armstrong Mkutu, 22, Mr Joseph Busika, 18, Mr Lizo Dandala, 20, Mr Lumkile Gqallnyana, 26, Mr Orsmond Tshefu, 19, Mr Patrick Rubuseh, 20, Mr Petros Mntwana, 21, and Mr Du Plessis Ntuli, 21 — DDR

Convicted Cape students appeal

BLOEMFONTEIN — A magistrate had misdirected himself, it was submitted in the Appeal Court, Bloemfontein, yesterday, when he found that the arrests of nine men, arising from unrest at the University of the Western Cape, proved they must have been the ringleaders (belhamels)

The submission was made by Mr J R Whitehead, for the nine men who were appealing against convictions and sentences imposed on them by a Regional Court magistrate in Bellville on February 4, 1977, after unrest in August 1976.

Wilfred Jafta was convicted of common assault and fined R50 or 50 days The others — Herman van Wyk, Charles Davis Trevor Rance, Gert Visagie, Victor Neissenheimer, Eugene Visagie, Michael O' Neill and Glynister Lawrence — were convicted of public violence Van Wyk, Davis and Rance were each sentenced to 18 months' jail and the others each to two years' jail

On appeal to the Cape Supreme Court the convictions were all confirmed and half of each sentence, bar Jafta's, was amended so as to be conditionally suspended for five years

Mr Whitehead, submitted yesterday that the magistrate had misdirected himself in finding that The fact of the appellants' arrests proved they must have been the ringleaders, and the identification of each appellant (in most cases by a single witness) was accordingly corporated by the arrest of each appellant, as there were only 13 arrests out of about 400 to 500 students.

He submitted that as the appellants were student first offenders the sentences were disturbingly inappropriate.

Mr C F du Plessis, SC, for the State, submitted that by use of the word "belhamels" the magistrate had intended no more than that the appellants had played an active role It was clear he had given attention to the approach of the police geared to arrest chief culprits

However, in the light of the appellants' youth and clean records, he submitted that a portion of the sentence should be suspended, but that Jafta's sentence remain unaltered

Judgment was reserved. — Sapa

Sabotage: pupils in court

EAST LONDON — Six Khulani High School pupils appeared briefly in the Mdantsane Magistrate's Court on a charge of sabotage yesterday.

Zukiswa Mapeyi, 19, Malusi Mbidlana, 20, and four others aged between 15 and 17, were not asked to plead.

No evidence was led and all were released into the custody of their parents or guardians who were warned to bring them to court on October 6.

Their appearance was in connection with the burning of books at their school on August 13.

5 pupils charged

EAST LONDON — Malusi Mbidlana, 20, and four other Khulani High School pupils appeared briefly in the Mdantsane Magistrate's Court on a charge of public violence yesterday.

They were not asked to plead and no evidence was led.

All five were released in the custody of their parents who were warned to bring them to court for trial on October 6. —DDR

Ciskei police arrest pupils after unrest

DAILY DISP 4/9/80

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Trucks and police vehicles were used yesterday to transport Zeleni Secondary School pupils to the Ciskei police headquarters at Zwelitsha near here.

This followed unrest at the school yesterday, where stone-throwing pupils broke windows.

The unrest started in the morning when male students refused to return to classes. They were joined by other students after the short recess.

Sources at Zeleni said yesterday the students complained a few months ago about the "low standards" of tuition at the school, particularly in the form V class.

The principal of the school, Mr A.N. Mqomboti, was not available for comment yesterday

Colonel Charles Sebe, head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, refused to supply the press with any information relating to the school unrest in the Ciskei

Col Sebe, however, promised last week he would give a press conference today on the unrest where he would provide "full details" on the matter

The Ciskei Education Department would be forced to close Khulani Commercial High School, Mdantsane, if unrest leading to the resignation of white teachers continued at the school.

This was said by the Mdantsane Central circuit inspector of schools, Mr P. B. Cossie, at a meeting of parents and matric students at the school yesterday.

Mr Cossie said the Ciskei Education Department had asked him to call the meeting following disturbances at the school since August 12.

He said matric pupils in two classes were not cooperating with the teachers and no formal teaching had been done in the classes since August 12.

"The department has instructed me to explain that since this is a commercial school there are not enough black teachers to man it," Mr Cossie said.

"And because of the disturbances at the school one white teacher had left and a maths specialist would leave at the end of the year.

"If all white teachers here leave the school the department may be forced to close it because we shall not have enough black teachers to teach the subjects offered "

Tracing problems at the school he said pupils had written a letter to the principal complaining about certain matters.

"Some of these had been put right by the principal but he had to refer others to our head office and we are still awaiting a reply."

Mr Cossie said the school had had no problems with other classes.

An impassioned plea to students to continue their normal school work and write examinations at the end of the year was made by Mrs M. Mpoziswa, who said she was disturbed by the yearly disturbances in school is ending up in her children not completing their education.

In Port Elizabeth there were again few pupils at black higher primary and secondary schools, in spite of a call by student leaders that they return to school grounds from Tuesday.

No incidents of police action were reported.
—DDR-DDC

More time for black pupils to re-register

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The weekend deadline for the re-registration of black pupils in boycott-stricken Cape Town, Uitenhage, Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth schools has been extended until today.

In an interview last night the Cape Director for the Department of Education and Training, Mr P H Owens, said pupils who came to their schools today would still be signed on.

"Beyond that, we will play it by ear," he said.

The Cape Town figure for re-registration by noon yesterday was 3 500 and in Grahamstown about 650. The Port Elizabeth figure of about 250 was "disappointing". No figure was available for Uitenhage.

The Minister of Education and Training, Dr F Hartzenberg, said in an interview from Pretoria last night that he felt the poor Port Elizabeth response had been because of "organizations which previously said they wanted the boycotts to end, but are now taking the line that they want them to continue".

He said education would be provided for returning pupils, who would be protected on school premises by the police.

"They will remain for as long as they are needed. We must avoid intimidation of those pupils who come to classes. If they are not disturbed then the police will leave."

Low pupil attendence

Asked if schools with low pupil attendance would be closed, the minister said a decision would be made today.

"Although we might close some schools, we will use all teachers in the affected areas to the maximum advantage of the pupils. We will have smaller classes and will give individual attention.

"If necessary, some teachers will be sent to other centres where normal classes are continuing so that those pupils will also benefit."

Dr Hartzenberg said measures to help pupils to pass their end-of-year examinations were the cancellation of the September holidays and extramural activities, a longer school day and classes until noon on Saturdays.

275 P 25: 9/9/80

Kimberley Pupils

HUNDREDS of pupils yesterday, went into a white residential area at Kimberley and entered houses, smashing windows and overturning furniture and causing heavy damage, according to the Directorate of Public Relations of the Police in Pretoria.

The police statement said that about 1 500 students marched to a community hall where the Minister of Education and Training, Dr F Hartzenberg, was to have addressed parents.

"On arrival at the hall the students tore up their school books and threw them into a pile. Police were called in. The students started stoning them, upon which the police used teargas.

"The students left the scene and reassembled at St Boniface School which is closed at present. The police went there and warned the students to disperse. They refused and again stoned the police and shouted slogans. Teargas had to be used again."

The statement said the pupils then went to a white residential area and entered houses, broke windows and damaged furniture.

They reassembled outside the houses and about 19 of them were arrested for damaging property.

Police

The students then returned to the St Boniface School where they again stoned police, breaking the windscreen of a police vehicle.

A bread van was stopped near the Galeshewe township, robbed of its load and set alight. The police put out the fire.

After this a beer hall was stormed and entered by a group of pupils who smashed a TV set and damaged beer pumps and other equipment.

A police spokesman yesterday described the situation as "tense but under control." — Sapa.

Black pupils go on rampage in white Kimberley suburb

9/9/80 RDM 275 2267

By MARTIN FEINSTEIN

ABOUT 1 500 black students went on the rampage through a white suburb of Kimberley yesterday, entering homes and smashing windows and furniture.

The incident took place during a visit by the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg.

Scattering after police fired teargas, the crowd spilled over from Galeshewe township into the white suburb of West End where they entered homes, smashed windows and destroyed furniture

At least 19 students were arrested and charged with malicious damage to property

A bakery delivery van was set alight. A private car, three Northern Cape Administration Board vehicles and a police van were damaged by stones

A spokesman for Kimberley Hospital said 12 students had been treated for minor injuries.

The students assembled at about 9am at St Boniface Secondary School in the township They marched to the Abantu Batho Community Centre where Dr Hartzenberg was due to meet parents, teachers and community officials to discuss the city's month-long school boycott.

The students began piling torn-up schoolbooks outside the hall but were dispersed by police using tear gas

They marched back to St Boniface when they heard that Dr Hartzenberg had shifted the meeting to another venue.

After giving the crowd 10 minutes to disperse, police again fired tear gas and the slogan-shouting students scattered into West End and Galeshewe

According to the chief director of the Northern Cape Administration Board, Mr Martin Kruger, they damaged the board's only beer hall and smashed two television sets inside

"We're now on the alert for any more trouble," Mr Kruger said "We'll play safe and be ready if this continues. We were very surprised by it"

All bus services into Galeshewe were stopped at about 10am and most shops in the area closed at the same time.

Last night a spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said the situtation "is now quiet and under control"

"No further mass gatherings took place yesterday afternoon and preliminary investigations have begun into cases of damage to property The police are on stand-by," he said.

No estimates of damage were available

Only two of Kimberley's black schools are open, and the 10 000 boycotting students have held peaceful daily meetings at St Boniface.

Dr Hartzenberg left Kimberley yesterday afternoon without issuing a statement on his meeting

follow flare-up

from page 1

after three policemen's houses in Galeshewe were attacked last night.

One of the houses was burnt down, another had a petrol bomb thrown at it, which failed to explode, and the third had been stoned.

No injuries were reported.

According to the police, unrest started at 10 am yesterday when 1 500 pupils marched on the Abantu Batho hall in Galeshewe.

At the hall, schoolbooks were torn and scattered on the ground. Police called on the pupils to disperse and fired teargas after being stoned.

The marchers then went to St Bonniface School where they were again told to disperse.

Police were stoned and fired further teargas canisters.

Some of the pupils fled to a neighbouring (white) residential area, West End, where two houses had windows broken.

Two private vehicles, including a bread delivery truck were damaged.

The bread truck was burnt out and bread and money taken.

A number of police vehicles also had their windows smashed.

A beer depot in Galeshewe was also set alight last night and a large quantity of beer destroyed.

Sources on the Bloemfontein Administration Board confirmed this morning that "trouble started" early today when about 25 youths chased pupils from the Maboloka Sotho Higher Primary School.

Police were called to the area, and by late morning police spokesmen said a "larger than usual contingent" were in the townships, but had encountered little violence.

Salesman stoned by mob in township

Own Correspondent

A hundred and twelve schoolchildren have been arrested following a day of violence in Kimberley, during which three policemen's homes were attacked, and violence erupted in Bloemfontein's Mangaung township.

This morning a Bloemfontein salesman was stoned by a mob of several hundred youths in the township.

The man, Mr Jannie Kruger, sustained a deep cut on the left side of his head, and all the windows of his car were shattered following five direct hits.

He managed to race out of the area and said later: "If my car had stalled, I would have been dead."

The trouble in Kimberley took place while the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, was meeting the schools committees from the black townships at a building in the city centre.

A police spokesman said the situation was calm today after yesterday's unrest in the Galeshewe township, but that schools were empty.

He confirmed that 112 pupils were arrested in connection with allegations of public violence

To Page 3, Col 4

Blacks beaten up in Cape schools

9/9/80 ARGUS

275

Education Reporter

ATTENDANCE at black schools in the Peninsula has dropped dramatically after some teachers and pupils, who had re-registered at the weekend were beaten up in their classrooms yesterday afternoon.

One principal, who had 236 pupils yesterday and had none today, said a group of boycotting pupils entered his school yesterday afternoon and beat up pupils and some of the teachers.

Another principal, who yesterday had 254 out of the 560, said his figures were down to 63 today.

'HOSPITALISED'

'Although I have had no assaults in my school there are rumours in the township that children and teachers are being beaten up and that one child has even had to be hospitalised as a result,' he said.

Another principal who had 50 pupils today compared with 233 yesterday, confirmed that children were afraid of coming to school for fear of being harassed.

Over the weekend, 4 704 pupils, accompanied by their parents, re-registered at schools in Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu.

However, at a meeting in a church hall in Guguletu on Sunday night, the recently-formed Parents' Action Committee called for the boycott to continue until all grievances were met.

DEADLINE

The meeting, attended by more than 400 parents and 500 pupils, gave the Department of Education and Training until September 15 to meet the pupils' grievances, which include improved school facilities and the abolition of Bantu education.

The meeting also accused the school committees of collaborating with the Government and ordered their members to

MANPOWER 2000

on date of purchase, whether it was a new or a second-hand vehicle.

Violence flares in Kimberley

Daily Dispatch 9/9/80

KIMBERLEY — The situation here was described last evening as "under control" by a spokesman for the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria following yesterday's unrest in the area.

The spokesman said police were investigating damage to property at "a couple of houses" in the white residential area of West End and a beerhall in the black residential area, Galashuwe.

According to an earlier statement by the directorate, about 1 500 pupils had marched on a community hall in Galashuwe where the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, was scheduled to speak. The statement said police had broken up the gathering with teargas after the children had torn up school books.

The pupils then went on to West End where they entered houses, broke windows and damaged furniture.

They assembled outside the houses where about 19 were arrested for damaging property.

The pupils then went to St Boniface School where they stoned police on duty, smashing the windscreen of a police vehicle.

A bread delivery van was stopped near Galashuwe, robbed of its load and set alight.

After this the pupils stormed a beerhall, smashing a TV set and damaging beer pumps and other equipment.

A police spokesman described the situation as "tense but under control". He added that no further mass gatherings had occurred and police units were on standby. — SAPA.

Few return to E Cape schools

CAPE TIMES 7/9/80

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The Minister of Education and Training Dr F Hartzenberg, is expected to make a statement later today on the school situation in Port Elizabeth where the boycott is continuing

Only 29 of the total of 291 who had re registered were in their classrooms yesterday The department's Cape director, Mr D H Owens, described the figure as "disappointing"

He said the figure for Kwanoeuhle, Uitenhage, where about 263 had signed on by late yesterday afternoon was also unsatisfactory

Figures from Grahamstown where 282 attended classes of the 659 who had re-registered, were more encouraging

Mr Owens said number in the Eastern Cape were in sharp contrast to Cape Town where of the 4 704 pupils who had signed on 3 042 returned to classes yesterday.

Asked what would happen if the boycott continued in the trouble-spots of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, a spokesman for the department in Pretoria said he could only refer to the minister s statement last week in which he said that schools would close if pupils had not returned to their classes by yesterday

Kimberley pupils go on rampage

CAPE Times 4/9/85

— 19 held

Own Correspondent

KIMBERLEY — About 1 500 black pupils went on the rampage here yesterday during a visit by the Deputy Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg

Nineteen pupils were arrested and charged with malicious damage to property after the crowd spilled over from Galeshewe township into the white suburb of West End, entering homes and smashing windows and furniture

A bakery delivery van was set alight and a private car, three Northern Cape Administration Board vehicles and a police van were damaged by stones A spokesman for Kimberley Hospital said 12 students had been treated for minor injuries

The pupils assembled at about 9am at the township's St Boniface Secondary School and marched to the Abantu Batho Community Centre, where Dr Hartzenberg was to meet parents, teachers and community officials to discuss the city's month-long school boycott, which is keeping some 30 000 pupils out of their classrooms

They began piling torn-up schoolbooks outside the hall, but were dispersed by police using teargas They marched back to St Boniface when they heard that Mr Hartzenberg had shifted the meeting to another venue

After giving the crowd 10 minutes to disperse, police again fired teargas and the slogan-shouting students scattered into West End and Galeshewe

According to the chief director of the Northern Cape Adminstration Board, Mr Martin Kruger they damaged the board's only beerhall, smashing two television sets inside it

'On the alert'

"We're now on the alert for any more trouble," Mr Kruger said "We'll play safe and be ready if this continues We were very surprised by it"

All bus services into Galeshewe were stopped about 10am and most shops in the area closed at the same time

Last night a spokesman for the police directorate of public relations said "The situtation in Kimberley is now quiet and under control

"No further mass gatherings took place yesterday afternoon and preliminary investigations have begun into cases of damage to property The police are on stand-by"

No estimates of damage were available

Only two of Kimberley's black schools are open and boycotting pupils have held peaceful daily meetings at St Boniface

Dr Hartzenberg left Kimberley yesterday afternoon without issuing a statement on his meeting

Over 6000 pupils fail to register

Staff Reporter

MORE than half the pupils in the higher primary and high schools in the African townships did not re-register and thus forfeited the right to sit for the end-of-the-year examinations

The circuit inspector of the Department of Education and Training, Mr P J Scheepers said 4 785 pupils had registered over the weekend and yesterday

He gave the original number of the pupils at these schools as 11 063 That meant 6 278 pupils did not register He said 3 054 pupils were present at the schools yesterday

A tour of the townships yesterday showed there were few pupils at ID Mkize High School and Sizamile Secondary School

No pupils were visible at Fezeka High School and at Lunga High School, there were many pupils in the school yard

There were police in vans keeping watch on all the schools and it is believed that they were watching for intimidation of pupils who were registering

Mr Scheepers said he did not know whether the schools would be closed if the registered pupils continued to boycotted classes

No wishing away unrest — Kreiner

Cape Times 10/9/80

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By NEVILLE FRANSMAN
Municipal Reporter

THE deep-seated problems leading to the recent unrest in Cape Town could not be wished away and great responsibility rested on the shoulders of the City to find solutions to them, Cape Town's Mayor, Mr Louis Kreiner, said yesterday

Reviewing the past year in an address during his installation for a second one-year term of office, Mr Kreiner expressed his condolences to those who lost family members in the unrest created by the school, bus and meat boycotts

Lives had been lost unnecessarily, he said

It was imperative that solutions should be found to the problems which gave rise to the unrest This did not lie only with City leaders and politicians, but also with inhabitants of the City, who had to be willing to see each other's point of view

He appealed to everybody with grievances to approach him — whether they were schoolchildren, the bus company, representatives or committees If he could not offer solutions, he could act as arbitrator

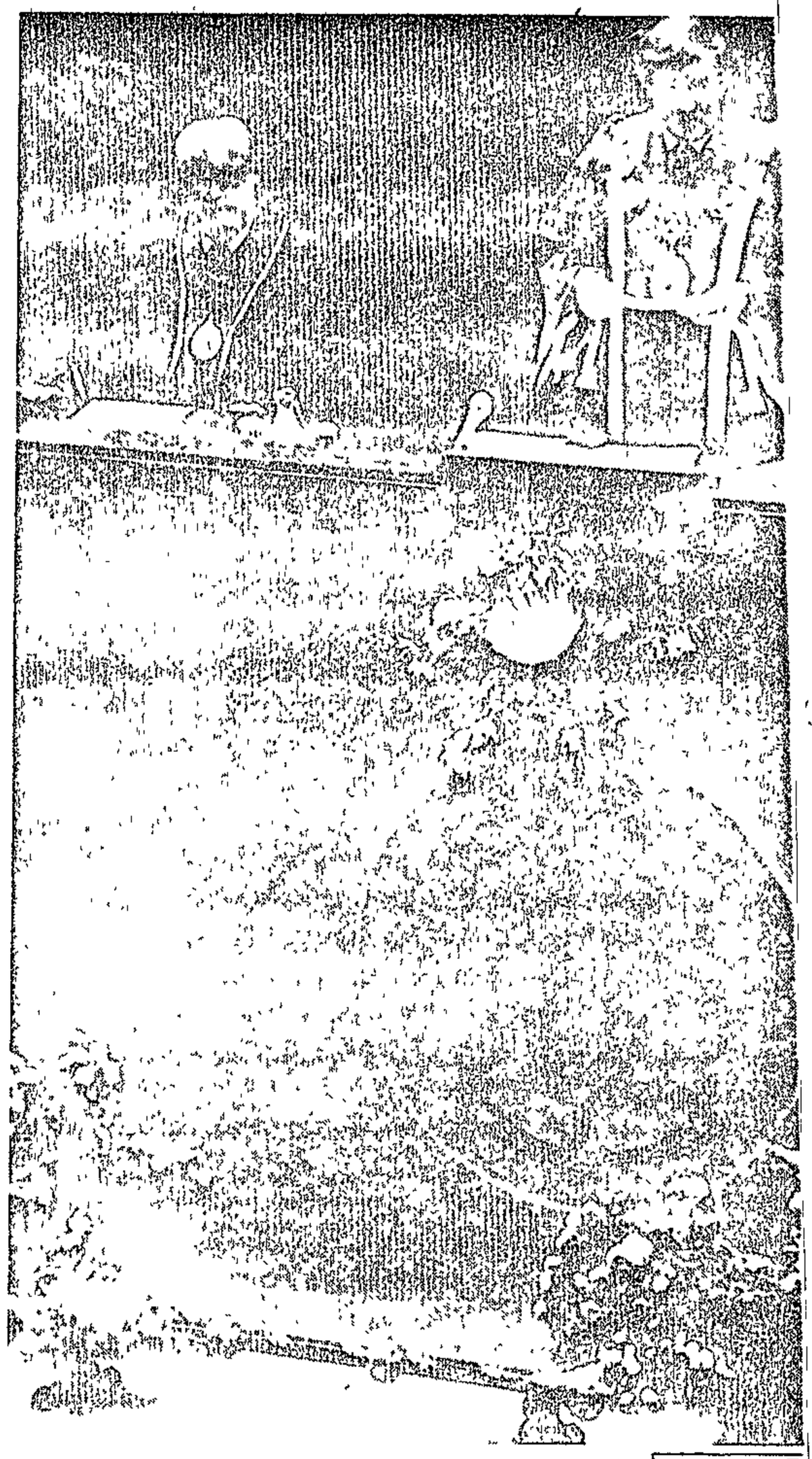
He reported that he and the Deputy Mayor, Mr M J van Zyl, had had an interview with the Minister and the Director-General of Transport regarding the disruption caused by the continued bus boycott He was awaiting a reply to their representations

Mr Kreiner said the crime rate was cause for great concern This had been brought home to him personally in a painful manner He was referring to the slaying of his brother, Mr Arnold Kreiner, in a Milnerton supermarket two weeks ago

Other points made by Mr Kreiner were

o The City's tourist industry was on the upswing, with Captour performing dynamic and reliable service

o Urban transport caused continuous anxiety, but the Metropolitan Transport Advisory Council had worked hard behind the scenes and it was hoped that the means could be found to implement proposals presented to the central and provincial governments



The Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Louis Kreiner, right, and the Deputy Mayor, Mr M J (Kosie) van Zyl, were installed for a second one-year term during a statutory City Council meeting in the Foreshore Civic Centre yesterday The ceremony in the flower-bedecked council chamber was witnessed by city councillors, council officials and a public audience of more than 200

Re: Term 4: The riskiness of this flow is likely to be equal to the same discount factor is late a fair comparison with d method of depreciation allowed venue should be used. Further- this context includes the invest- wances.

Re: Term 3: Here it is suggested that a discount factor equal to (or slightly higher than) the interest rate on a comparable loan should be used for this term. This stream is riskier than the stream in Term 2 because the lessee requires to have a taxable income to get the cash flow.

Cape Times 10/9/80

Schools in Uitenhage, PE closed

PRETORIA — All black higher primary and secondary schools in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage had been closed indefinitely, the Minister of Education and Training, Dr F Hartzenberg, announced here last night.

This followed the action of "certain individuals and pseudo committees" who had reacted negatively to positive steps taken by his department to normalize the school situation in certain troubled areas.

While proclaiming that they wanted pupils to go back to school, these individuals and committees were persisting in manipulating education for their own selfish ends and were organizing meetings and appealing to parents and pupils to continue the boycott of schools, he said.

Dr Hartzenberg also announced that special arrangements would be made in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage to accommodate those pupils who had re-registered at the end of last week and to assist them in preparing for and writing their examinations

In his statement Dr Hartzenberg said: "Following continuous unsuccessful attempts at local level to normalize the situation, officials of my department and I had repeated discussions with representatives of legally constituted bodies, viz community councils and school committees.

"At these meetings the alleged grievances raised by the pupils were discussed in depth. It was pointed out to these representatives that the department was already engaged in various programmes relevant to the matters raised by them.

To page 2

From page 1

"They were informed that the government intended providing equal education and facilities to all race groups and the steps taken had been detailed

"With a view to normalizing the school programmes and compensating for lost time, it was agreed with all concerned that the school day be extended, extra-mural activities be temporarily suspended, the school holiday be waived and special study material be made available to pupils It was further emphasized that any further delay in the recomption of teaching would result in syllabuses not being covered

"It is significant to note that certain individuals, who are school committee members were also invited to the same discussions (referred to above) at which the above-mentioned information was disseminated

"However, they boycotted these meetings, formed their own pseudo-committees and engaged in anti-productive activities by misleading parents and pupils

"It is noteworthy that the representatives of the school committees and community councils who attended the above-mentioned meetings were obstructed and their lives endangered when they endeavoured to report back to the parents

"Consequently, I announced certain steps on Wednesday, September 3, aimed at providing the opportunity to pupils to continue their studies and to prepare for the forthcoming examinations

"I also indicated that if pupils did not reregister on Saturday, September 6 and continue their studies in class on Monday, September 8, schools concerned would be closed and pupils would consequently forfeit the right to sit for the end of the year examinations.

"I also stated that education would be provided for every pupil who returned to school by Monday, September 8 and wished to continue his studies A letter to this effect containing full details was also forwarded to all parents and was widely published in the media

"Although the same individuals and pseudo committees referred to above proclaimed that they wanted pupils to go back to school, they nevertheless again reacted negatively on these positive steps taken by the department, by organizing meetings and appealing to parents and pupils to continue the boycott of schools, maintaining that no attention was given to the so-called grievances of pupils

"As a result of the activities of these individuals and pseudo committees who are persisting to manipulate education for their own selfish ends, and thus retard progress in certain communities, I regret to announce the following in regard to the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage areas

- All higher primary and secondary schools in Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth are closed indefinitely,
- Special arrangements will be made locally to accommodate those pupils who have already registered and to assist them in preparing for and writing of the examinations."
- The affective schools in the Galeshewe township in Kimberly would be closed for the rest of the year if "orderly and effective" education is not resumed from September 15 Dr Hartzenberg said

After a meeting between officials of his department and representatives of school committees and the Kimberley Community Council, it was agreed that all schools in the township would be closed from yesterday till Friday to afford them the opportunity of normalizing the situation"

At the meeting, the current disruption of education in the township was discussed and attention was given to grievances submitted by the representatives

The representatives were fully informed about developments in the department and the programmed aimed at improving the quality of education, the minister said — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Govt shuts black Cape schools

ALL black higher primary and secondary schools in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage had been closed indefinitely, the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, announced in Pretoria last night

He also said schools in the Galeshewe township in Kimberley would be closed for the rest of the year if "orderly and effective" education was not resumed from September 15, the Rand Daily Mail's Pretoria Bureau reports

Pupils would then forfeit the right to sit for the end of the year examinations

Dr Hartzenberg said his decision to close schools in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage followed the action of "certain individuals and pseudo committees" who had reacted negatively to positive steps taken by his department to normalise the school situation in certain troubled areas

While proclaiming that they wanted pupils to go back to school, these individuals and committees were persisting in manipulating education for their own selfish ends and were organising meetings and appealing to parents and pupils to continue the boycott of schools, he said

The Minister also announced that special arrangements would be made in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage to accommodate those pupils who had re-registered at the end of last week and to assist them in preparing for and writing their examinations

Referring to this week's unrest in Kimberley, he said that after a meeting between officials of his department and representatives of school committees and the Kimberely Community Council, it was agreed that all schools in Galeshewe would be closed from yesterday to Friday "to afford them the opportunity of normalising the situation"

At the meeting the current disruption of education in the township was discussed and attention was given to grievances submitted by the representatives

The representatives were fully informed about developments in the department and the programme aimed at improving the quality of education, the Minister said

In his statement on the Eastern Cape situation, Dr Hartzenberg said that "following continuous unsuccessful attempts at local level to normalise the situation, officials of my department and I had repeated discussions with representatives of legally constituted bodies, viz community councils and school committees

"At these meetings, the alleged grievances raised by the pupils were discussed in depth It was pointed out to these representatives that the department was already engaged in various programmes relevant to the matters raised by them

"It is noteworthy that the representatives of the school committee and community councils who attended the above-mentioned meetings were obstructed and their lives endangered when they endeavoured to report back to the parents

"Consequently, I announced certain steps on Wednesday, September 3, aimed at providing the opportunity to pupils to continue their studies and to prepare for the forthcoming examinations

Because the response of the "pseudo committees" had remained nagative, he had decided to close the schools indefinitely — Sapa

© See Page 6

Pupils' rampage in white suburb: 112 held

KIMBERLEY — A total of 112 black schoolchildren have been arrested following Monday's disturbance in which hundreds of black pupils in Kimberley went on the rampage through the Galeshewe township and the neighbouring white suburb of West End

The situation was reported to be quiet yesterday

The detained pupils — 68 of them girls — are to face charges of public violence

Fourteen schoolchildren and one policeman were injured as a result of the disturbance, police said yesterday

Prior to the "invasion", the pupils, numbering about 1 500, had gathered at St Boniface Secondary School and the Abantu Batho Community Centre where they tore up text books and set fire to a van and a car

Teargas was used to disperse the pupils

The demonstration took place while the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, was holding a meeting with members of school committees from the black townships at a building in the city centre

Colonel G van der Westhuizen said from Kimberley yesterday that the police had been patrolling the black townships but no further incidents had been reported

Giving details of the damage to property on Monday, police said the list included smashed windows, broken furniture and missing property in West End

The houses of two policemen were stoned and had broken windows

The house of another policeman was set alight and almost completely destroyed

A delivery van and a car were set alight in the township

Damage to the van was estimated at R3 000 and the driver was robbed of cash and a consignment of bread valued at R1 000

Twelve police vehicles, an administration vehicle and a bus were damaged by stones

Three beer pumps were damaged and two television sets were destroyed — Sapa

Ngceba asked to intervene

UMTATA — The father of a Std 8 Nyanga High School pupil who has been in detention 44 days has appealed to Transkei's Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Martin Ngceba, to intervene before his son appears in court today.

Mr Peter Luzoko Matolengwe, 20, is charged with incitement, conspiring to boycott classes and escaping from custody. He has appeared in the Engcobo magistrate's court three times and has been granted R300 bail.

His father, the Rev Patrick Matolengwe, said he had sent a telegram and express letter to Brig Ngceba voicing his concern as a parent and asked if Brig Ngceba would intervene.

Mr Matolengwe, who lives in Cape Town, said he was not told bail had been granted, "so we have not been able to arrange it. Since his arrest no one has been allowed to see him, including his lawyer, nor has he been allowed to receive food or clean clothing."

Brig Ngceba said he had received the telegram, but not the letter.

Mr Peter Matolengwe had not been allowed access to his attorney, Mr P Madikizela, before Monday, "in terms of the emergency regulations."

But on Monday, Mr Madikizela was allowed to talk to his client in the presence of two security policemen. Security police had not allowed Mr Matolengwe to appear in the Engcobo magistrate's court earlier that day.

The magistrate, Mr M. Mayekiso, instructed them to bring him to court today.

"I have to see him before then," Mr Madikizela said. "The charges have not been put to him and he's unsure of the deeds he's accused of." — DDR.

East Cape schools closed

DAILY DISP 10/9/80

PRETORIA — All black higher primary and secondary schools in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage had been closed indefinitely, the Minister of Education and Training, Dr F. Hartzenberg, announced here last night

This followed the action of "certain individuals and pseudo-committees" who had reacted negatively to positive steps taken by his department to normalise the school situation in certain troubled areas

While proclaiming that they wanted pupils to go back to school, these individuals and committees were persisting in manipulating education for their own selfish ends and were organising meetings and appealing to parents and pupils to continue the boycott of schools.

Dr Hartzenberg also announced that special arrangements would be made in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage to accommodate those pupils who had re-registered at the end of last week, and to assist them in preparing for and writing their examinations.

In his statement Dr Hartzenberg said "Following continuous unsuccessful attempts at local level to normalise the situation, officials of my department and I had repeated discussions with representatives of legally constituted bodies such as community councils and school committees

"At these meetings the alleged grievances raised by the pupils were discussed in depth It was pointed out to these representatives that the department was already engaged in various programmes relevant to the matters raised by them"

They were informed that the government intended providing equal education and facilities to all race groups and the steps taken had been detailed, Dr Hartzenberg said

"It is significant to note that certain individuals, who are school committee members, were also invited to the same discussions at which the above-mentioned information was disseminated

"However, they boycotted these meetings, formed their own pseudo-committees and engaged in anti-productive activities by misleading parents and pupils," he said

Meanwhile, the chairman of the Parents' Committee, the Rev James Haya, said it was a pity the government had not been more patient.

He said he had still hoped for an end to the boycott because pupils were to have reassessed the situation on Monday.

He said the pupils' calm and quiet behaviour during the four-month boycott had given him hope that a breakthrough was not far away.

Nowhere else in the country had pupils behaved in such a non-violent manner while waiting for the government to reply to their demands, he said

In Cape Town, the regional director of education, Mr D H. Owens, said that as a result of large-scale intimidation, the number of pupils who attended black schools in the Peninsula yesterday had dropped

Re: Term 3: Here it is suggested that a discount factor equal to (or slightly higher than) the interest rate on a comparable loan should be used for this term. This stream is riskier than the stream in Term 2 because the lessee requires to have a taxable income to get the cash flow.

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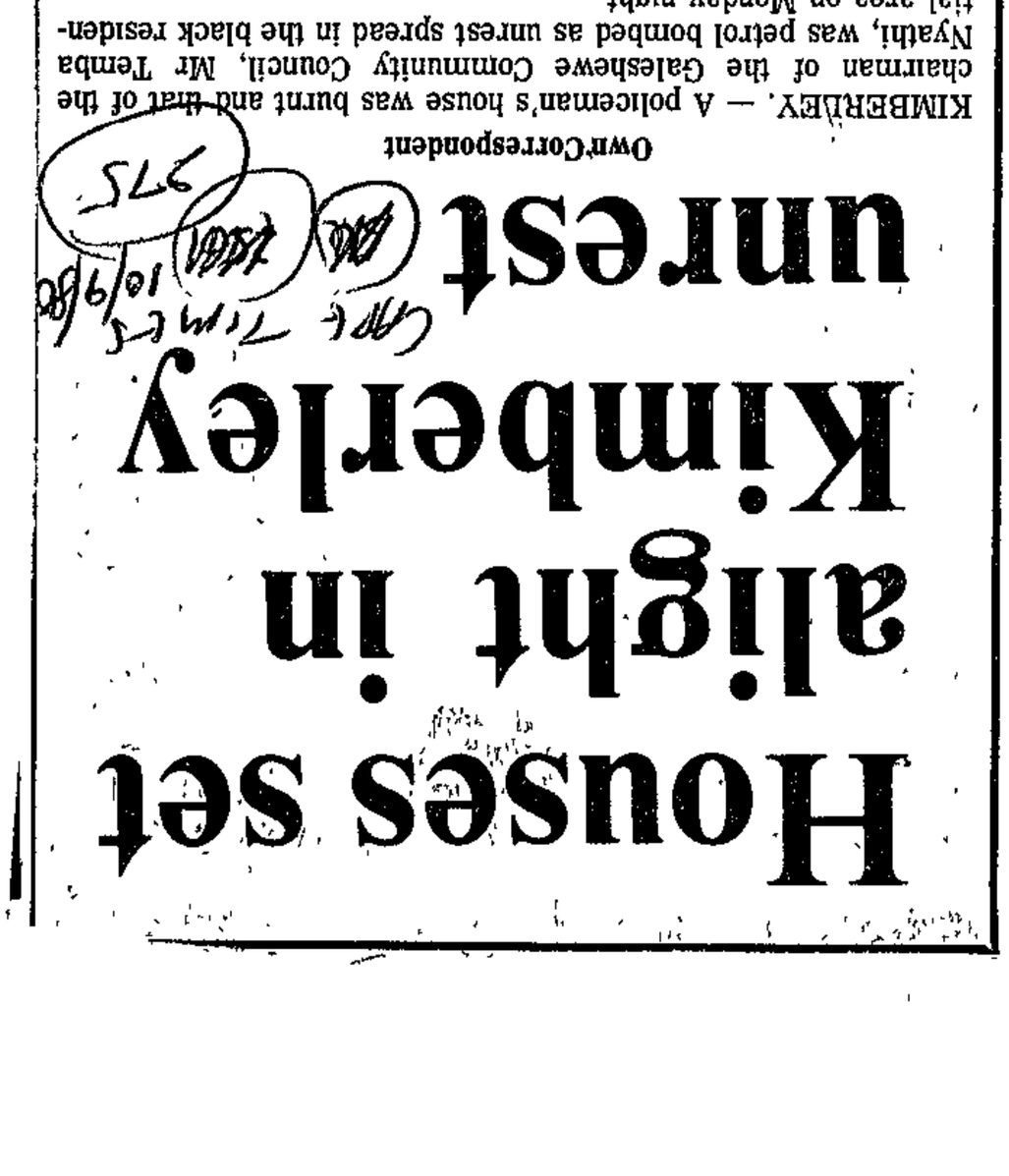

Houses set alight in Kimberley

Our Correspondent

KIMBERLEY. — A policeman's house was burnt and that of the chairman of the Galeshewe Community Council, Mr Temba Nyathi, was petrol bombed as unrest spread in the black residential area on Monday night.

Sergeant Simon Smith, of Galeshewe, said yesterday that he felt fortunate that his house was burned while he was away from home.

"I could have been burnt alive in my house if those responsible for the fire found me asleep. I have already made arrangements with our superintendent that I should move to a new house. I am no longer a safe person in this area," he said.

Scores of people and policemen came to comfort Sergeant Smith as he prepared to remove some of his furniture from his home.

A three-piece lounge suite was badly damaged by fire. Sergeant Smith's uniform was burnt and most of his private clothing stolen.

Kimberley police yesterday started their investigation into the case.

Mr Nyathi's house was petrol bombed while he was away. Damage was minimal.

Mr Nyathi said he believed the petrol bombing was carried out by vandals who took advantage of the "out-of-control situation"

Police are also investigating the petrol bombing of his house

The chief executive officer of the community council, Mr P J J Roodt, expressed concern about the petrol bombing of Mr Nyathi's house.

He said he did not see any good reason behind the petrol bombing of the house "Fortunately his children, who were in the house, escaped uncathed."



Two Guguletu students, Nancy, left, and Patricia, who attended a meeting in the Old Apostolic Church in Guguletu, tell how police entered the church and beat students with batons.

Police break up meeting

CAPE TIMES 10/9/80 (1) (2) (3)

Staff Reporter

TWO students were arrested and several were beaten with batons yesterday when police in camouflage dress entered a Guguletu church and dispersed about 150 students meeting to discuss the boycott of classes.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Province, Brigadier D B Nothnagel, said last night he was aware that a number of people had thrown stones at a police vehicle. When the police approached them, they took refuge in a church hall. The police followed them into the hall and arrested two people.

Brigadier Nothnagel said the police had taken action, but did not specify what had been done.

Shortly after the meeting, a crowd of students in township area NY72 were joined in stoning two delivery trucks by several angry parents, according to eyewitnesses. The police were called in again to guard the trucks. Both NY1 and NY3 were still being patrolled by riot police last night.

Two women students who attended the meeting yesterday morning in the Old Apostolic Church, NY74, told the Cape Times that students were singing freedom songs at the start of the meeting when about 20 policemen armed with batons and rifles entered the church.

"Most of them were dressed in riot clothes. They closed all the doors, went to the altar and asked who the 'minister' was — who had been standing in front to address the students. We said we were all 'ministers'. When some students started singing again, they said: *'Donners, bly stil daar!'*"

The girls said students bowed their heads to avoid being photographed by a man dressed in a black suit.

"The police then started hitting us and everybody ran to get outside. They also hit those on the floor who had fallen. The women said they heard a shot fired outside the church, where there were more riot police."

One of the women, Lorraine, 20, said the police grabbed her brother, Joseph, and a youth called Temba and put them into a police van. She said she saw several injured students outside the church. A boy who apparently broke his leg was taken to hospital.

Lorraine, whose forearm was swollen, said she had also been beaten on her upper arm. Her friend Patricia had a bruise behind her right ear.

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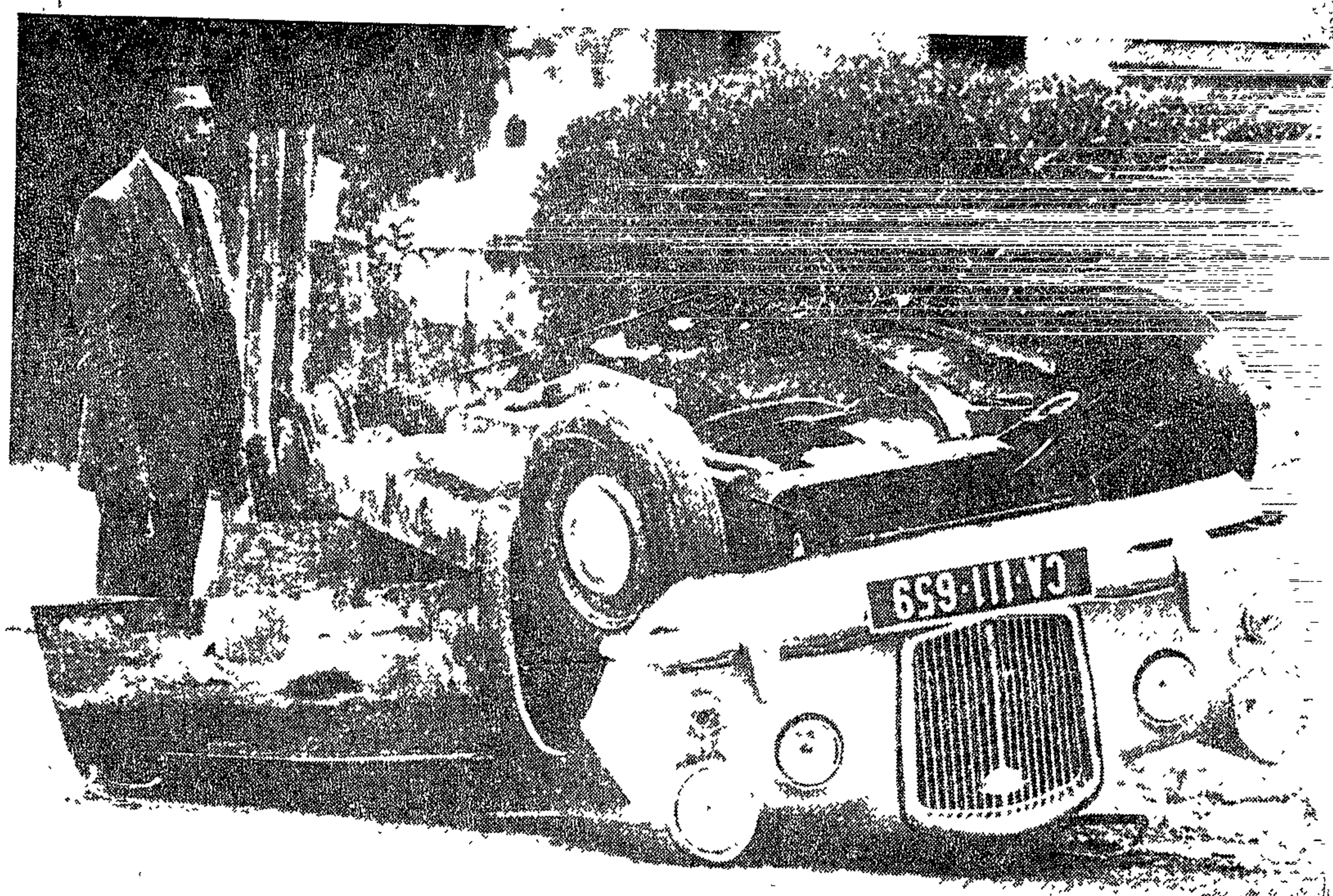
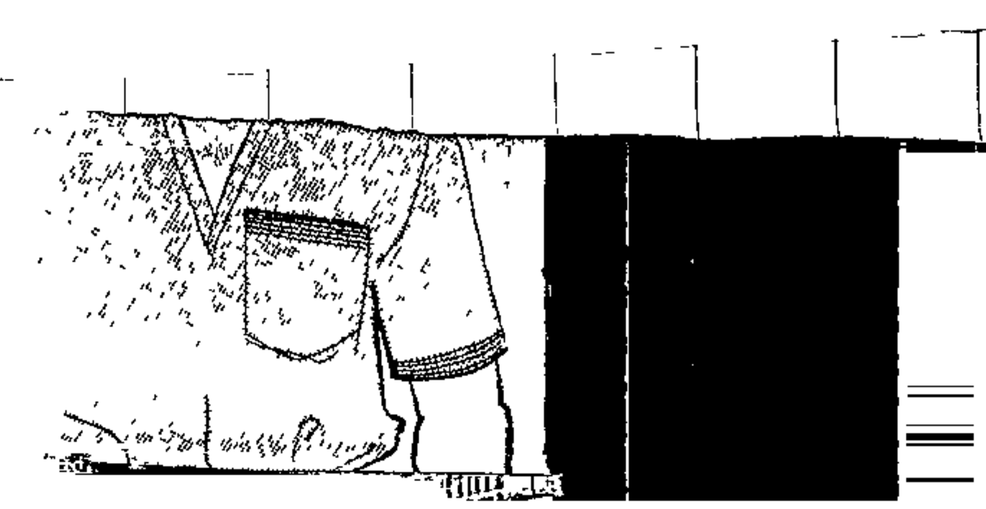


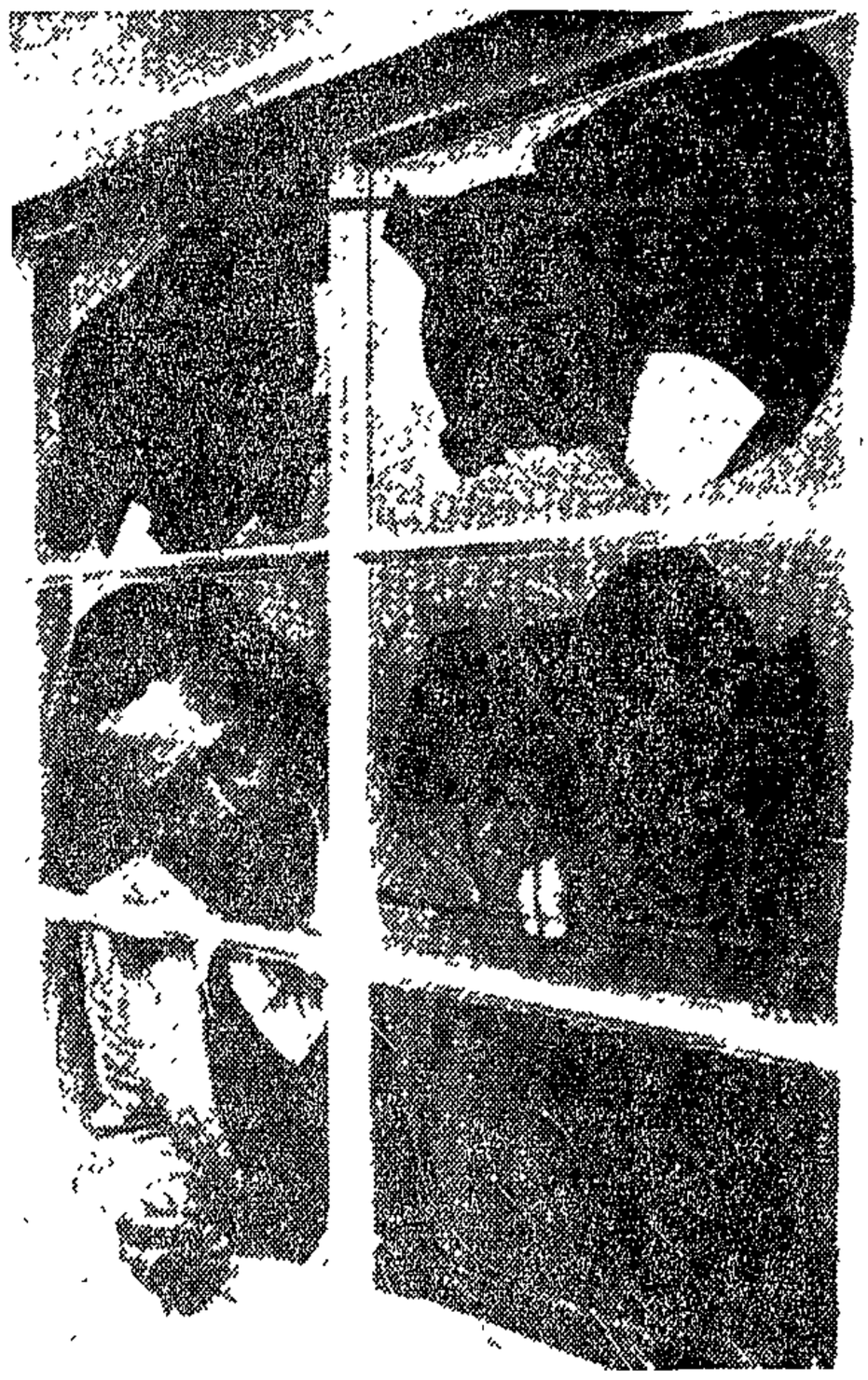
MR M GCAJI, principal of Fezeka High School in Guguletu, with his car which was burnt by angry youths last night. (More pictures, Page 3)



Cape township violence



THE headmaster of Sizamile High School Mr P Tukulu, in his car which was badly burnt.



MR P TUKULU examines the damage that was done to his home last night when it was set alight by a mob.

(Continued from Page 1)

anything, but ransacked the house in silence.

'I have no idea where I am going to stay tonight,' he said.

ALONE

The principal of Fezeka, Mr M Gcaji, said that at about 9 pm he was alone in his home when he heard knocking on his door.

'I did not open it as I had some suspicion of what was happening. Whoever was there then left.

'When I looked out of the window I saw a mob of about 80 youths standing in front of my home.

Mobs on rampage

They did not say anything, but when they saw me they started stoning the windows.

'When they realised that I was not coming out they overturned my car and set it alight. I was forced to leave the house by the back door and spent the night with relatives.'

ATTENDANCE DOWN

Attendance at schools in Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu was right down today, with some schools reportedly empty and others attended by between six and 150 pupils.

At some schools, where pupils had turned up for classes, no lessons were being given.

'After what happened last night to those principals' houses, teachers are a little nervous about giving lessons,' one principal said.

'It's all very confusing,' another principal said.

'Some people blame the deteriorating situation in the townships on the Department of Education and Training for not listening to the pupil's grievances. Others blame the skollie element.

'Some people say what is happening is right and others say it isn't. The pupils are becoming dangerous During the day they lie low but at night they rule the location

'It seems as if their targets are the principals the people who have been trying to uplift them all these years.'

Brigadier D B Nothnagel, Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape, said today the police had followed the pupils into the church aft

several had stoned police vehicles in the area.

The situation in the township this morning was tense. Riot squads were patrolling the townships and uniformed police in van were stationed outside most schools in the area.

Large crowds were gathered around the homes of the two principals which were damaged

CK 10/9/80 ARGUS (275) (350)

' HOMES

MOBS using petrol bombs and stones last night attacked the homes of the headmasters of Sizamile High School in Nyanga, and Fezeka High School in Guguletu.

The incidents followed a day in which riot police arrested two pupils and allegedly struck others with batons when they dispersed a group of pupils.

The pupils had gathered in a Guguletu church to discuss the schools boycott in Cape Town's black townships.

The home of Mr P Tukulu, principal of Sizamile, was stoned and severely damaged by fire.

Shattered

Later, the home of the principal of Fezeka, Mr M Gcaji, was stoned. All the windows were shattered and his car, which was parked in the yard, was set alight.

The homes of two other teachers were also attacked and damaged by the angry crowds.

The attacks on the teachers followed the beating up of some teachers and pupils in their classrooms on Monday afternoon, after the pupils had re-registered at the weekend to return to school.

Mr Tukulu said his family was watching TV when a mob of angry and violent youths burst into the front door.

Helpless

His family and relatives stood by helplessly as the youths ransacked his fridge and sprayed petrol all over the furniture.

'Earlier a policeman had come to my home to tell me that our priest's home had been stoned. After he used the phone I accompanied him to the corner.

'When I was returning home I was approached by three youths. They threatened me with death. As I was about to leave somebody took out a bayonet and told me that "I'm going to kill you."

'I ran to my home. When I got there a mob of about 50 youths, boys and girls, had already burst into the house.

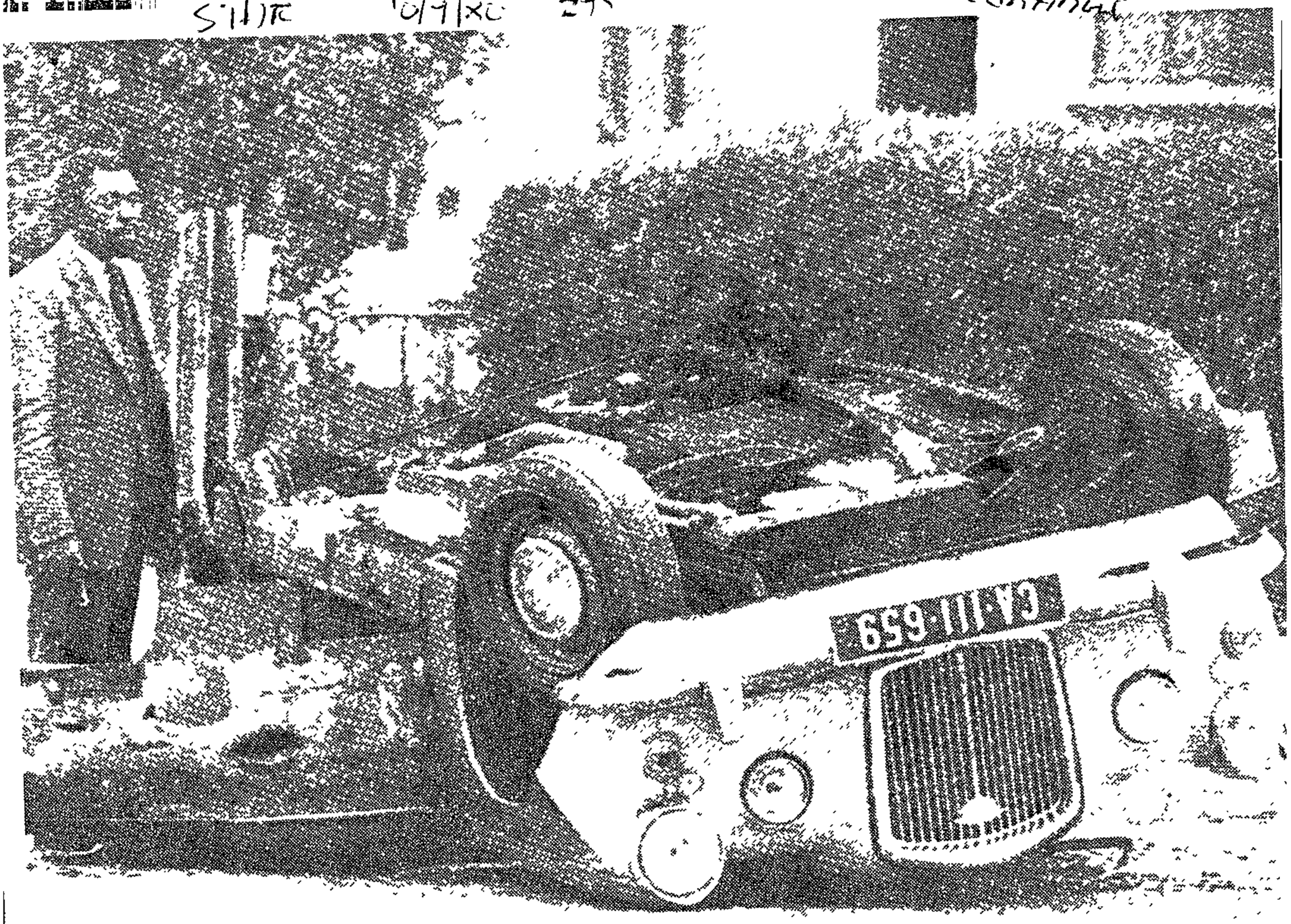
Ransacked

'Another group was busy overturning my brand-new car. When the petrol started running out they set it alight.

'All my family and I could do was to stand by helplessly.'

Mr Tukulu and his wife said that while the youths were in the house they did not accuse him of

(Continued on Page 3, col 5)



Mr M Gcaji, principal of Feseka High School in Guguletu, surveys the overturned burnt-out wreck of his car after a mob of angry youths had finished with it. All the windows of his home were also shattered.

Angry mobs attack the homes of 2 headmasters

10/9/80 ST 10th

275

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The homes of the headmasters of Sizamile High School in Nyanga and Fezeka High School in Guguletu were attacked by an angry mob using petrol bombs and stones last night.

The incidents came after a day in which riot police arrested two pupils and struck others with batons when they dispersed a group of pupils which gathered in a Guguletu church to discuss the schools boycott in Cape Town's black townships.

The home of Mr P Tukulu, principal of Sizamile High School, was stoned and severely damaged by fire after a petrol bomb was lobbed through a window.

Later, the home of the principal of Feseka High School, Mr Gcaji, was stoned. All the windows were shattered and his car, which was parked in the yard, was set alight.

The homes of two other teachers were also attacked and damaged by the angry crowd.

BEATINGS

The attacks came after the beating up of some teachers and pupils in their classrooms on Monday afternoon after the pupils had re-registered to return to school.

Attendance at schools in Langa, Nyanga and Gugeletu was down today, with some schools empty and others attended by between six and 15 pupils.

At some schools where pupils had reported for class, lessons were not being given.

"After what happened last night to the houses of principals, teachers are a little nervious about giving lessons," one principal said.

CLOSED DOWN

The Government has announced that all higher and primary schools in the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage areas have been closed indefinitely.

Among developments today:

● In Port Elizabeth, Security Police are holding about 13 people in connection with the black schools boycott.

The commander of the Security Police in the Eastern Cape, Colonel Gerrit Erasmus, confirmed today that the president of the Port Elizabeth Students' Committee (Pesco), Mr Duma Lamani was among those detained.

Those detained since yesterday were being held under the Criminal Procedure Act.

Colonel Erasmus said he had met a deputation of the Port Elizabeth Parents Committee yesterday, the only body recognised by the Pupils' Committee to negotiate on their behalf.

"They wanted to be allowed to arrange further meetings about the boycotts, but I will not allow that," said Colonel Erasmus.

The deputation was led by the chairman of the Parents' Committee, the Reverend James Haya.

● In Kimberley, a police spokesman said today 112 students who had been held in connection with disturbances had been released after paying admission of guilt fines. Two girl students were still being held.

A senior police spokesman at Divisional Headquarters in Kimberley said today the Galeshewe township was calm.

Police said unrest occurred until late last night.

Panic led to damage, say pupils

Argus Correspondent

KIMBERLEY. — Black pupils here say damage caused in the white residential area of West End on Monday was not deliberate, but occurred because they were fleeing in panic from police.

The white houses are situated in Findlayson Road, a short distance from St Boniface School.

West End borders on Galeshewe township and Findlayson Road continues into Galeshewe.

The St Boniface High School — focal point of pupil activity in recent months — is at the Galeshewe end of Findlayson Road.

ONLY ONE

Today, only one resident told a reporter of damage to her property. Several windows were broken and furniture was damaged.

All the residents interviewed said the pupils had been fleeing from the police when they entered the white homes.

They said there was no indication of wilful vandalism.

Mr J van der Westhuizen said five pupils entered his yard and one tried to hide in the toilet.

THE COLLAR

Mr van der Westhuizen's mother, Mrs H M van der Westhuizen, said she grabbed the pupil by the collar and he fled.

Mrs Agnes Lecwidi, a domestic servant at the house that was damaged, said a group of pupils ran into the house.

The police locked the doors and the pupils broke windows to get out.

Other residents said they were terrified but that no one was injured.

A police spokesman said today that 112 pupils who had been held were released after paying admission of guilt fines. Two girls were still being held.

Unrest occurred until late last night. The home of a black policeman was burnt down and a vehicle was destroyed by fire.

Victim of stoning near Guguletu

continue

IN yesterday's violence in Guguletu a bus carrying cerebral palsied children to their homes was stoned by crowds of youths.

Damage to the bus, from the Eros School for coloured cerebral palsied children, is estimated at R1 000.

A number of children will not attend school until the situation in the townships calms down, according to the principal Mr F Maritz.

SHATTERED

In the incident the windscreen of the bus was shattered by a stone which narrowly missed the driver. No one was injured but one of the children who was shocked was taken home by riot police.

The unrest yesterday occurred during the afternoon. By sunset all was quiet, but police patrols continued.

Pictures by Willie de Klerk



RIOT POLICE escort an ambulance through Guguletu

275 11/9/80 ARGUS



A CEREBRAL palsied child, Beranese Adriaansen, 9, is comforted by a riot policeman in a police van after the bus in which she was travelling was stoned.

Police hold 13 for questioning

S.S 11/9/80

PORT ELIZABETH — Security police here are holding 13 people, including schoolchildren, for questioning in connection with alleged intimidation of pupils.

Colonel Gerrit Erasmus, Divisional Commander of the Security Police, said other charges were also being investigated against some of the 13 who were all being held for questioning under the Criminal Procedures Act. This allows them to be held for up to 48 hours.

He said the people being questioned were taken from the Holy Spirit Church hall, Kwazakele, by police on Tuesday. Among them was Mr Duma Lamani, president of the Port Elizabeth Students' Committee.

Meanwhile, about 30 000 pupils in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage townships are affected by the indefinite closure of 37 schools.

The number of affected teachers is about 600.

For pupils who want to go back and prepare for their end-of-year examinations, two higher primary schools, Phillip Nikiwe in New Brighton, and Johnson Masiza in Walmer, and one secondary school, Itembelihle in New Brighton, will remain open.

In Mdantsane, all but three classes were empty at Wongalethu High School yesterday as pupils boycotted classes.

In the three classrooms in which teachers continued with lessons yesterday, there were seven, 13 and 18 girls — a total of 38 — in a school with an enrolment of over 600.

On Tuesday pupils from the school went to Khulani and Mzomhle High Schools and ordered other pupils out of classes. They asked why they were learning while pupils at Wongalethu had been boycotting classes since August 29.

Violence erupted and several window panes were broken at both Wongalethu and Mzomhle.

But a large number of pupils, especially girls, were back in classes at Mzomhle yesterday.

Attendances at Khulani could not be established as the gates were closed and a policeman stood guard yesterday morning.

Last week the Ciskei Secretary for Education, Mr O. S. Bomela, warned that boycotting pupils in the homeland had until Friday to return to classes or be withdrawn from school registers.

The Secretary for the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Col Charles Sebe, who earlier placed a ban on news about the school boycott, was not available for comment yesterday. DDC-DDR

Hostility keeps black schools empty

11/9/80 ARGUS

Education Reporter

HIGHER primary and senior secondary schools in Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu were empty today with only the principals and a few teachers present.

According to one principal, many teachers who had attended school regularly during the four-month-long boycott had begun to stay away following the mounting hostility against them by the pupils.

"There is a growing animosity towards the teachers in the townships. Some pupils claim they, with the school committees, have sold them out by compromising with the Department of Education and Training," he said.

Since assaults on teachers and damage to the two principals' houses on Tuesday night, he added, many teachers were beginning to be afraid to go to school.

'Some feel they should not displease the militant pupils by being seen at school,' the principal said.

More than 4 000 pupils re-registered over the week-end but just over 3 000 turned up for school on Monday following a call by the Parents' Action Committee to continue the boycott.

Numbers have steadily dwindled since then. Teachers and pupils who resumed lessons have been assaulted.

'It appears that the parents are also hostile towards the teachers,' a principal said.

He told of a teacher who ran into a house to escape from angry pupils who had assaulted him and was chased away by equally angry parents.

A spokesman for Vukukanye Higher Primary said Lennox Memani, a Std 6 pupil who was shot dead by police last night, was one of the school's crack athletes and was a 'fine pupil.'

'I'm sure he had gone there as a spectator. Unfortunately it always seems to be the innocent bystanders who become the victims and not the culprits themselves,' the spokesman said.

The Parents' Action Committee has issued a statement criticising the present situation. 'Violence cannot be condoned, whether it be from the community or the police,' the statement said.

'As members of the community we want to express our deepest sympathy to the families concerned at the unnecessary loss of life and damage to property.'

11/9/80 Argus.

Parents warn on provoked violence

PARENTS in the Peninsula's black townships have said that violence does not advance the cause of justice, but have warned the authorities that their actions could provoke violence.

The Parents' Action Committee of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga said today that it deplored the pre-dawn detention of two of its members, Mr Joseph Ndiki, and Mrs Nozipho Ngele, as well as Mr Bafo Bam, who is not a member.

The statement read: 'As responsible members of the community we want to sound this word of warning again, that this attitude of detaining people indiscriminately must stop immediately.

'By now, we had hoped the authorites would have seen the sheer folly of their actions in detaining the accepted leaders of the community, who can speak with both authority and credibility to and for the community.

'Actions like these are sowing the seeds of dissatisfaction and frustration that could grow into the type of violence which even the authentic leaders of the community would not be able to control.

'Therefore, we appeal to the authorities to listen to this voice of reason.'

Last night, following unrest in the Peninsula, the Parents' Action Committee issued a statement saying. 'The committee wants to make its position unequivocally clear. Violence cannot be condoned, whether it be from the community or the police.'

The statement added: 'As members of the community we want to express our deepest sympathy to the families concerned at the unnecessary loss of life and damage to property.

'We reaffirm our respect for the sanctity of life and the right of all to private property.

'We regret that members of the community who have been conductin themselves peacefully have had the situation exploited in this way. This is a regrettable course to follow as this cannot be seen to advance the cause of justice.'

POST
TRANSVAAL

Telephone 27 6081

Parents must raise all hell

WE ARE becoming seriously perturbed at the lackadaisical manner in which the continued eruption by students and other schoolgoing children is taken.

South Africa seems to have the classical bent for tragedy in her continued nonchalance towards problems which invariably lead to explosions. The tragic trait is for the victims to continue along a headlong line of confrontation almost in the nature of the moth and the candle.

Part of the problem is the head-in-the-sand attitude of the authorities and the unfortunate dependence on repressive measures for solving problems. We are all for law and order but there are areas that should not waste the time of our police nor interest them at all. The school problem is such an area.

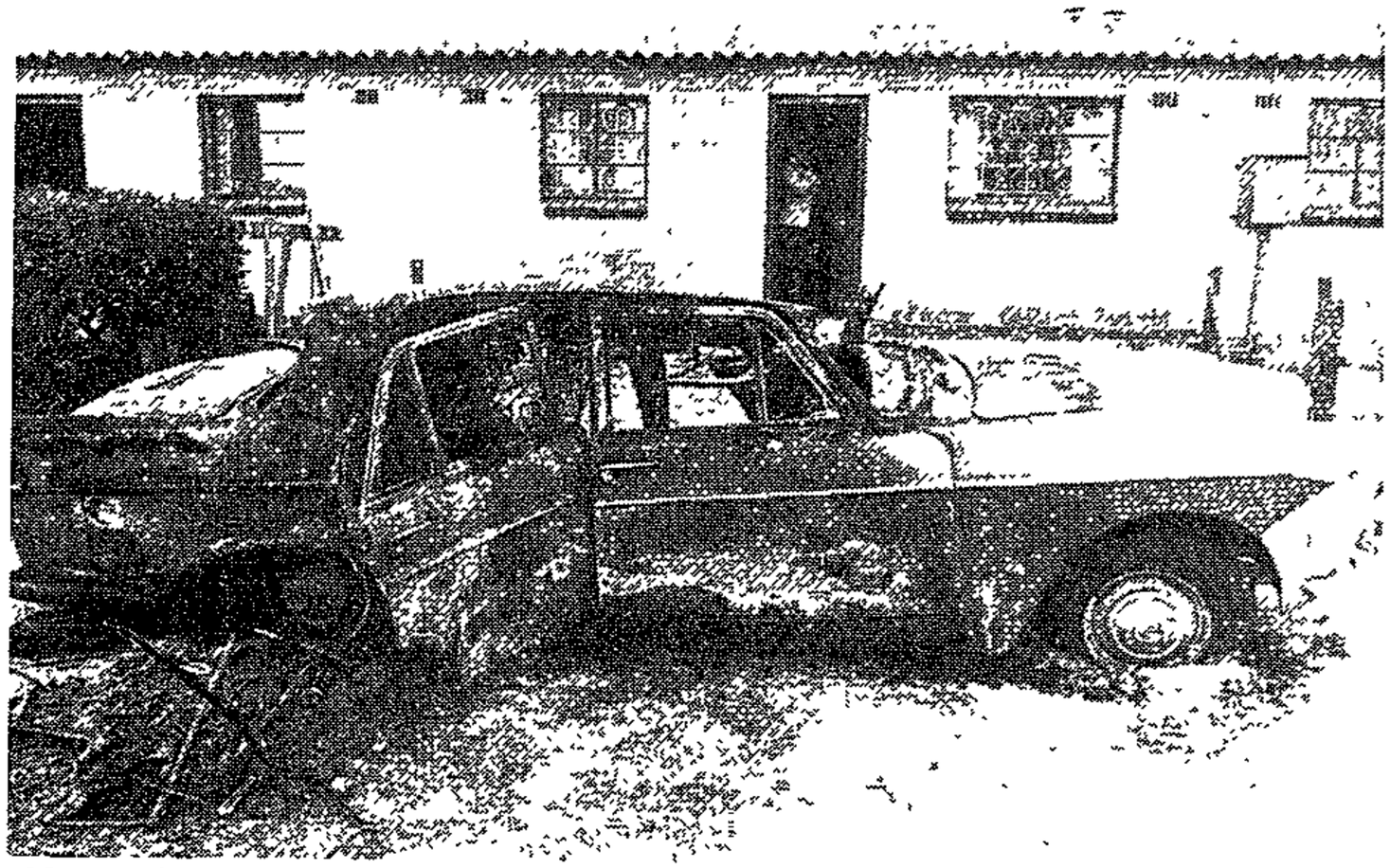
If our present education departments cannot handle the problem then they should say so, throw in the towel and let other people — not the police who have enough work on their hands — help out.

Those people who are directly involved are the parents of these children. There is not a single area in the whole country that does not have a school problem. But we have heard very little about direct parental involvement except after damage has been done. They then have to come up with all sorts of solutions that frequently do not even reach the nub of the problem — Bantu Education itself.

One sometimes gets the feeling that we parents are getting our just deserts. We are the ones who have to feed, clothe and bring up these children. They are, in the final analysis, our responsibility.

So we should be the ones to be making the most noise. Parents should be fighting tooth and nail to right an untenable situation. Parents should be raising all hell to see that the future of their children is safe.

Instead we leave the problem to the department, our children and — as the final and most unfortunate resort — the police.





Above: The car of the principal of Fezeka High School, Mr C M Gqaji, was set alight on Tuesday night by more than 50 children and all the windows of his home in Guguletu were broken **Right:** The house of the principal of Sizamile Secondary School, Mr P Tukulu, was damaged by fire in NY 100, Guguletu, on Tuesday evening

1 dead, 4 hurt after stonings

CAPE TIMES
11/9/80

275 - 245W

PTO



Nine-year-old Beranice Adriaanse, of Crossroads, is carried to a police van by a member of the riot squad from the Guguletu police station. The driver of the bus in which she was travelling stopped there after the bus was stoned. The bus, belonging to the Eros School for the cerebral palsied, was hit three times by stones. The riot police took Beranice, who was suffering from shock, home.

11/9/80 C. Times

275

A YOUTH was shot dead and four people were injured by police gunfire, in stone throwing incidents in Guguletu yesterday afternoon. Several cars, six buses and a police vehicle were damaged.

The dead youth is believed to be a 17-year-old standard five pupil of the Vukukhanye Secondary School, Themba Lennox Memani.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Province, Brigadier D B Nothnagel, last night confirmed the death and the injuries. He said two men and two women were injured, but did not release their names.

Brigadier Nothnagel said there had been a considerable number of stone-throwing incidents in Guguletu and six buses, two cars and a police vehicle had been damaged.

The police shots came as members of the force attempted to "protect property" and "apprehend those involved in the stonethrowing".

He described the area as "quiet" last night.

One of the injured, a young woman, had bird-shot wounds in her back.

Handicapped

A nine-year-old handicapped girl, Beranice Adriaanse, and a driver escaped injury when the bus they were travelling in was damaged by stone-throwers.

Beranice had pieces of glass in her hair and was suffering from shock. She was taken home to Crossroads by a riot squad convoy.

Two people in a petrol tanker were wounded and a third escaped unhurt when groups of children on both sides of the road hurled stones at the tanker.

The driver of the tanker, Mr Ismail Johardien, said he was driving in NY1, Guguletu, when he was confronted by the stone-throwers. The windscreen was smashed.

Mr Johardien had a gash in the forehead and the truck operator, Mr R Samuels, also had a head wound.

The situation was tense yesterday afternoon as the riot police patrolled the area. Using a loud-hailer they called on everyone to stay indoors.

One policeman and two traffic policemen set up a roadblock near the bridge at the Section 3 exit from Guguletu.

Yesterday's incidents followed an attack on the homes of two high school principals and three other teachers on Thursday night.

The eight-roomed home of the principal of Sizamile Secondary School was severely damaged by fire.

The principal, Mr P Tukulu, said yesterday that he and his family were watching television when a group of young people burst in.

He said they poured petrol on the furniture and before leaving threw a petrol bomb.

Three rooms with furniture were damaged but in other rooms some of the furniture was saved.

His new car was burned and the windscreen of another car was smashed. All the children's clothes were destroyed by the fire.

"I suspect that the attack was in connection with the schools' boycott," Mr Tukulu said.

Mr Tukulu estimated the damage at several thousands of rands.

The windows of the home of the principal of Fezeka High School, Mr M C Gqaji, were broken by a crowd of "about 50". His car was destroyed by fire. He said he did not know the reason for the attack. No one was injured.

● The Cape Times correspondent reports from Port Elizabeth that Security Police there are holding 13 people, including schoolchildren, for questioning in connection with alleged intimidation of African school pupils.

The Divisional Commander of the Security Police, Colonel Gerrit Erasmus, said other charges were also being investigated against some of the 13 who were all being held under the Criminal Procedures Act for questioning.

REPORTS:
ANDILE NTEYI
STEPHEN WROTTESLEY

PICTURES:
DAN BOSMAN

Bus for handicapped children stoned

CAPE TIMES 11/9/80

CEREBRAL palsied children from Bellville, Belhar, Elsie's River and Crossroads will not be able to complete their examinations after their bus was damaged by stone throwers yesterday near Guguletu

It is estimated that R1 000 damage was caused to the bus

Last night the principal of the Eros School for coloured cerebral palsied children, Mr F Maritz, said that four Crossroads children would have to miss their schooling altogether while the situation remained tense, as he was not prepared to risk the lives of children by sending a bus into the area.

He said he was warned by the police to avoid the area today, as the mood there was "angry".

The new R15 000 bus transported about 26 children from their homes to the Eros School in Athlone every day, Mr Maritz said.

All the pupils who used the bus were crippled, and would have serious difficulty in escaping from the bus if it became necessary to do so. They were unable to break the escape windows or get to the doors quickly.

The driver of the bus, Mr D Williams of Manenberg, had standing orders to turn back immediately if he saw any sign of trouble. The fact that so much damage was done before Mr Williams was able to get the bus away was an indication that he must have been taken by surprise, Mr Maritz said.

In the unrest in May Mr Williams was forced to turn back about six times when faced with threatening youths, and the pupils were housed at the school overnight

The bus had a large sign reading "School/Skool Bus" in front, and the name of the school prominently painted on both sides.

The bus was attacked near Guguletu It is estimated that more than R1 000 damage was done, and the bus will be off the road for an indefinite period.

The windscreen was shattered by a stone which narrowly missed the driver, but no one was injured.

Schoolboy dies in Guguletu rioting

11/9/80 ARGUS

275

250

A 16-year-old black schoolboy died of gunshot wounds and four people were injured yesterday when about 20 riot police opened fire on stone-throwing youths in Guguletu.

Several cars, buses and a police vehicle were damaged by stone throwers.

Stone throwing started in Guguletu at about midday and was first directed at buses and later at commercial vehicles. A newspaper delivery van and a car were overturned by groups of youths and set alight later in the afternoon.

Among the vehicles stoned was a bus belonging to the Eros School for the cerebral palsied. One of the passengers, a nine-year-old girl, Beranese Adriaansen, was in a state of shock and received treatment for head cuts received from flying glass.

The dead boy, Lennox Memani, was a Standard 5 pupil at Vukukanye Higher Primary School in Guguletu.

According to Lennox's closest friend, they were walking down one of the roads in Guguletu, when Lennox was shot in the stomach by riot policemen who had been crouching in a bus.

He said when they passed the bus, standing at the side of the road, a group of youths started stoning it.

'We decided that it would be best to get away from the area and decided to walk in the other direction.

'Just as we were about to leave we saw a group of about 20 riot police jumping up from where they were lying flat in the bus.

'They opened fire and I saw Lennox being hit in the stomach. At the same time, I felt a burning sting in my arm and in my leg.

'I saw Lennox fall. He struggled to get up and ran away.'

DISTRAUGHT

A distraught Mrs Caroline Memani said today she was deeply upset about the death of her youngest son.

'I can't see why it happened to him. He was a quiet boy.

'He wasn't harming anybody, he wasn't shouting, he wasn't a criminal.'

Two petrol tankers were also stoned on the NY1 road in Guguletu. Buses were stopped short of the township in the afternoon and police patrols toured the streets broadcasting warnings to children to leave the streets.

The situation in the townships was tense but quiet this morning

See Page 17.



A TEARFUL Mrs Caroline Memani, mother of Lennox Memani, is comforted by her eldest son Eric at their home in Guguletu.



(275 STAR 11/9/80)

A 16-year-old African schoolboy died of gunshot wounds and four people were injured yesterday when about 20 riot police opened fire on stone-throwing youths in Guguletu near Cape Town.

Several cars, buses and a police vehicle were damaged by stone-throwers.

A newspaper delivery van and a car were overturned by groups of youths and set alight later in the afternoon.

Among the vehicles stoned was a bus belonging to the Eros School for the Cerebral Palsied.

One passenger, a nine-year-old girl, Beranese Adriaansen, was shocked and received treatment for head cuts received from flying glass. She is seen in the picture being comforted by a riot policeman.

The dead boy, Lennox Memami, was a pupil at Vukukanye Higher Primary School.

Higher primary and senior secondary schools in Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu were empty today with only the principals and a few teachers in attendance at most schools.

Man dies, 4 hurt as Cape police open fire

11/9/80 Rdm

275

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — One man was shot dead and four people were injured by police gunfire in Guguletu yesterday afternoon.

Last night, Brigadier D B Nothnagel, Divisional Commissioner of Police for Westrn Province, confirmed the killing and the injuries.

He did not release the names of the dead person or the injured — two men and two women.

One of the women injured had birdshot wounds in her back.

Brig Nothnagel said there had been a considerable number of stone-throwing incidents in Guguletu and that six buses, two cars and a police vehicle had been damaged.

The police shots were fired as members of the force attempted to "protect property" and " apprehend those involved in the stone throwing".

He described the area as "quiet" last night.

A nine-year-old handicapped girl, Beranice Adriaanse, and a driver miraculously escaped injury when the bus in which they were travelling was damaged by stone throwers.

Two people in a petrol tanker were wounded and a third escaped unhurt when stones were thrown from both sides of the road.

The windscreeen of the tanker was smashed and the driver, Mr Ismail Johardien, was wounded in the head.

Yesterday afternoon, the situation was tense as riot police patrolled the area, calling on everyone to stay indoors.

Yesterday's incidents followed an attack on the home of two high school principals and three other teachers on Tuesday night.

The eight-roomed house of the principal of Sizamile Secondary School was severely damaged by fire in the attacks.

RIOTS + DISTURBANCES_GENERAL

4 JAN. 1981 ___ 15 October 1981

JUNE 16

5 years ago — See Pages 4—8



uses

stoned

By CHARLES MOGALE

Hundreds of people in the Vaal yesterday were delayed for work after early morning bus burning and stoning incidents in Evaton.

Two buses were burnt and at least one stoned and passengers forced to flee on their way to work.

The incidents took place at about 6 am along the main bus route in Adams Road a few metres from the climax spot of the fierce rents riots three months ago.

There were no buses running in the township until about 8 am.

Sapa reports that passengers said they were ordered to get out of the buses by a group of people who later stoned and burned the buses

16/6/81 Sowelon

274

to go to work and to observe the June 16, 1976, period of mourning

Shortly afterwards a police squad arrived and helped to extinguish the fire.

Most of the workers used other means of transport to work, while other buses arrived later to transport commuters

There was utter confusion as hundreds of

• To Page 3



Hector Peterson . . . first victim of the '76 unrest.

June 16 commemoration services banned

SEVERAL services scheduled for the commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the June 16 1976 riots during which over 500 people were killed in Soweto and elsewhere were banned yesterday.

Services were banned in Durban and Port Elizabeth at the weekend and yesterday they were banned in the Lenyenye district in Northern Transvaal.

Today, services will be held at the following venues:

- Modisi Yo Botse Lutheran Church, Zone 4, Diepkloof, -soweto, at 2 pm.
- Sefikeng, Zone 2, Meadowlands, Soweto at 2 pm.
- San Souci Cinema, Kliptown.
- Christ The King Church, Coronationville.
- Jiswa Centre, Lenasia
- Roman Catholic Church, Kagiso II, Krugersdorp.
- St Francis Anglican Church, Mamelodi West 5 pm
- Methodist Church, Dobsonville, Soweto.
- NG Kerk, Alexandra, near Johannesburg.
- Regina Mundi, Rockville Soweto 12 noon.
- Roman Catholic Church, Zone 12, Sebokeng, Evaton.

The mothers of June 16...



● Mrs Rhona Blumenthal and Mrs Helen Nkosi .. both have suffered.

ON TUESDAY, June 16, it will be five years to the day since Soweto schoolchildren took to the streets in protest against Bantu Education and the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction

That demonstration erupted in violence which engulfed Soweto and other townships in South Africa

More than 575 people are known to have died in the riots

Every year since the Soweto riots, events on or before June 16 have never failed to make news headlines There has been violence, riots, arson — and more deaths. This year a new element was added to the build-up with the controversial Republic Festival

The Coloured townships in Johannesburg have been in ferment with the police acting strongly against demonstrating schoolchildren

In Soweto one can sense the fear that June 16 will once again erupt in violence

By BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI

Since that June 16 five years ago a large number of children have left their homes and crossed the borders into neighbouring territories Many of them have been trained as terrorists and some have returned to South Africa as ANC insurgents.

The Sunday Express this week spoke to four women who, in one way or another, have been hurt by that day of violence

□ □ □

FOUR years ago Philemon Nkosi, 22, stood at the door of his Orlando East home, hat in hand, and said goodbye to his elderly mother

Mrs Helen Nkosi, 63, has not seen him since

"He said. 'Momma I'm going. Maybe I'll see you in the future, maybe I won't ' I could not understand what he meant

"I asked him to explain but he simply opened the gate and disappeared in the darkness It was December 19, 1977 I have not seen him since

"I later heard that he had left the country with his friend, Kenneth."

Mrs Nkosi's eldest son, Phillip, died in Zambia last year after the truck he was driving from South Africa plunged into a river

Whenever he was in Zambia, Phillip would 'look among the soldiers' to see if Philemon was there.

Her husband died when her 10 children were still young

"I brought them all up with my own sweat," she said "And it's very painful to see one of them vanish like this "

Mrs Nkosi, a pensioner, shares her three-roomed house with her four daughters.

"I'm now towards the end of my life and I pray to God I see my son before I die

□ □ □

"YOU can accept it but it's so hard to forget," said the wife of the first White victim of the Soweto riots

Dr Melville Edelstein, a social worker, was employed by Wrab during the riots and was on duty when he was killed

A reluctant Mrs Rhona Blumenthal — she remarried — talked to me about that terrible day. "It happened so long ago but I don't think June 16 will ever be forgotten It was so hideous "

A tiny, kind-hearted woman, she is now married to Mr David Blumenthal and they stay in a flat at Illovo with her two daughters, Jeanette, 17, and Shana 16

Mrs Blumenthal said even if June 16 commemorations

after her father was killed, had the last word "The riots were a big shock for us, but we don't cry about it anymore. We have to accept it "

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THE family of Mrs Virginia Mashinini, mother of the Soweto schoolboy who made world headlines in 1976 as the student leader during the June 16 riots, has dwindled.

Today, three of her 11 sons are no longer with her in her Central Western Jabavu home. They fled the country at the height of the unrest and has not heard from them since.

Best known was Tsietsi, 19, leader of the Soweto Students Representative Council, which was banned after the riots. The others were Ronald, 25, and Lebakeng, 15

To her, Tsietsi was "just a son"

"I didn't even know he was leader of the students until I read the papers

"He did not stay at home because he was on the run from the police We only read in the papers that he was in Botswana Next thing he was in Nigeria," she says simply

He later married a former Liberian beauty queen, Wilma Campbell, in Monrovia.

Has she any hope of seeing all her exiled sons again? "Oh Yes! I have high hopes.

"Zimbabwe had many refugees outside the country before independence. They're all back now that everything is in order The same will happen here Our children will come back."

Mrs Mashinini was detained together with another of her sons, Mpho, in 1977. She spent 192 days in detention.

ma it evoked could never be wiped out

"It was too atrocious," she said, visibly straining to find a better term to describe her feelings

"Nothing has ever been the same since that day.

Said Shana "Dad knew that something would happen He used to tell Mom that if anything happened we should be prepared for it — we should be able to cope He obviously knew the riots were coming "

Shana, who turned 11 a day

EVERY June, Mrs Elinah Mankayi, 78, re-lives the death of her three sons

The Zulus in the Mzimhlope hostels went on the rampage a week after the 1976 riots, to 'discipline' the students . Gideon, 39, Arthur, 25, and Benjamin, 22, were 'hacked in front of me and there was nothing I could do to help them,' she said

"I gave birth to nine children, but only a daughter remains now. The other five children died in infancy "

Heunis on student protests

Minister gets tough on student protests

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA, Political Reporter

THE Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, yesterday took a tough line on the coloured educational protests, outlining steps that could be taken against students guilty of fomenting unrest.

He warned that students could now face expulsion, forfeit the opportunity to write exams and lose study grants, while teachers' jobs could be affected if the student enrolment dropped as a result.

But coloured community leaders in Johannesburg, who are preparing to make representations at the highest Government level, said "kragdadige" approaches would not solve the problem so long as the apartheid system was enforced.

They called instead for the immediate scrapping of the Department of Coloured Affairs and its replacement by a single, centralised, nonracial education system.

In a statement issued to Sapa in Cape Town, Mr Heunis quoted figures and outlined the situation at coloured and Indian educational institutions.

He said although the number of scholars involved in disturbances "represents an insignificant 0,7% of the total pupil population of 720 234 attending coloured primary and secondary schools, I am not prepared to tolerate the disruption which was caused"

"My basic premise is that the steps necessary to restore discipline should give recognition to the rights of the vast majority (of those) who wish to carry on with their studies, and to the parents and other mem-

□ To Page 2

whom the education of their children is of primary importance and who prefer to see peace and order prevail."

Four coloured schools had been closed for about a week, and when they reopened, parents would be expected to reapply for their children's admission, and to give an undertaking the children would submit to the discipline of the school.

Up to now, Mr Heunis said, the situation at coloured schools had been handled with "the utmost patience, goodwill and compassion, but school principals have now been instructed to apply the prescribed statutory suspension procedures in respect of individual pupils who are guilty of activities which foment unrest".

"The result could be permanent expulsion, and considering the fact that the scale of provision of staff at schools depends on the number of enrolled pupils, the decrease in numbers could result in the reduction of the provision of staff resulting in the transfer of permanent teaching staff to other centres, and in the case of temporary staff, who are often locality bound, in the forfeiting of their services."

The authorities were considering whether to place greater emphasis on recognised exams during the course of the year, so that those might be related to the pass requirements at the end of the year.

There was no question of deviating from any programme for public or internal exams in the future. Students who failed or refused to write any exam because of their involvement in disturbances, would forfeit the opportunity.

"In the event of scholars being suspended in consequence of disturbances, or being in any way associated with such disturbances, any study aid or grants will be withdrawn at once."

Provision was also made in existing contracts for the cancellation of bursaries on the ground of poor attendance, progress and conduct.

Mr Heunis added: "I am aware of the need for physical teaching facilities, and because of that need the Government has virtually doubled the allocation of funds for this purpose."

The fulfilment of needs had to be given priority, and com-

AND RECONCILIATION IN THE MEAT I

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MAN CHARGED WITH KEEPING [illegible]



● Brigadier Swanepoel: ● 'You must be an iceberg.' ● 'I hold the Police Star for bravery.' ● 'I've arrested people of all ages.'

13/6/81 274 Continue

. . . and the tough cop in charge now

By PETER WELLMAN

IF BRIGADIER T J Swanepoel has seen as much action as I think he has, he ought to be punchdrunk

But there is no fuzziness in the eyes or the mind of this policeman with a one-track thought process If you limit a cop's duty to maintenance of law and order there's no room for two-way traffic

For him the law is the law, and that's it When he talks, his eyes measure you in a way different from most other men it's as though he's figuring out whether he can reach you with a left hook

He is the most bristly man I have ever interviewed. All his thoughts revolve around battles I got the impression that he danced with a wo

Not that he saw last week's action against pupils as a battle, the reference was purely by way of illustration Also by way of illustration was a remark he made in a Press interview about handling discontent in the Coloured townships last year "You can never allow your personal emotion to come into operation You must be an iceberg "

Does his type of 'stern action', his inflexibility and his toughness make the right mix of man for handling an issue as sensitive as children who are boycotting Republic Festival holidays by going to school?

than 40 were released after being held for some hours

The brigadier explained. "Last year the police negotiated with the Attorney-General (about the 800 children). We felt there would be no purpose in punishing them We wanted our action to start parents thinking about disciplining their children "

This year the same thoughts lay behind the actions of the police, said the brigadier "I believe we frightened the intimidators and we intended to — we want them to remain scared of the police "

On the arrested pupils he said "I have two grandsons and I very much enjoy being with them I have arrested people of all ages in a long career with the police

"It is true that some of the children were as young as 12 — but a child of that age throws a stone further and better than a man of 30 because he is used to doing it "

He startled newspapermen and onlookers at the time of the Fox Street siege by suddenly running into the middle of the street into which David Protter had been firing

He raked the windows of the Israeli Consulate with bullets, shouting "Come out and fight, you coward!"

He explained that he had sharpshooters in position and wanted to get the gunman to the window to return his fire

"I was standing at an angle and he would have missed me by a metre," he said

I detected no modesty in this man who once told a reporter "You name it, I fought all over I hold the Police Star for Bravery "

The fact that he refuses to compromise (on anything, I imagine) has contributed to his controversial history

He has been called 'the beast' in United Nations papers, and the then Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Reverend Aubie ffrench-Beytagh, said in court before his acquittal on Terrorism Act charges the brigadier was 'an out-and-out sadist' who should be shot.

Brigadier Swanepeol got his nickname of 'Rooi Rus' when he made a study of communism while chief interrogator of the Security Police. He said in a 1971 interview about deaths in detention that he had 'documentary proof that terrorists who have been interrogated by us have orders from their masters to die rather than talk'

At one point photographer Denis Farrell told the brigadier he wanted to take some candid pictures as he talked, and the man with 34 years' service jumped for his jacket like a rookie.

"Who's going to fry you, brigadier?" I asked.

A rare smile: "Hell, you know, there's generals. . "

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would be toe-to-toe, holding her in a wrestling grip.

This formidable man was in charge of the police-and-army crackdown in Johannesburg's Coloured townships last week and, despite severe criticism from community leaders, churchmen and Opposition politicians, he hasn't a doubt that what he did was right.

Pupils were arrested, teargas and batons were used, and the police took what the brigadier described as 'stern action to restore law and order'.

Residents say pupils sitting studying in classrooms had teargas thrown at them, children were followed into houses and beaten when they ran away, and that the police action caused fear and resentment which will have long-term effects.

Brigadier Swanepoel says: "For every complaint about police behaviour there are 99 calls from within the Brown community thanking the police for what they did. The police will investigate any complaints that are made to us. But I am not going to respond to complaints in the Press."

Brigadier Swanepoel has no doubts about what he did: "I never do a thing unless I am convinced it is the right thing to do. You must never attack unless you know you are going to win the battle."

Again that arrogant self-assurance: "Yes it does. There were children there, but some of them were 25 — if you want to call someone who is 25 a child."

He is positive that the Republic Festival protests in the Coloured townships were the work of agitators and intimidators, and says the police had to act because pupils were 'assaulting innocent bystanders and pedestrians, throwing firebombs and intimidating people'.

I told the brigadier I had spoken to many pupils and adults in the townships, and they all said that if the police had simply ignored the pupils who defied orders to stay off school property on the Festival holidays there would have been no trouble. He replied: "You did not interview the correct people. The people you found walking round in the streets were intimidators."

I told him some were families I chose at random, simply knocking on doors, and he said: "You were lucky — you found the intimidators at home."

This year, as last year, when more than 800 Coloured pupils were arrested and charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act, there were pupils who did not get to court. Last Wednesday, more

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STUDENTS, POLICE, BOYCOTTS, VIOLENCE

Eldorado school erupts

AS THE coloured high schools boycott entered its fourth day on the Reef, violence erupted between pupils and police in Eldorado Park.

The incident occurred at about 11.30 yesterday morning when pupils from the Kliptown High School marched to the Eldorado Park high school to gain the support of the pupils there in their protest.

According to the teachers of Eldorado Park High, they were having a staff meeting at the time.

Camouflaged uniformed riot police with rubber sjamboks chased the pupils and were seen beating several of the girls.

Two sneeze machines were also seen parked next to the school grounds by the teachers.

There were six pupils allegedly held by the police for questioning. Four girls and two boys, but this has not been confirmed.

The Eldorado Park Number Two High School in Willow Crescent was also the scene of pupil demonstrations yesterday.

The principals of the three schools, Mr M Jacobs — Eldorado Park High No 1, Mr Noble - Eldorado Park High No 2 and Mr SE Scholfield — Kliptown High, have all been summoned to an emergency meeting with the chief inspector of coloured education in the Transvaal following unrest at the schools over the past three days. They were unavailable for comment.

Yesterday's protests follow a police announcement of the continued detention of student leader, Aziz Jardine under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act which allows for indefinite detention.

All of the schools' principals have decided to postpone exams some until June 18.

Wits BSS leader detained

THE vice-chairman of the University of Witwatersrand's Black Students Society (BSS), Mr Azhar Cachalia, and his brother, Feroze were taken by Security Police from their Penoni home last night.

The two Wits students, who are also members of the Benoni Students' Movement are held under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act which entitles police to keep them in detention for up to 14 days without trial.

Feroze is a former chairman of BSS and according to a close member of the family about seven policemen arrived at their home at about midnight and took them away after searching the room in which they slept.

Reacting to their detention yesterday, Mr Samroy Adelman, with SRC president said it was astonishing that students were being detained when university activities had been stopped in preparation for examinations.

Further security detentions this week include four members of the Young Christian Workers who were detained in Port Elizabeth. They are Mr Edward Stanley, Mr Simazile Nondumo, Shepherd Maluza Matu and Mr Mungisi Johnson, whose detentions have been confirmed by the Directorate of Police Public relations in Pretoria.

Also detained under security legislation in the Eastern Cape are three members of the Motor Assembly and Components Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa), Mr Dumile Makanda (chairman) Mr Maxwell Madlingozi (executive member) and Mr Mxolisi Didiza (organiser).

Police just pass by

POLICE moved in on the campus of the University of Durban Westville yesterday following Wednesday's ban on all meetings by the rector.

They were parked outside the main hall while nearby in the quadrangle a few hundred students had gathered holding informal discussions.

A spokesman for the SRC said the arrival of the police was seen as an "intimidatory measure to prevent any likelihood of a disruption of exams."

"It is obvious they are here to protect those students who have ignored the calls to boycott and have decided to write the exams. However we will hold informal meetings to counter the ban" a student said.

The students are protesting over the expulsion of about 5600 pupils from schools in and around Durban, the appointment of a lecturer in the physiology department and the setting of exams on June 16.

The Public Relations Officer of the University, Mr Nico Nel, described the presence of the police as a "courtesy call".

They are here as part of their crime prevention routine, visiting many areas of Durban. They were not called by the university. The colonel, who just had tea with us, said he was just passing by, Mr Nel said. — Sapa

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instead adopts escape mechanisms such as defeatism and re-

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Students pelt inspectors with eggs

ANOTHER BOYCOTT

THOUSANDS of students in schools controlled by the Coloured Education Department yesterday boycotted classes.

And in Cape Town four senior Department of Internal Affairs inspectors were yesterday besieged inside the Elswood High School principal's office after pupils had pelted them with eggs.

An inspector was struck on the chest and he later took shelter in the principal's office and could not leave because pupils stood outside and threatened to throw eggs again Tension mounted again at the school yesterday after it was closed last week when students demanded inspectors leave the premises.

More than 4 000 pupils at five coloured high schools on the Reef are staging a peaceful boycott of classes, after last week's police/pupil clashes

Attendance at the five schools: Westbury, Chris Jan Botha, Riverlea, Coronationville and Eldorado Park High, varied from 40 percent of the pupils to over 290 percent yesterday.

The decision taken by some of the pupils to return to school, however, does not mean that they are attending classes, and three school principals confirmed that "there are no classes being held"

Examinations which were due to start on Monday, have been postponed in all of the schools Pupils from Riverlea high and Westbury High left school at 12 — as part of the boycott plan on Monday.

Meanwhile principals at a number of Cape Peninsular schools have been warned by education authorities that their teaching staff would be sent home without pay if schools are closed down due to unrest.

The warning was issued by the Director of Coloured Education, Mr A J Arendse, at a meeting of principals of schools under the Department of Internal Affairs.

The meeting was called to inform principals of steps that were being

* To Page 2

Boycotts

From Page 1

considered by the Department to counter class boycotts by pupils and students

Other measures proposed were the expulsion of pupils guilty of misbehaviour and influencing others to boycott

Students at colleges participating in a boycott would forfeit bursaries

It was suggested to principals not to schedule examinations on June 16 and 17 the commemoration days of the Sowe to unrest and a principal who attended the meeting

The principal said there was "widespread unhappiness" among teachers over the threat to sever pay if schools were closed down

A circular has been posted to parents of pupils at coloured schools by the Department of Internal Affairs

The circular appeals to parents to ensure that their children attend school

-7-

in infant mortality was observed with decreasing urbanization, the figure for the completely rural areas being of the same magnitude as those parts of the world devoid of medical services. Figure 4 summarizes the age specific mortality rates of the South African population from all causes of death. The proportional contribution of the seventeen major diseases to the overall mortality of the International Classification of Disease (8th revision) [illegible] Parasitic Diseases make an important contribution to the overall mortality (19,5% and 23,5% respectively), with diseases of the respiratory system and certain causes of perinatal mortality also being of importance. Within the category of Infectious and Parasitic Diseases tuberculosis are the most important combination experience an interesting combination of high mortality with a high death rate in the young and circulatory diseases is the relatively large number of

Harsh action threatened to quell growing unrest

Staff Reporters

COLOURED education officials have threatened to take strong action in the face of the growing boycott of classes by pupils in Johannesburg and the Cape

The Director of Coloured Education, Mr A J Arendse, warned principals of a number of schools in the Cape Peninsula yesterday that their teaching staff would be sent home without pay if schools were closed due to unrest

At a meeting called to inform principals of steps being considered by the Department to counter class boycotts, Mr Arendse said pupils guilty of misbehaviour and of influencing others to boycott might be expelled, and schools where the situation became "uncontrollable" might be closed

Principals were also advised not to schedule examinations for June 16 and 17 — the commemoration days of the Soweto unrest

In Johannesburg, the boycott of classes entered its second day with attendance figures at coloured schools varying from 30% to 80%

At the Eldorado Park Senior Secondary School, pupils left their classrooms and prepared to march to the neighbouring Kliptown area but disbanded after forming up

Attendance at Chris Jan Botha was 80%, at Coronationville 70%, at Riverlea 60% and at Westbury Senior Secondary School it was about 70%

Pupils boycotted classes at several coloured schools in the Western Cape yesterday, according to a senior police officer at the region's divisional headquarters, but the situation was "quiet"

In other incidents yesterday, four inspectors of the Department of Internal Affairs were "beseiged" in the principal's office of the Elswood Coloured High School in Cape Town after pupils had pelted them with eggs

The school was closed last week

Elsewhere in the Southern Cape principals reported an uneasy calm

And at a meeting at the University of Durban-Westville yesterday about 1 000 students supported a call for a boycott from today until the administration meets their demand to re-instate "hundreds" of expelled students

Meanwhile the **'Mail's Durban Correspondent** reports that parents of expelled pupils yesterday made a pledge to Mr Gabriel Krog, director of Indian Education, that they would ensure their children would not boycott classes after they had been reinstated

The pledge is contained in a memorandum handed to Mr Krog vesterday by the Apollo High School Education Committee, in a fresh bid to persuade him to lift the expulsions on hundreds of pupils, following a boycott of classes

Mr Krog declined to comment

200 men on Festival trouble standby

Argus 29/5/81 274

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — The police have about 200 men on standby to be airlifted to Durban to supplement the more than 600 hand-picked policemen already on duty, should the need arise during the climax to the Republic festival celebrations this weekend

The force, which could be landed in Durban within two hours of being summoned, has been on standby since the beginning of the week ready to help in whichever part of the country it was sent to.

For security reasons, police have not released the location where the men are stationed at present

PREPARED

Colonel Leon Mellet of the police's Directorate of Public Relations today gave the assurance that all possible safety measures had been taken to protect people in one of the biggest urban security network ever established by the South African Police

'We are well prepared We planned our security months ago

'There are well over 600 policemen assigned to the Republic Festival in Durban Some of the men will continue normal policing activities, but are ready to be called at a moment's notice,' said Colonel Mellet.

'We also have 200 men on standby somewhere in the country They could be in Durban in a matter of hours if we need them'

DIARY OF PROTEST

S. Express 31/5/81 (327) (541) (274)

By DEBRA CLEVELAND

At least 48 students were arrested, a Defence Force office was bombed and thousands of students and pupils staged a nationwide boycott of lectures and classes this week — all protesting against the Republic Day Festival

The incidents include:

- A sabotage attack on an East London police station on Monday
- The blowing up of sections of railway lines between New Canada and Dube, and between Umtata and Durban
- Power lines were cut in the Orange Free State
- A shot was fired at the Ciskei Commissioner of Police
- A call was made by the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) for pupils to stage a 3-day boycott of classes
- A violent clash between left- and right-wing students at the University of the Witwatersrand, where a South African flag was burnt and hundreds of students were arrested
- The stoning of buses and police vans by Seshego pupils in response to an ANC pamphlet calling for a school boycott
- Police used teargas, batons and sjamboks to disperse pupils staging an anti-Republic Day protest at the Christiaan Botha Secondary School in Bosmont
- A massive bomb blast wrecked a Defence Force recruiting office near the Durban city centre
- Andrew Boraine, president of NUSAS, was detained under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act.
- 48 University of Cape Town students were arrested under the Riotous Assemblies Act at the Good Hope Centre in Cape Town — the venue for the World Meat Congress
- The UCT athletic team was kicked out of the Comrades Marathon after calling for a black armband protest against the Festival
- Various bomb threats were reported in Johannesburg.

Boraine refused permission to see son

Political Staff

DR ALEX BORAINE, MP for Pinelands and chairman of the Progressive Federal Party's federal executive, has been refused permission to see his son, student leader Mr Andrew Boraine, who was detained by Security Police yesterday.

Dr Boraine said today he had been given no reasons by the authorities why his son was being detained and had not been told where in Cape Town he was being held.

Informed

Mr Andrew Boraine, 22, president of the National Union of South African Students, was arrested by two members of the Security Police at the Observatory Nusas offices about 4 pm yesterday.

Dr Boraine said today he was informed by a security branch captain from Caledon Square late yesterday afternoon that his son had been detained under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act.

Under this legislation he can be held for 14 days without access to the courts.

Dr Boraine said he asked the Security Police officer where Andew was being held and was told it was 'somewhere in Cape Town.

The officer would not elaborate on that

Dr Boraine said he then asked whether he could see his son and the officer said 'no'

Last year in June Mr Andrew Boraine was also detained and was then held in solitary confinement for about two months

No charges were then brought against him and no reasons were given for his detention.



DR ALEX BORAINE . . . will continue to work against detention without trial.

At that time Mr Boraine was first held for 14 days under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act and then under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Abhorrent

Mr Andrew Boraine addressed an anti-Republic Festival meeting in the Jameson Hall of the University of Cape Town on Tuesday

His father, Dr Boraine, said today 'I have consistently stated that any laws which contradicted the rule of law were abhorrent and should not be on the statute books.

'I have no reason to change my views and will continue to work against detention without trial.'

In a joint statement issued last night by the Nusas executive and head office, the actions of the Security Police were deplored.

The statement said Mr Boraine had consistently called for a national democratic convention throughout his speeches on the Republic Day issue.

Courageous

His detention was indicative of the State's inability to allow leaders who opposed apartheid to be heard, the statement said.

It added that Mr Boraine's courageous stand against injustice and oppression and against the Republic Day Festival had clearly led to his detention

It was time for the State to realise that opposition to the festivities was due to widespread resentment and not due to individual leaders.

The statement called for Mr Boraine's immediate and unconditional release.

Teargas,

Flags torn: Three from UCT held

A POLICE patrol last night arrested three University of Cape Town students who were allegedly tearing down Republic Festival flags in Hertzog Boulevard

The flags were part of the bunting for the Republic's 20th anniversary celebration.

The students, ranging in age from 19 to 21, are in police detention and have been charged with theft and malicious damage to property, according to Brigadier D B Nothnagel, Police Divisional Commissioner for the Western Cape.

The arrests took place

28/5/81 27L

Argus

batons used on pupils

JOHANNESBURG. — Police used teargas and batons to disperse an anti-Republic Day protest at the Christiaan Botha secondary school in Bosmont last night.

The school is used by the coloured community.

Witnesses said the pupils did not go home yesterday. About 6.45 pm police arrived and told them to leave.

A parent who asked not to be identified said that shortly afterwards the street was filled with police in camouflage uniforms, and the children were told to stay in a classroom.'

CANISTERS

Five parents arrived and went to the classroom; on the first floor, police fired teargas canisters into the room and locked the door, the parent said.

Two parents who were inside said 'about 20' policemen then opened the door, and baton-charged the occupants.

They said the children were made to lie on the floor.

Two children are reported to have been hurt in an escape attempt when they fell from the first floor.

A Coronation Hospital spokesman said a girl was treated for a broken ankle and a head wound and a boy was treated for head injuries.

Some pupils are reported to have escaped into the grounds of nearby houses. Teargas was allegedly fired at them.

A police spokesman said about 70 pupils, aged about 14, threw stones, bottles, books, briefcases and debris at the police shortly after they arrived.

The pupils had barricaded themselves in a classroom, he said.

About 30 children and three parents were taken to Newlands police station.

Aziz, Jardine, 18, the head boy and chairman of the school's Students' Representative Council, was detained under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act.

The others were released after paying R10 admission of guilt fines for trespassing. — Sapa.

● **Wits police raid 'Unfortunate' — Page 3.**

allegedly damaged and ripped down festival flags.

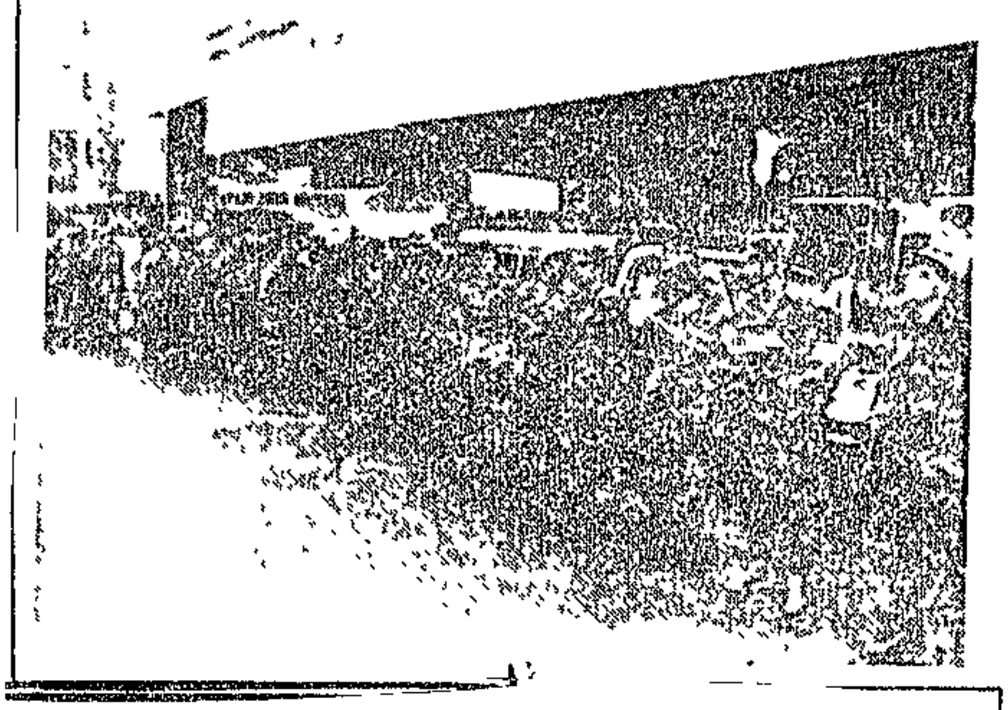
Brigadier Nothnagel said the case was still under investigation and further charges could be made before the students appeared in court soon.

Nation-wide protest at celebrations

CT 28/5/81 (44) 327 (50) 274



Above: SADF officers survey damage after the Durban blast. **Below:** Policemen cordon off the Johannesburg City Hall



Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.— A wave of anti-Republic Day protest hit the country yesterday.

A bomb blast, arrests and detentions, school and university boycotts, bomb threats, mass protest meetings and Security Police raids were reported as the Republic Day celebrations neared their weekend climax

The banned African National Congress, yesterday claimed responsibility for a recent series of acts of sabotage, which it said were intended to disrupt the Republic Day celebrations

Yesterday's blast wrecked the SADF office near the Durban city centre at 5 52 am

No one was injured but the damage to the ground floor of the multi-storey bank building which houses the office has been estimated at hundreds of thousands of rands

Barbed wire

Police and fire engines were on the spot within minutes and used rolls of barbed wire to cordon off the area in which thousands of people work during the day

On the opposite side of the road, plate-glass windows were blown out for the length of the block

Shortly after 7am police reduced the cordon of barbed wire to cover the area directly in front of the Trust Bank Building, and street sweepers cleared up the shattered glass

Hundreds of people gathered at the scene of the explosion, but were kept back by the police, who appealed to them to keep away

● Thousands of school pupils and university students in the Cape and Natal are boycotting lectures until the end of the week in protest against the celebrations

The stayaway started at the University of Durban-Westville and the Medical College of Durban (Wentworth) and spread to Fort Hare University in the Eastern Cape, where the students joined the boycott on Tuesday.

Also involved in the boycott are students at the University of the Western Cape and Durban's M L Sultan Technikon

At the University of Durban-Westville, where the boycott started last Thursday, a source said the university's rector had threatened to expel or suspend the 15-member SRC after the students had defied an instruction to end the boycott last Monday

Students at Wentworth marched around the campus singing freedom songs

A member of the Medical Students Representative Council said their offices had been raided by police who removed pamphlets and a printing machine

● In Johannesburg, police last night used teargas and sjamboks to disperse a group of about 150 pupils from the Christiaan Botha High School, Bosmont, who had locked themselves up in a classroom

According to witnesses the pupils were "staging a peaceful protest against the Republic Festival", but a police spokesman said that about 70 pupils — whose average age is 14 — had thrown stones, bottles, books, debris and briefcases at police officers when they arrived at the school at 6 45 pm

Thirty-one of the pupils were being held at the Newlands Police Station last night

● Yesterday pupils at several black schools in the Cape Peninsula joined the boycott

The University of Cape Town Athletic Club has called on 14 of its members to boycott next week's Comrades Marathon to protest against Republic Day Alternatively, those runners who take part have been asked to wear black armbands as a protest against the marathon's incorporation into the Republic Day festivities

● In Springs, Security Police confiscated thousands of pamphlets urging black factory workers to stay away from work on Republic Day A police spokesman said two black youths had been detained after being found in possession of the pamphlets, which had been deposited at bus stops in Boksburg, Benoni, Brakpan and Springs

● The president of the SRC of the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Sammy Adelman, attacked the detention of the president of Nusas, Mr Andrew Boraine, as a "senseless act of intimidation and oppression"

REVEALED:

A top-secret riots report that faults the State

By NEIL HOOPER

A HIGHLY confidential document submitted to the Cillie Commission of Inquiry, says the then Department of Bantu Administration and Development had made a massive contribution to the "anti-climate" which erupted into the Soweto riots of 1976.

The memorandum, drawn up and submitted by Mr Jaap de Villiers, former chief director of the West Rand Administration Board (Wrab), was not included in the commission's report

Mr de Villiers who left Wrab in 1977, was questioned about parts of the memorandum he submitted to the Cillie Commission, when he appeared in the Rand Supreme Court this week as an expert witness in a case Wrab brought against the Santam insurance company.

Mr de Villiers said when the memorandum was prepared he and his executive committee had considered it extremely confidential and did not think it would be made public

For this reason the memorandum had been submitted as in-camera evidence and the evidence "is at times a little more bald than it would otherwise have been".

Mr de Villiers then read extracts from the memorandum to the court which has to whether Santam should pay out about R7-million for damage caused during the 1976 riots. The extracts included the following:

● "I believe that in submitting this evidence, a rational, or rather an honest approach and view is necessary if the chairman of the commission is to be helped in his enormous task

"It does not help to hide behind a variety of personal and official loyalties and to attempt to obscure exactly those factors which in the decades ahead could provoke further reaction if they are not looked in the face and carefully considered.

"I sincerely believe that we should not allow the riots to have happened in vain. Remarks in this evidence should be seen against this background."



Soweto 1976 — a bloody and violent eruption of urban black grievances

Firm control

provide a greater degree of 'autonomy' to the local administration boards However this did not happen."

● Instead of giving the ad- [illegible] board staff creat- 'short-cuts have been developed' and it is a patchwork which basically contributes nothing to the creation of a dynamic new pattern of urban Bantu administration under the ment — in Soweto, to improve the standard of living?

"Has the department ever invited the city council or the West Rand Administration [illegible] for discussions to de[illegible]

could do? Things did not happen this way."

● Between 1968 and 1975 the department was obsessed with developing family homes in the homelands and the development of urban housing was neglected in the process. Approval of urban housing schemes took a long time, as did government financing.

● "I thus feel justified in making the statement that what has been achieved in urban Bantu administration in Soweto, has been achieved despite the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, and definitely not due to the department."

● In January 1975 the Prime Minister announced a revision of trading rights for blacks in their own residential areas.

"The new deal did arrive, 16 months later on May 7 1976 . . but this was rather a worsening of previous requirements and no step forward.

"Again citizenship of a homeland was made a requirement for the trader, a requirement which had not previously existed and which created deep-seated grievances in the 1976 climate . . . still a limitation on the types of trade, on the size of shops . . still the one-man, one-business policy with the superintendent checking the books.

Threat seen

"Companies and partnerships were now allowed, but again with the homelands citizenship requirement for the people involved. Where this was a concession and a postive step it became a source of ever-increasing dissatisfaction. The urban black sees in the compulsory homeland citizenship a threat to his existing 'rights' in the urban areas."

● "But why criticise the department so extensively and bitterly? Because I believe that the 'side-line attitude' and the passive and at times negative role of the department — a principal in the matter of urban Bantu administration — made a massive contribution to the buildup over the years of a 'anti-climate' in which the spark of the education [illegible]

24/5/61 S. Times 274

● *Because urban blacks* had fallen under the control of elected bodies such as the Johannesburg city council, then controlled by the Opposition, it was understandable, Mr de Villiers said, for the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to exert firm ministerial control.

"The result of necessary ministerial control was the creation of an administrative body concerned with urban Bantu administration, which cannot be easily matched for its clumsiness and long-wordiness. I do not think it is possible to design a more clumsy system without becoming ridiculous."

● With the creation of Bantu administration boards, personnel were appointed personally by the Minister.

"In view of the care taken in the appointment of people who could tackle the job of urban Bantu administration thoroughly and effectively and who could correctly interpret government policy, one could justifiably expect that the traditional ministerial view would undergo a change and that specific steps would be taken to

er control, the department increased its control of them.

"As a result the old traditional clumsy administration of functional things continues still, although here and there

guise of new boards.

● "I believe that the question can fairly be asked: What has been done at the initiative of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development

mine what the problems are in connection, for example, with the supply of power, education, housing shortages and other community requirements, and to ask what it, the department,

destruction."

(At this stage Mr de Villiers again repeated that the memorandum was drawn up as a confidential document).

Strikes and boycotts on the horizon, says survey

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — South Africa will again be hit by labour strikes and boycotts this year, according to the Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosch.

In a revised survey of economic prospects for South Africa for 1981 the bureau says the domestic political situation will remain uncertain and strikes and boycotts may occur as in 1980.

But the Government would remain in control of the situation and law and order would be maintained The country's businessmen were conditioned to the existence of some unrest

The Government would continue to effect changes, especially in the field of labour relations, but this could be accompanied by increased militancy both on the part of white and black trade unions, according to the survey

With the growth in social aspirations among the country's black communities, the pressure for spending on social infrastructure such as housing and education would continue to increase.

The bureau says international pressure for change in South Africa's domestic political system will remain But the manner of application may alter, with the emphasis on incentives for change rather than on boycotts and other threats

"The full attention of the international community will be directed towards possible ways of settling the South West Africa/Namibia question

"This may lead to increased pressure on South Africa Nevertheless, no overall mandatory sanctions against South Africa are expected"

Govt extends the ban on gatherings

CT 28/3/81 234 327

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — The government yesterday extended its ban on gatherings until March 31 next year.

According to a proclamation in yesterday's Government Gazette, Mr H J Coetsee, the Minister of Justice, has banned "any gathering in the Republic of South Africa from April 1, 1981 until March 31,1982"

The banning was announced in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Gatherings not affected by the banning are: Bona-fide sports gatherings, gatherings in buildings, gatherings authorized by the minister or by a magistrate

Yesterday Mr Alf Widman, parliamentary candidate for the Progressive Federal Party in Hillbrow, criticized the banning extension and described it as an incursion into free speech.

Mr Widman who serves on the PFP's justice committee, challenged Mr Coetsee to make a statement giving the reason for the banning of open-air gatherings.

"I do not want him to justify it. I challenge him to state the reasons for the banning, especially in the light of the impending elections," Mr Widman said, because some parties would perhaps want to hold an open-air fete in aid of the election and they would be prohibited from doing so in terms of the ban.

Now the SAP haye canned tearsmoke

RDM 12/1/81

274 ~~251~~

CAPE TOWN. — Canned tearsmoke, the latest addition to the South African Police force's arsenal, will minimise police violence if properly used, according to a spokesman for the Directorate of Public Relations of the South African Police.

The aluminium cannister, charged with pressurised tearsmoke, has a nozzle which allows the operator to aim a jet of tearsmoke at a target up to 6m away.

Although still undergoing tests, the weapon has been described as "very satisfactory" by the men and women who haye used it.

The cannister, designed and developed by the South African Police, is in many ways similar to a type of canned self-defence gas which was taken off the South African market in the early sixties, the spokesman said.

He said the cans would be issued to police personnel who came into contact with the public.

The new weapon now made it possible for a policewoman or a slightly-built policeman to stop a street fight and to arrest the men while the tearsmoke temporarily blinded them and put them out of action.

The narrow jet of tearsmoke from the can could also be directed through a keyhole to put people inside a room out of action.

The tearsmoke grenade at present used during riots could not be aimed, stopped or directed after being set off, he said.

The Commissioner of Police for the Western Province, Brigadier D B Nothnagel, said although police in the Western Province were issued with several of the new tearsmoke cans some weeks ago, they had not been put to practical use.

He said the weapon was still on trial and said he could not comment on the effect it had until it had been officially used.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, JANUARY 4, 1981

Violence rules in the township

SCORES GUNNED DOWN IN GANG WAR...

New Year's



Mr Amon Shozi with the burnt-out wreck of his car

Tribune Correspondent

SCORES of people have been gunned down and many others seriously injured in the revival of a gang war between two rival clans claiming supremacy of the Western Coloured Township in Johannesburg

This weekend two members of the rival gangs were buried at the same cemetery and police are keeping a sharp watch to ensure the fighting does not break out again.

Many of those killed or injured have been prominent sportsmen — boxers and golfers including South African middleweight contender Cameron "Kangaroo" Adams

Adams was gunned down and seriously wounded after a training session in the back yard of a house in the township. He was walking to his car when the gunman fired from the shadows.

He was hit in the neck and chest and was taken to the Coronation Hospital where he underwent emergency treatment. For

By DARYL BALFOUR

SAVAGE New Year's Day faction fighting only an hour from Durban has left at least five dead and many homeless.

The fighting, which has been carrying on sporadically for the past two weeks, came to a head this week when an impi of Chief Hlengwa's men swarmed across the Umbumbulu countryside setting fire to homes and attacking members of the rival Maphumulo tribe.

Lieutenant Colonel Schalk Booysen, who visited the scene on Friday, confirmed yesterday that five men had been killed.

But it is believed the death toll could be higher and that more bodies are still lying undiscovered in the long grass of the area. A police spokesman yesterday confirmed that they were scouring the bushes for more dead.

The dead are believed to be of the Hlengwa tribe. They have not yet been identified.

According to Mr Amon

Continue

and the countryside

Day carnage

S. Tribune
~~34~~ 274
4/1/81



Mrs Vaina Shozi, 55, holds up all that is left inside her gutted home



Lungila Shozi, 4, clutches some of the weapons used in the killer attack

...hozi whose home was ...e of those burned down ...here has been rivalry ...etween the Hlengwa and Maphumulo tribes for more than a year.

"The people of Thoyana under Chief Hlengwa want to drive us out of this area.

"The worst trouble was on New Year's Day when the Maphumulos were attacked, had their homes burned down, blankets and clothing stolen and food looted" Mr Shozi said.

Mr Shozi, who works as a messenger for the **Sunday Tribune**, had his 1976 model pick-up truck destroyed along with two huts in his kraal. All his and his family's clothing was stolen or burnt and all the family's food stolen.

A number of other kraals in the area suffered the same fate.

Fearing further attacks from the rampaging Hlengwa tribesmen, many of the women and children in the area have taken to sleeping in the bushes in the picturesque hills and valleys of the district.

"They left nothing here," Mr Shozi said.

Mr Shozi was in Durban at the time of the attack. He said there was nothing his people could do to prevent the attacks and said the police rarely managed to make any arrests or recover the stolen property.

4/1/81

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S. Tribune

r — nearly 70 and with more the bank — could have been pulence in sunny California.

es to take office on January c and international issues is attention.

likely that Mr Reagan will from President Carter. In inals and barbarians he has al: "Try to settle this thing te House because you'll find with."

ll have to decide whether to ver long it takes to get the to respond to growing public find a forceful way to end

olitical violence in Central close to the United States, lem for Mr Reagan: Revolu- Guatemala must be handled ban proxies are not to have enture.

's support

ration has been backing the ador but left-wing terrorists over before Reagan can swing the right-wingers.

country simply to collapse tive backers at home will be Union will believe him weak. Marines to safeguard regional be involved in another long

long-term conflict between ions. Henry Kissinger was this week, ostensibly on a uch as President Sadat but ssing.

eporters: "I didn't come to "The Mid-East peace process st priorities of the incoming

has receded as a world flash- of Soviet armed intervention Reagan will be keeping tabs

y might

watch the Soviet presence in it, through that presence, to ying factor for the new con- Soviet Union's ever-growing ant to assure American mili- riority.

ghten up the alliance between e major European countries ny Carter as President, to nd aloof on some issues than l.

ll do what he can to counter vring of Libya's radical leader, as already scored a victory in to woo states such as Liberia, ether to remain in the Western

not least the coming week's ca but not excluding develop- ica — may also present the jor challenges to American

tic action

l try almost from the moment America's economic problems, tion on inflation.

ses to boost employment, trim n defence, cut taxes, control overnment off the backs of out of recession and "make y be more than any man can

has an advantage over his the White House. Presidents re workaholics who spent as nal day at their desks, mired detail

Church chaos as police move in

From Page 1

o Six coloured senior secondary schools in the Johannesburg area were deserted as pupils staged a boycott to commemorate June 16,

o Indian schools in Lenasia were boycotted and almost all the shops in the township were closed — but the situation in the area was reported quiet

o In the Western Coloured Townships, a small group of youths stoned a delivery van and hijacked it when the occupants jumped out -- but later abandoned it as police arrived on the scene, a police spokesman said,

o In George, Cape, examinations were cancelled for the day at a coloured high school,

o In Kliptown, police seized pamphlets calling on residents to stay away from work,

o Pupils at coloured schools throughout the Cape Peninsula responded to a two-day mourning call by staging a total school boycott,

o Cape Town construction companies were affected by a partial stayaway of labourers, and no staff arrived at some small businesses, but Peninsula industry and commerce in general were unaffected

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape, Brigadier Daniel Nothnagel, said he had received no reports of violence in the Peninsula

Most businesses in townships in the Peninsula were closed

Police gengrally maihtained a low profile

A bottle containing inflammable liquid was tossed into the principal's office at the Sastri College in Durban, but damage was slight

Police reported that 100 of the 380 pupils at the Harding coloured high school in Natal boycotted exams

In Port Elizabeth, a strike, a partial stayaway at coloured schools and a three-hour closure of shops in townships marked a quiet observance of the anniversary

Throughout the day buses ran unchecked, and the flow of commuters appeared normal

Meetings and comemorative services in Port Elizabeth were cut by a 48-hour banning order signed by the Chief Magistrate Mr J A Coetzee, which ends at 4pm today

Meanwhile it was learnt that petrol bombs were hurled through the windows of two buses in Sebokeng township near Vereeniging on Monday night, causing passengers to flee through the windows and emergency exits

Earlier two buses were stoned and set alight in the neighbouring township of Evaton

Footnotes:

Section 1:

(1) For a discussion of the revolution, see W.D. Reekie. The Economics of the Pharmaceutical Industry.

(2) This is based on the definition in The Medical, Dental & Pharmacy Act (1928), Section 37.

(2) Botha, D.J.J.: Inflation and Equilibrium.

(3) See Steenkamp Commission.

(4) Department of Statistics, Census of Manufacturing, 1972.

(5) Heller, T.: Poor Health, Rich Profits.

Footnotes (continued)

Section 3:

(6) "Some facts about the research based Pharmaceutical Industry" Prepared by a group of S.A. firms in 1976. See also Appendix 2.

(7) Cooper, M.H. Prices and Profits in the Pharmaceutical Industry.



Police carry away the body of Mbongwen Luthuli, 10, who was killed during disturbances in KwaMashu yesterday.

GUNFIRE KILLS 10 IN KWAMASHU UNREST

Athlone hut this could not be confirmed by the police.

The death of a schoolgirl, 10, was reported to the KwaMashu police yesterday by a Putco bus driver. Mr Thulebona Nxumalo said a child waved his bus down and he stopped. From the grass on the side of the road a large group of youngsters jumped up and started stoning the bus.

He accelerated and a girl was run down and killed. It was established that she was Nonhlanhla Luthuli, 10, of Bantubonke.

In all, 11 Natal Putco buses were vandalised and damaged.

Trouble Stoned

Mr Samuel Ngcoma, with a crew of three, was driving a furnished coach in a section when the trouble started. He stopped and his crew ran off. The [illegible] of the truck [illegible]

Last night Brigadier John Swanepoel, Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Durban area, said five people were arrested, the demand during the "three days" commemoration week-

A spokesman for City Transport Services in Durban yesterday.

In Soweto, 10 people were injured and at least 100 buses damaged during the "three days" commemoration week-

(6) "Some facts about the research based Pharmaceutical Industry" Prepared by a group of S.A. firms in 1976. See also Appendix 2.

(7) See G. Teeling-Smith: The Canberra Hypothesis.

(8) Research into this aspect of promotion has been done by E. Hemminki.

(9) Canadian Medical Journal. Editorial 8/2/77.

(10) Steenkamp Commission.



Members of the squad advance on the rioters, demonstrating their manoeuvres and anti-riot equipment.

Pictures Clarence Muller

Riot squad trains at Cape bush camp

By STEPHEN WROTTESLEY

A PLATOON from the Western Cape police division's riot squad — about 50 percent of whom have just joined the squad — complete 14 days of training in the bush near Swartklip this week.

Yesterday their training programme was demonstrated to members of the Cape Town press for the first time since the squad was formed at a site deep in the Port Jackson bush near the South African Cape Corps base.

A group of journalists were taken to the tent town, some 15 minutes by bumpy dirt track from any tarred road, to watch the 36 men from No 4 Platoon being put through their paces by their commander, Lieutenant Christiaan Aries.

The men, usually stationed around the Peninsula, will return to their police stations at the end of the session. Only a small number of men form the nucleus of the crime-prevention unit and riot squad.

The tent town which houses the men boasts many mod cons — camp beds, a Heath-Robinson shower and a field kitchen. And the equipment they are given for combating anything from riot situations to terror attacks is the best in the world, according to Colonel Piet van Rensburg, the head of the squad.



Left: A member of the riot squad checks out a "house" which has been occupied by "terrorists" **Right**: Lieutenant Christiaan Aries, right, checks the positioning of his men

The squad is entirely self-contained with its own vehicles and communications centre in a caravan. One tent has been set aside as a lecture hall with video machines so the squad can watch film of earlier training sessions

Yesterday the men were drilled on a makeshift parade ground to the tune of "Daar Kom Die Alabama" with amended lyrics The lyrics talk of the arrival of "die bont pyjamas", a reference to their camouflage uniforms.

Then they donned their helmets and picked up shields to act against a crowd of "demonstrators", played by instructors who hurled bricks and other projectiles at the advancing line of men.

Following this they demonstrated various roadblocks, including one designed to stop armed men travelling in a car

Thunderflashes were used to make the situation more realistic so that if ever called on to go into action, the men would not be distracted by the noise

At times the men seemed rather over-enthusiastic in the "arrest" of their instructors who posed as armed men stopped at the roadblock.

Some of the members of the squad using live ammunition later stormed a 'building"

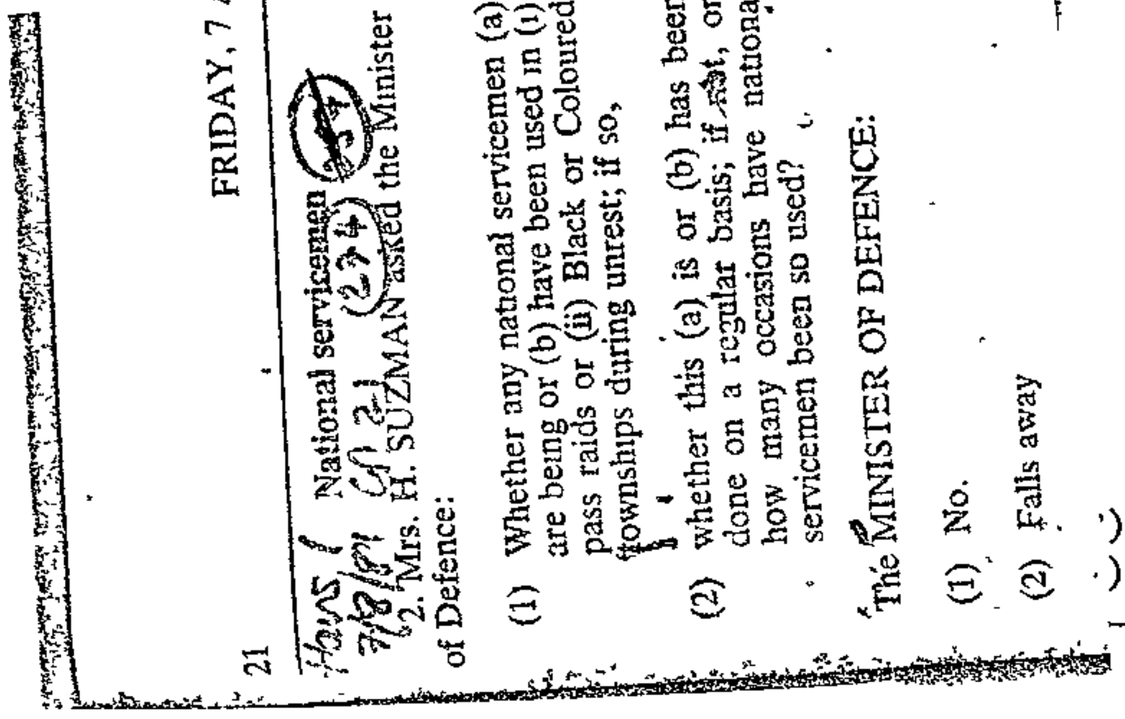
4. Operating Profit Variance due to sales:

	Actual	Standard	Budgeted Mix Unit Version	Budget
Squaxi	9 900 x 1,3 = 12 870	9 900 x 1,3 = 12 870	8 950 x 1,3 = 11 635	10 000 x 1,3 = 13 000
Squixi	8 000 x 3,0 = 24 000	8 000 x 2,8 = 22 400	8 950 x 2,8 = 25 060	10 000 x 2,8 = 28 000
Total	17 900 R36 870	17 900 R35 270	17 900 R36 695	20 000 R41 000

R1 425 (u) Mix

R4 305 (u) Quantity

R 5 730 (u) volume



Rand Version R35 022

R248 (F) Mix

R5 978 (u) Quantity

R5 730 (u) volume

R4 130 (u) Operating Profit Variance due to Sales

FRIDAY, 7 ... 21

Hans 1 National servicemen (274)
7/8/81 CN 21

2. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether any national servicemen (a) are being or (b) have been used in (i) pass raids or (ii) Black or Coloured townships during unrest; if so,

(2) whether this (a) is or (b) has been done on a regular basis; if not, on how many occasions have national servicemen been so used?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) No.

(2) Falls away

Rand Version Notes to Workings

*Total sales in Rand - Squaxi 9 900 x 4 = 39 600
- Squixi 8 000 x 10 = 80 000
R119 600

Rand Version Workings

Squaxi R119 600* x 4/14 = 34 171** ÷ 4 = 8 542*** x 1,3 = 11 104,60
Squixi R119 600* x 10/14 = 85 429** ÷ 10 = 8 542*** x 2,8 = 23 917,60
Total R119 600 R35 022,20

** In Budgeted Mix

*** Unit sales in budgeted mix

1353S 3.

Teargas rules are not new

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Government regulations allowing certain employers to use teargas against workers in certain circumstances have been in force since the mid-1960s, a spokesman for the Department of Justice said yesterday.

And industry legal experts confirmed that recently-gazetted regulations allowing certain employers to use teargas against workers in compounds had been in force for some time.

A controversial proclamation published last week had merely extended the existing right of some employers to use teargas, they said.

They were commenting on a report earlier this week in which trade unionists and black community leaders reacted angrily to a proclamation in the Government Gazette allowing local authorities and certain employers to use teargas.

The employers who are granted these powers are mining companies and electricity suppliers who provide compound housing for more than 100 workers as well as other employers who recruit labour and provide compound accommodation for more than 100 workers.

Industry legal experts said the new regulations gazetted last Friday were merely an extension of existing regulations which allow employers of workers housed in compounds to use teargas.

The only change, they said, was that the previous regulations had extended this right to employers who housed at least 300 workers in compounds and that the new proclamation extended the power to use teargas to employers who ran smaller compounds.

The regulations were gazetted in terms of the 1964 Teargas Act

A Department of Justice spokesman confirmed this and added. "These regulations have been in force since the act was promulgated in 1964".

He said that the law allowed the local authorities and employers concerned to use teargas but "obviously only if they do so when necessary and do not use it excessively"

He confirmed that the new regulations had extended the right to use teargas to smaller compounds.

The sources said they could find no evidence of employers actually using the power up to now.

Trade unionists, community leaders and the official opposition's spokesman on manpower, Dr Alex Boraine, condemned the regulations this week.

Unionists described them as "barbaric" and Dr Boraine said he was "staggered" by the provision

New ruling on teargas 'reckless, dangerous'

Ayus 23/7/79

274

Political Staff

OPPOSITION spokesmen today expressed dismay at the Government's new legislation empowering local authorities and private companies to use teargas.

In terms of a notice in the Government Gazette, signed by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, mining companies and any person undertaking the supply of electricity and who provides accommodation in a compound for more than 100 employees, and companies recruiting labourers and provided sleeping accommodation for more than 100 persons in a compound may possess teargas or any article used or intended to be used for releasing teargas.

EMPLOYEES

The permission incudes all employees of such companies in the execution of their duties or while acting on behalf of the company.

In terms of the previous notice, issued in November 1978, only such companies with more than 300 people could possess tear gas.

The permission, granted in terms of the Teargas Act, also includes all people who possess it on behalf of a local authority, a board for municipal or town management or a board for rural development.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice said the Act and the regulations did not stipulate that people entitled to use it had to be trained in its use.

NOT SUPPLIED

The State would not supply teargas to such companies If they wanted it, they would have to buy it privately.

Permission to possess teargas is limited to the companies mentioned, and does not apparently include other large employers, such as motor companies or sugar mills.

Opposition spokesmen warn that the move could cause racial friction and exacerbate 'explosive' situations.

The Progressive Federal Party's chief spokesman on labour and education, Dr Alex Boraine, said he was 'staggered' by the new provision, which he found 'highly undesirable.'

LABOUR

'This is a very far-reaching extension It is my experience that when people are given power to use material of this kind it is almost a guarantee that it will be used.

'It is clear that teargas can now be used as a normal method of control by local authorities and management in certain industries

'This is no way to handle already explosive situations and can only exacerbate such situations.

'As one who has been on the receiving end of teargas, I say this method can be most dangerous and can lead to violence and even death.'

Mrs Helen Suzman, the PFP's spokesman on civil rights and black affairs, described the legislation as 'a reckless move'

She said it was likely to increase hositility and racial friction.

'The use of any forcible method, including teargas, should certainly not be extended to persons or organisations who cannot possibly have experience or training and whose judgment is liekly to be faulty.

POLICE

'If anything, we should be curbing the use of teargas, even by the police, who have been known to use it in confined places like churches and schools.

'I am filled with dismay.'

Dr Stanley Evans, acting Town Clerk of Cape Town, was surprised when told of the move.

He said that if the Government had empowered local authorities to use teargas with the intention of quelling labour unrest he did not think the City Council would contemplate making use of the provision as far as its employees were concerned

DOING BEST

'We like to think they do not need that kind of coercion. They are people doing their best to serve the city and doing it well.'

As regards using teargas for crime prevention, this would have to be discussed by the Council, who would determine policy.

'All I can say is that the Bloomberg Committee's report on crime prevention is due to be released soon, and this will give an indication that will help the Council decide on recommendations regarding the use of teargas.

'There is concern about crime in the city, which is a deterrent for tourists and a hazard for the safety of citizens. It has been suggested that something will have to be done, but it is up to the Council to decide.'

RELUCTANT

Mr Brian McLeod, director of the Cape Chamber of Industries, said he was reluctant to comment on the move at this stage as it had not been discussed by the chamber and he had had no feedback from members.

'Only the big companies involved will be able to say whether they feel this is necessary or not The whole thing will have to be investigated.'

Mr Joe Foster, acting general secretary of the Federation of South African Trade Unions, said he felt the move was unnecessary and would only serve to cause an escalation of tension and violence.

The implications would probably be discussed at the next meeting of the federation's central committee, he said.

WELCOMED

The move was, however, welcomed by Mr Michael Morris, former security policeman and now a security consultant who stood as an independent candidate in Green Point in the general election.

He said the majority of those employed by large companies and other organisations to guard premises at night and deal with faction fights were blacks.

'As everyone knows; it is very difficult to arm blacks in South Africa with much more than a rather useless truncheon, because of the political situation. However, these people need some form of personal protection, and teargas seems to be the answer.'

FIREARMS

He had no doubt that the provision could be misused, as was the case with firearms, but with time misuse could be stamped out.

There was also a strong movement advocating that the public have access to some form of teargas, perhaps in aerosol cans, for personal protection.

This was standard practice in the Western world and was particularly useful for women, he said.

Ruling on use of teargas deplored

CT 23/7/81 274

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Community leaders and trade union spokesmen this week criticized the announcement by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, that private companies and local authorities would now have the power to use teargas.

The step was seen as "barbaric" and trade unionists and community leaders predicted that the use of teargas by employers could only lead to an increase in industrial tensions.

The announcement, made in the Government Gazette of July 17, extends the legislation of Section 3 of the Tear-Gas Act of 1964 outlining the people empowered to use teargas and any article intended for the release of teargas to.

- Those who possess it on behalf of a local authority, a board for municipal or town management or a board for rural development
- Mining companies providing accommodation in a compound for more than 100 employees.
- Companies recruiting labourers and providing accommodation in a compound for more than 100 people.
- Any person who undertakes the supply of electricity and provides accommodation in a compound for more than 100 employees.

'Staggered'

The power is also extended to any person employed by the company or local authority who might require to use teargas in the execution of his duties.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on labour, Dr Alex Boraine, said said he was "staggered" by the provision which he believed was "highly undesirable".

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, said the only interpretation he could place on the move was that of "a government preparing for a state of siege"



Mr Kobie Coetsee

The measure was also condemned by spokesmen for the Council of Unions of SA, the Federation of SA Trade Unions and the Urban Foundation

Dr Boraine said "It creates the impression that the best way to resolve labour problems is by suppressing the worker with teargas Our record is bad enough when management resorts to calling the police at any suggestion of a labour dispute

"As I have been on the receiving end of teargas and know how dangerous it can be in congested areas, this can only be termed as irresponsible"

'Horrific'

Mr Piroshaw Camay, general secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa, said. "It is horrific Such a thing can only serve to escalate any problems we have, not lessen the tensions.

"Teargas should only be a weapon in the hands of responsible, trained people. In the hands of the police it should only be an experienced senior officer who is allowed to make use of it and then only when life or property are in danger.

"It now means that any major employer can use teargas in any capacity in a dispute. If his workers don't like the food, or are unhappy about something, he has a convienient and ruthless device of power in his hands.

"In the hands of a businessman who has no experience of unrest it will cause panic. We will be looking into the legislation immediately to see what means are available to object in the strongest terms."

'No surprise'

The acting general secertary of Federation of South African Trade Unions, Mr Joe Foster, said that while his organization in no way supported the móve, "it comes as no suprise — we have learnt to expect things like this".

Fosatu, he said, would probably study the proclamation at the next meeting of its central commitee as he felt the implementation of such power could only result in "an escalation of tension and more violence".

Mrs Deborah Mabiletsa, a member of the national council of the Urban Foundation, feared that the step would plunge South Africa "back into the Dark Ages".

"People who employ masses of workers for these huge concerns are there to make a living — they want as little complaint from the workers as possible.

"How can a man who is concerned with making money be expected to make a rational judgment when it comes to using teargas to solve labour problems? It can only lead to indiscriminate use of a powerful weapon."

A spokesman for Escom declined to comment on whether the corporation would take advantage of the legislation "I have nothing to say about security or equipment to use for security arrangments," he said.

Teargas use chaos fears

Sowetan 23/7/81 274

ABUSE and chaos fears were expressed following far-reaching concessions by Minister of Justice, Mr Hendrik Jacobus Coetsee regarding the possession and use of teargas.

Under Section Three of the Teargas Act of 1964 Mr Coetsee granted permission to a local authority a board for municipal or town management or a board for rural development

Concessions, according to a notice gazetted on July 17, are also granted to people employed by these companies, or a person supplying electricity or in the execution of their duties on behalf of these companies

Permission was also granted to

- mining companies providing accommodation in a compound for more than 100 employees
- companies recruiting labourers and providing sleeping accommodation in a compound for more than 100 persons
- any person who undertakes the supply of electricity and provides accommodation in a compound for more than 100 persons

"A contented society and a contented workforce doesn't need teargas to keep them under control," retorted Mrs Joyce Harris, president of the Black Sash

She said "I don't like the sound of it They do this instead of doing something constructive for all sections of the community to obviate the need for such restrictions"

"My fear is that this teargas will spread chaos be open to abuse and be used in a strike situation," pointed out Mr Louis Khumalo, director of an industrial relations and recruitment specialist firm.

DEPARTEMENT VAN JUSTISIE

No. R. 1523 17 Julie 1981

VERLENING VAN TOESTEMMING AAN SEKERE KLASSE OF KATEGORIEË VAN PERSONE OM TRAANGAS OF ENIGE ARTIKEL WAT GEBRUIK WORD OM TRAANGAS VRY TE STEL OF DAARVOOR BESTEM IS, TE BESIT.—ARTIKEL 3 VAN DIE WET OP TRAANGAS, 1964 (WET 16 VAN 1964)

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 3 van van die Wet op Traangas 1964 (Wet 16 van 1964) verleen ek, Hendrik Jacobus Coetsee, Minister van Justisie hierby toestemming om traangas of enige artikel wat gebruik word om traangas vry te stel of daarvoor bestem is, te besit aan alle persone wat dit besit ten behoewe van 'n plaaslike owerheid, 'n raad vir 'n munisipale of dorpsbestuur of 'n raad vir buitestedelike ontwikkeling.

Insgelyks word toestemming hierby verleen vir die besit van traangas of enige artikel wat gebruik word om traangas vry te stel of daarvoor bestem is, aan—

(a) mynmaatskappye wat in 'n kampong huisvesting bied vir meer as 100 werknemers;

(b) maatskappye wat arbeiders werf en in 'n kampong slaapakkommodasie vir meer as 100 persone bied;

(c) enige persoon wat die voorsiening van elektrisiteit onderneem en wat in 'n kampong huisvesting vir meer as 100 werknemers bied; en

(d) alle persone wat in diens is van die maatskappye bedoel in paragrawe (a) en (b) of van 'n persoon bedoel in paragraaf (c), en wat by die nakoming van hulle pligte en ten behoewe van dusdanige maatskappye of persoon traangas of enige artikel wat gebruik word om traangas vry te stel of daarvoor bestem is, besit

Hierdie kennisgewing word met die toestemming van die Administrateur-generaal vir die gebied Suidwes-Afrika uitgevaardig en is ook in die gebied van toepassing

Goewermentskennisgewing R. 2207 van 10 November 1978 word hierby ingetrek.

H. J. COETSEE, Minister van Justisie.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

No. R. 1523 17 July 1981

GRANTING OF PERMISSION TO CERTAIN CLASSES OR CATEGORIES OF PERSONS TO POSSESS TEAR-GAS OR ANY ARTICLE USED OR INTENDED TO BE USED FOR RELEASING TEAR-GAS.—SECTION 3 OF THE TEAR-GAS ACT, 1964 (ACT 16 OF 1964)

By virtue of the powers vested in me by section 3 of the Tear-gas Act, 1964 (Act 16 of 1964), I, Hendrik Jacobus Coetsee, Minister of Justice, hereby grant permission to possess tear-gas or any article used or intended to be used for releasing tear-gas to all persons who possess it on behalf of a local authority, a board for municipal or town management or a board for rural development.

Similarly, permission is hereby granted for the possession of tear-gas or any article used or intended to be used for releasing tear-gas to—

(a) mining companies providing accommodation in a compound for more than 100 employees;

(b) companies recruiting labourers and providing sleeping accommodation in a compound for more than 100 persons;

(c) any person who undertakes the supply of electricity and provides accommodation in a compound for more than 100 employees; and

(d) all persons who are employed by the companies referred to in paragraphs (a) and (b) or by a person referred to in paragraph (c) and who in the execution of their duties and on behalf of such companies or person possess tear-gas or any articles used or intended to be used for releasing tear-gas

This notice is issued with the consent of the Administrator-General for the territory of South West Africa and shall also apply in the territory

Government Notice R. 2207 of 10 November 1978 is hereby withdrawn

H. J. COETSEE, Minister of Justice.

unexpected, no entrepreneur will undertake a venture as the expected payoff of the action would be zero. If profits are predictable, then opportunities for profit are open to everyone, ruling out, by definition, profits.

The existence of this dichotomy results from the static nature of the economic analysis used. It concentrates only on the power of the market to allocate existing resources in response to price signals and rules out the creative side of the market. "The omission of the motive power from the foundations of economics was, perhaps, in no small
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An understanding of the role of p
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Profits can thus both explain and
the promise of profits acts as an in
while the result of a successful inn
can exceed average cost, implying th

Profits are therefore a necessary
and efficiency; they are not rents
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however, their actual magnitude sh
the profits earned are greater thal
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would be "excessive" and policy mak
accordingly.

(3.2) The Rate of Profit in the Drug Industry:

It is not easy to measure the profits in the drug industry as most firms are highly diversified. Stock Exchange reports and published data do not indicate the profits attributable to the drug divisions of the firms. In addition the large number of foreign-owned firms preclude the use of local published data.

. / ...

However, statistics from the Department of Statistics and, in particular, the recent commission provide some useful indications of the profit levels. (3)

For the Pharmaceutical manufacturing industry as a whole, net profits amounted to 15% on sales in 1972 compared to the average for the manufacturing sector of 7,5% - 12,5%. (4)

Turning more specifically to the ethical drug industry itself, the cost investigation of the [illegible] Commission reveals the



June 17. 'Generally peaceful'

MINOR incidents of stone-throwing had been reported in the township. People returned to work.

to City police yesterday, the Soweto police public Divisional Commissioner of relations officer, Major Oth Police for the Western Cape, nel Mazibuko, said if there Brigadier D B Nothnagel, had been any stayaway it said. had not been apparent.

The incidents were report- Police headquarters in ed to have occurred in Gugu- Pretoria described Tuesday letu and Retreat. He said — June 16 — as "a generally three police vehicles and quiet day".

five private vehicles had A spokesman said police been damaged. had maintained a low profile

A spokesman for City and were under orders not to Transways said the company use any "live" ammunition. had temporarily withdrawn They used quirts, rubber its services to Langa, bullets and teargas during Nyanga, Guguletu, Bonteheu- confrontations, he said. wel and Norwood, following stoning.

Vehicles stoned

Police were visible in various potential trouble spots throughout yesterday but there appeared to be a generally peaceful attitude on the second day of the stayaway.

Brigadier Nothnagel said there were several examples of burning obstructions — tyres and other inflammable objects — but on the whole the evening had been quiet.

A total of 12 people had been arrested in the Peninsula since the unrest began on Tuesday. Seven of them were arrested yesterday, he said.

● Police in Durban said yesterday that there had been two "fire-bomb incidents in Kwa Mashu on Tues- day night. Soldiers and police have been mad[illegible] by stones at Molo[illegible] Soweto was subdued yes- terday, the second day of the fifth commemoration of the June 16, 1976 unrest and police reported no incidents

Ten police vehicles had been stoned. Private cars were also stoned at a number of places.

At Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle police yesterday used quirts to disperse a crowd who began stoning cars, while at Naledi a policeman was taken to hospital when his eye was injured by splinters of glass from a broken bus window.

Police said 10 people were injured.

Three people were admitted to the Baragawanath Hospital with bullet wounds. Police are investigating as only rubber bulets were used by them. An elderly woman was tak[illegible] to hospital after being in[illegible] by stones at Molofo[illegible]

Staff Reporter, Own Correspondents

● Le Grange to look into complaints; page 2

[illegible] they that profits are higher as a compensation for extra risk. Critics, on the other hand, claim that the higher profits in the drug industry are a result of monopoly power. Each of these arguments will be assessed.

(3.3.1) Profits and risk

The industry has emphasised the risk inherent in the drug business. In order to develop one marketable drug, between

. / ...

Le Grange to look into complaints about police

C.T. 18/6/81 (274) (3.1)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Police yesterday turned down a request by a delegation of religious and community leaders to hold a judicial inquiry into the conduct of police during the recent unrest in Johannesburg's coloured townships

However, the minister, Mr Louis le Grange, undertook to investigate all matters — which include allegations of police brutality in the townships — outlined in a memorandum and affidavits submitted to him by the delegation

The delegation also told Mr Le Grange at their meeting in Pretoria that Brigadier Theuns "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, head of the police crime-prevention unit, was not the "right type of person to be used in handling occurrences of this nature"

Delegation

The delegation consisted of Mr Miley Richards and Mr Mohammed Dangor, both Labour Party members of the Johannesburg Coloured Management Committee, the Rev Cecil Begbie of the Methodist Church, the Rev M October of the Moravian Church, Mrs M Peterson, wife of a coloured high school principal, the Rev Peter Storey, president of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev C Constable, of the Congregation Church, and Mr John Rees, director of the SA Institute of Race Relations

After their meeting the delegation said they had been cordially received by Mr Le Grange

He had declined their request for the appointment of a judicial or general inquiry into the conduct of the police as he believed it would serve no purpose, but he undertook to investigate all the matters drawn to his attention

No interference

The minister reiterated his stand on peaceful protest and indicated that the police would not enter school premises or interfere with peaceful protests which did not contravene the law

"He further stated that he would categorically not permit demonstrations outside school premises, in the streets or in public places"

Mr Le Grange said he would go into the case of detained student leader Mr Aziz Jardine when he had all the information before him, but he would give no undertakings

The delegation added "He stressed that if petrol bombs were used against the police, the persons concerned would be very seriously dealt with

"The minister undertook to convey the message to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, the concerns expressed by the delegation on the possible closure of schools"

'Police brutality'

○ Yesterday a member of the Soweto Committee of 10, Mr L M Mathabathe, accused the police of "brutality" in firing teargas at people leaving Soweto's Regina Mundi Church after a service yesterday commemorating the fifth anniversary of the unrest of 1976

The president of the Azanian Peoples' Organization, Mr Kehla Mthembu, convened an urgent meeting yesterday morning to discuss the police action

○ Meanwhile Soweto commuters had a chilly drive yesterday because 150 buses were stoned on Tuesday and 450 windows were smashed

A spokesman for the Putco bus service said 150 buses of the 500 operating to and from the township had been damaged by stones

○ It was reported from Durban that nearly R5 000 worth of windows in 57 Putco buses were smashed in Kwa-Mashu on Tuesday

17/6/81

Johannesburg hardest hit by stayaway

By ANNE SACKS

THERE was a partial stavaway of black workers in Johannesburg yesterday

Significant numbers of people took the day off to observe the fifth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto unrest

But the stayaway was confined almost exclusively to Johannesburg, with national companies reporting a full turnout of staff in other centres

In Johannesburg some employers reported attendances as low as 10%, and others full attendance by orkers

There was no stayaway of workers on the East Rand, where factories contacted by the Rand Daily Mail said attendance had been normal

A spokesman for the Putco bus company said buses carried 50% fewer passengers yesterday morning, but that they were fully loaded by yesterday afternoon

He said there it was possible there had been fewer passengers in the morning because many people had spent the night in town

A spokesman for the South African Railways said trains were running normally yesterday and were "as full as on any other day"

Residents in Soweto and Lenasia reported that almost all the shops in the two townships were closed yesterday, and Lenasia residents said the township was even quieter than on normal Sundays

Most shops owned by Indian traders in the Diagonal Street area were also closed yesterday, and a Troye Street businessman telephoned the "Mail" to say most shops in the area closed at lunchtime because of a lack of trade

Stayaway reports to the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce varied Some of the 3 600 members reported a 30% absenteeism, while others reported that all their employees were present

Mr Marius de Jager, chief executive of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, described stayaways as "few and far between" and said there had been no general impact in the city

Workers employed by the Johannesburg City Council, one of the city's biggest employers, were all at work yesterday

"We've had no problems," said Mr John Bates, the city engineer's liaison officer

He said all the clerical staff, most of whom live in Soweto, came to work as did the field staff, who live in hostels provided by the council

A few employers of clothing workers telephoned the Industrial Council for the clothing industry to report the majority of their workers had stayed away to observe the day of mourning.

Metal Box (SA) Ltd reported a 10% turnout of workers at their Industria factory

However the managing director, Mr Derek Jacobs, said there was no stayaway at the company's 19 other factories, many of which are situated on the Reef

Chain stores reported stayaways at some of their Johannesburg branches

Mr Vernon Staegemann, personnel director of Checkers, said attendance at some stores was as low as 40%, but that most workers in other centres came to work

Edgars had a good turnout of staff, and stayaways were confined almost exclusively to Johannesburg

Mr Adrian Bellamy, the managing director, said the company recognised certain staff members were under pressure and were given permission to take the day off

All employers contacted by the "Mail" said no workers who had come to work had been intimidated, and some said they let employees go home early

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RIOTS + DISTURBANCES - General

1-6-80 - 31-12-80

Oproer: Min kry polisse

ONDANKS die gevaar van onluste is die meeste groot maatskappye in Suid-Afrika nie bereid om versekeringsdekking teen politieke oproere uit te neem nie, omdat hulle die polisse in hierdie stadium as relatief te duur beskou.

Die oproer van verlede en vandeesweek in Kaapstad het blykbaar nie groot Kaapstadse ondernemings laat skrik nie, want die meeste van hulle beoog nie om in hierdie stadium dekking teen politieke oproer uit te neem nie.

Die polisse word deur die Suid-Afrikaanse vereniging van Spesiale Risiko's (Sasria) deur kortterm-nyversekeraars bemark.

Die grootste klagte teen die polisse is dat dit nie dekking teen winsverliese bied nie, maar net teen die werklike skade wat aangerig is.

Sover Sake-Rapport kon vasstel, is Sanlam se Goue Akker in Kaapstad die enigste groot onderneming in die Kaapstadse middestad wat die polis uitgeneem het. Die sentrumbestuurder, mnr. Attie Marais, sê die Goue Akker het onlangs — toe daar tekens van politieke oproer was — besluit om so 'n polis uit te neem.

Verlede Saterdag is 'n groot ruit in die sentrum gebreek. Die skade word teen sowat R300 geraam en 'n eis vir die bedrag sal ingestel word.

Die OK se winkel, wat aan die Goue Akker grens, het nog nie 'n Sasria-polis uitgeneem nie. 'n Woordvoerder van OK in Johannesburg sê dat sy maatskappy net polisse uitgeneem het om skade aan sy voertuie te dek.

„Die Sasria-polisse, wat dekking teen skade aan geboue en voorraad bied, is in hierdie stadium relatief te duur omdat winsverliese nie gedek word nie," het die woordvoerder gesê.

OK is egter gedek teen ander skade.

Dit beteken egter nie dat OK nie in die toekoms Sasriapolisse sal uitneem nie.

„Ons kyk voordurend na die polisse en indien dekking teen winsverliese aangebring word, sal OK beslis in die polisse belang stel.

'n Direkteur van Pick 'n Pay, mnr. Hugh Herman, sê dat Pick 'n Pay in hierdie stadium nog nie Sasria-polisse uitgeneem het nie. Sy besware is soortgelyk aan dié van OK.

Makelaars stem in die algemeen saam dat Sasria-polisse 'n moet is.

Mnr. David Hersch, 'n Kaapstadse makelaar, sê die ondernemings wat nie die polisse uitneem nie en in gevaargebiede is, speel met vuur. Hy stem saam dat Sasria sy polisse moet wysig om winsverliese te dek.

Mnr. D. P. Gillimore, direkteur (Tegniese dienste) van Priceforbes Federale Volkskas, sê die gevaar bestaan dat Sasria nie nuwe polisse sal uitreik as grootskeepse onluste uitbars nie.

„Ondernemings moet nou die situasie ernstig in oënskou neem omdat hulle nie later dieselfde dekking as nou sal kry nie," sê mnr. Gillimore.

Die meeste makelaars sê ook dat daar tans nie 'n wesenlike toename in belangstelling vir die polisse is nie.

Hulle wys daarop dat 'n groot voordeel van die polisse is dat dit verskillende premies vir verskillende gebiede het.

Die premies van ondernemings in swart woongebiede beloop 0,5 persent van die batewaarde, terwyl die premies in bruin- en Indiërgebiede 0,3 persent van die batewaarde is.

Wat blanke gebiede betref, beloop die premie 0,1 persent van die batewaarde.

Mnr. Hersch sê dat Sasria die saak weer in oënskou moet neem, aangesien blanke gebiede nie noodwendig die veiligste is nie. Verlede Saterdag se oproer in die middestad van Kaapstad is 'n voorbeeld.

Mnr. R. Schneeberger, bestuurder van Sasria, sê sedert die polisse ingestel is, het die premie-inkomste bevredigend gestyg. Wat dekking teen winsverliese betref, sê mnr. Schneeberger dat so 'n wysiging in Sasria-polisse deur die Regering gedoen moet word.

Hoewel hy nie die moontlikheid van wysigings in die polisse wil uitsluit nie, sal veranderinge deur toekomstige omstandighede bepaal word.

— **Flip Meyer**

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
EXAMINATION ANSWER BOOK

If boycotts don't stop, schools are to be closed

STAR 3/6/80

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By Yussuf Nazeer

The Transvaal Indian Teachers' Training College in Fordsburg, Johannesburg, was closed today on instructions from the Director of Indian Education and Indian schools are expected to close next week if the boycotts persist

About 152 students at the college this morning got notices.

They may reapply for admission by June 10

Lenasia school spokesmen said the Director of Indian Education has placed them in a "delicate and dangerous" situation by instructing them to send out circulars informing parents that their children may be expelled if they continue the boycott

At [illegible] schools pupils, [illegible] burnt examination papers and notices being prepared for posting to their parents threatening expulsion

PORT ELIZABETH

In Elderslie Park and Isleton the two high school continued their protest today as pupils refused to write tests and returned to attend classes.

All full time students at the University of the Transkei in Umtata boycotted classes and lectures today, and almost all school in the area have been closed.

Students at the Cheri Booth Weitzman and Lovedale colleges in high school [illegible] their classes and the [illegible]

At the Witkazi [illegible]

nection with the boycott but detained two other pupils

The head of the local security branch, Colonel Gerrit Erasmus, said more detainees would gradually be released in the next few days

African schools being boycotted in the Eastern Cape today were 27 in Port Elizabeth, two in Port Beaufort, five in Cradock, one in Somerset East and two in Grahamstown. About 160 African students of Rhodes University are reported to be back

In Port Elizabeth, nine coloured schools and Dower Training College were having boycotts today, one coloured school in Humansdorp, two in Cradock apart from the training college there, and one coloured school in Grahamstown.

In pre-dawn swoops by the security police in the past 24 hours many more students are believed to have been detained as the unrest in the Peninsula and Boland continues

Security police throughout South Africa are now holding more than 250 people under security legislation, says a Cape Town report

Page 9 — 12 000 at funeral of youths shot by police.

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and [illegible]ank.

Internal	External

High School in Benoni nearly 500 pupils, about half the school, decided to begin boycotts again in response to speeches made by Cabinet Ministers on Republic Day

CAPE TOWN

School attendance was 90 percent at kwaMashu yesterday

Our Cape Town correspondent says the bus boycott, which flared into violence last night when three people were injured by mobs who stoned 80 buses and broke 130 windows, continued today as 15 buses were stoned

The Edenvale primary school in Mannenberg, Cape Town, was extensively damaged by fire early today when an office and three classrooms were destroyed

Our Pietown correspondent reports that St Francis High School at Mariannhill Monastery closed after about 400 African pupils decided to boycott classes.

The Star's correspondents report recent developments.

Thousands of Indian pupils have been suspended in Durban and other parts of Natal

The Department of Indian Education notified school principals that pupils absent after June 2 should be suspended and ordered off the premises

A delegation from the Teachers' Association of South Africa and the School Committee Association is expected to meet the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Steyn, later today

Eastern Cape security police late yesterday released 16 of the 48 people detained here since last weekend in con-

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ND/S.P.C.T. PSL/UPD 100 000 1978 PD UCT AM7a Vervaardig in Suid-Afrika

Police arrest more pupils

Capt Timms 3/6/80

JOHANNESBURG — Security police arrested eight high school pupils in a pre-dawn swoop in the Indian township of Lenasia yesterday

The arrests brought to at least 13 the number of Lenasians held by police since the schools boycott began in March. Eleven are still believed to be in custody under security legislation

No police comment could be obtained on yesterday's arrests, but a spokesman for the pupils' attorneys said police had informed her they were being held as suspects under the Criminal Procedure Act

They could be held for up to 48 hours and police were still investigating possible charges, she said

The Lenasia parents action committee planned to hold an emergency meeting last night

● The Security Council of the United Nations would meet tomorrow to consider the current unrest in South Africa, diplomatic sources said yesterday

● About 400 students of the University of Transkei marched at a sports field near Umtata yesterday in protest against the education system

● In Durban the Natal African Teachers' Union yesterday urged pupils to end the school boycott

● It is reported from Windhoek that about 650 pupils at the Dr Lemmer High School boycotted classes yesterday. Police kept watch outside the school gate

The walk-out follows a stay-away campaign started on Thursday by students at the Khomasdal Teachers College in Windhoek

● Port Elizabeth police are investigating arson following two fires at African schools in Kwazakele near Port Elizabeth and Graaff-Reinet at the weekend — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent

Massive bus boycott by Cape blacks

Political Staff

BLACKS and coloureds boycotted buses on a massive scale in the Cape yesterday as nationwide unrest entered a new phase.

Most homeward-bound buses were reported to be empty. Several were damaged.

The boycott was launched by 40 Peninsula community organisations because fares were increased by 30% to 100%.

About 12 000 people yesterday attended the funeral service for Bernard Fortuin, 15, and William Lubbe, 20, who were shot by police in Elsies River last week.

In other developments yesterday:

● Security police arrested eight pupils in Lenasia, Johannesburg — bringing to nearly 300 the number of people detained since nationwide unrest was sparked two months ago by a classes boycott by coloured and Indian pupils.

● The Frame textile group in Natal was reported to have fired at least 70 worker leaders as the company's 6 000 striking employees began returning to work. In Cape Town the strike by meat workers continued — supported by consumers refusing to buy red meat.

● Nineteen youths appeared in a Bloemfontein court as a result of widespread unrest in the city's townships recently.

● The schools' boycott in major centres spread to Rehoboth, near Windhoek, where about 650 high school pupils stayed away from classes

● The Kwazulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, disclosed that two bombs had been thrown at properties in KwaMashu owned by members of his Inkatha movement. Boycotting pupils in the township have clashed with Inkatha.

● See Page 5

Teargas dropped on striking miners

By RIAAN DE VILLIERS and CHRIS MARAIS

POLICE yesterday dropped teargas canisters from a helicopter on 4 500 striking black miners after rioting erupted at the Stilfontein Gold Mine.

Police also baton-charged strikers after they set fire to two community centres, looted a canteen and erected barricades in a compound at the mine near Klerksdorp, Western Transvaal.

The teargas was dropped yesterday afternoon on two mine dumps near the shaft where the entire black workforce at Scott Shaft — one of three shafts at the mine — had gathered.

Using megaphones, police ordered the strikers back into their compound, but workers then set fire to their rooms and smashed windows.

Police squads from Klerksdorp, Stilfontein and Orkney joined forces with mine security units and manned strategic points around the compound.

Last night, management representatives were still trying to open negotiations with the strikers.

Child believed killed in Cape stoning

STAR 4/6/80

974

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A child was believed to have been killed and a woman injured when they were allegedly hit by stones hurled through windows of a bus travelling in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town today.

Both were taken by ambulance to Victoria Hospital, Wynberg, where the child was reported to be dead on arrival.

Riot squad police operating in civilian clothes, made nine arrests while mingling with the crowds of stone hrowing youths in the roubled Ravensmead at .

The rests were confirmed / Colonel H O Eksteen

Mor an 700 pupils at the am's Hill High Sc l in Actonville, R were suspended t oy the Department c n Affairs

uspensions follow w n warnings to p hat their child- be suspended if ued to boycott June 2.

nts refused to chool grounds they were no- he principal ad been sus-

were called in pupils were wa d that if they did not leave the school premises "they would land in trouble" one student said.

The suspension makes provision to apply for readmission.

The school has not been closed completely and a small number of pupils are attending lessons.

And elsewhere, many coloured and Indian schools were virtually deserted today as the nine-week-old boycott of lessons turned into a stayaway

Pupils who have previously gathered in school grounds today stayed away from schools on the Reef as police presence in coloured areas was increased.

In the Eldorado Park-Kliptown area pupils called off a planned march to Johannesburg because of the presence of a large contingent of police

Senior secondary schools in Bosmont, Coronationville and Newclare were virtually deserted today, and schools in Lenasia reported a sharp drop in attendance Teachers there claim many pupils are being kept home by their parents

Staunch boycotters in Lenasia have criticised

To Page 3, Col 9

The school has not been closed completely and a small number of pupils are attending lessons.

And elsewhere, many coloured and Indian schools were virtually deserted today as the nine-week-old boycott of lessons turned into a stayaway.

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700 suspended as boycotts continue

From page 1

pupils who attend discotheques and cinemas during school hours, calling them traitors who were "harming the cause."

The 120 student teachers who were yesterday expelled from the Transvaal Indian College of Education for boycotting lectures have said they will not apply for re-admission to the college.

At the University of the Witwatersrand members of the Wits Black Students Society have sent a petition, signed by 2 000 students, to the vice-chancellor requesting that examinations scheduled to be written on June 16 be postponed.

The vice-chancellor, Professor D J du Plessis, says students who wish to observe June 16 as a day of mourning may apply before June 10 for deferment of any examination that he or she is due to write that day.

● The Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn, said in Durban yesterday he was prepared to be "magnanimous" toward Indian pupils suspended from schools because of the class boycott, provided they undertook to go back to their classes.

He was also prepared to reconsider the plight of those students who had been expelled, and alternative arrangements about school mid-year examinations if the situation at schools was normalised.

Police storm Indian pupils

Political Staff

POLICE yesterday baton-charged about 300 Indians pupils in Maritzburg and dispersed Indian pupils at a Benoni school in another day of continuing boycotts, arrests and strikes in different parts of the country.

And in Lenasia, Johannesburg, fire gutted the library of the Nirvana Indian High School. A 20m row of curtains caught fire and destroyed about 400 books.

Police are investigating. In another incident later at the school two youths were arrested.

Police were called in at both the Woodlands State Indian High in Maritzburg and the William Hills High School in Actonville, Benoni, after boycotting pupils who had been suspended refused to leave the school grounds.

They had been ordered by the principals to leave.

At Woodlands, the principal, Mr A Mia, ordered them to leave when they refused to write their quarterly exams. Pupils gathered outside the school grounds and were later baton-charged after ignoring police orders to disperse, police said.

Three pupils were treated in hospital for minor injuries.

With at least 3 000 boycotting Indian pupils suspended from school, the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn, said he was prepared to be "magninimous" towards them provided they undertook to return to classes.

Mr Steyn's offer was made at a meeting in Cape Town this week with representatives of the Teachers' Association of South Africa (Tasa) and the Association of School Education Committees.

Tasa president, Mr Pat Samuels, said Mr Steyn acknowledged there were problems in Indian Education.

In the Cape Peninsula, where meat workers continued their strike and black and coloured commuters continued their boycott of buses, plain-clothes policemen made nine arrests while mingling with alleged stone-throwing youths in the troubled Ravensmead area.

Minister warns on June 16 intimidation

Star 10/6/80
974

By Tom Duff
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Police, Mr le Grange, today issued a tough warning to intimidators who try to prevent people from going to work on June 16 — the anniversary of the outbreak of the Soweto unrest in 1976.

"We will act against any form of intimidation throughout South Africa," he said.

This applied to the June 16 anniversary or any other day.

"As far as I am concerned, we have had enough," Mr le Grange said.

Police would take action against intimidation wherever it occurred — whether it was in coloured schools or on the streets.

UNREST

He said people who were planning to foment unrest should "think again."

He emphasised that police would protect people from intimidators.

Tensions are known to be rising in various parts of South Africa as the June 16 anniversary approaches. Members of the Athlone Business and Professional Association which represents more than 120 businesses in the Cape have decided to close their shops on June 16 and 17.

Memorial services are due to be held in most major centres.

STERN WARNING ON JUNE 16 UNREST

10/6/80 ARGUS

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Political Staff

THE Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, today issued a stern warning to intimidators who tried to prevent people from going to work on June 16 — the anniversary of the outbreak of the Soweto unrest.

able. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.

3. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e g graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
4. Do not write in the left hand margin.

to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator

3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

Made in South Africa TRIO-RAND/S.P.C.T. PSL/UPD 100 000 1978 PD UCT AM7a Vervaardig in Suid-Afrika

'We will act against any form of intimidation throughout South Africa,' he said.

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Tensions are known to be rising in various parts of South Africa as the June 16 anniversary approaches. Members of the Athlone Business and Professional Association, which represents more than 120 businesses in the Cape, have decided to close their shops on June 16 and 17.

Stay away

Meanwhile, the SRC of the University of Cape Town has called on students to stay away from examinations on June 16 and 17 as an expression of solidarity with the 'oppressed majority of South Africans'.

This follows a decision by the UCT Council to 'arrange alternative dates for students who do not wish to write examinations on June 16 and 17, the days regarded as commemorative of the death of hundreds of people in the 1976 riots.

The council decision followed a petition asking for alternative dates for examinations, which was presented by black students on the campus.

Black traders who yesterday decided to close their shops on June 16 and 17 said they were not closing because they feared intimidation.

'Besides being traders, we also form part of a

(Continued on Page 3, col 3)

10/6/80
Argus.

community which needs our support.'

Spokesmen for the Western Cape Traders' Association, the Western Province African Chamber of Commerce and the Athlone Industrial and Commercial Association, which together represent almost all black businessmen in the Peninsula, are still uncommitted as to whether they will close on June 16 and 17.

Buy black

A spokesman for the Traders' Association which will meet tomorrow to examine the situation, said that by closing their doors for the two days they might be defeating the purpose of the 'buy black' campaign

Pamphlets calling on all South Africans to stay away from work on June 16 and 17, as a commemoration of the 1976 riots and in support of students and economic strikes throughout the country, have been widely circulated in the Peninsula.

New UCT exam dates

C.T. 10/16/80 274

Staff Reporter

THE Council of the University of Cape Town has arranged alternative dates for students who do not wish to write examinations on June 16 and 17, the days which are commemorative of the deaths of hundreds of people in the 1976 riots.

The decision was taken after black UCT students presented a petition asking for alternative dates. The examinations will be written instead on July 14 and 15.

Statement

The UCT Students' Representive Council executive issued a statement yesterday, which said: "The SRC welcomes the Council's decision to provide alternative dates for those students who are writing examinations on June 16 and 17, the fourth anniversary of the nationwide resistance of 1976.

"We call on all students and staff to stay away from these exams as an expression of solidarity with the oppressed majority of South Africans."

15 hurt as police quell school unrest

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10/6/80

POLITICAL STAFF

IN ANOTHER day of unrest, 15 youths were treated in hospital after a police baton charge at the Bellville South High School near Cape Town yesterday.

Police said they arrested 52 youths after cars and buses were stoned and the windows of a municipal office smashed.

As the boycott of schools continued in various parts of the country, police in Durban arrested and later released more than 100 pupils at the Gandhi-Desai School.

Sapa reports that riot police went to the school, apparently at the request of the principal, to restore order after suspended pupils tried to disrupt classes

Meanwhile the District Commandant for the Bellville area, Colonel H O Eksteen, said most of the stone-throwing in the Cape incident came from inside the school grounds, but some youths ventured outside, uprooting street signs.

Police forced open the school gates to enter the grounds and make arrests. The Press was refused access to the school

The extent of the injuries of those treated in hospital could not be established last night

Six people — three teachers and three pupils — have been released from detention in Johannesburg in the past few days

The rest were being held under the "preventive" Section 10 of the Internal Security Act, their attorneys confirmed

Among those still believed in detention in the Western Cape are the Azanian People's Organisation leaders — Mrs Nombulelo Melane, Mr Trevor Wentzel and Mr Richard Stevens

Meanwhile the meat strike in Cape Town continued and the boycott of buses entered its second week, spreading to Macassar near The Strand

In other developments yesterday

• The regional director of Education and Training, Mr Jaap Strydom, told students at a meeting at the Soweto Teachers' Training College to consider themselves out of the college if they refused to write mid-year examinations More than 300 of the students refused to write examinations last week

To Page 2

Police forced open the school gates to enter the grounds and make arrests. The Press was refused access to the school

The extent of the injuries of those treated in hospital could not be established last night

Hijack plan led to Carlton siege



Mrs Amanda Korf, 22, outside court yesterday awaiting the appearance of her husband, Mr Andries Korf, who is charged with kidnapping and with being in possession of explosives.

(274)

RDM 10/6/80.

Picture. RAYMOND PRESTON

Staff Reporter

A DESIRE to hijack a plane around the world before "blowing myself skyhigh" ended in a 6½ hour drama at the Carlton Hotel, an accused told the Johannesburg Magistrates' Court was told yesterday.

Looking tense, Mr Kevin Fitchat, 28, one of the trio allegedly involved in the Carlton siege last month, told the court he was on his "own trip" to blow himself "skyhigh"

Mr Fitchat appeared with Mr Andries Korf, 25, and Mr Raymond Earle, 20, on two charges of kidnapping and one of being in possession of explosives

The State alleges that on May 19 they forced Mr Motseng Mashego, a taxi driver, to take them from Jan Smuts airport to Hillbrow and then to the Carlton Hotel, where the assistant manager, Mr Sebastiano Berinato, was held up with explosives in room 1505.

It also alleges they were in possession of 2 4kg of blasting cartridges, 1kg of dynamite, three electronic detonators and an electric time bomb

Mr Korf and Mr Fitchat initially pleaded guilty to the charges but then asked for a lawyer.

Mr I W Blumberg is presently appearing for them.

After an hours' adjournment Mr Blumberg asked the court to change the pleas of Mr Korf and Mr Fitchat to not guilty on three charges

The court then questioned Mr Fitchat and Mr Korf before entering a plea of not guilty.

Mr Earle pleaded not guilty to the charges and denied being in possession of explosives. A statement handed in to court by his lawyer, Mr C Van Vuuren, said that Mr Korf had been in control of the situation at the Carlton Hotel and that Mr Earle had at no stage played an active role.

Mr Korf told the court the trio had been smoking dagga and taking cough tablets which made them totally unaware of their whereabouts.

"Initially we decided to hijack a plane or rob a bank, but through sheer oblivion we did neither."

Mr Korf said the excess dagga they smoked made them very forgetful.

He said they had walked to Jan Smuts Airport, got a taxi driver to take them to Hillbrow and from there, to the Carlton Hotel.

"We never intended to do anyone harm," Mr Korf said.

"I was never serious and did not think the police would interfere.

"I was on a trip to nowhere and wanted to die.

"I was full of dagga and wanted to get on a plane, go overseas and take a reporter with me.

"I wanted to go round the world and take drugs before killing myself."

He added: "But when I phoned for a reporter, the Rand Daily Mail didn't believe me."

Mr Blumberg, for Mr Korf and Mr Fitchat, said they had used large quantities of dagga and were unaware of their actions. He added that they had had no intention of harming anyone or breaking the law.

A State psychiatrist, Dr H Luiz, told the court the trio "undoubtedly were under the influence of a toxic substance".

Testifying to their ability to understand court proceedings, Dr Luiz said they suffered serious personality disorders and prolonged addiction to dagga and other substances but were capable of standing trial.

The magistrate, Mr J J Jonck, postponed the case to July 18 pending a decision by the Attorney-General on whether the case will be tried in the Supreme Court.

Mr A Du Plessis prosecuted.

'We've had enough'-Minister

June 16

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Warning

By PHIL MTIMKULU

THE Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, issued a strong warning yesterday on June 16 "instigation", while arrangements for commemoration services were being finalised.

"We will act against any form of intimidation throughout South Africa", he said.

This applied to the June 16 anniversary or any other day.

"As far as I am concerned, we have had enough," Mr le Grange said.

Police would take action against intimidation wherever it occurred — whether it was in coloured schools or on the streets.

He said people who were planning to foment unrest should "think again"

He emphasised that police would protect people from intimidators.

Tensions are known to be rising in various parts of South Africa as the June 16 anniversary approaches

Members of the Athlone Business and Professional Association which represents more than 120 businesses in the Cape have decided to close their shops on June 16 and 17.

Services for the people who died during the nationwide upheavals will be held as from Sunday. Organisations throughout the country are finalising plans for these meetings

Service

During this period the black community has always been asked to observe it by refraining from merrymaking and cinemas have been asked to close. In 1977 people were asked not to go to work.

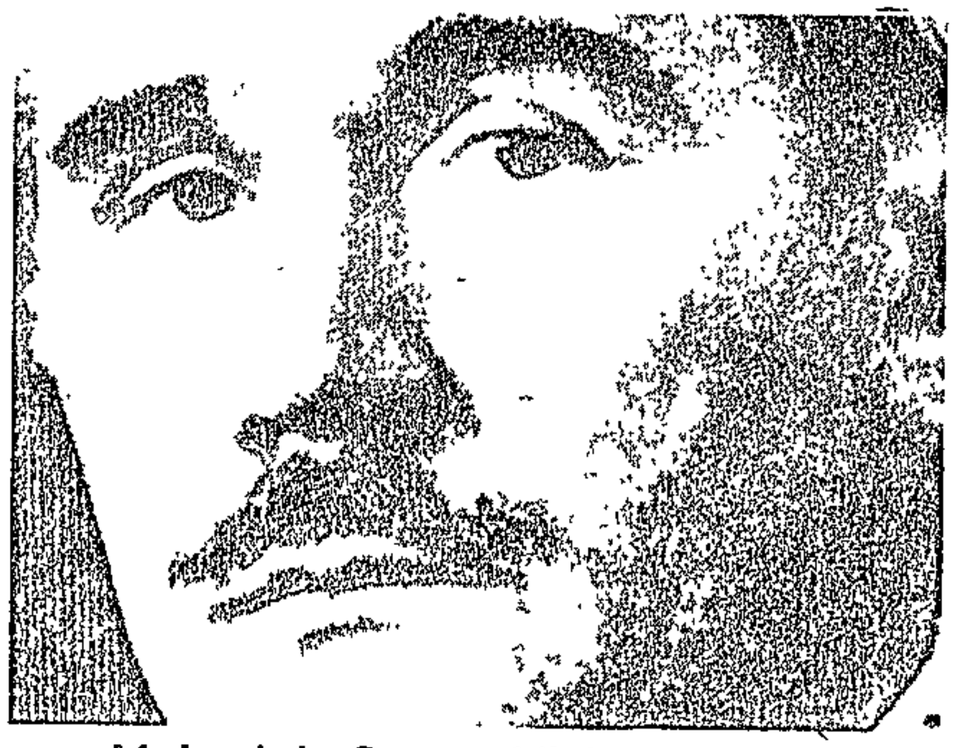
The biggest service will be held on Sunday at Regina Mundi and will start at 1.00 pm. It has been organised by the Azanian People's Organisation and other Soweto organisations. Other services will be held on Monday

But Johannesburg cinemas will not close until they receive a request to do so.

In Pretoria, Community Councils have postponed their monthly meetings in honour of the 1976 upheavals in the country.

A Mamelodi cinema-owner, Mr H W Pitje said he will close his cinema on June 16 — out of his own free will. Mr Pitje said since the uprising in 1976 he has been closing his cinema on that date and he does not require misguided people to tell him when to close his cinema.

Mr Pitje was commenting on a "threatening" letter he allegedly received from the Mamelodi branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) demanding that he closes his cinema for a week as



Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Police.

Minister warns against unrest

CAPE TIMES
11/6/80

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~~278~~
~~287~~

By MICHAEL ACOTT

THE MINISTER OF POLICE, Mr Louis le Grange, warned yesterday that police would not tolerate any intimidation to force a stay-away next week in commemoration of the 1976 Soweto unrest.

He warned too that the Riotous Assemblies Act would be enforced strictly to prevent any protest gatherings or marches.

Mr Le Grange was interviewed after indications of action to mark the fourth anniversary of the beginning of the Soweto disturbances on June 16 and 17.

He said he had had enough of intimidation and it had to stop

"I am not going to accept any further intimidation at schools and colleges, or of law-abiding staff and pupils I have definitely had enough and I am not going to take it any more," he said

He said there were no indications of commemorative action on a nationwide scale, but there were "a few localized areas

120 businesses to close on June 16

THE Athlone Business and Professional Association, representing 120 Athlone businesses, has decided to close on June 16 and 17 in remembrance of those who died during the 1976 unrest.

Several thousand pamphlets have been distributed throughout Cape Town during the past week calling for an "economic boycott" on June 16 and 17

The pamphlet called for people to stay away from work and for businesses to close on those days It called on the "people of Azania" to make Cape Town a "ghost town of silence" and to spend the two days in "constructive reflection" in their homes.

The Committee of 81, which represents schools and educational institutions throughout the Western Cape, has issued a statement calling on people to support the stay-away.

However, the committee has urged people to attend services and meetings to commemorate the 1976 unrest

where people refused to stop their intimidation''

These areas included Cape Town, the Eastern Cape, some parts of the Durban region and some sections of the coloured and Indian communities on the Witwatersrand

Mr Le Grange said police knew who the agitators were

His warning about the Riotous Assemblies Act means that provisions invoked after the Soweto unrest four years ago will prevent any outdoor commemoration.

The provision, renewed regularly since June 1976, prohibits any outdoor gathering or procession except *bona fide* church services, sports events or meetings sanctioned by the minister

For the past four years all meetings, including Nationalist political gatherings, have had to be held indoors.

11/8/80

Times

Cape

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Students continue boycott

ALMOST the entire body of the University of the North (Turfloop) was back on campus yesterday.

The students were met by a contingent of Lebowa police who are standing guard at strategic points on the campus.

The university authorities turned down a request by some students on Monday, to postpone the first term exams that are due to start today. The reply said the university senate had met and decided that the exams should go ahead as scheduled.

The nearby Stofberg School of Theology remained deserted yesterday after last week's students' walk out in protest against Bantu Education. The administrative secretary at the school, Mr P W Botha, said the school had however, not been closed.

Some University of Zululand (Ngoye) students were yesterday reported to be leaving for home. But according to university authorities, they have been warned to be at school when exams start on Friday. The actual number of the students leaving could not be estimated.

At the M H Joosub School in Lenasia, pupils seized the English papers and tore them up.

The secretary of the Release Mandela Committee, Mr Paul David, and a fitfh-year-engineering student of the University of Durban-Westville, Mr Theo Andrew, were yesterday detained by the security police.

Mr Andhra Andrew, father of the detained student, said five security policemen called at his house at 5 am. They searched the house and removed documents relating to the school boycott and a typewriter and duplicator.

Mr Andrew said the machines belonged to his church. He said the security policemen promised to return them.

The later arrests bring to 16 the number of people detained in Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

UNREST

An Athlone attorney, Mr Rashid Khan, who represented several people arrested in connection with the recent unrest, has been detained by security police under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act.

Mrs Nazeema Khan of Elwyn Road, Crawford, said her husband was picked up at home by the police at about 6 am yesterday morning.

The council of the University of Cape Town has decided to set additional dates for examinations and tests scheduled to be written on June 16 and 17 to mid-July.

A letter signed by the registrar, Mr L Read, said examinations and tests to be written on June 16 and 17 would take place as scheduled but would also be set for July 14 and 15.

Prof R E van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, said yesterday he was certain there would be no June examinations.

He announced last week that the academic year was to be extended by about four weeks.

He spoke to small groups of students on the campus yesterday morning, urging them to return to lectures, and said later in an interview that if students persisted in boycotting, they should rather leave.

Stoning of buses continued in the Cape Flats townships on Monday night and a bus driver who was knocked unconscious by a missile, crashed his vehicle into a lamp standard .

Forty-one children appeared in the Bellville Magistrate Court yesterday following stone-throwing incidents in Osborne Road, Bellville South, on Monday.

VIOLENCE

They are charged with public violence: alternatively attending an unlawful gathering under the Riotious Assemblies Act, alternatively malicious damage to property.

Bail of R100 each was allowed and appear again on June 16.

The 105 pupils of Durban's Gandhi-Desai High School who were arrested by police yesterday for trespassing have been released in the custody of their parents, Brig John Visser, Divisional commissioner of police for Port Natal, said yesterday.

He said the pupils were arrested by police called to the school by the principal when a large number of pupils, who were suspended earlier, had attempted to disrupt examinations.

Trouble broke out after some pupils forced their way into the school and began making a commotion in an attempt to stop their colleagues from writing their examinations.

The pupils were taken to the Smith Street police station in vans.

Meanwhile, 700 boycoting students at the Medical Faculty of the University of Natal, Durban, will not be permitted to write exams unless they return to lectures by the end of this week.

Cape buses hit by petrol bombs

274

12/6/80

Political Staff

BUSES were petrol-bombed in Cape Town yesterday as the bus boycott by blacks and coloureds continued in the Peninsula

A City Tramways driver was slightly injured in the incidents, which took place in Kensington

Streets in several coloured areas were also strewn with glass from shattered windows as more buses were stoned, but a spokesman for City Tramways would neither confirm nor deny that the company had suffered R130 000 in losses since the boycott started last week in protest against increased fares

Coloured and Indian pupils also continued their boycott of classes at schools in many parts of the country

In Cape Town, rectors of training colleges did not expel students yesterday despite the announcement by the Department of Coloured Relations that all those who had boycotted classes last Friday and on Monday this week would be expelled

In Port Elizabeth, 400 students at Dower Training College were ordered off their campus by riot police after refusing to attend lectures

Students boycotting half-yearly examinations at the University of the North were also warned they may not be re-admitted They may also forfeit their Government subsidies

According to a joint statement by the university executive committee and the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, the University will continue with the examinations "despite the fact that only a small number of students turned up for the written examinations" which started yesterday

"The executive committee of senate, also with the agreement of the Minister of Education and Training, points out that students who are not writing examinations might run the risk of either not being re-admitted to the university, or that their Government subsidy of approximately R1 360 per student per semester might be forfeited," the statement said

At Ulundi, the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, told the Legislative Assembly that he had received a report from a University of Zululand student that a group of students were planning to disrupt the half-yearly examinations due to start on Friday.

He said the group, known as the "Jackals", was "responsible for chaos on the campus".

In Durban, the Natal Indian Congress yesterday welcomed the early closing of hundreds of Indian-owned shops and offices in the Grey Street complex, Clairwood, Verulam and several other areas as a show of sympathy for detained NIC and student leaders

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• From Page 2

be held at the Roman Catholic Church in Kagiso Two at 2 pm on Sunday.

Soweto's biggest supermarket, Blackchain, will close shop on Monday at 11 am until Tuesday while shopkeepers in East Rand areas have also agreed to join in the community's mourning period by closing from 11 am to 5 pm on Monday.

Managing director of Blackchain, Mr H S Majola, said they were closing to allow the general staff including directors to attend prayer services. In Katlehong, Mr Joshua Namane, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, said shops in his area would also close at 11 am and open at 5 pm.

The Transvaal Association for Black Blind Adults' musical concert which was to be held at the Dube YWCA on Sunday has also been cancelled.

The Black Sash will close its offices on June 16 (Monday) in memory of the people who died in 1976. Mrs Joyce Harris told **POST** they will not be working on Monday and people are warned not to visit their city offices.

"We felt we ought to do this as a sign of solidarity with the thousands who will be remembering their dead," she said.

Plans for June 16 services

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ACTIVITIES throughout the country continue to be called off as thousands of blacks prepare themselves for June 16 services to honour those who died during the uprising of 1976.

In Soweto the chairman of the local Chamber of Commerce, Mr Veli Kraai, said yesterday that shops in the area would close between 11 am and 5 pm on Monday.

Services in commemoration will be held on Sunday and Monday. The Sunday services have been organised by the Committee of Ten and Azapo while student bodies including the Congress of South African Students and Azaso hold theirs on Monday.

The biggest of the services will be at Regina Mundi Church, Rockville, on Sunday starting at 1 pm.

Malose Matsemela reports from Pretoria that commemoration services will be held at the Refentse Hall, Mamelodi East, on Sunday and Monday. The service on Sunday starts at 1 pm while the Monday prayer will be at 11 am.

From Pietersburg Mathatha Tsedu writes that services will be held at five centres in the Northern Transvaal from Sunday to Monday.

Four will be held on Sunday at Mahwelereng, Seshego, Lenyenye and Namagale. The main speaker at the Anglican Church in Mahwelereng will be Mrs Winnie Kgware, former president of the now banned Black Peoples Convention The service starts at 2 pm.

The Seshego service will also start at 2 pm at the Presbyterian Church in Zone 2

On Monday the Writers Association of South Africa (Wasa) and the Black Academic Staff Association Basa, will hold their service at the Mankweng Lutheran Church

The service starts 6 30 pm and the main speaker will be Mr Percy Qoboza, Editor of **POST.**

The Kagiso service will

Cont. to Page 4

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Sash to observe June 16

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Black Sash is closing all its offices and advice bureaux on Monday June 16 as a mark of respect "for the hundreds that died in 1976".

The Sash's national president, Mrs Joyce Harris, said this would be done "in memory of all those killed by the police" four years ago and in solidarity with all South Africans commemorating the day.

The absence of fundamental change was to be deplored in the strongest possible way and the government had to be urged to start listening to what the majority in the country had to say, she said.

BACKGROUND

The high school that lives on protest

For 25 years it's been a festering sore

STAR 13/6/80

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Unheated, without electricity and in a hopeless state of disrepair, Kliptown's only high school exemplifies the reasons for the current mass boycott of classes. MIKE OVERMEYER reports. . . .

Only 20 km south of Johannesburg, a school for coloured high school pupils has fallen into a state of disrepair that almost beggars description.

The 25-year-old school was built during the time of the Kliptown Defiance campaign, in 1955. Currently it has 629 pupils

Sixteen years ago it required demonstrations before education authorities converted it from a primary to a secondary school for the then overcrowded Kliptown township.

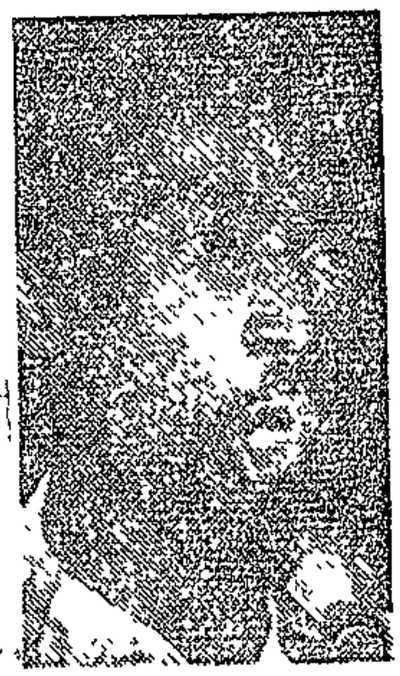
"We have to fight for whatever we need and want out of the Education or Public Works authorities," says Mr Don Mateman, chairman of the school committee and member of the local coloured management committee.

"Since my involvement on the committee we have continually clashed with the Coloured Relations department on education and the Department of Public Works on the maintenance of the neglected building," he complains.

NO TEACHERS

"Constantly, we have needed several teachers to make up for the shortage here. We have combed the country for staff as far afield as Port Elizabeth and Kimberley —

13/6/80
The Star



Mr Fanyana Mazibuko
..."something sinister."

Blacks cool to boycotts after trauma of 1976

The Soweto riots of 1976, which began with a schools walkout, were too traumatic and too expensive in terms of lives and money "with only negligible results" for black pupils to want to join the coloured schools boycott now, say black leaders.

But, they added, it might not take much to arouse the suppressed anger and impatience with authority within the educational confines of the black city's suburbs.

Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, secretary of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee, has an intimate awareness of what he calls "the gut feeling" in the schools.

"I've got nothing but this feeling to go on but something sinister could be brewing. The situation seems tense and it could erupt next week, the fourth anniversary of the Soweto 76 tragedy," he said.

The relative passiveness of black students during the coloured schools boycott does not mean they have resigned themselves to anything, Mr Mazibuko feels. "They are quiet, but that is all.

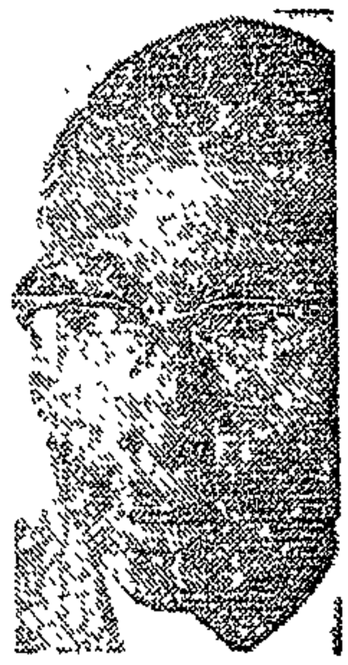
Mr Leonard Mosala, a member of the Soweto Committee of Ten particularly concerned with education, warned of the 1976 upheaval 48 hours before it erupted on June 16 that year.

Now he says that "tremendous blows" dealt by the Government then destroyed effective organisation, communication and leadership, and that was why black schools had not supported the current coloured schools boycott to any large extent.

"Basically they are in total agreement wthe boycott.

"The negligible results shown by the authorities in terms of legislation were hardly what they had been asking for in 1976," said Mr Mazibuko

Blacks, coloureds and Indians agree that Government response "has been nothing at all".



Mr Leonard Mosala
..."tremendous blows."

but teachers refuse to come to Kliptown," Mr Mateman says.

The Johannesburg City Council has assured the school committee that "migrant" teachers would be allowed preferential treatment when applying for accommodation.

Since the beginning of the 1980 school year the 20 matric class pupils have been without maths and commerce teachers

Parents fear for the success of these pupils, especially since the boycott of classes.

Over the years even electricity has short-circuited Kliptown High School.

Each morning a pall of thick smoke blocks sunlight from the classrooms for several hours Lessons are often postponed until there is enough light for study.

Driving along the dusty dirt roads of the dying Kliptown township yields a glimpse of the almost inhuman conditions facing the scanty population it still holds

"With early morning coal-fire fumes billowing about, it is still dark in Kliptown at 9 am on most wintry days," said a passerby.

Broken gutters, sewerage overflows classrooms in disrepair and endless broken windows have resulted in a mountain of correspondence with the Department of Public Works.

"To replace a broken window pane our principal has to find at least three tenders" says Mr Mateman.

Of the 629 pupils at the school, just over 100 live within walking distance because the township is steadily being evacuated

Most of the other pupils spend R1.10 a week on bus trips from the conglomerate of Eldorado Park township close by

In January 1979, the only other coloured high school was opened in Eldorado Park. At present it has an enrolment of about 1 200 pupils.

Official estimates are that nearly 56 000 people stay in Eldorado Park but community leaders claim the total population is close to 90 000.

OVERCROWDED

They pay the same fare, R1.10, to attend schools in the Bosmont-Coronationville area closer to Johannesburg.

"There are serious problems of overcrowding here," says Mr Mateman.

He explained that at the Kliptown High School there was no library, staffroom or an equipped classroom for domestic subjects because of the acute lack of space.

Frm 13/6/80

RIOT INSURANCE

Fear index rises

Renewed black unrest, at the Cape and at Stilfontein gold mine (not to mention the Sasol bombing), has concentrated peoples' minds wonderfully on the subject of riot insurance cover, say insurance industry sources.

There has been a sharp upturn in the demand for this type of cover, available (for physical damage only) from SA Special Risks Insurance Association (Sasria), the government-sponsored riot insurance consortium (*FM* May 30).

Until recently, businessmen appeared to regard the premium structure as too expensive in relation to their subjective perception of risk, a perception that has now unpleasantly been corrected by recent events.

Short term insurers feel, however, that rates for this type of cover are still far too high, especially for the smaller industrialist. Discounts recently allowed for larger policies have alleviated the problem for bigger industrialists only.

Insurers complain, too, of the continued lack of riot cover for consequential losses (other than rents) and especially loss of profits.

Government's obduracy on the issue of consequential loss is hard to fathom. By accepting the formation of Sasria, the government has, by implication, already acknowledged the existence of a significant level of political risk in doing business locally. To permit insurance against consequential loss is only a logical follow-through of that admission, and would accord far better with the new free-market philosophy than current reluctant attitudes

Any businessman knows that riot insurance without cover for consequential loss is only half a loaf. Please, will government — as major reinsurer of Sasria — make it financially possible for the insurance industry to provide the very necessary other half?

PW warns—then meetings banned

STAR 14/6/80 274 ~~297~~

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY—The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, yesterday issued what he called "a final warning" to those who underestimated the Government's determination to maintain law and order.

Then, just before midnight, in a special Government Gazette, any gatherings of a political nature of more than 10 people in certain districts were prohibited in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act from today until the end of the month. The districts include Johannesburg, Pretoria, Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark.

In the House, Mr Botha said "the Government has a duty to the country to maintain law and order and it will carry it out strictly and fairly."

"It will be a serious mistake to underestimate the Government's determination in this regard and those responsible will have to bear the consequences of their actions." he said.

He called on the leaders of all population groups to work together in order to bring about calm, to identify those responsible for unrest and bring them to book.

"Continued boycotts and attempts to create unrest only waste money and time and thwart the Government's efforts to correct the wrongs and improve the situation.

"Nothing is achieved with boycotts They only destroy. No self-respecting State can afford to tolerate efforts to create anarchy."

"Hostile radicals are using grievances to bring about the downfall of the State. Pamphlets are being drawn up with finesse and subtlety and used in a campaign which is extended to totally unrelated issues.

"These pamphlets are being written by trained and sophisticated people. They are calculated to entice people step by step to the abyss," he said

Total Turf exam boycott as students protest goes on

Post 13/6/80 (50) (274) (300)

NOT a single candidate turned up for examinations at Turfloop University yesterday as students throughout the country continued to defy calls to go back to class.

The official closing of Turfloop University is said to be just a matter of time. Students milled around the campus — which is teeming with scores of policemen — and none of them went to the exam centre

Student sources said the footballer student who was detained by police on Wednesday, Mr Thabo Tsotetsi, was released the same day after being escorted to the exam centre.

Books belonging to one student who had defied the boycott were torn at a mass meeting held on Wednesday night and R30 found in the books is to be donated to the family of Mr and Mrs George Mashamba, who were sentenced to prison terms after being found guilty under the Terrorism Act.

In Johannesburg and on the Reef, Indian schools were almost deserted.

The mass stay away is expected to continue at least until after June 16.

Some shopowners at the Oriental Plaza and in Lenasia have said they will respect the commemoration period and close on Monday.

Meanwhile police are believed to have detained six students from Lenasia and Eldorado Park who had gone to the Riverlea High School for a students' meeting.

Sources there said that police stormed the school and chased the students through the schoolgrounds before finally arresting them. However, by late yesterday it could not be confirmed whether the six were still being held or whether they had been released

In Durban, a meeting addressed by the Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, called for the "unconditional and immediate release" of all leaders detained without trial.

In Grey Street, downtown Durban, several shops closed yesterday afternoon in protest against the continued harassment in the area by police

At the University of Zululand, students were due to start examinations today

The rector of the University of Fort Hare, Professor J M de Wet, said the university would reopen on July 15 Students who wanted to be readmitted would have to pay their fees in full.

Some rectors and principals of training and technical colleges in the Cape Peninsula are refusing to carry out a Government instruction to expel boycotting students.

It is reported from Bloemfontein that the call for people not to turn up for work yesterday and today, has so far failed as workers went to work as usual. The call is said to have come through mysterious leaflets written in free hand and placed in post boxes.

Le Grange warns on intimidation

STAR 13/6/80 274 3

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, has given the assurance that people who want to go to work on Monday will have police protection. At the same time he warned of action against intimidators.

He said he believed that the vast majority of black people wanted to work on Monday and that they were not interested in taking part in commemorations of the 1976 riots.

Mr le Grange said he could give the assurance that people going to work would be protected.

The police would give immediate attention to intimidation but it was necessary for members of the public to bring this to the attention of the police.

"They have vehicles and helicopters and could be on the scene immediately."

PW's final warning as unrest continues

Political Staff

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, issued a "final warning" on the current unrest yesterday as black communities throughout the country prepared to commemorate the start of the June 16, 1976 unrest which culminated in 575 deaths.

Mr Botha's warning came in the midst of the most sustained period of unrest since 1976, with more reports being received yesterday of arrests, a shooting at the University of the North, Turfloop, a strike in East London and the closure of another university.

On Monday, a massive stayaway is also being planned in the Cape Peninsula, the focal point of violence.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for Soweto, Brigadier Kobus Hamman, said police were aware that pamphlets were distributed yesterday in Soweto and the Johannesburg city centre calling for a workers' stayaway on Monday.

Speaking in Parliament, Mr Botha issued his "final warning" to those who underestimated the Government's determination to maintain law and order, which it would carry out strictly and fairly.

"It will be a serious mistake to underestimate the Government's determination in this regard and those responsible will have to bear the consequences of their actions."

He called on the leaders of all races to work together to bring about calm, to identify those responsible for unrest and bring them to book.

A Turfloop student, Mr Lloyd Motloi, was allegedly wounded when Lebowa police opened fire after a clash with boycotting students on the campus yesterday. He was treated at the Pietersburg Hospital and discharged.

With religious services and other actions planned in different parts of the country, the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, earlier warned of action against "intimidators". He promised police protection for those who wanted to go to work on Monday.

Black leaders have urged their followers to observe the June 16 anniversary with "calm and quiet dignity".

Meanwhile, in East London, more than 650 workers walked out of the Western Province Preserving factory over an alleged refusal by the management to recognise their trade union representatives. A director of the company, Mr B R Hanley, denied the allegation.

More arrests were reported yesterday. They included two more officials of the Western Province General Workers' Union, Mr Mike Morris and Mr John Frankish, both held under Section 23 of the General Law Amendment Act.

A spokesman for the SA Police Directorate of Public Relations said last night he could not confirm the arrests of a Fort Hare student, Mr Xola Vena, in Thokoza, and two Lenasia students, Mr Jitendra Hargobin and Mr Elias Sebastian.

The University of the Western Cape was closed yesterday, a week earlier than scheduled.

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15/6/80

What has changed since '76?

S/Post 274

By JOE LATAKGOMO

"APART from attempts to stage boycotts, and boycotting as such, and looting in some areas, the general situation in Souh Africa can be described as normal."

These were the words of Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, during the last week of May.

They are words which have been repeated so often that many people are beginning to wonder just what "normal" means. Exactly four years ago tomorrow, the situation was just as "normal". But on June 16 and the days that followed hundreds of people lost their lives.

'Things are not the same—they are worse'

Today, South Africa is in exactly the same situation that led up to June 16, 1976. There are countrywide school boycotts. The same tension that existed prior to June 16 is still there. So is the unrest, the uncertainty, the fear, the distrust. become worse. The fact that more schools are now being built, and there have been administrative changes in the running of the schools, does not make the system any different.

Perhaps the government believes that as long as things are quiet in Soweto, the situation is normal. However, those who live in the black townships will know that things are far from normal.

that the unrest has spread to even the most unlikely places — like Bloemfontein.

KwaZulu has been going through the same turmoil, but in typical style Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has said the unrest was fomented by agitators

However, to us the question remains; Can June 1976 happen again? If so, when? If not, why not?

Of course the government will say that June 1976 will not happen again. The reason for this kind of thinking is not difficult to find. If there is any suspicion that there might be organised boycotts or unrest, the government will clamp down on any person or organisation they suspect could be behind such a move.

Unfortunately, June 16 caught everybody unaware. There were no repressive measures which could have been used to stop its occurrence.

And this is what we fear most. In the event of another spontaneous outbreak of unrest in places like Soweto. We will have a recurrence of deaths, of loss of limb.

This is what the government must avoid. This is the crisis we are talking about.

There is no doubt that the success of the bush war in Zimbabwe has done much to fan the hopes of those who now see the only solution to our problems in taking [illegible] arms. [illegible] been

country is not whether blacks have been given enough concessions or not. It goes far beyond that.

It is a matter of recognising that blacks have the same political aspirations as anybody else in this country. They have a right to participate in a single, democratic government. They have a right to the vote, to decide their own future, to share in the wealth of this country of ours and to equal opportunity in education and employment.

On this score, the government has dug in its heels. This is why the so-called President's Council specifically excludes blacks. This has been done with the aim of winning over the coloureds and Indians.

As one coloured graduate said recently, "We really owe the government a debt of gratitude. They have given us a solidarity which we have never known before."

It is this solidarity that will ensure the government does not continue its divisive politics.

The coloured people have realised that there is no security for them — or for the whites — if the majority of black people are left out. They realise there can never be separate freedoms. Freedom for one must mean freedom for all.

But we have obviously not learnt the lessons of June 16. The time and money spent by the government on commissions of inquiry have all gone [illegible]

I shiver...

THE EDITOR

YESTERDAY I went to Doornkop cemetery and Avalon cemetery. It was very early in the morning. The mist was thick and the wind was a mild, chilly one. Under normal circumstances, it could have been a pleasant warm morning. And yet, I found myself shivering. Shivering from looking at all those graves.

As I looked at those graves, all or most of them bearing the dates June 16, June 17, 18, 19

ty and human compassion have been dulled with the scourge of racism."

In that serene atmosphere of a graveyard it could have been a cry from the wilderness. An irrelevant voice screaming for ecclesiastical intervention on a nation that seems bent on committing national suicide.

Yet, I am only too aware of the risks one runs in expressing the deeply seated sentiments in an intolerant nation such as ours.

I do not underestimate the stamina of the rulers to hound and pursue their opponents with brutal commitment. Ask Desmond Tutu. Ask [illegible]. Ask Winnie

in those cemeteries.

I'll tell you something else that made me shiver. In the last year, when Prime Minister P W Botha, took over the reins of government, he raised my expectations. His pronouncements were that of a man who seemed to understand what the real problem was.

Like many of my fellowmen, desperately seeking for a straw to hold on and pin my hopes, I was taken in. I believed him. My friends told me I was being foolish. I argued with them.

Parliament has just ended. It was a great letdown. I have apologised to my children. I have apologised to my friends.

that have kept me shivering.

- In spite of massive protests, waste of human lives, Bantu Education is still around — in a new name — Coloured education is still controlled from somewhere else, Indian education is still the domain of bureaucrats, and white education is still the baby of the Department of National Education. Racism, in short, is still alive, well and spreading its ugly tentacles around;
- In spite of professed anger and hatred for them, the pass laws are still spreading their venomous influence — 200 000 people went to jail for them in the last year — in the community. The government is talking about easing these and the



Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of POST.

ting tied up more in knots instead of easing.

And so, by banning [illegible] 16 services they

ly this year. Next year we will try for our services again. We may fail, like we

...at the graves, at the legacy of bitterness, hate and sense of loss

and beyond. I began to shiver. So many people. So many families. So many friends. So many neighbours.

The entire community was affected, one way or another. Nobody remained unaffected by the tragedy. I shivered at the legacy of bitterness, hate and deep sense of loss the people are undergoing. That is what made me shiver.

It made me shiver because the rulers of this land have not been able to understand. Four years later they are conducting themselves like nothing happened. Soweto 1976 did not make an impression. It had no impact on their basic thinking and the philosophies of their establishment.

COMMUNISTS

It was just another passing phase. Worst still, the working of communists and agitators, to be found under the bed in every black home in this land!

I could not help crying out aloud: "Oh South Africa. You beautiful land. What crime have you committed to be cursed with rulers whose deep sensitivities are trying to obliterate all this hurt and indignity from our minds and hearts. They can never succeed. They dare not succeed. And lest you forget, I have a personal commitment never to make you forget. It's a commitment that every self respecting blackman, woman and child must carry around with them.

We commemorate June 16th spiritually and beyond. I began to shiver. So many people. So many families. So many friends. So many neighbours.

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Mandela. Ask Curtis Nkondo. Ask Thenjiwe Mtintso. Ask Duma Ndlovu. Ask Dean Simeon Nkoane.

For God's sake ask Chris Mokoditoa. Ask Vivane Made. Ask Diliza Mji. Ask Beyers Naude. Just take some time off and ask Willie Bokala. Ask Fatima Meer. Ask Buti Thlagae. Ask the whole goddam bloody lot.

It is a litany of humiliation, harassment, revenge and suffering imposed on the opponents of apartheid who believe in the brotherhood of man and community of countrymen irrespective of race, colour or religion.

This is why I can never underestimate their stamina and appetite for imposing that punishment on opponents.

Somehow, this is what made me shiver

I have apologised to them for the simple reason that P W has betrayed my dreams. My innermost belief that he could steer this country's history. He has only succeeded in my eyes to accomplish super-verbal semantics and meaningless political acrobatics.

The National Party, under P W Botha, it now seems to me, is still firmly committed to the fraudulent political homeland policy, the insane economic politics and the morally bankrupt sociological trends. All these, in spite, of P W's pronouncements. And this sends the chills up my spine, this is why I shivered in those graveyards.

These are the issues that sent me shivering yesterday morning. There are, however, other issues people are talking about their abolishment. Why can't they listen?

- Racism is still the kingpin in restaurants and places of this nature around the nation;
- Hennie Smit, with the support of Marais Stein is still torpedoing race relations in the land and the mighty PW is not doing anything about it;
- The stranglehold of trade unions goes on unabated with those playing the separate development game enjoying favour whilst true unions under Fotasu being ostracised;
- Passports still remain a privilege instead of a right;
- Imprisonment without trial is still the order of the day;
- The Press is get-

But [illegible] certain. The day when this nation celebrates June 16th as an official commemoration day is inevitable.

I'll make one other prediction. It will happen in the life span of the present generation. This is the faith that makes me tell you, and tell the government, that victory is surely ours. It is ours because God is on our side.

16/6/80
Post

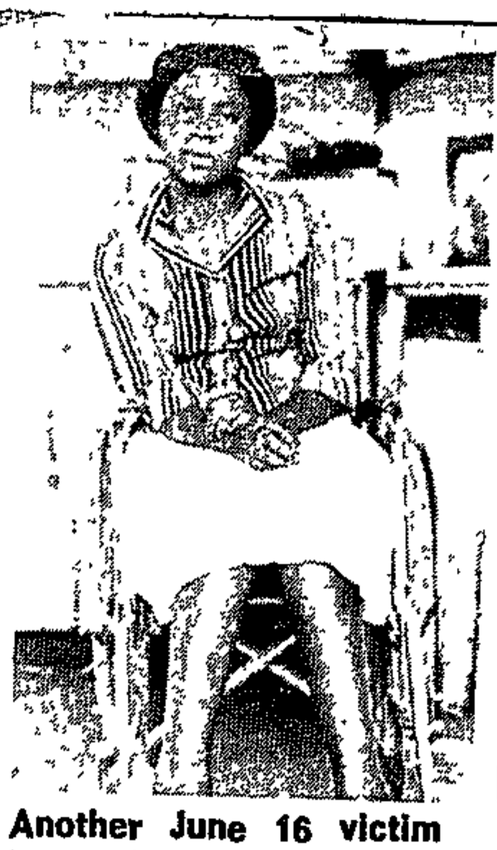
June 16 - we remember



Mrs Annestine Makhabane — June 16, a day of tragedy to her.



Popi Christine Buthelezi — will pray today.



Another June 16 victim in a wheelchair — Busi Mavis Ngubane.



Ms Dorothy Peterson — will pray for Hector.

Lonely prayers are victim's only hope

The Post

By LEN KALANE and WILLIE BOKALA

FOUR years ago today, a healthy 17-year-old schoolgirl trotted happily across Mabalane Street, Senaoane, Soweto. Today, now 21 years old, the same girl sits in a wheelchair — paralysed from the waist downwards. She will never walk again.

Popi Christine Buthelezi is one of several victims of 1976, when police opened fire on demonstrating students.

Today, June 16, 1980, Popi says: "I look back to June 16 as the day when I was supposed to have died. Every June 16 I always sit alone and pray — I'll do the same today . . .

" . . . I'll pray for myself. For all my black brothers and sisters who died for us to be reborn and join the struggle. I'll remember the day as that of miseries, of sorrows and of death. Yet a very significant day in the history of a black man."

Popi says she was going to fetch her books at an aunt's place when she was hit. She didn't see anything but remembers that she fell. She was taken to Bara, Ward four, bed 19.

She stayed seven months in hospital.

"I accepted the fact that I was paralysed — it's part of the struggle," she says. "I'm still committed but this time only spiritually.

Popi says she was shot in the back and the bullet went through and came out from her right breast.

Popi, now a Form Four student, wheels her way to Sekano-Ntoane High School everyday.

"I still have hope for my future. I want to study medicine," she says.

Popi says she is not so sorry for herself although her parents "are bitter about everything."

But another victim, Busi Mavis Ngubane said she felt sorry for herself.

"There is absolutely nothing I can do for myself since I was shot on June 16, 1976," she says.

Busi, also in a wheelchair, said she was shot on her way from work.

She was the family's breadwinner at the time.

Busi, now 24, was shot in the stomach and the bullet went through the back. She stayed six months at Bara.

What do you think of June 16?

"I see it as the most tragic day in my life — and the black man. We don't have to lose courare and hope anyway . . ."

Mrs Annestesia Makhabane, of Soweto, says her heart bleeds when she thinks of June 16.

"This day took away from me something that I treasured most."

Her son, Petrus Makhabane, then 16, was the second schoolchild to be shot after Hector Peterson. Petrus was a Form Two student at Thesele in White City.

"Every June 16, I do Mass for him at the church. I pray for his soul — I respected his courage and will not forget him. I will be there at the cemetery early today," she said.

And the mother of Hector, the first schoolkid to be shot on June 16, Ms Dorothy Peterson, said she was going to pray for most of today.

"I am going to pray for June 16. I am going to pray for all those who died in 1976 — and pray that God accept Hector."

Turning point in history

JUNE 16, 1980 — expectancy hangs in the air like a cloud of horror. There is much anxiety all around. The odds are being weighed for and against violence.

This will usher the fourth commemoration and the fourth anniversary of the 1976 rebellion, ordinarily referred to as the 1976 riots.

One would expect that after four years, things have cooled off a bit. Not so, unfortunately.

The air was charged with tensions as the day approached. The Minister of Police has added fuel to the fire by issuing warnings and threats of dealing with agitators or instigators. Instigators are those who remember their dead.

The police are everywhere. They brandish their guns and announce by their being all over that they are ready; and it's as if they are inaudibly saying to the Soweto blacks, "Are you ready, too."

Every June 16 renews tensions. The only thing that can possibly reduce them is for the Minister of Police to allow people to commemorate their heroes and their dead by calling for calm and restraint on either side and sending a word of encouragement and condolesence to those who hold services.

HOLIDAY

June 16 is the only holiday blacks forced onto the calendar for worthy reasons; others, including the Department of Education and Training have tacitly acknowledged it.

This is our equivalent to their December 16.

June 16 is a memorable day as it was the turning point in the history of South Africa.

And June 16 will be charged with danger because the scholars who died, have died for a new order. As long as this order is not yet seen to be, so long will tensions last and the expectancy of conflict continue. They can't have died in vain.

It is time those in power realised that the brandishing of guns is not the answer and never will be. They must look searchingly into this explosive period and use this time to make amends by removing all root causes of the black plight.

This country is there for all its peoples.

It's four years but crisis goes on

JUNE 16 is a landmark in the history of our liberation struggle, when on that day black students protested against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction for mathematics and special studies.

Their ultimate goal was against the whole system of inferior education. The violence that followed is still vivid in our minds. Colleagues, brothers, sisters, aunts and uncles were either killed, wounded or maimed. Thousands fled the country and are living in exile, lost to their friends and their relatives — and far from their beloved country.

These memories are sharply and angrily revived, by the fact that now, four years later, the whole country is still deeply involved in an educational crisis. We as a nation cannot afford the escalation of these events. We need to work jointly to avert another 1976.

We earnestly request the powers that be to implement the immediate short-term policy for the urgent grievances so that the students may return to school.

Further, that a definite commitment be made by the Government to implement a unitary system of education for all South Africans.

Methodist synod prays for dead victims of unrest

STAR 16/6/80 274 278

Religion Reporter

Methodist churchmen, attending a district synod in Johannesburg today, held prayers for those who died during the 1976 unrest.

To mark June 16, black and white ministers and lay representatives stood for a period of silent prayer and were then led by the Rev Peter Storey, deputy chairman of the South Western Transvaal District, the Methodist Church, in further prayers.

Both the South Western and South Eastern Transvaal districts of the church are holding their annual synods inn Johannesburg and on the Reef today.

The South Western Transvaal synod is to discuss the call on the Government to rescind its ban on gatherings of a political nature.

In a notice of motion presented to the synod today, it was said that the ban "can only aggravate the present crisis."

The Rev Cecil Begbie, who faces charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act, after the recent protest march made by churchmen and following school boycotts, brought the notice of motion to the synod.

In other proposals, Mr Begbie gave notice that he would urge the synod to call for the repeal of the Riotous Assemblies Act, for the release of those detained during the schools boycott and for the withdrawal of police from the vicinity of educational institutions.

Meetings: Le Grange urged ban

Political Staff

THE WIDESPREAD ban on political gatherings of more than 10 people, issued at midnight on Friday by the Minister of Justice, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, followed a request from the Minister of Police, Mr Louis Le Grange.

This was confirmed by Mr Le Grange yesterday, after a week during which he repeatedly warned that the police would not tolerate "any nonsense from agitators and intimidators" during the commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the Soweto disturbances, which begins today, June 16.

The ban, which applies till the end of the month, covers any meeting of a political nature, indoors or out, with more than 10 people present. It is so widely-worded that it has been described by legal experts as a "legal nightmare".

Yesterday both Mr Schlebusch and Mr Le Grange declined to interpret the proclamation or say which meetings would be affected.

Mr Le Grange said it was not his duty to give judicial advice, and Mr Schlebusch said it was up to an individual to consult a lawyer if he wished to have further clarification.

"As far as I am concerned, it is quite plain," he said.

The proclamation goes far further than the provisions of the Riotous Assemblies Act that have been in force since June 1976, as it also bans any indoor meeting of a political nature till the end of the month.

Any political meeting illegal

This means that any political meeting, even Nationalist Party meetings, will be illegal if more than 10 people attend, unless the minister or a magistrate gives permission for the meeting to be held.

The proclamation has been interpreted as a ban on indoor church services in commemoration of the June 16 unrest — unless those services confine themselves strictly to religion.

However, both Mr Le Grange and Mr Schlebusch declined to comment on this yesterday

The proclamation reads: "Whereas I deem it necessary for the maintenance of the public peace, I hereby prohibit in terms of section 2 (3) of the Riotous Assemblies Act any gathering of a political nature at which any form of state or any principle or policy or action of a government of a state or of a political party or political group is propagated, defended, attacked, criticised or discussed, or at which any protest or boycott or strike is encouraged or discussed or which is held in protest against or in support of or in commemoration of anything in the magisterial districts mentioned in the schedule from June 14, 1980, until June 30, 1980, except for such gatherings which I or the magistrate of the magisterial district concerned expressly authorize.

"This prohibition shall not apply to any gathering of 10 persons or less."

The magisterial districts affected are Durban, Pinetown, Inanda, Lower Tugela, Ndwedwe, Port Shepstone, Umzinto, Cape Town, Wynberg, Bellville, Goodwood, Simonstown, Kuils River, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Albany, Cradock, Kirkwood, Graaff-Reinet, Fort Beaufort, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark

Mrs Helen Suzman, Opposition Justice spokesman, has described the proclamation as "going to ridiculous extremes."

BACKGROUND

'Now I am leaving SA to the militants'

STAR 16/6/80

JIMMY ATKINS is a former deputy editor of The Cape Herald, largest newspaper circulating among coloured communities in South Africa, and is emigrating to Canada today, like most of his family have done before him. Here, JAAP BOEKKOOI reports his last poignant speech before going into exile, a telescoped version of what he told a meeting of the Institute of Directors in Johannesburg.

"I am leaving South Africa because I can no longer play a part in my own country. The situation has become such that whatever I write, I will be labelled in one camp or another.

The Cape Town I leave behind will see much trouble in the future. Think of this alone: there are 50 000 children out of school and 50 000 unemployed.

These kids think they can easily go another six months without education, for what does it matter if it will result in some political parity?

In the school boycott, it is now the tail that is wagging the dog. The children are indoctrincated, but who can blame them when they think it is far better to be sheep than to be slaves?

MODERATE

For myself, I am a moderate. As a journalist, I probably strike you as arrogant and extreme. But I have been discredited after recent events, so discredited that it is now impossible for me to work in South Africa.

The situation for the writer in South Africa is impossible if he does not want to be banned. He can no longer be creative, expand upward, only become bloated sideways until he bursts like a pricked balloon.

Lots of whites criticise certain of our laws, but never really find out what those laws really mean to others. They drive me to a hotel with their Down-with-Apartheid stickers on their car windows, but never know I need a permit to go there and then cannot even join their dance.

The higher a darky like me gets, the more difficult it gets. If I became a director here in Johannesburg, I could not join the same country or sports clubs.

I might do all that when I reach a doddering 55, but at my age, and as long as I am able, I want to do all the things you can do.

Outside South Africa I'm simply going to live the type of existence you whites have taught us.

And remember that the Nationalists are not primarily responsible for this situation today. It is true they made it legal, but only what the great white mass wanted.

White attitudes drove my father, who has a white sister here, out of Athlone and other suburbs after they were made white. Both he and my mother are now naturalised Canadians.

I am an agitator, and have realised that things were not right in South Africa since my people danced and celebrated when Malan or Strijdom died.

Now there is a new generation of youngsters so tight-lipped that they won't speak to me, and so incredibly organised that we can no longer call them teenagers, but instant adults.

As I have said I can no longer play a part.

You people had a chance with the moderates. You are now welcome to the militants."

Coloured brain drain 'a tragedy'

One of South Africa's greatest tragedies was "the flow of some of the best and brightest coloured minds to other countries, which often do not even have the same economic potential as this one," according to Mr Mike Pentz, general manager of the Coloured Development Corporation.

Speaking to about 120 top coloured businessmen in Cape Town he said the kind of people who left South Africa permanently, especially coloured people, belonged to a group of younger, well educated and highly motivated young entrepreneurs.

15/6/80 Sun

intensive care unit at Baragwanath Hospital, Miss Mavuso said.

She also said there was a time when she lost her senses because she was told of having done and said things she could not remember.

After her leg was amputated, she stayed on in hospital for six months and was released in April 1977.

Phindi said her injury has deprived her of the ability to play tennis, her favourite sport, and of doing the roadwork she used to do with boys her own age.

But with her one leg, she sometimes tries skipping. "That is how I try reducing my weight because I will soon be too heavy for my leg," she said.

But Phindi does not feel sorry for herself and will go along with the struggle.

"It is the price we blacks should be prepared to pay if we are to achieve anything in the struggle for liberation. I find it better to die young while fighting for justice and the truth than to live longer without doing anything to fight for liberation," Phindi said.

To Mr Ephraim Mhethwa, June 16 will always remind him of the serious and almost fatal effects teargas fumes can have on anybody who inhales them.

A living testimony to that is his son Ndabaningi (18), who was crippled physically and mentally after inhaling teargas fumes in Orlando East on June 17. As a result of his son's injuries, his wife got a heart disease which has made her bedridden.

"This was when the unrest started and these children had not yet learnt the trick of using wet cloths or wet handkerchiefs to minimise the effects of teargas. If they had my son may not have been crippled," Mr Mthethwa said.

He said Ndabaningi was one of the children the police dispersed by teargas. At the time very little was known about the effects of teargas fumes on anyone who inhaled them.

"When he came back home he told us of the teargas and said he had a headache and sore eyes. We gave him painkilling tablets and hoped what seemed like an ordinary headache would go away.

"But two days later he seemed to be deteriorating and we took him to a private doctor, who diagnosed he had inhaled teargas fumes. As days went by his eye started swelling and we took him to an eye hospital where he was treated. But he continued getting worse with the passing of each day.

"His speech became impaired and we decided to take him to Baragwanath Hospital. He could not speak well and could not even walk unassisted.

"Doctors operated on his eye and had to make an opening in his skull to work on the eye. He stayed in hospital for three months and after his discharge, his eye healed. But nothing about his physical and mental condition has changed as you can see," Mr Mthethwa said.

Ndabaningi was only 14 when the uprising started and was a Standard 5 pupil at Ezinucleni Higher Primary in Orlando East. In September 1976 the United Congregational Church gave him a wheelchair which he still uses today.

Mr Mthethwa said his wife was so affected by her son's illness that she contracted a heart disease and is now bedridden. "This means that from the 1976 riots, I inherited the problem of two patients in the house.

"This boy cannot be of much use to himself or anybody. Children of his age are growing up to become men who will be able to work for themselves in the future but his growth is of no consequence to him or anybody else because he will be a dependant for the rest of his life.

"You see, my son, June 16 is a day I will never forget all my life, especially when I think of the ruin it has done to my wife," Mr Mthethwa concluded.



Teargas wheelchair cripple Ndabaningi Mthethwa with his father Ephraim

Carrying the burden of police brutality

'It is the price we must be prepared to pay for liberation'

By SAM MABE

PHINDI MAVUSO is a 19 year-old Standard 10 student at Meadowlands High in Soweto. She was 15 when police shot her in the leg at Doornkop Cemetery while she was attending a funeral. Her right leg had to be amputated and today she uses crutches for walking.

Speaking from her Zone 4, Meadowlands home, Phindi told me that in October 1976 she was one of several hundred students who went to bury Mr Jacob Mashobane, who had died while in detention.

"When we arrived at the entrance to the cemetery, the system (police) was already waiting. They would not let us park any vehicle inside so we complied by parking outside and walked into the cemetery.

"One of the white policemen shouted something in Afrikaans. After that I heard shots being fired. Some of us were already inside the cemetery while others were still outside. We all scattered in different directions.

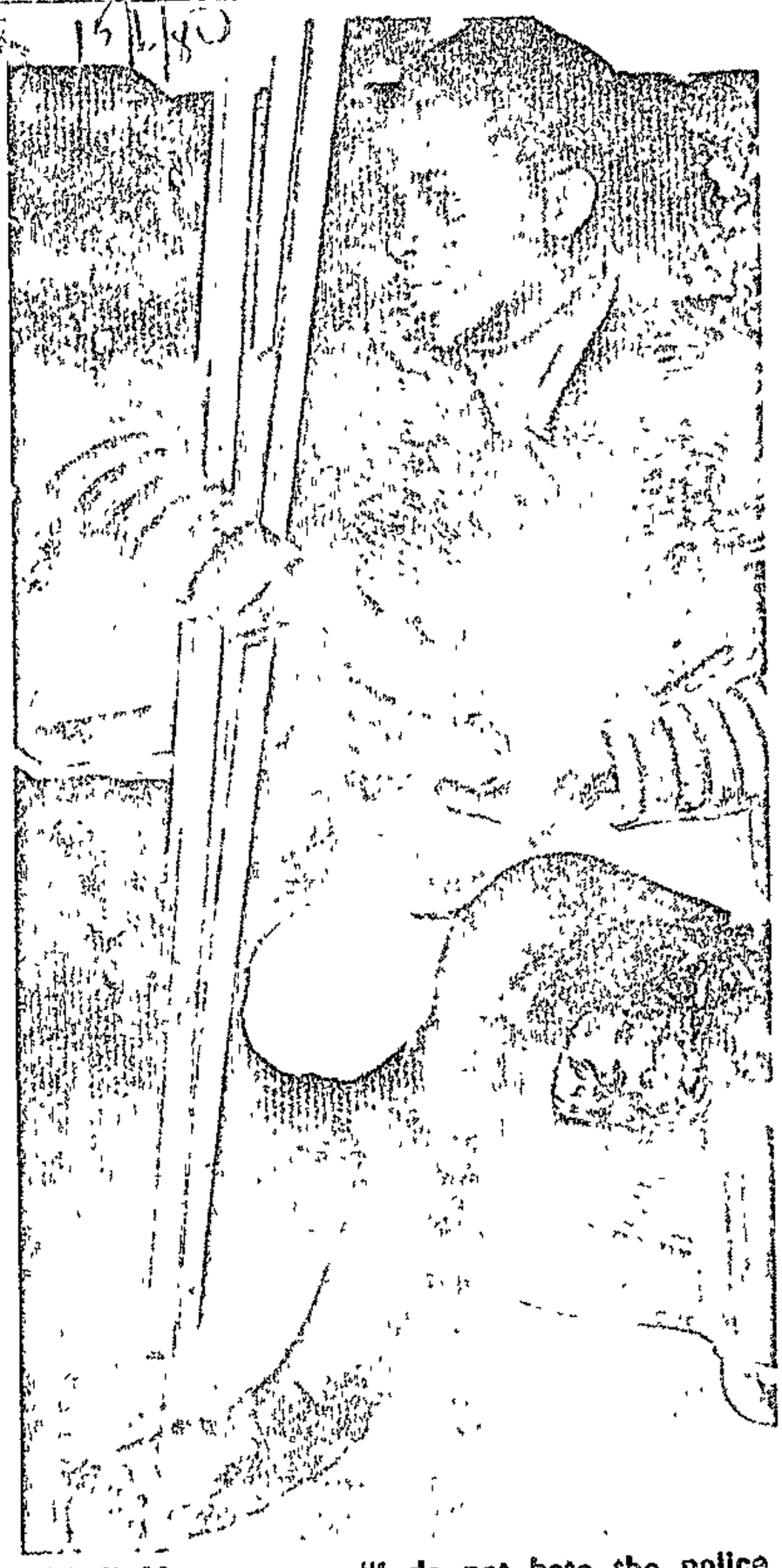
"I was inside and as I ran, I felt something like a cramp in my leg and I fell to the ground. I lay near the bushes along the fence and could faintly hear gunshots being fired and the footsteps of other students running.

"Nobody seemed to have seem me because I lay there for close on two hours. My whole body was limp and I could not even shout for help or move any of my limbs. It was only after all had quietened down that a woman from one of the houses near the cemetery noticed me.

"A hole was made in the fence and I was pulled out and taken to hospital in a car. On the way to hospital we met a police roadblock. After being told what had happened to me, one of these cops said, 'reg geskiet nè?'

"I could not even say yes or no to this policeman. It was then that I think I lost consciousness because I do not remember what happened until I saw myself in the intensive care unit at Baragwanath Hospital," Miss Mavuso said.

She also said there was a time when she lost her senses because she was told of having done and said things she could not remember.



Phindi Mavuso . . . "I do not hate the police for what they did to me."

self. Neither does she hate the police for what they did to her.

"I sometimes feel bitter when there are certain things I cannot do because of my condition, but my bitterness is not directed at anybody, least of all the police.

"I do not hate them because I know that someday things will change and the police will also change and regard us as friends and not troublemakers or enemies.

"The approach of June 16 which marked the beginning of the uprising has since 1976 made me feel proud because I regard my injury as one of those casualties that go along with the struggle.

"It is the price we blacks should be prepared to pay if we are to achieve anything in the struggle for liberation. I find it better to die young while fighting for justice and the truth than to live longer with-

Peace after meeting ban

Sun Times 15/6/80

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SENIOR police officers reported yesterday there had been no incidents connected with the commemoration of the June 16 1976 unrest.

The Government's blanket ban on political and commemorative meetings appeared, by late yesterday, to have had a dampening effect on plans to mark the fourth anniversary of the disturbances.

Plans for mass services in Soweto were abandoned in favour of individual observance, according to Mr Tom Manthatha, an executive member of the Soweto Committee of Ten.

By NEIL HOOPER, MARION SPARG AND EZRA MANTINI

"We do not have to gather in any public hall or place, as long as the spirit of commemoration is there, we are still free to do anything to observe the day," he said.

But police were taking no chances and road blocks were set up on all access roads to Johannesburg and Randburg.

Cars entering and leaving Soweto were searched.

Security sources said the ban on meetings of more than 10 people was a response to information that activists planned to observe Father's Day today as "Biko Day" and that a mass stayaway from work was planned for tomorrow in most major urban areas.

Pamphlets urging workers to stay away have been circulated.

The ban on meetings — in 24 areas of the country, from yesterday until June 30 — was proclaimed in a special Government Gazette early yesterday.

The Azanian Students' Organisation of South Africa and the Congress of South African students had organised services throughout the Reef.

The biggest service was to have started at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto tomorrow at 1pm.

In addition, a mass rally had been scheduled at the Shepstone Concourse of the University of Natal at 2.30 today, as well as a meeting of parents of students at the

● To Page 2

Calm after ban on meetings

● From Page 1

University of Durban/Westville at the Vedica Hall today

Dr A B Asvat, publicity secretary of the Solidarity Front in Lenasia said

"No matter what means are adopted to prevent people from commemorating June 16, it will always have an important bearing in the lives of the black majority."

At the formation of a nonracial National Education Union of South Africa in Johannesburg this week, Afrikaans and English-speaking white teachers called on their colleagues to stay away from classes tomorrow.

Traders and shebeens in Soweto have responded to student calls to respect the day

They have closed temporarily.

Mr Vela Kraai, chairman of the Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said his organisation was complying with a request by student organisations to close up shop at 11 am.

The president of the Soweto Tavern Association, Mr Ephraim Senne, said shebeens would be closed the whole day

The South African Soccer Federation (Sanfa) and the National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) have called off matches this weekend

The secretary of the Promotion League, Mr Simon Selepe, has warned all teams in the league not to play any friendly games this weekend

15/6/80 Sun Trib

POLICE and some army units throughout the country are on stand-by this weekend and for most of the coming week as South Africa, already in the midst of massive bus and school boycotts, braces itself for Soweto Day — the commemoration of the June 16 riots of 1976.

While the Government has banned all political gatherings in certain districts and police units throughout South Africa have been readied for instant action if necessary, commerce and industry in major centres are preparing for possibly the biggest ever black work stayaway tomorrow and Tuesday.

The police are geared to clamp down on any "intimidators" trying to stop people going to work but this will not affect workers who voluntarily stay at home.

This week both Prime Minister P. W. Botha and Minister of Police Louis le Grange warned agitators the police were fully prepared to deal with any trouble-makers.

Mr le Grange said police had been instructed to act relentlessly and had helicopters and vehicles ready to be on the scene immediately.

And Mr Botha issued a final warning to people involved in "undermining activities".

He said no self-respecting state could allow anarchy within its borders and the Government would do its duty strictly and conscientiously.

While police activities were kept at a low key yesterday a massive crime prevention operation involving both police and Defence Force units throughout South Africa during the past week led to the arrest of 1 028 people with a further 1 797 issued with sommonses.

Three people were arrested for possessing explosives and another 14 for possessing unlicensed firearms. During the operation one man was killed and police were assaulted twice.

A spokesman for the Public Relations Directorate of the SA Police said yesterday all policemen would be on duty this weekend and in districts police leave had been cancelled.

The spokesman said police action and precautions in the various districts affected would fall under the command of the Divisional Commissioners in the area. "It's up to them what action they take," the spokesman said.

Meanwhile in Cape Town, where a massive bus boycott in protest against high fares is likely to compound any work stay away, estimates are that as much as 80 percent of the black and coloured workforce could be off tomorrow and Tuesday.

Most, if not all, businesses in black areas around the country are likely to remain closed on both days. White businesses could be hard hit by staff shortages. Deliveries of milk, bread and even newspapers could be affected.

The Minister of Police has, however, urged blacks to go to work tomorrow and has given an assurance they would be protected by police who would take immediate action against intimidators.

Tribune Reporters

STAND-BY FOR

(201) (274) 15/6/80 SUN TRIB

THE STAYAWAY

SUNDAY POST, June 15, 1980

SOWETO'S CLASS OF '76:

Where are they today?



By Zwelakhe Sisulu

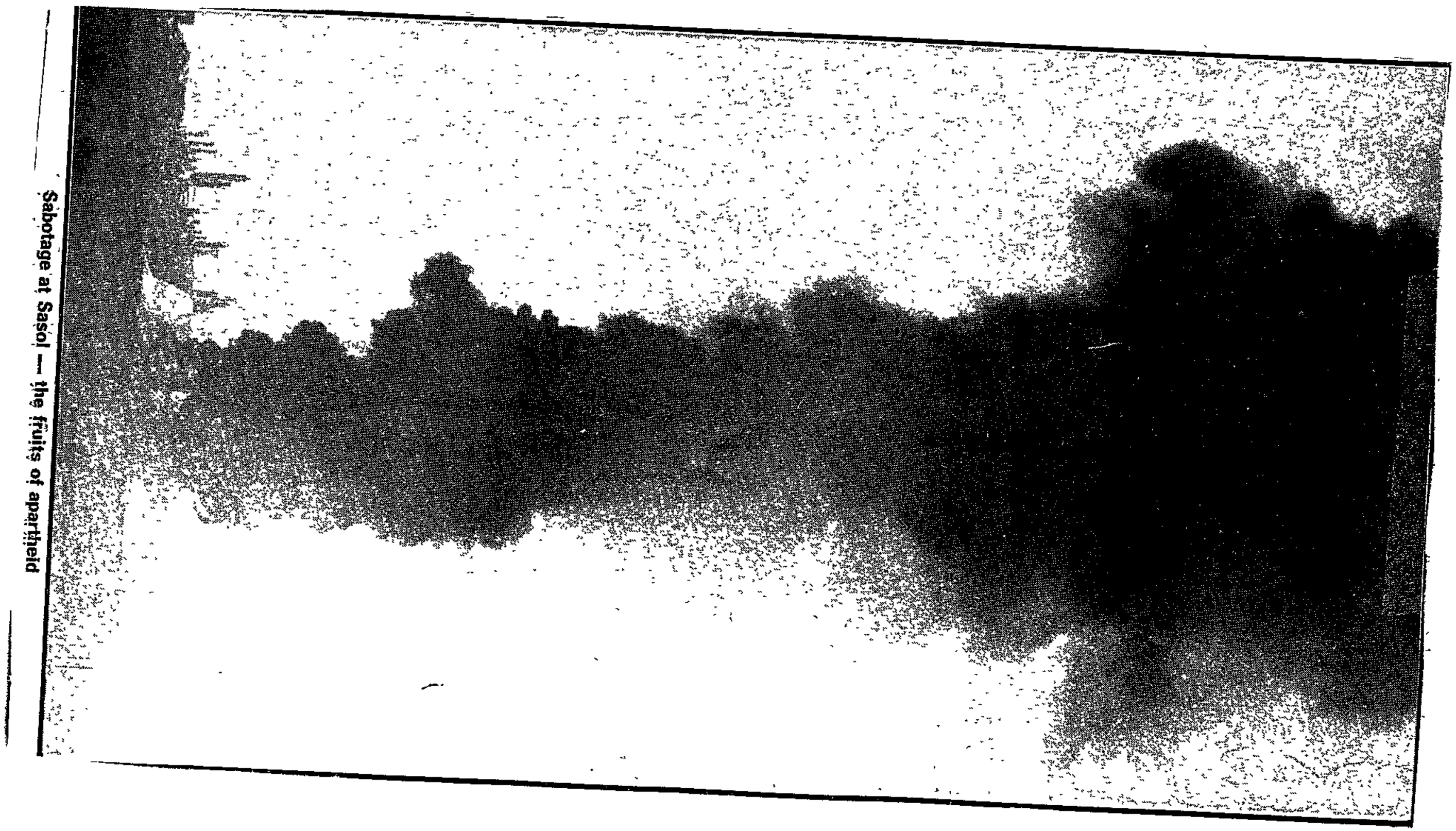


THE students who formed the core of resistance against Bantu Education in the bloody uprisings four years ago are today scattered throughout the world.

Since 1976 a steady stream of students has been leaving the country for Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana, from where some of them have set off on the second part of their journey to other parts of the world.

The class of '76 is still active, however, and their activities can be summed up in the following categories:

- Those who are continuing their studies through the assistance of United Nations agencies and other human rights organisations.



Sabotage at Sasol — the fruits of apartheid

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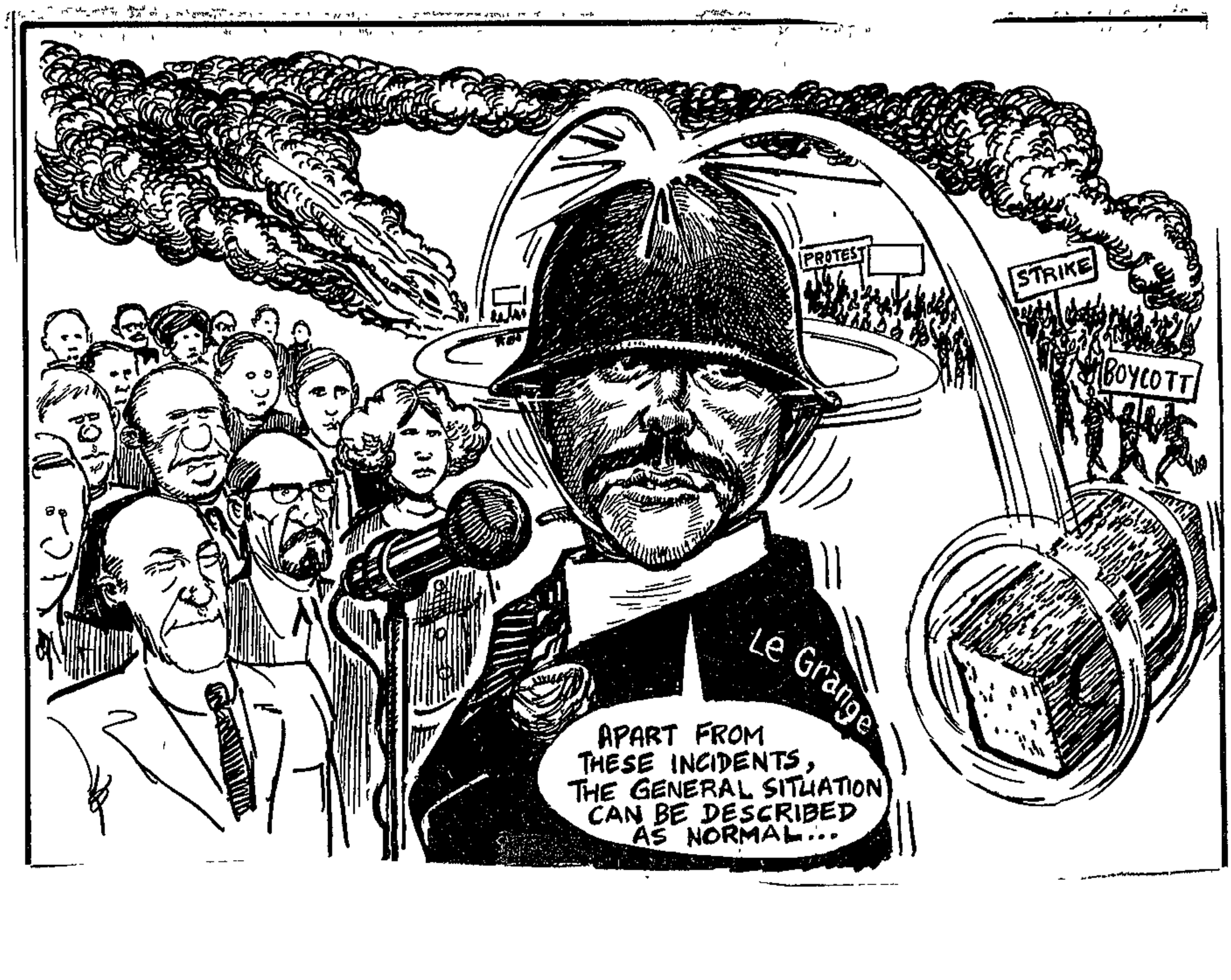
Sunday Post
Centurion

15/6/80 Sunday Post



15/6/80
Sunday Post

The class of '76 are today graduates in the political arena of war and liberation

● Those who have joined liberation movements to train as guerillas.

The upsurge in security trials since 1976 mostly involved students charged with offences under the Sabotage, Terrorism and Internal Security Acts and a host of others.

In some parts of the country, especially in Port Elizabeth, special courts were set up specifically to hear cases of students charged in connection with the uprisings.

Security police activity was heightened when student leaders and student activists were detained. Many of the students, convinced they could not escape detention, fled the country.

Last year, the government of Swaziland estimated they were receiving five students a week from South Africa.

Once outside the country, some students impatient with some of the liberation movements, formed the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (Sayrco).

Sayrco was formed by former leaders of the Soweto SRC and is headed by former SRC chairman, Khotso Seatlholo.

There are still hundreds of student refugees in Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana. The Swaziland and Botswana governments have provided the student refugee population with settlement areas.

Botswana's Dukwe settlement is now being used by South African refugees after being vacated by Zimbabweans after independence. These settlements have proved unpopular with students and are set in remote parts of the country.

There are those students who have managed to continue their education in Europe and the United States. By and large, they are still based mainly in Africa.

Some of the high school students of '76 are now at university. The present militancy on black campuses has not been seen since the early 70s with the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement.

Political acitivity has not been limited to students alone. The teachers who resigned in protest against Bantu Education have also been playing an active political role.

Some former teachers engaged in active civic and national politics have included Pebco leader Mr Thozamile Botha, Mr Curtis Nkondo, suspended president of Azapo and now banned, and Mr Lekgau Mathabathe, a member of the Committee of 10.

The banning of the two main student organisations in 1977, the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and the South African Students' Movement (SASM), were felt but the void has since been filled by Cosas and Azaso.

Some of the students who did not proceed to university are still active in the civic associations and in Azapo.

Some of the former members of the SRC who stood trial at Kempton Park under sedition are presently serving on the executive committee of the Johannesburg branch of Azapo.

The former chairman of the SRC, Sechaba Montsisi, and Mafison Morobe, Sibongile Mthembu and Seth Mazibuko are serving prison sentences after being found guilty of sedition.

The cases of Solomon Mahlangu and James Mange, both sentenced to death — Mahlangu for murder and Mange for treason — typify those students who joined other liberation movements.

The massive influx of guerillas into the country since 1977 is a consequence of thousands of students who left the country following the unrest.

These youths, who still possess a fresh recall of the country's terrain, have received military training and are returning as armed guerillas.

June 16 is etched deep in our souls

JUNE 16th. That date is etched indelibly in every true black man's heart and soul in this country. It is more than just a date in the calandar.

pride and sheer jubilation at the realisation that the black man, despite systematic and concerted efforts to destroy him physically and psychologically, has continually, throughout history, refused to acquiesce in his own de - humanisation. June the 16th is an important milestone in the history of this massive 'No'.

Yes, June 16th cannot and should not be viewed in isolation.

Struggle

It is part of a bitter struggle. A struggle that spans the years between 1652 and 1980. It however marks an important phase in the people's long and arduous battle against the systematic dispossession of their land and repression of their human yearnings.

the Fish and Blood rivers can bear eloquent testimony that our people were prepared to die for the claim that this is their land, they are the 'Natives' of this land. And, indeed, they died in their hundreds.

b) the black people's 'negotiatory resistance' against their exclusion from the decision making bodies of this country by the 1910 Act of Union. They did everything they could to be included in that Act of Union — but to no avail.

But no doubt history has registered that an Act of Union that excluded the majority in a country is anything but an Act of Union;

c) the second 'UDI' a la South Africa came in 1961, when a minority declared this country a 'Republic' to the total and disdainful disregard of the views and desires of the black majority of this country. Our black

to free themselves and be masters of their own destiny in their 'native' land.

Such a determination is irresistible and undefeatable — in the long run.

Victory

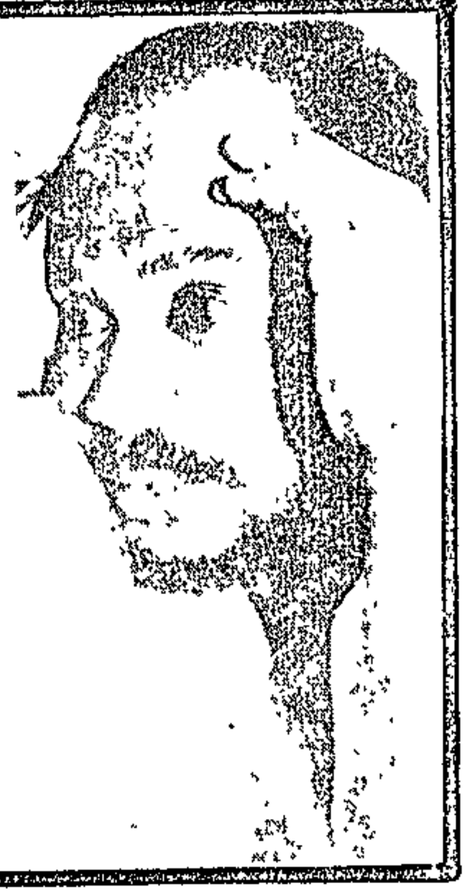
Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Zimbabwe — nay, the whole of Africa — confirm and point to the absolute certainty of the eventual victory of the black people over the forces that seek to destroy their humanity and deny their worth as persons.

This is the basic lesson that the oppressors of my people should take note of.

June 16th carries significant lessons for the black people as well. To my mind one of the most important lesson we can learn from the events of June 1976 is this: June 16th does not only mark the day on which a massive 'NO' was registered against this Godless system, but it also points to the day on which **ETHNICITY** was literally buried under the marching feet of the students.

They marched, not as Zulus, Xhosas, Pedis, Sothos, Shangaans, Vendas etc, but as **BLACK!**

They tore the artificiality of our ethnic divisions into shreds as the blood of a Hector Petersen comingled prophet-



Mr Lebamang J Sebidi, member of the Committee of Ten – just returned from America where he refused to accompany a group of SA whites on a a talking tour – remembers June 16, 1976.

16/6/80



It is the youth who took up the cudgels this time. That is why I say this is a significant phase of the struggle. By this phase the struggle not only gains in momentum but also qualitatively.

And it is this new note which accounts for the discordant noises and the high level of irrationality within the enemy's camp.

Bitter

This day, we said, is part of the struggle. Some of the landmarks in this struggle have been

a) the 18th and 19th century frontier wars in the Eastern Cape, in which great quantities of our people's blood was shed. The Keiskama.

leaders campaigned and resisted against this, — but to no avail. Sharpeville dramatised the people's refusal to acquiesce in what they and the free world regarded as a serious or sinful violation of fundamental human rights.

Detentions, bannings, — even death could not smother the people's desire to be free.

June 16th slots neatly into this ever enlarging and ascending pattern of a people's determination

ically with the blood of a Tembi Nxumalo.

The message was clear for all: the white regime's strategy to divide-and-rule us has fallen on evil days. Black solidarity is the order of the day, the open sesame into the dark cave within which our freedom is shackled.

May this message reverberate once again throughout Azania as the black people of this country remember that day.

'Black solidarity the open sesame for our freedom'

• Write to the Editor at P O Box 6663 Johannesburg 2000 Nom-de-plumes can be used but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published

Political comment in this issue by P Ooboza and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Matlhaku. All of cor. Blumberg Street and Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg.

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16/6/80 Post.

POST
TRANSVAAL

Telephone 27 6081

They dare not forget

THE South African Government has decreed that we will not be allowed to commemorate June 16 in a public fashion this year. All commemoration services have been banned in terms of a special gazette issued by the Minister of Justice at the weekend.

This act, the most dastardly act of insensitivity so far displayed by Pretoria, underlines the real insensitivity of this Government. For June 16 represents in a major sense everything that the Day of the Covenant represents for the Afrikaner. One can understand the outcry that would erupt if that day's public commemorations are banned.

But then it would be an outcry caused by white and Afrikaners at that. So it's okay. But we are darkies. No franchise to record our displeasure and powerless to make our impact felt.

In spite of all of this, we as a newspaper want to protest vehemently to the Government for this blatant lack of understanding and appreciation of what June 16 stands for.

We may not have the legal right to gather at Regina Mundi and all of the other places we intended going to, but you will never succeed — try as you may — to obliterate the real significance of June 16. It is something that is so close and intimately engraved in our hearts and minds.

June 16 is the day of our people. All of them will in their daily scope of activity regard this day and remember the significance of the tragedies that marked so much hurt and so much pain. They will not forget.

They dare not forget. And history will never allow them to forget. We certainly will not for one moment allow them to forget. The horror of it all is as fresh in our minds like it happened only yesterday.

This is why we will never allow this country to forget. It's our pledge and commitment.

11/6/80 Star



Youths scatter on a Noordgesig street as a teargas canister lands in their midst. Early today hundreds of youths roamed the township streets.



This was the scene in the townships of Cape Town today as unrest continued with youths burning rubble in the streets and throwing stones.

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Star
continue

Blanket on news reports

STAR 17/6/80

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Staff Reporters

The Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, today clamped strict control on information from all trouble spots in South Africa where violence erupted overnight and tension continues to run high today.

Free access to newsmen, including foreign correspondents and television crews, was barred in Soweto and the adjoining Noordgesig coloured township and also at the Bonteheuwel coloured area in Cape Town and in Bloemfontein's black townships.

Selected groups are being admitted in the company of policemen.

In the aftermath of an afternoon and night of violence in which at least 35 people were hurt in clashes with police in Johannesburg, Bloemfontein and the western Cape, policemen today used dogs and teargas to disperse bands of youths.

An official police state

ment today said that reports from all over the country showed that the situation was back to normal and that no further clashes had occurred.

Police fired about nine teargas canisters to disperse a crowd of hundreds after a shop belonging to Mr Brian Moosa was set alight in Noordgesig today. An adjoining butchery caught alight.

Mr Moosa's shop was broken into and looted yesterday evening and today.

The fire brigade fought the blaze.

Housewives were affected by the teargas. Some people ran to nearby houses to wash out their eyes.

A coloured youth was detained at noon today after police had fired teargas and set police dogs on a group of youths in Noordgesig.

Quiet

The situation in both Rand townships was quiet this afternoon and homegoers should have no trouble, police spokesmen said.

Brigadier Kobus Hamman, divisional commissioner of police of Soweto, said that more people had gone to work today, than yesterday and traffic had been flying smoothly.

There had not been a single incident in Soweto where police had had to intervene, he said.

He said it was unlikely that the stone-throwing mobs that struck yesterday would appear again today, but police would be out "in full force" just in case.

Police spokesmen in other Reef areas said black townships there had been untroubled and that police were carrying out normal duties.

Putco bus services would run normally in the Johannesburg black townships this afternoon.

Putco PRO, Brig Jan Visser said the current situation was "nothing new."

Despite the fact that 120 buses were stoned last night, there had been no trouble this morning and no further trouble was expected, Brig Visser said.

The situation in the Bloemfontein black townships was quiet this morning and buses were able to resume their normal routes, police and municipal spokesmen said.

The municipal spokesman added that significantly fewer people were using the buses, probably as the result of intimidation. Business reported an 85 to 90 percent attendance of black staff.

He confirmed that 15 people had been shot by riot police yesterday after people had left a church service commemorating the start of the June 16 riots in Soweto in 1976.

In Durban 77 buses were stoned, six bus drivers injured and another three robbed and assaulted in incidents of stonethrowing in kwaMashu, yesterday.

Two of the injured drivers were hurt seriously. One received treatment at hospital for shattered glass in his eyes, and the other for injuries he sustained after a piece of angle-iron was thrown through the windscreen of his bus.

Several people were treated at Coronation Hospital last night from birdshot wounds. They are Murriel Benny (9), Brian Kuder (11), Vanessa Solomon (19), Tyron Williams and Nosie Arens.

Others were treated at a township surgery after allegedly being beaten by police. They are Mrs Margaret Noko, Nobuntu Mathunjwa, Oupa Diale and Gladys Sholwe.

The Minister of Industries, Dr S W van der Merwe, said in Cape Town today that there were no indications that the stay-away had affected industry significantly.

His impression was that the stay-away had not been particularly successful except in certain Cape areas.

A police spokesman said the following incidents also occurred in the 24 hours:

● Petrol bombs had been thrown at the police station at Eastern Paarl, Cape;

● A truck and a car were hijacked and burned in Moroka;

● A delivery van, three buses, and six police vehicles had been damaged by stone-throwers.

Police clashes with demonstrators throughout the country yesterday resulted in at least 35 injuries.

Teargas and baton charges were used to disperse crowds as incidents

To Page 3, Col 4

17/6/86

RDM.

charge, a police statement said.

The anniversary of the outbreak of unrest in Soweto on June 16, 1976 — which left 575 people dead — was marked by violence in different parts of the country yesterday.

After a weekend of tension during which meetings were banned in different parts of the country, police used teargas and baton-charged protesters.

The anniversary, coming at the height of the current unrest which started with the coloured schools boycott two months ago, was also marked by massive strikes in the Cape, an attempt to blow up a railway line near East London harbour, stone-throwing incidents and more arrests.

Hundreds of black, coloured and Indian shops and offices — especially in Johannesburg and on the Reef — were closed in the biggest shut-down since the resistance campaigns of the 1950s.

and then, after repeated
t of yesterday's unrest.

truck burns fiercely after Soweto youths had set it alight. The youths first stoned the vehicle
Regina Mundi Church in Rockville — focal poin

but while the Western Cape ikes were reported to have en 70% effective, only beeen 5% and 15% of the labour rce on the Witwatersrand as estimated to have stayed way.

At the same time, police announced that certain Pressmen ould be banned from Soweto nd other "trouble spots" from oday, with only selected journalists allowed to enter the areas under police escort.

It is understood that the ban is aimed specifically at foreign correspondents and television cameramen, who were accused of inciting black youths to violence.

The focal points of trouble were Soweto and the Cape Peninsula.

In Soweto, a day of violence and unrest resulted in the shooting of at least one man by police, scores of people being injured in baton charges, and house-to-house searches.

Police also used teargas to break-up groups of people. Youths stoned buses, shattering windows and forcing some off the road.

Passengers returning from work were forced to jump out of emergency exits and run for safety.

Yesterday morning, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, told people gathered outside the Regina Mundi Church to hold private commemorations and prayers in view of the ban on meetings. He warned the Government that the ban was "provoking the people beyond endurance".

In Uitenhage, the entire black and coloured labour force of 4 000 at the Volkswagen plant struck in favour of higher wages.

In East London, a section of the railway line running between the harbour and Chiselhurst was slightly damaged after an explosion, the Railways' public relations officer, Mr J C van Rooyen, confirmed.

Mr Andrew Boraine, president of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and son of Progressive Federal party MP Dr Alex Boraine, was detained by Security Police last night after allegedly addressing a meeting at the University of Natal in Durban earlier.

Meanwhile Constable Johan Hugo's parents, of the farm Stillwaters near Durbanville, yesterday mourned their youngest son's death.

The news of his death was broken to the ailing couple shortly after 3am yesterday morning.

Johan, who lived with his parents, had been called up shortly before midnight on Sunday and had left the house at 12.15am, his mother said.

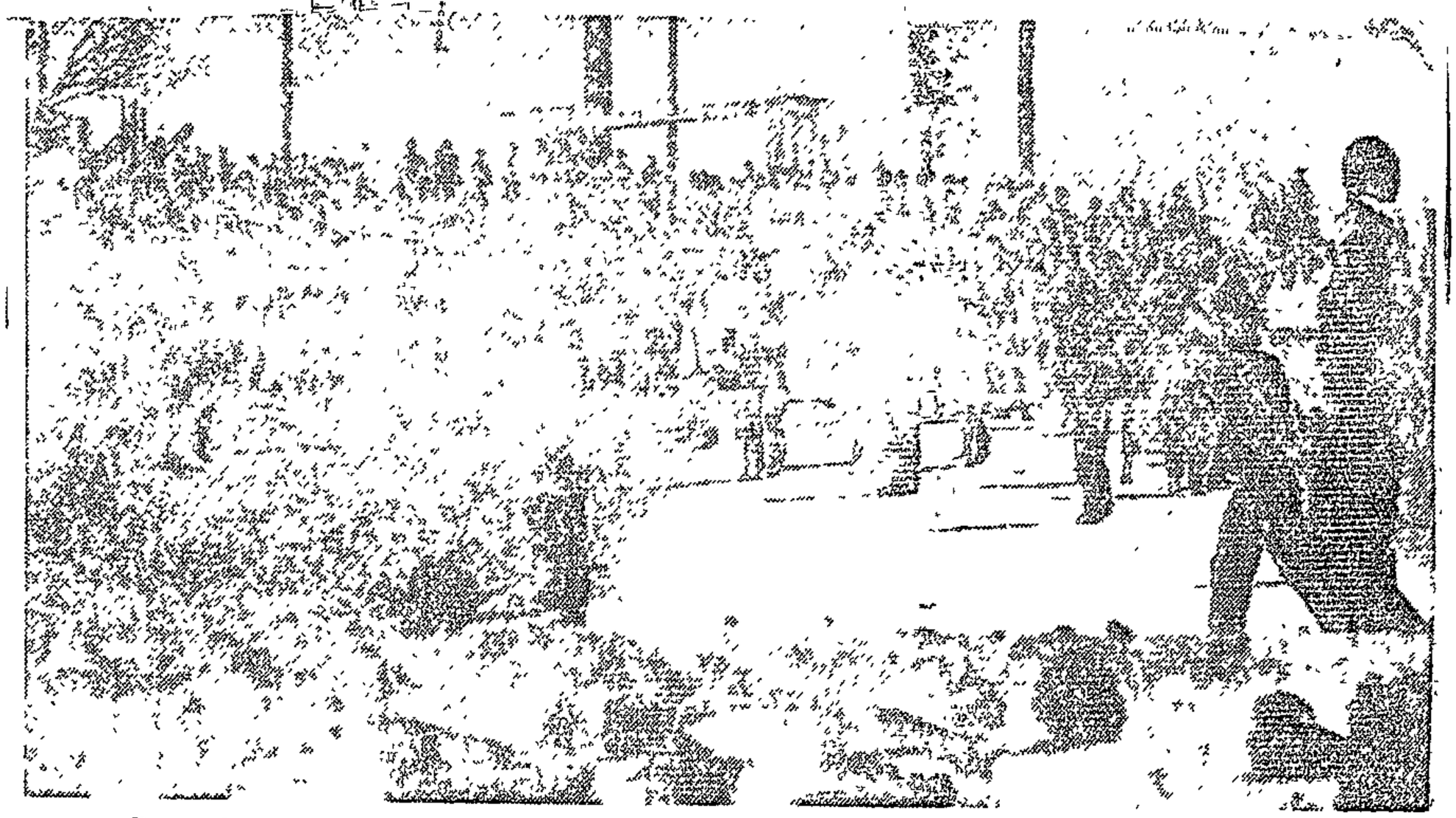
"Why did it have to be him?" his tearful father said, pressing a photograph of his son to his chest.

"He was going to leave the force within six months to begin studying. Will he be mourned like those two boys who died during the shootings after the stonings recently?"

Johan matriculated at the D F Malan High School in 1977 and joined the police shortly after.

He will be buried with full honours from the Durbanville Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk at 11am on Thursday.

© More reports, pictures
— Page 2
Picture Mail — Page 11



Part of the crowd that gathered in Rockville, Soweto, and stoned passing vehicles.

Five held after charge

Staff Reporters

FIVE youths were arrested in the Pretoria township of Atteridgeville yesterday after police baton-charged demonstrators.

Sapa reports that two black constables were attacked by stone-throwing youths, who ran away after one of the men fired shots into the air. The youths regrouped shortly afterwards, but were dispersed with batons.

In the Pretoria township of Mamelodi 500 students, giving clenched-fist salutes and singing freedom songs, marched through the streets after their two-hour meeting at a local hall was disrupted when police turned up.

The meeting at Refentse school hall yesterday afternoon had been in progress for about two hours when nine armed policemen turned up. The students ran out of the hall, and one or two threw stones at the police, before being ordered to stop by other students.

The group marched through the streets, before leaving on a hunt for shebeens which had defied the call to close.

Unrest in many parts as June 76 is remembered

(270 ROM 17/6/80.)

Political Staff

INCIDENTS of violence were reported from different parts of the country outside the Reef and the Cape Peninsula yesterday as unrest continued on the fourth anniversary of the outbreak of the 1976 Soweto riots.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said five blacks had been shot and wounded in **BLOEMFONTEIN**, four with buckshot and one shot in the chest with a plastic bullet.

Bloemfontein's Chief Magistrate, Mr C P J Steytler, yesterday slapped a 48-hour ban on public gatherings in the magisterial district.

Earlier, buses and two police vehicles were stoned in the black township. Little damage was caused.

PORT ELIZABETH police used teargas to disperse a group of 400 black youths who gathered at a hall in New Brighton for a commemoration meeting.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, Brig E S J van Rensburg, said police went into the township to disperse the crowd early yesterday afternoon.

Teargas was used but no arrests were made and no-one was injured, he said.

Most Indian and a few coloured shops in Port Elizabeth were closed. The boycott of coloured schools continued.

Buses ran as normal, Sapa reports.

NATAL police used teargas to disperse pupils who set up obstacles in a road near Kwa-Mashu.

Police used tearsmoke in Durban to disperse a crowd of schoolchildren who stoned a bus and a petrol tanker outside the railway station.

That was the only serious incident of unrest reported in the Port Natal police division by early afternoon.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the area, Brig John Visser, said the children dispersed quickly after the tearsmoke was thrown.

Many shops in Durban's Grey Street and in Merebank, Tongaat and Maritzburg closed at lunchtime.

Near **WORCESTER**, an unsuccessful attempt was made to set a community hall alight in the Esselen Park township on Sunday night. A door was slightly damaged.



A truck window shatters after a Soweto youth hurled a rock at the moving vehicle

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18/6/80

America criticises new SA Press cu

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States has criticised the ban on political meetings and the restriction of journalists' movements in South Africa, reports Andre Meyerowitz of The Star's Washington Bureau.

State Department spokesman Tom Reston said last night: "We recognise the volatility of the situation in South Africa.

"We urge all South Africans to exercise restraint.

"At the same time we oppose the ban on political gatherings as a violation of the basic right to assemble peacefully."

He said the United States was concerned about the SA Government's restrictions on Press coverage in troublespots.

In spite of the curbs on journalists, the disorders in South Africa continue to be widely reported by newspapers and on radio and TV in the United States

Both London's evening papers — the Evening Standard and the Evening News — splash the Cape riots under banner headlines today, The Star Bureau reports.

Both report deaths in coloured township clashes and the Evening Standard carries a five-column picture of a white motorist being cut off at a blazing roadblock as rioters go on the rampage.

Foreign correspondents in Johannesburg say the

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police decision to bar them from Soweto and other trouble spots will force them to rely on second-hand information, but they will carry on, reports Craig Charney.

They were unanimous yesterday that they had seen nothing to support police charges that foreign pressmen were deliberately inciting unrest.

Rampdown

Police

Trouble spot Press ban challenged

STAR 17/6/80

By Craig Charney

Foreign correspondents in Johannesburg today condemned the decision of the police to bar them from Soweto

At a Press conference called to thrash out the blanket ban on foreign Press representatives in riot areas, they demanded an opportunity to clear their name. Police were present at the conference.

The pressmen asked whether anybody present could identify persons alleged to have been guilty of incitement.

They also demanded to see a video tape allegedly showing an unidentified man behind a camera inciting persons to riot.

Colonel Leon Mettet, a spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said he would see what could be done about showing them the video tape.

He stressed that the ban was temporary and might be lifted in a matter of hours. The whole matter was being investigated, he added.

Pressed about a police complaint that television networks had been guilty of distortion by showing film shot during the 1976 riots in the context of the present riots, he said this had happened in Denmark.

Colonel Mellet said that in terms of the new instruction, only selected South African journalists would be admitted into trouble spots — and then only under police escort.

The Star's Political Correspondent quoted the Minister of Police, Mr le Grange, of saying in Cape Town today that police had identified pressmen who encouraged violence at trouble spots.

No charges of incitement were being considered at this stage, said Mr le Grange.

"We know who they are. But it is too soon to talk about charges," Mr le Grange added.

The restrictive measures had been taken to prevent interference. The police had a job to do in dealing with the unrest and should not be hindered.

Commenting on the po

To Page 3, Col 7

Cape township on fire

16 JUN 1980

18 JUN 1980

Two die in riots

The Post



The scene in Cape Town on Monday when crowd.

AT least two people died and many others injured when police opened fire in Elsies River, Cape Town, last night.

The coloured township exploded into flames at dusk as cars, shops and buildings were set alight.

Almost every road in the area had been barricaded with burning car tyres, oil drums and concrete pillars.

A police convoy of more than 50 men in eight vans and a sneeze-machine patrolled the area. In Halt Road, where two youths were shot dead by police, two weeks ago, Mr Alfred van Wyk (30), of Uitsig, was allegedly shot dead by police as he entered the already looted and plundered terminus supermarket.

He was identified by his brother as he lay on the ground. Police used shotguns and rubber bullets. In a space of an hour the convoy in a limited area fired several shots.

On numerous occasions attempts to shott alleged leaders were taken by the police. At 6 pm last night cops reported that in the Elsies River area they had fired off 80 gas grenades and 80 handgun gas grenades.

They also reported that a 14-year-old youth has been seriously injured when hit by gunfire.

At one stage when the convoy had stopped, shots were fired at the police by a man in a crowd who waved his firearm and ran away.

Scores of people are believed to have been injured when cars were stoned by unruly mobs.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, Brigadier J F Rosscouw, last night issued a warning to any unruly element that police had had enough. He said police would take much more drastic action if the violence continued.

While police, dressed in camouflage uniform, tried to extinguish a massive blaze at the Avenue Supply Store, they were pelted with bottles and half bricks. Under orders from their commanding officer, they opened fire. Screams were heard in the distance but it could not be established whether there were any injuries.

In other areas similar incidents were reported last night. It is believed that a 16-year-old girl was shot dead by police in Grimly Road, Lavender Hill. Neighbours tried desperately to contact the ambulance, but to no avail.

More than 90 minutes later she was still lying on the pavement.

In the suburbs of Retreat, Steenberg, Parkwood, police used teargas and batons in the late afternoon to disperse mobs that had gathered.

People were chased into houses including a six-year-old boy who was hit with batons. The main road through the three suburbs was cordoned off yesterday afternoon as many cars were badly damaged and some people injured [illegible]re

Continue

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STAFF REPORTERS

POLICE using buckshot and plastic bullets yesterday opened fire on protesters in Johannesburg's coloured township of Noordgesig and in Bloemfontein after two days of violence in which at least 23 people received bullet wounds and a policeman was stabbed to death.

Police said late last night that eight coloured youths wounded in Noordgesig, adjacent to Soweto, had been looting shops. The buckshot was aimed at their legs and none was seriously injured.

Another nine were injured after police opened fire on a crowd of people who had stoned police vehicles and buses

However, there was confusion over the number of injured.

Most of the injured were treated at Coronationville and Baragwanath Hospitals. One was said to be a six-year-old girl

In Bloemfontein, four blacks were injured by buckshot and a fifth by a plastic bullet fired by police

And in Soweto, a black man was shot and wounded by police.

The identities of those injured could not be established last night.

On Sunday night, a policeman, Constable J C Hugo, was stabbed to death while taking part in a baton charge to disperse about 300 people gathered in Mfuleni township near Kuils River in Cape Town.

He was stabbed in the heart



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Riot police attempt to clear obstructions in Modderdam Road on the Cape Flats. The wi road was scattered with burning obstacles ha

pushed into place by large groups of demonstrating students. Cars were set alight, their drivers forced to flee, vehicles were stoned and badly damaged and riot police opened fire several times in a night of violence on the Cape Flats.

Police warn looters: we will shoo

STAR 18/6/80

974

Crime Reporter

The Commissioner of Police has warned that police will use live ammunition in cases of arson and looting in black townships.

General Mike Geldenhuys said today that in most cases during the shooting in the Cape, the victims were carrying out acts of arson or looting.

"In these cases, the po- e will not use birdshot, ber or plastic bullets

their own people.

"It is the police's duty to protect the responsible and law-abiding citizens who are in the majority and we will do so, no matter what."

Mr le Grange said neither he nor the police had any sympathy with the criminal elements that had behaved the way they did.

"What is more, they are

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

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will use live ammunition," he said.

From Cape Town, the Star's Political Correspondent reports that the Minister of Police, Mr le Grange, today pledged relentless action against the "violent, hooligan elements" that gave rise to last night's Cape shootings.

In a night of arson and looting in coloured areas, 36 people are known to have been fatally shot by police.

The Minister said in Pretoria earlier today that his latest figures were 11 shot dead but there could be more.

He said five people were shot dead in Elsies River and 12 were wounded, three were shot dead in Retreat and four were wounded and one was shot dead at Paarl, where one was seriously injured.

Mr le Grange said: "We no longer have to do here with school, meat or bus boycotters. We are concerned now with criminal, violent, skollie elements and we will act relentlessly against them.

"No longer is this community action, but a case of completely irresponsible elements. They put their own people's shops to the torch and loot them. They don't care what damage is done to murder of policemen," he added.

"We are prepared to talk to responsible people but now we have those who have got out of hand. They deserve what they will get.

"At the same time I am thankful to the large majority of people — black, coloured and Indian people — who are acting responsibly and are not taking advantage of what the hooligans are doing."

Cape flares — Soweto cools

(274) (~~275~~) (~~276~~) RDM 18/6/80

STAFF REPORTERS

SPORADIC violence flared again in parts of the country yesterday, but Soweto and neighbouring areas were relatively calm after the shooting of 18 people in the black and coloured townships earlier this week.

In the only major incident in the Johannesburg area, a grocery in the coloured Noordgesig township was set on fire.

It had been looted and damaged by crowds when it remained open on Monday, fourth anniversary of the outbreak of Soweto unrest.

UNIVERSITY OF EXAMINATIO

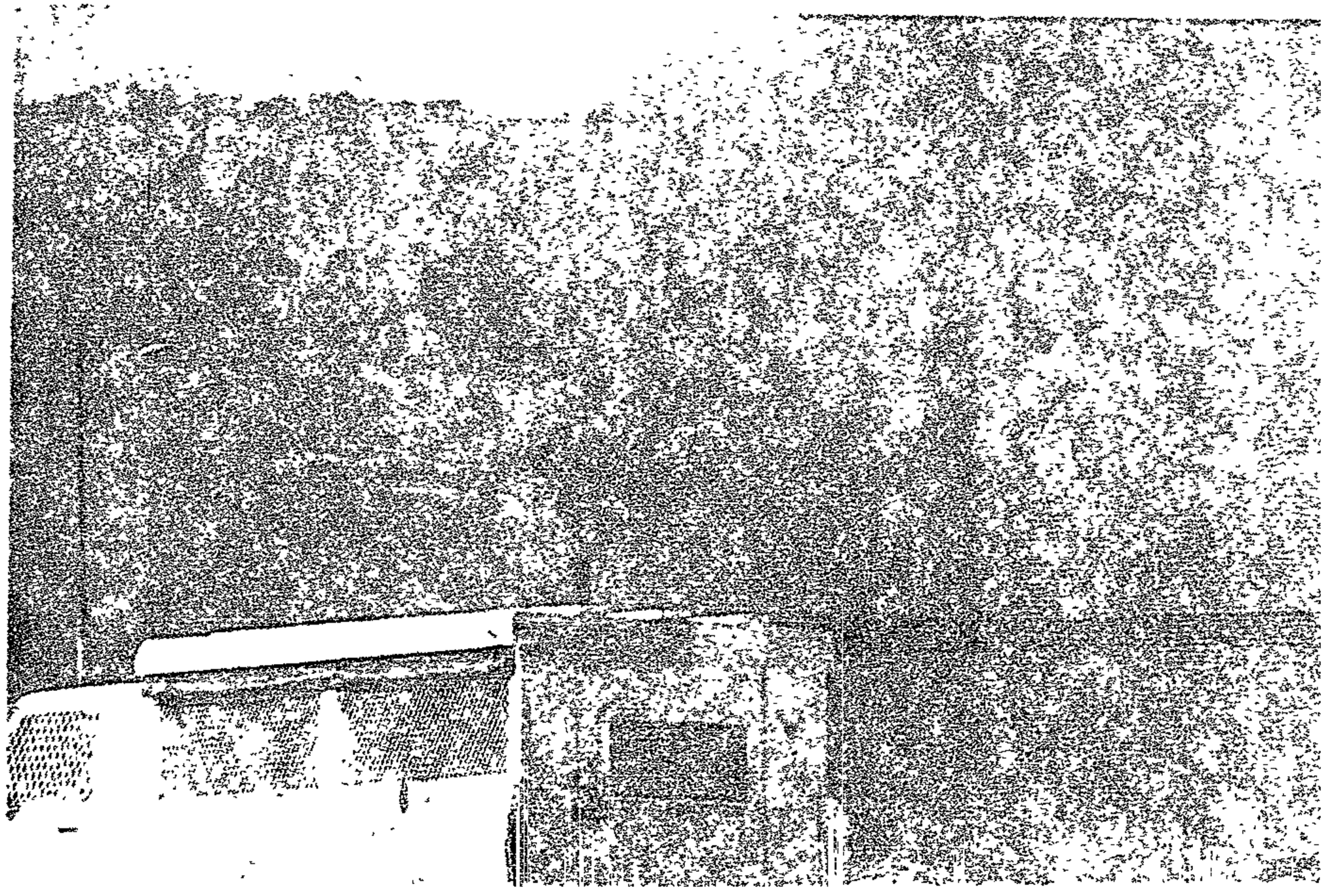
A butchery next door was damaged in yesterday's blaze, and a strong contingent of riot police, firing birdshot and tear-gas, scattered the crowds.

The atmosphere in the Cape Peninsula — focal point of the massive June 16 strike — was tense last night after a day of sporadic stone-throwing.

Streets in townships were barricaded with burning tyres and oil drums.

Support for the Western Cape stayaway from work diminished yesterday, but more than half the area's black and coloured workers stayed away.

Estimates of the improvement in turnout yesterday ranged from 10% to 20%. Busi-



assaulted.

Two were seriously injured and admitted to hospital.

The strike by 4 000 workers at the Volkswagen plant in Uitenhage entered its second day, and spread to two smaller neighbouring factories.

Apart from isolated incidents and the Noordgesig arson, relative calm returned to townships on the Reef after the violence which marked June 16.

At least 35 people were injured and a policeman died, as police and crowds clashed in Soweto, Noordgesig, Bloemfontein and the Western Cape on Sunday and Monday.

In Johannesburg yesterday, police remained at the scene after the fire in Noordgesig had been put out by the Jabulani fire brigade. They left towards evening.

At the police news conference at Divisional Headquarters in Protea, however, foreign journalists were involved in angry exchanges with police after it was announced that they would be banned from entering Soweto.

After police had taken selected local journalists on a tour of Soweto, they later extended the ban to include all newsmen.

Professor John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, last night questioned whether the permits issued to white journalists to enter Soweto had been lawfully revoked

Police also ordered black journalists away from Noordgesig because it was "an operational area"

Meanwhile, Putco buses returned to the centre of the township after staying on the outskirts during Monday's unrest There were no signs of intimidation of workers at bus depots or stations.

A Railways spokesman said train services were running at normal capacity yesterday.

Sample surveys by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Chamber of Industries showed employee attendance in Johannesburg back to normal.

But firms closed early to allow workers to get home before dark.

Police in Soweto maintained a profile only slightly higher than usual, with regular patrols through the townships.

On Monday night, two petrol bombs were thrown at the police station in Paarl East, but no damage was caused, Sapa reports.

● In Washington yesterday, the United States State Department spokesman, Mr Thomas Reston, called on the South African Government to take "positive steps" towards eliminating the underlying causes of unrest, reports Sapa-AP.

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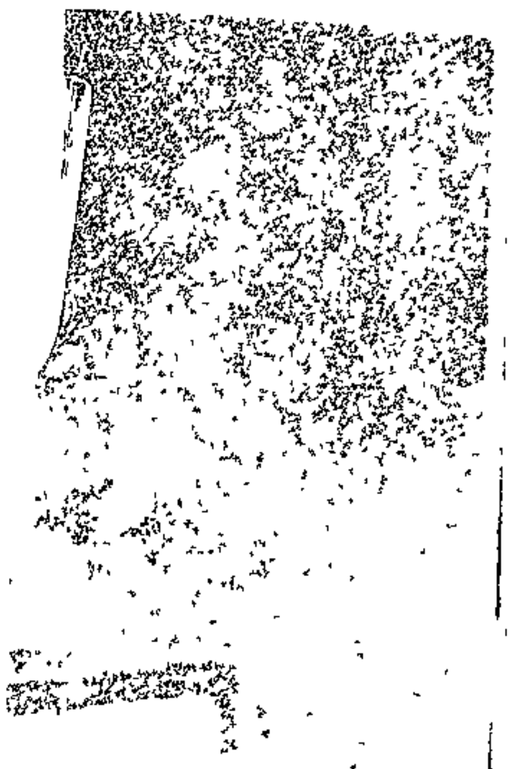


set it alight. Police were
tinguished in an hour.

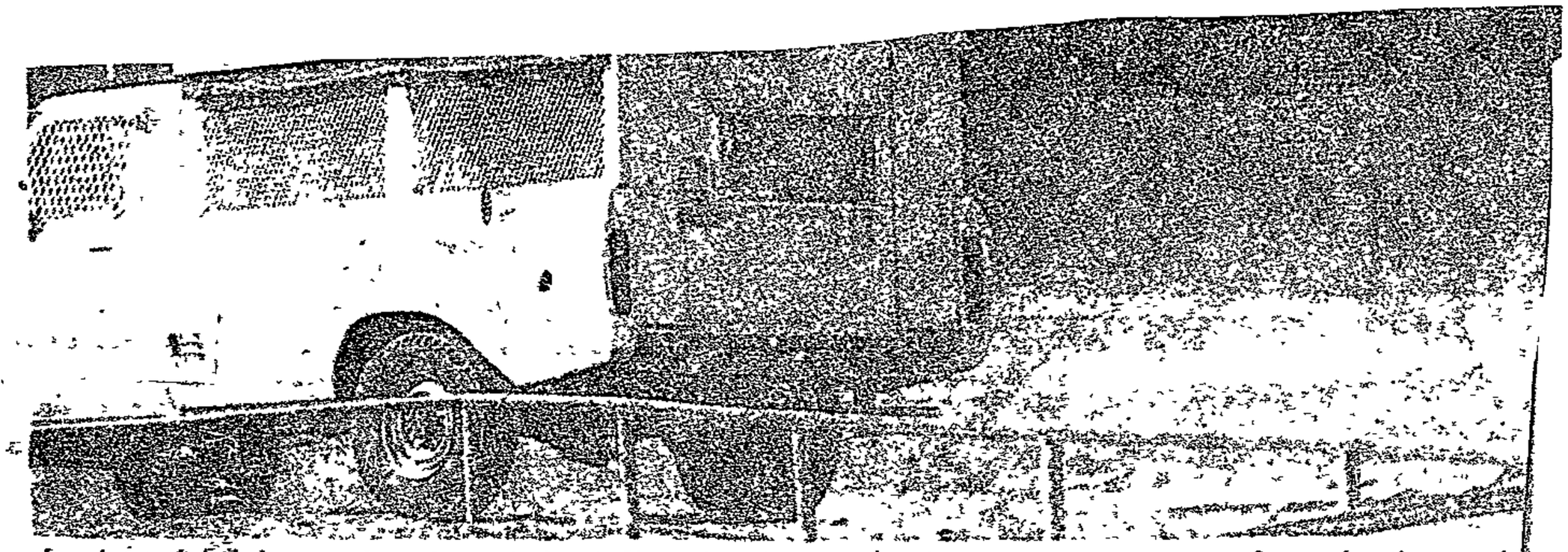
and oil drums.

Support for the Western Cape stayaway from work diminished yesterday, but more than half the area's black and coloured workers stayed away.

Estimates of the improvement in turnout yesterday ranged from 10% to 20%. Business in the region appeared to have returned almost to normal.

In KwaMashu, near Durban, crowds stoned three buses yesterday, bringing to 80 the number of buses damaged this week.

Six drivers were injured by bricks or chunks of metal hurled through windscreens, and three were robbed and



A shop in Johannesburg's coloured Noordgesig Township ablaze yesterday after a looting mob called to disperse the crowd while the Jabulani Fire Brigade fought the flames. The fire was ex

When the Police PRO met the Pressmen

Police PRO Colonel Leon Mellet met the foreign Press yesterday to explain the decision to screen newsmen intent on going into Soweto and neighbouring black areas to cover the current disturbances. This is an edited transcript of what followed. (JOURNALIST, as in the tag-line below, obviously applies to different questioners.)



Lt-Col Leon Mellet

JOURNALIST: Of course, but these people are using us to some extent to push their message and their protest throughout the world.

What you are now doing is to stop them from doing it.

MELLET: What we are doing is trying to stop the situation of bloodshed.

JOURNALIST: Excuse me, can you tell us which areas in Soweto are operational areas?

Is it the whole of Soweto or what?

MELLET· I don't know where the words operational area came from, there is no such ...

JOURNALIST: One of your men used it days ago.

JOURNALIST: Yeah, they used it on Sunday afternoon. (He said) "Well sir this is an operational area. You must leave it within five minutes, one mile from this spot."

MELLET. That is operational when the police is in fact in an operation but somebody announced or claimed this morning that the whole of Soweto is operational area.

I don't think that is correct.

JOURNALIST: Only where the police are acting?

JOURNALIST: If we saw this film I am sure could identify the cameraman and his camera which you might not be able to do

MELLET: Well, you see if you dispute it or think that I am not telling the truth . .

JOURNALIST. No, we are anxious to help you. We really want to clear our name.

MELLET: I can see if I can arrange that for a certain select group of the foreign Press but I don't want to promise evidence as such.

JOURNALIST. But evidence of an eye witness?

MELLET· The evidence is of an eye witness of the police side

JOURNALIST. Is it not South African journalists as you have made . . ?

MELLET: No. No, there are South African journalists as well.

JOURNALIST. Who are they?

MELLET: I am not prepared to identify them.

JOURNALIST· I am Bill Nicholson, chairman of the Foreign Correspondents Association.

How is it that we can be banned on the premise that somehow foreign correspondents are guilty of inciting people, without giving us names.

Without showing us photographs?

Without allowing us to see this video tape?

MELLET. I have said I will see if I can arrange for you to see it.

JOURNALIST: Well it it is a bit like telling us or asking us will you stop beating your wife, without . . .

MELLET· Well, I have said I will try and arrange it.

JOURNALIST: Why don't you charge somebody with an offence.

MELLET. Well, I'm only here on behalf of the Commissioner and he said, and they made this point which was widely published last night and this morning and I can only repeat what he said.

That it has come to the notice of South African Police that certain Pressmen and including foreign Pressmen, he did not say it was only the

JOURNALIST: Yes, but could you answer that question. Why have you not charged anybody with incitement to riot?

MELLET. I am not able to answer that question

I am only here to give what the Commissioner has asked me to.

JOURNALIST: Can you tell which network it is?

MELLET. I don't know.

JOURNALIST. Now that you have fixed this ban on us going into riot areas, one would assume that only information we will have about the riot incidents is the police version

MELLET: No, Not at all. N-O That is very wrong. It is not so

If there is a situation we will not ban the Press from being there but we do not want the Press to start a situation

And I want to make this quite very clear. We do not want the Press to start a situation which we saw an hour ago, what could could very well happen.

The moment you lift those cameras those people will start throwing stones.

And there are representatives here from Post newspaper who not more than half an hour ago went through one of these areas which were very quiet until they arrived and their car was rocked and they had to hurriedly get out of the situation.

And the people then knew that they were present And I think that those Post people are here now at this moment. Some of them

JOURNALIST: No, we don't know of such things.

MELLET· Okay, there were four members of Post her... ...as accompanied by the no...

MELLET· I don't know I think you people don't understand the situation Let me try and define it in this way If you go to visit a friend and you go out and they don't know you are a journalist that is something completely different

JOURNALIST That is all right?

MELLET But where you go into a situation where the Press, as a group for instance, like we have just witnessed, a riotous situation, and the people are just waiting for the Press to start an incident, we cannot allow that.

JOURNALIST: Sir, that is very different from accusing us last night of incitement.

That is very different, what you have just said is very different from the statement.

MELLET· No, but there has been defined cases of deliberate incitement and I have said now that we have got evidence for that.

JOURNALIST: Who? Who? What evidence.

MELLET We've got it on a video

I said I would try to arrange for it to be shown to certain members of the foreign Press

JOURNALIST· Our permits are still valid in Soweto to go and visit friends and talk to people, visit orphanages

MELLET· That I don't know, I have nothing to do with the permit system That is a different department

JOURNALIST· Can you explain to us then what the Press, the future Press is going to do

You said selected Press would be allowed into these

Soweto and we here, I mean going to take whether we can are selected?

MELLET Well, the moment ... on foreign ...

JOURNALIST: about the future plan?

MELLET I ... the future. ... about the ...

JOURNALIST: ... means that ... which say I ... Soweto

MELLET· That nothing to do African Police.

JOURNALIST: ... do because ....

MELLET. No.

JOURNALIST: ... dating my per... cover news her...

MELLET· We date that T... another Depart...

JOURNALIST· ... my permit is ... come in and ...

MELLET: Let ... question That ... been issued by ... can Police

Whoever iss... you must take ... with the peopl... permit.

JOURNALIST: ... to are saying th... me despite th... this permit? ...he nore it ...it ...

MELLET: It ...

JOURNALIST's ... them [illegible]



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that permit
JOURNALIST· But you said it was the Commissioner of Police that said that
MELLET I am talking about the permit. I don't know, I believe Minister Koornhof withdrew that permit.
JOURNALIST· But Colonel, your men arrested us if we didn't have the permit so you can't really disallow the . . .
MELLET. At the moment is somebody goes into this area without the police permission he will be arrested.
JOURNALIST What do you mean by this area?
MELLET. The Soweto area Well for all troubled areas for that matter. But we are now in Soweto and talking about Soweto
JOURNALIST. Colonel, you have laws prohibiting incitement to riot, do you propose to arrest and charge the people you say did that?
MELLET: I am not here on a legal point But I can tell you that if anybody deliberatly incites a riot situation then that person is liable to be arrested. No matter who he is
JOURNALIST: Colonel, does it mean that reporters who are not here, say reporters from Post, who can go to an area where there has been an incident. What will happen to him?

Are the police going to arrest him.

MELLET· If there is an area under Police control, under the Police Press Agreement, there is an agreement that if police will then take control of the situation and then the police will decide if that Press, whether the Prees will be allowed or not

JOURNALIST. So the whole of Soweto is now covered by that, is it?

JOURNALIST: Excuse me, Colonel, does this affect even people who live in that area? Let us say I live next to .

MELLET Well . .

JOURNALIST. If I go home and I am a Pressman I could be arrested right there.

MELLET No this is the same matter as for what happened at Silverton when it was under police control

People who live in the area when it happened to be in control of police were not arrested. That is ridiculous

JOURNALIST. If I am invited to dinner in Soweto, can I go?

MELLET· If you haven't got a permit you cannot go

JOURNALIST. But this permit, you are rescinding it.

MELLET· I don't want to talk about laws.

I am explaining to you what is happening at this moment.

JOURNALIST. Colonel, the law to incite, or against inciting merely by our presence, even if we never raise our hand in a black power salute, even if we just stand there, our presence in an affected area in Soweto is enough in your eyes to incite. Whatever we do.

To stand, sit, not nothing except to be there that presence is enough in your eyes to incite?

Is that correct.

MELLET. Well, I think it is quite correct to say, sir, that the presence of the Press at the moment where the situation is very troublesome, then if you want to define as such that the Press are inciting by their presence then that is the case.

But let us go into a little bit further

What happens in this particular case· It is all quiet at the moment and the people there are mainly youngsters and they are sitting and they are waiting for a situation to develop. They are eager.

And the moment the Press arrive there they start the situation and there are others that join in the situation.

They start overturning cars, they start stoning busses, they start smashing windows, they start looting shops.

The police are forced to move in to restore order

And in the midst of restoring order, it happens, as it happened last night — I don't say the Press started on that last night — but it could very well

.

JOURNALIST But the General said exactly that

MELLET But if the situation starts and the police are in the position where they have to restore order, and they even have to fire with birdshot and the people are injured, is that the situation, is that the situation you are asking?

Is that now newsworthy or is that creating a situation where you people . . .

JOURNALIST: Let me just repeat, yesterday, for instance the Press were in Soweto for eight hours and nothing happened.

JOURNALIST: And there were no Press in Bloemfontein yet it started as well.

JOURNALIST· It was the presence of the Police in Soweto

.

JOURNALIST. Okay, so take last year The commemoration ceremonies in Soweto, in South Africa, there were not confrontations, no riots not stoning nothing But immediately this time police came in there was of course stoning. Don't you think it is perhaps the presence of the police.

MELLET· I just answered the questions. I said we, the police, we, police are not present at the situation in there, were are not also starting a situation.

JOURNALIST· You were there all day ouside Regina Mundi.

MELLET. When?

JOURNALIST· Yesterday.

MELLET. Yes, but I wasn't there.

JOURNALIST: (Laughter) But the police were there.

JOURNALIST: With respect Colonel, there is a very large difference between what you are saying now and passive role of the police by encouraging or inciting riots by their presence and the heavy implication by the Commissioner of Police last night where he talked of the rioting which generally follows the presence of the foreign Press.

If you can clarify that now I think it would be a help to all of us.

MELLET. No, I will stick to what the Commissioner said. That was a statement made yesterday

JOURNALIST: On a point of clarification, Colonel, the statement said not only was this open incitement happening in Soweto, but in other areas of the country.

Could you identify which other areas there were foreign Press in?

JOURNALIST· But I have already asked that and I get no answer.

JOURNALIST: Colonel, what you had in mind was to sort of exclude a section of the Press because they happened to be foreign Pressmen.

And accomodate South African Press.

Now, wait before you answer, what I saw and what I believe is that these fellows in the township will of course act or make some demonstration when they see a Pressman.

They themselves are not demonstrating for a local or overseas Pressman but for a Pressman.

You say the presence of the Press incites the public to demonstrate or to cause some act of protest. I say yes, it is so, that we have observed, we have seen it, I agree with you.

I say in excluding the foreign Press you are being unfair because the demonstrators are demonstrating for the Press in general. They are not aware that this one is foreign, this one is local.

They see a Pressman and say wait here is somebody to take our message across. Why ban the foreign ones?

Why not the Press in general?

For instance yesterday a journalist of the Star remonstrated with some young fellows at Regina Mundi for demonstrating and saying that by doing so you are going to cause the police to attack you. And we don't want you people to be killed and you are causing it by demonstrating for the Press.

At that time the TV man, it happened to be a TV man I know from SABC, and some others too, local photographers who took pictures there. Those were local fellows and you say the foreign ones, now why should the foreign ones be penalised when people demonstrate for the Press generally.

MELLET: That was said in a statement yesterday by the Commissioner.

JOURNALIST: Colonel, considering the gravity of this plan and how widely it is going to be reported worldwide, why is it that you are in the hot seat, why isn't the Commissioner here?

MELLET: He is busy in his office with a riotous situation throughout the country.

JOURNALIST: There is a riotous situation in this office.

JOURNALIST: He should be here.

JOURNALIST: Colonel, I still don't understand the distinctions you draw on this ban.

At one stage you said there is a total ban on the presence of foreign journalists in the townships, but I also heard you say it was perfectly okay to go for dinners and private visits.

Then I subsequently heard you say, I thought, that all

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permits have been withdrawn and if you didn't have a permit you were subject to risk.

Could you just please take it step by step and tell us where we will be legal, where we won't be legal and what the circumstances will be.

MELLET: Well in the townships at the moment if you haven't got a permit then you are not allowed in. Is that quite clear?

I believe and you will have to clear it by whatever department is concerned that all those permits have been withdrawn.

That is what I believe. It is not a police decision. It is not a police permit.

JOURNALIST: So in other words if we explained this to the Administration Board they would be able to tell us whether they have in fact withdrawn them. But you have just said Minister Koornhof . . .

MELLET: I believe so. I don't know exactly who, but I believe so.

JOURNALIST: But I mean your men must have orders presumably. I mean if we are stopped and if we produce the bit of paper we now have, the permit, what are your orders to your men? Are we then arrested or what? We are being given no guidance.

MELLET: As I say I am not involved with the legal aspects of that and I am not involved with what orders are being given out. I am here merely as a PRO for the police.

JOURNALIST: Yes, but Colonel do you mean to say you don't know what is happening among them men of you command here in Soweto?

MELLET: It is quite possible that those orders have gone out.

JOURNALIST: Well, shouldn't we know?

MELLET: I can find out whether those orders have been given.

JOURNALIST: Coming to local unrest, who is going to be allowed into operational areas and what exactly is the criteria restricting them?

MELLET: As I said earlier at the moment nobody is allowed in. Unless they are under police escort which we will decide.

JOURNALIST: But how are we going to decide. These are the people we get all our news from in there.

MELLET: I just want to say this is not a permanent thing. It is a temporary thing. It is a temporary measure. It is not a permanant thing at this stage at all.

JOURNALIST: But this could stay for five years, 10 years, 20 years?

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JO[illegible]: Well, [illegible] shouldn't be difficult, Colonel. With all respect . . .

We would like to outlaw this fellow because he brought this ban on us. I mean you see it is evidence of something we are being charged with.

MELLET: I will see if I can arrange that.

JOURNALIST: Do you have any other evidence to substantiate what is really a blanket accusation?

MELLET: Not photographic [illegible]

[illegible] JOURNALIST: That is what was reported.

MELLET: Well, that is not so. Well, then it is bad reporting.

He said that the statement was written out and typed out and it said that certain Pressmen, including the foreign Press and certain television news networks

JOURNALIST: That what was [illegible]

MELLET: Well that has nothing to do with us.

[illegible] now.

Who told us that story outside here early not more than ten minutes ago. And I think this gentleman was standing next to us when this happened.

So it is very, very clear that the people here at the moment, at this moment are seeking publicity.

JOURNALIST: Colonel Mellet, do you mean that a journalist may not go to Soweto in another capacity — to visit a friend?

[illegible] ice.

Now how will you select these Press? What will be our credentials or lack of?

MELLET: Well, we know most of the Pressmen in this country. We know who they are and it is the individual Commissioner, his right to decide who we are going to allow in.

JOURNALIST: Can we have the names of the people who are not allowed, or we are allowed.

If something happens in [illegible]

ME[illegible] [illegible]ight.

JOURNALIS[illegible] In other words it invalidates. Listen. Can any foreign newsman holding such a permit come into Soweto this afternoon or tomorrow morning or the next day?

MELLET: As far as my knowledge goes that permit has been withdrawn.

JOURNALIST: By whom?

MELLET: Not by the police, you had better take that up by the other Department, I don't know which department issued

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Section B

MELLET· We took some of the local Pressman into Soweto on a tour and they can all tell you what they saw and it became very evident to us that at the moment the troublemakers are only awaiting cameramen and Pressmen.

We ended up at a place in Noordgesig where a couple of hundred of the youths had been in the area since early this morning.

That is where they last night looted the shops and as soon as we stopped it was very evident that within a couple of minutes we would have had a riotuous situation on our hands.

And for this reason I would like to ask some of the Pressmen who accompanied us into that area what they saw Marius, could you explain to the people, perhaps?

JOURNALIST Well I can just tell them what I have seen and what not.

We were around and the only evidence that something had happened was the glass in certain spots. Then at a specific point where, when we arrived there, they were looking and they saw the police they turned their eyes backwards.

When they saw us in the cars, in the cars behind, and most probably the cameras and reporters, they began to sing their songs and dance and clap their hands and shouting

That's all And then the moment that we took off it calmed down again

MELLET As I said, the Pressmen that accompanied us, they are all here and you can ask them all They will all bear us out

JOURNALIST In the Commissioner's statement — all this stuff about foreign Press inciting blacks to riot — he said that members of the South African Press have identified members of the foreign Press as clenching their fists, shouting "Amandla", in fact causing incitement.

Now, I presume that members of the South African Press who reported that are here I wonder if they can identify the foreign Press who are responsible if the foreign Press are here?

Is that possible?

MELLET I can just say that shortly after our Press conference this morning I had a look at a video recording that the British took and there it was very obvious.

Unfortunately it is not possible from the actual film to identify the actual newsmen but there it was very obvious that at the church in Regina Mundi where it was fairly obvious that a newsman with his television camera slung over his shoulder gave a black power salute and started off a riotuous situation within a matter of seconds

And that we have on video casette

JOURNALIST· Can we see that film? I am sure we can id[illegible] at about 8 o'clock yesterday [illegible] were

the police Was it Afrikaans Press or South African Press?

MELLET. No, it was South African Press.

JOURNALIST. South African Press. Now can I just continue?

It obviously affects us tremendously Can you name the number of places throughout the country last night and this morning, yesterday and last night rather, where incidents took place, where there was rioting or confrontation with the police where there was not any member of any Foreign Press present?

MELLET: No, I cannot. That is a difficult question.

JOURNALIST· Well, were there any foreign Press in Bloemfontein?

JOURNALIST There weren't You can take it from me, there weren't

There weren't any foreign Press in areas of Cape Town. You see the point that I am getting at. Although there may have been incidents yesterday in Soweto where there were foreign Press present and I won't argue whether we were responsible for incitement or not, but there were far more, far more areas nationwide where there was conflict and rioting where there were no members of the foreign Press or anyone from the South African Press as far as I know

You can't point the finger at us now and say we are responsible for the rioting that is taking place nationwide

MELLET. No Can I just also stress that I have just spoken to the Commissioner of Police and he has also placed a total ban at this stage on all Pressmen in the area

As long as this situation remains quiet because it is very obvious that the poeple behind this situation are seeking the publicity. And at the moment all Press have been barred from these areas

We will allow people in as we have done, to see for themselves what is taking place and the Commissioner just stressed that that is the situation as it stands at the moment and that is the situation

JOURNALIST The point is that you are taking people into these areas where nothing is taking place.

As this morning you took people in when you know the township is quiet. We are not interested in a quiet township, we are only interested .

MELLET: We are also not interested in a situation where the moment the Press appears on the scene that it becomes a riotuous situation.

We cannot allow that to happen The newspapers' duty is to give the news not to create news and that is the situation that we are in at the moment.

JOURNALIST Well, most of the members of the Press here at the moment, television and myself, were at Regina Mundi

is anybody else saying — that without the presence of the Press there would be no trouble in South Africa?

Are we to blame for all of it?

MELLET· No, not at all The ress is . we cannot say the Press is to blame but what is happening and I think if you can just understand the situation.

What is happening at the moment — there is a riotuous situation or a troubled situation within the country and at the moment the people behind this are seeking the publicity that they can get out of the situation and the moment there is a ban on the Press, the publicity, the whole thing has just petered out and it's quiet.

It may not be the case but at the moment that is the case

JOURNALIST But we weren't in Soweto last night with our cameras and how many people were shot?

How much trouble was there?

You gave us a breakdown earlier There was a considerable amount

Yet we weren t there.

MELLET Yes, but by then, the trouble had already been, the agitators, the people had already been agitated to such an extent . So at the moment this is the situation

I can only assure you I am only standing here on behalf of the Commissioner of the Police

This is the situation as it stands at the moment.

JOURNALIST There is an awful suspicion that you are using these isolated incidents to prevent reporting of a conflict situation in South Africa.

MELLET Now, we are not And I want to stress this We are not trying to put a blanket ban on news coverage Not at all

No but that is the impression, that that might be created

JOURNALIST Not an impression With respect, it is a fact.

MELLET As far as certain people are concerned, it may be so but there are still the South African Press Association who are represented

There are all the local papers who are represented here and they will still provide you people with the necessary

JOURNALIST· Sapa don't carry TV cameras.

MELLET Well at the moment I can tell you If you lift a TV camera at some of these places within a minute you will have a riot.

And that you can take as a fact.

JOURNALIST Well I repeat what I said a few minutes ago We were there for eight hours on Monday morning, on and off, touring the area and no riot took place until after we left

And we had to rely on somebody's else's film — SABC's film — to transmit that to Europe last night because we had left the scene before that particular incident of rioting took

CANDIDATE MUST enter in (1) the number of each question ed (in the order in which it has iswered); leave columns (2) and ik.

	Internal	External
	(2)	(3)
	8	

there on and off throughout the day

Now the incident that was shown on the screen last night didn't take place until much later in the afternoon, around four o'clock

Now we were there for most of the day and nothing happened Now why suddenly at four o'clock is it a problem. Because you know we had been there for at least eight hours

MELLET· Well some of these incidents that we have already got on film took place on Sunday already

JOURNALIST But Colonel, can I get clear on this

Are you actually saying — or is there anybody here who complained to the Press, sorry, the man.

MELLET. I doubt whether you will be able to identify the man

JOURNALIST We can try.

MELLET I can assure you that is, that is how, how

JOURNALIST Can I come back to my original question?

There are members of the South African Press who have complained about this specific thing, now, if there are any members of the South African Press who did contact the police, can they now attempt to identify any one of the foreign Press who they say is responsible?

Is there anybody here who complained to the Press, sorry, is taking place

MELLET Well, SABC has also been banned from the area

JOURNALIST So there is in fact a total blanket ban

MELLET I can tell you now, if you take a camera and show it now Come with me And you point that camera where I can take you within a minute you will have the film that you want

JOURNALIST With respect, again, you are teaching grandmothers to suck eggs

We have been reporting riots throughout the world for the last 15 or 16 years

MELLET Well there are people here who will tell you that is taking place

[illegible] any person except the invigilator.

[illegible] swer book is to be torn out.

[illegible] s must be handed to the commis- [illegible] vigilator before leaving the exam-

[illegible] **id to possible exclusion from**

Legal men confused over ban on meetings

Staff Reporter

CONFUSION and uncertainty surrounds Friday's midnight ban on political gatherings which legal experts have described as "extremely vague, confusing and dangerous".

The prohibition of all political gatherings of more than 10 people was published in a Government Gazette just before midnight on Friday last week

Only meetings authorised by the magistrate of the magisterial district concerned may be held in 24 key magisterial districts, including Cape Town, Wynberg, Bellville, Goodwood, Kuils River and Simonstown.

Our Johannesburg correspondent reports that Professor John Dugard, director of the Institute for Applied Legal Studies, said the proclamation could be interpreted to cover a wide variety of meetings.

However, it should be construed to refer to political meetings only — particularly those relating to the commemoration of June 16 and the 25th anniversary on June 26 of the drafting of the Freedom Charter.

The widest yet

"No distinction is being made between meetings and gatherings held inside and outside a building This is definitely the widest proclamation of its kind in South Africa so far," said Professor Dugard.

Professor Marius Wiechers, head of constitutional law studies at the University of South Africa, said the proclamation was "extremely wide indeed, literally banning all meetings of a political flavour".

The Cape Town Deputy Town Clerk, Mr Stanley Evans, said he intended to apply for permission to hold council meetings as political matters were discussed there.

'Ridiculous'

Several community meetings on the Cape Flats have been cancelled since the ban on political meetings.

A member of the Lotus River Ratepayers' and Tenants' Association said a number of meetings planned in the area to commemorate June 16 had been cancelled and only church services had been held

"The whole situation is ridiculous," she said "We are not even sure if civic meetings are affected.

"Even where more than ten people are gathered informally in individual homes, they are bound to discuss the stay-away or the bus boycott or what the school children are doing But now they are wary — are they breaking the law""

A spokesman for the Chamber of Commerce denied that meetings of the chamber would be affected by the ban

"Even if we discussed the stay-away from work this week, it would be from an economic point of view It's got nothing to do with politics," he said

The secretary of the Divisional Council, Mr W R Viviers, said he was not prepared to comment on how meetings of the council could be affected by the ban, saying it was "not a political body"

The Chief Magistrate of Cape Town, Mr T P Roberts, yesterday declined to say whether any applications had been made for authority to hold political meetings in terms of the proclamation

'Ridiculous'

Several community meetings on the Cape Flats have been cancelled since the ban on political meetings.

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Most don't like violence – Botha

Star 18/6/80 274

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has no doubt that most whites and blacks have an aversion for violence, strikes and stonethrowing.

He was quoted in the Cape National Party newspaper, Die Burger today as saying that "leftist radicals" were trying to frustrate the Government's initiatives and would have to be fought "from day to day in every possible field."

Mr Botha said the aversion of the majority of South Africans for violence, strikes and stonethrowing had been proved again by the failure of attempts to harm the country by means of such actions.

The Prime Minister was quoted as saying: "It did not succeed, but we must expect that the more successes we achieve with our initiatives for development and renewal, the more will leftist radicals try to frustrate us.

"Such leftist radicals do not exist with us only, but also in many other Western countries.

"We would therefore have to learn to fight them from day to day in every possible field."

Mr Botha was also reported to have given a warning to an interviewer that South Africa would have to take drastic steps from time to time "to hit back, no matter where the gathering places of terrorists may be."

NPU protests against Press ban STAR 18/6/80

The Newspaper Press Union, which represents all major newspapers in the country, today protested against the police ban on journalists entering townships and other black areas.

This was decided after an urgent session of the NPU during which the blanket ban by the police was discussed

The urgent protest was addressed to the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, and the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys.

The ban came after police alleged they saw foreign TV crews inciting people in Soweto to throw stones. The police have the names of journalists responsible but will not divulge them.

Opposition MPs today called for charges to be laid against those involved and against reporters who wrote false reports.

Asked today whether he was trying to manage the news, Mr le Grange replied: "No, not at all. We are taking the Press through the areas concerned and they can see what is going on. They can go with the police so that they can report in an orderly manner."

The Minister was told that reporters complained yesterday that the police did not take them to

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NPU protests at ban on Press

From Page 1

places where they wanted to go to form their own impressions.

The Minister said yesterday he had asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof, to withdraw permits to enter townships.

The police had a job to do and people had to realise that they should not be hindered.

The Minister said co-operation from local TV had helped damp down unrest.

"As soon as people see a TV camera or any other camera they start performing We can't allow South Africa to be made into a huge TV studio."

Special permits signed yesterday by Brigadier J F Rossouw. Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Western Province, to allow depporters and photographers access into the townships, were withdrawn by order from Pretoria this morning.

The withdrawal today of the special permits means that only the crime reporter and one photographer from each newspaper, accompanied by a senior police officer, were allowed into the townships

Mr Ray Swart MP, PFP police spokesman, said the accusations of incitement by pressmen were very serious and "people concerned should be charged without delay so that the claims can be substantiated and the appropriate action taken."

Mr Brian Page, NRP police spokesman, said allegations that overseas pressmen, had been involved in incitement or making false reports should be brought into the open.

The ban was strongly criticised by the president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Mr John Matisonn, today.

POST Editor Mr P Qoboza: Govt failed to learn lesson

'76 frustrations are still ali

THE ruling National Party's preoccupation with race has created unfounded fears in the rulers of this country, which they now use as justification for their oppressive policies, the editor of POST, Mr Percy Qoboza, said on Monday evening.

In a speech read on his behalf at a June 16 commemoration service in Mankweng, near Pietersburg, Mr Qoboza said South Africa had failed to understand the lessons of 1976.

"This same frustrations, the same issues that evoked the anger and bitterness, are still at issue today. The structures of apartheid still remain intact."

"Imprisonment without trial is still the Government's answer to the legitimate expressions of our people. Bannings and banishment continue to be the white man's response to our plea for human rights and respect for human fellows. Farcical independence to barren burnt out veld is still being offered to us as a substitute to genuine political rights."

Mr Qoboza said that as long as domination of the majority persisted, "peace and stability will continue to painfully evade this nation." He added that attempts to persuade the Government to release political prisoners and initiate meaningful dialogue were met with arrogant denunciation as being part of the international conspiracy.

He called on the Prime Minister to stop talking about change and instead start enacting laws that would throw every racist in his party into jail.

"What I am saying to the National Party tonight is that we refuse to be party to your dangerous and futile policies of separation.

"We refuse to adapt to your unilateral decision making processes. We demand full citizenship in the land of our birth. It is not a gift from the National Party but a gift from the hand of God. We do not underestimate your capacity to hold on to power, but it will be equally stupid to underestimate our determination to be free," Mr Qoboza added.

The chairman of the Black Academic Staff Association (Turfloop), Mr C S Maja, said the

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struggle in South Africa had become a struggle for the recognition of the black man's humanity and his refusal to apologise for being black.

"While white South Africa may ignore or even deny this legitimate struggle, it does so at its own peril."

The highly emotional service, attended by about 500 people, was characterised by moving poetry, freedom songs and shouts of "Amandla."

Police revoke Press ruling

STAR 19/6/80 274

Police today lifted the ban on local pressmen entering areas of unrest — but stated that newsmen would still have to liaise with police before going into such areas.

The ban on Press entering Soweto and other areas was announced at a Press conference on Tuesday by Lieutenant-Colonel Leon Mellet. He told foreign correspondents and television crews — including SABC-TV — they would not be allowed to enter trouble spots.

Later that day he announced a total ban on entering trouble spots, but added that selected newsmen from local newspapers would be allowed to enter such areas under police escort.

Today Colonel Mellet said local newsmen should approach the divisional commissioner of their area who would give permission to enter black townships. The divisional commissioner would decide whether newsmen should be accompanied by a police escort.

He said newspapers should be responsible in how they used this facility.

Announcing the ban on Tuesday, Colonel Mellet said foreign newsmen had allegedly incited coloured youths to give black power salutes.

Economy escapes unrest damage — for the present

By GERALD REILLY
Pretoria Bureau

ECONOMISTS say the civil unrest has had no noticeable impact so far on business prospects. They warn, however, that if political solutions to South Africa's problems are not found, economic difficulties could arise.

This is the view of some economists and Opposition politicians spoken to yesterday

However, they stressed that the troubles were unlikely to have any marked effect on the internal economic pace, or on overseas investment in South Africa

But London newspaper commentators have warned of a heightened concern among investors and industrialists because of growing urban violence.

The PFP's financial spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, said spending and investment in South Africa had hardly been affected by the unrest

"This is an indication of the strength of the economy. Against a different background, the economic consequences could have been serious. The economy has taken the troubles in its stride"

Referring to the effect on overseas investment in South Africa, Mr Schwarz said the world had become accustomed to disorder Urban violence and disorder was not a new problem to Western democracies, and he did not think that overseas investment in SA would be affected

However, if the political problems confronting South Africa were not dealt with speedily, and violence increased economic problems would also grow

The Secretary for Finance, Dr Joep de Loor, said the fact that South Africa raised a R120-million loan in West Germany on favourable terms after the Sasol incident — and after the start of the school boycotts — was an indication that the unrest would have little, if any, effect on South Africa's economic advance

However, if the unrest dragged on and intensified, there would be reason for concern, said Dr De Loor

Barclays Bank's chief economist, Dr Johan Cloete, said the unrest and the manner in which the authorities dealt with it could affect the pace of the economy

Disturbances of the kind South Africa was now experiencing always had harmful economic effects

However, economic conditions were so favourable that the adverse effect of the disturbances were being counterbalanced

But if the unrest continued, business, and consumer confidence would be adversely affected as they were after the Soweto troubles in 1976 The 1977 slump was caused mainly by the Soweto disturbances

Another risk, Dr Cloete said, was that unless the unrest ended and the correct remedial action was taken by the authorities, South Africa's export trade could be affected

Overseas buyers might lose confidence in South Africa's ability to maintain regular supplies trade boycotts could be applied, and, as had happened before, trade unions might "black" South African cargoes.

Mr G J J Snyman, an economist with the Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosh, believed the effects of the instability in South Africa would have only a minimal effect on overseas investors' confidence

"You only have to look at the stability of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange to realise that investors have accepted the risk of political instability"

Mr Snyman said there were so many plus factors in the economy that the effect of the disturbances could be discounted

Economically, the unrest could not be compared with the Soweto riots of 1976 At that time, South Africa was in a recession and the climate was in any case unfavourable for investment

The director of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Dr Johan van Zyl, said South Africa was in a transitional period in its constitutional development — "which is normally not a stable time"

"However, the happenings in this country recently must be seen in perspective and against this background Problems and difficulties will arise along the way, but we must keep cool heads."

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POLITICAL STAFF

reportedly died in the Western nging to at least 42 the number of past 36 hours of unrest.

ed down on information, refusing to give of deaths and injuries in the worst racial y since 1976.



But a Rand Daily Mail correspondent in Cape Town reports that the death toll, calculated from information from hospital sources, was at least 42 and could be higher.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said last night "We will not reveal figures at this stage"

He declined to say why

He referred instead to a statement by the Commissioner of Police General Mike Geldenhuys who said last night

UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIO

and strikes

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decrease in government expenditure

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said last night "We will not reveal figures at this stage"

He declined to say why

He referred instead to a statement by the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, who said last night that 'a number of people were killed and several more were injured"

Earlier, Gen Geldenhuys warned the police would shoot to kill any person found looting, committing arson or endangering the lives of others.

Sapa reports that two hours later he withdrew the statement and issued another, in which he said police had explicit instructions to maintain law and order at all costs

Looters and arsonists in particular could expect no mercy

He added that knife wounds and injuries sustained in stone-throwing accounted for about half of those hurt

Fifteen of the injured were white motorists whose cars had been stoned, and several policemen were also hurt, he said

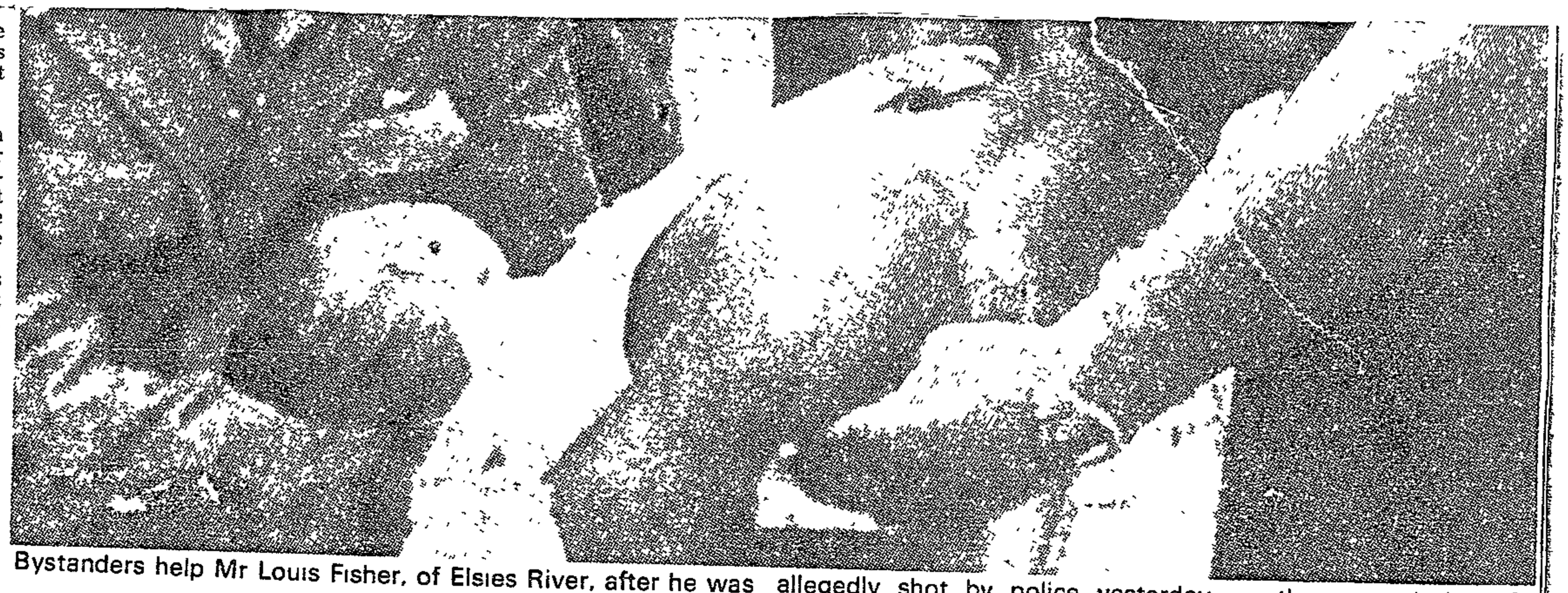
The police clampdown led to an immediate demand by the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on police matters, Mr Ray Swart, for "full and frank disclosure of the true situation facing the country"

"Any suggestion of a cover-up, or any suspicion that news is being suppressed will do South Africa more harm than the facts of the unrest itself, he said

Reports of sporadic incidents of unrest continued yesterday

In Johannesburg, 260 Lenasia Indian High School pupils were arrested and later released.

In Uitenhage, police used teargas and dogs to disperse strikers as labour action spread in the area About 5 000 workers are now involved in strikes in Uitenhage, and the Volkswagen plant was closed down until further notice.



Bystanders help Mr Louis Fisher, of Elsies River, after he was allegedly shot by police yesterday — the second day of shooting, arson and stone-throwing on the Cape Flats.

19/6/80
RD M

Riot police reportedly baton-charged and used tearsmoke to disperse stone-throwing students at the Indian University of Durban-Westville

Information given to the "Mail s" sister newspaper, the Cape Times, by a number of sources yesterday — in response to a call to readers to "give us the facts" — indicates that while the number of riot deaths recorded at five hospitals in the Peninsula yesterday totalled 42, it is feared the toll is even higher

Several hundred people were also injured on Tuesday night and yesterday, many of them during police action in a wave of stonings, looting and arson

Riot deaths recorded at Western Cape hospitals up to 5pm yesterday were: Groote Schuur 13, Conradie 16, Woodstock eight and Victoria Hospital, Wynberg, three

There were two recorded deaths at Tygerberg Hospital, Parow, yesterday, but the figure for Tuesday night could not be ascertained

Deaths on admission to Groote Schuur on Tuesday night and yesterday were mainly from bullet wounds

In addition to the death and injury toll, several million rands' damage has been inflicted in the Western Cape.

While the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, warned of relentless action against "violent, hooligan elements", the PFP leader, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, said police found themselves in an almost impossible position of having to maintain law and order in a community which found itself in a political vacuum

● See Page 2

RDM 19/6/80.

European media slam SA

(274)

By STANLEY UYS
London Bureau

LONDON. — Criticism of South Africa's policies in the Western European Press has been increasing steadily since the start of the coloured schools boycott. This criticism has been accompanied by increasing disillusionment over Mr P W Botha's apartheid reforms.

As news came in yesterday of the mounting death toll in Cape Town, and of the police order to "shoot to kill", South African circles in Europe braced themselves for an even fiercer blast of media criticism.

South Africa made the front pages of all three Dutch national newspapers yesterday morning with reports on the unrest in Cape Town.

"Deaths follow coloured revolt in South Africa," said the conservative, top-selling De Telegraaf.

"Deaths in Cape Town riots", echoed the left-wing Volkskrant, one of the country's most influential newspapers.

The Dutch can neither understand nor accept what they see as the unnecessary harshness of the South African police response to the rioting, and every major Dutch newspaper has condemned Pretoria's policies in editorial comment.

The conservative De Telegraaf, which usually takes a sympathetic view of South Africa's problems, commented: "No wonder the supporters of an oil boycott see proof in the latest developments of their theory that only heavy pressure will persuade Pretoria to give up its apartheid policy."

In France, the mass media have been harshly clobbering South Africa over police orders to shoot to kill. The word "skollie" has suddenly entered the French language. Over and above the noise and blood of the past few days, the biggest shock in Paris is over the recent racial slur made by Minister Hennie Smit.

But the real damage to South Africa's reputation has been done by television coverage of the clashes between police and demonstrators in the townships.

Last night, BBC Television showed a film taken by a West German cameraman who was bundled into a police van after he had been ordered to leave the scene of clashes. The cameraman was filming a young coloured boy lying next to a truck when police in camouflage uniform spotted him.

They shouted at him to leave and advanced on him, waving their hands, as he continued to film them. They fired a tear gas canister in his direction, and then, in an altercation, could clearly be heard swearing at him, using profane language. Then they bundled him into the van.

The incident created an appalling impression. The police seemed to have lost their tempers — and even to be panicking.

Some newsmen defy SAP's riot-areas ban

Some foreign newsmen have ignored the ban on going into troubled black areas says Mr William Nicholson, chairman of the Foreign Correspondents' Association

They will continue to do so "if they think they can get away with it," he added

He said an American TV crew went filming in the Cape Flats yesterday and an American news photographer had gone into Soweto on Tuesday night.

None of them had problems. "They just avoided the police," Mr Nicholson said.

He added that the dangers of defying the ban were underlined yesterday by the arrest of a West German TV cameraman who was reported to have been tear-gassed and taken away for filming a coloured boy lying on the ground in a riot zone

The ban was imposed on Tuesday by the police on the ground that foreign newsmen had been inciting protesting pupils.

The Star's London Bureau says the riots are front-page news in all Britain's national newspapers today.

Details of up to 60 deaths formed the major story in several of the newspapers, including The Times and The Guardian.

Television and radio also gave prominent coverage to the riots, and several newspapers carry background features

the conflict The Guardia
and the Daily Mirror hav
editorials on South Africa

The Times concentrate
on the "relentless action
threatened by the author
ties to suppress the rio
ting. The order to the
police to "shoot to kill"
is strongly played up in
most stories.

Shoot to kill statement is withdrawn

STAR 19/6/80

274

A South African Police spokesman said today that there had been a "misunderstanding" about a statement issued yesterday that the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, had ordered the force to "shoot to kill" looters and arsonists in trouble spots.

Lieutenant-Colonel Leon Mellet, head of the SAP public relations directorate, said that the statement — which made international headlines — should have read "The people who were killed were mainly identified as looters and arsonists."

The "shoot to kill" statement from the police was transmitted to newspapers throughout South Africa yesterday after a night of violence in the Cape Peninsula.

But about two hours later Sapa reported that General Geldenhuys had withdrawn the statement and issued another, saying police had been instructed to maintain law and order at all costs.

"We withdrew the statement shortly afterwards because it was incorrect," Colonel Mellet said today.

By then, however, the "shoot to kill" statement had been transmitted abroad, and was front-paged in foreign newspapers.

NO MERCY

Colonel Mellet said today that looters and arsonists could not expect any mercy.

"These people are no longer children boycotting schools, but are hooligans and criminal elements out to cause destruction."

He said he could not comment on what was published abroad.

In Pretoria, the Minister of Police, Mr le Grange referred to the "unfortunate choice of words" used yesterday by the police's directorate of public relations that police had orders to shoot to kill.

"These words were withdrawn as soon as we realised they had been used. That is all I want to say about the matter."

Le Grange says death toll is 29

STAR 19/6/80

274

Own Correspondent

The official death toll in the country's present unrest is 29 and 141 people have been injured.

This was stated in Pretoria today by Mr le Grange, Minister of Police.

At a Press conference, Mr le Grange said 62 of the injured had stab wounds or were hurt by flying stones and 15 of these were whites in cars.

He said several policemen were injured and one was murdered.

Mr le Grange said that today all was quiet in South Africa but there were one or two incidents of stone-throwing last night.

"The police will from time to time officially inform you (the Press) of any change in the death toll or number of people injured. We have to make sure of the facts before we can release these figures," Mr le Grange said.

Police had used shotguns and rubber bullets, until the occurrence of arson, looting and murder.

With the situation now

To Page 3, Col 6

BLACK UNREST

fm 20/6/80

Protest moves into streets

Finally ousted from all forms of participation in the SA decision-making process, coloureds this week took their protest into the streets and on to the shopfloors

Much of the violence that resulted in deaths this week was anarchic, for it was born of political frustration

Not even the ineffectual Coloured Representative Council was there to give the coloured people some sort of political expression, let alone the promised all-nominated Coloured Persons Council that has apparently been abandoned And the President s Council could give them little hope for the future

So, given June 16 as an emotional spur, they went on the rampage in an orgy of looting and arson, directed as much against suspected or known labour "scabs" and shopkeepers as at police, railway stations and passenger buses

It reflected the actions of a community running out of control - even though the initial children s protest had elicited a commitment from government not only to redress existing education grievances but also a possible longer-term policy switch (after the customary government inquiry) which may even result in a uniform education policy (in separate institutions)

The intensity of coloured reaction in Cape Town was in contrast with other major urban centres, including Soweto The reason probably lay at a different level of despair

In the aftermath of 1976, government ditched the more unattractive symbols of policy that had caused the Soweto unrest Bantu Education, M C Botha, Manie Mulder Government also planted some hope in the midst of the people of Soweto that the quality of life would improve as a result of the reforms that will flow from the efforts of Louis Rive and his Greater Soweto Planning Council.

Political vacuum

But, for the coloured and black communities of the Cape Flats, even such scant hopes of improvement in their social and physical environment do not exist The former are in a political vacuum that can be filled by nothing less than full citizenship Vicarious participation in the political system through a convoluted President's Council is, to them, an insult

Peninsula Africans have to live with the insult that even their labour is inferior — official policy dictates that they should stand at the back of every job queue, behind whites and coloureds regardless of skill or education

Another explanation for Soweto's relative silence is a lack of leadership and practical organisation as well as the continued sniping between various black groupings It seems, too, that an important rethink is under way in some circles that entails a rejection of street skirmishes as an ineffective form of tokenism What alternatives present themselves in terms of this militant thinking remain unclear

The coloured protest goes beyond the streets In Cape Town some 800 coloured and black workers have united in an attempt to force the meat industry to accept the legitimacy of worker-elected committees And a bus boycott has been dragging on for some weeks

This illustrates that together with the demand for the deracialisation of South African society is a demand for a more equitable order The *FM* was repeatedly told in contacts with people close to the Cape unrest "The real battle is economic"

The bus and red-meat boycotts bear indirect testimony to this economic emphasis Clearly, the black community of the Cape knows its economic power — as the 50% to 80% stay-away on Monday and Tuesday amply illustrated The *FM* understands some 40 civic bodies and action committees are co-ordinating the bus boycott

The economic emphasis reflected in the Cape extends north beyond the Hex River Mountains Volkswagen workers downed tools this week The Natal textile workers strike at one point had all the appearances of a repetition of the 1973 Durban strikes And no labour observer would be so rash as to predict anything but an increase in black labour action

Generally, the extent of militant black opposition to government is increasing Divisions between radical black groups continue to militate against any real unity of purpose or action But there are both internal and external factors that can be expected to lead to a form of unity, either through informal affiliation or an articulated organisational structure



Confrontation between police and blacks a community running out of control

Externally the banned African National Congress has, according to reports, won the diplomatic battle The other exiled movements have either self-destructed through infighting (the Pan Africanist Congress) proved totally ineffective in their own terms (the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania), or lack the logistics necessary for their purposes (the South African Youth Revolutionary Council) Internally this can be expected to force revolutionary blacks to come under ANC aegis — there is no logistic alternative.

In addition, blacks who have aligned themselves in the past with the black consciousness movement, Inkatha or less overt groupings appear now to view ideological disagreement as an expensive luxury

The challenge to both government and private enterprise is, in the wake of the

'Entry ban only in permit areas'

STAR 20/6/80 279

Pretoria Bureau

Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Police, today explained that the ban on journalists and TV cameramen entering areas of unrest applied only to black areas where permits were needed.

He said that there was nothing to prevent media representatives entering coloured and Indian areas, as no permits were required to enter these areas.

However, any police officer in charge at such areas could order newsmen to "stand to one side" if in the officer's opinion the situation warranted this.

Such an order would be in terms of the normal duties of the police and would have nothing to do with the current ban on entering areas of unrest.

Asked whether the current relative peace did not justify the withdrawal of the ban, Mr le Grange said that the ban would stays as long as "I am satisfied that circumstances warrant it."

He said circumstances did not yet justi restoration of perm on-duty journalists drawn by the Dep of Co-operation an lopment.

Asked to comm report by The Sta Town corre which estimated t told in this week's more than 40 con the official figu

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Mr le Grange said that such allegations were "scandalous."

"It is a black day for the Press when they are not prepared to accept official statistics issued by a Minister," he said.

These reports were published overseas and damaged South Africa abroad, he added.

What millions of UK television viewers saw . . .

Cliff Scott

In London





GEN MIKE GELDENHUYS

PW 'may have lost coloured support'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Cape Town riots "may have alienated the one section of the non-white community from which the South African Government had any hope of support," says the Financial Times in an editorial today.

There was a time when the coloureds were the most natural potential ally of the whites, and, in particular the Atrikaners.

"But instead of fostering coloured support, the Afrikaner government began by taking away the coloured vote and, imprisoned by the rigidities of apartheid, has continued to refuse the community any genuine political power," says the newspaper.

The response of Mr P W Botha's government to coloured frustration had been inadequate.

Ugly face of SAP seen in Britain

STAR 20/6/80 274

By Cliff Scott

LONDON — Police restrictions on reporting disturbances in South Africa this week focused the attention of the international media on the role of the police.

Some very ugly incidents have emerged — incidents which General Mike Geldenhuys might do well to pursue in the interests of the SAP's somewhat battered reputation.

Millions of British TV viewers saw General Geldenhuys's spokesman explaining that he was keeping newsmen out of trouble spots and choosing who "should" be allowed in because the arrival of camera crews tended to create incidents.

Troublemakers waited for TV crews to pitch up so that they could "perform" for the cameras.

Within 24 hours, some of his own policemen were seen to be among the worst sinners in this regard

British television screened graphic scenes of SAP riot police attacking a camera crew.

They were seen waving their arms at the crew, evidently trying to instruct them to stop filming.

Then viewers saw a seemingly demented policeman rush up to a colleague, seize his gun and fire a gas grenade point black at the camera.

Finally, viewers were shown newsmen being herded into a police truck to be taken away.

There really was only one word which could describe the police approach to the newsmen: Ugly.

Of course, the general's "shoot to kill" order (soon retracted) did nothing to improve the police image.

The general has now been projected in some British newspapers as a man eager to get tough and ruthless in his methods.

The London Daily Mail's man in Cape Town, Peter Younghusband describes what he says was the scene in a police station in one of Cape Town's northern Suburbs when General Geldenhuys issued the order.

Younghusband says: "Weary South African riot police in camouflage fatigues were drinking coffee when the telephone rang.

"A sergeant who looked like Ernest Borgnine picked up the phone, listened carefully and then nodded his shaggy head, grinning.

"He put down the receiver and announced: 'The general says we can shoot to kill'"

"Everyone cheered. Someone yelled "Vrystaat." The riot squad, looking like giants refreshed, stormed out and climbed into their vehicles.

"At six next morning, eight hours after the Commisioner of Police gave his order, the death toll was 25."

Some British newsmen have been at pains to stress that the SAP is not simply a barrel full of bad apples.

Several have commented favourably on the restraint shown under extreme provocation.

But there is no doubt that the arrogance of some police, General Geldenhuys's attempt to muzzle the media, and the fact that some victims, as reported here, were young children have generated some hostility towards the SAP and its methods which is not just politically based

Younghusband writes in the Daily Mail: "A cruel and callous streak, one might almost say a criminal element, runs through the SAP as broad as the stripe on a skunk's back.

"There are probably more sadists, racists and bullies to every 1 000 men in the SAP than there have been in any police force since the gestapo."

It is a vicious calumny on thousands of decent "coppers" doing a difficult job and certainly not enjoying it.

But it underlines the need to weed out the sadists and the bullies — such as some we saw on television this week.

● The "shoot to kill" statement was retracted soon after being issued to the Press. It was put down to a misunderstanding.

Riots don't worry lobbyists

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Washington-based lobbyists who have been hired to boost South Africa's image in America say they do not expect incidents like the Cape Town riots to hurt their effectiveness.

The lobbyists are Mr Kim Hallamore, an experienced government relations consultant, and a prestige law firm, Smathers Symington and Herlong, which is headed by former congressmen

Mr Hallamore's job is to "encourage a balanced and fair assessment" of South Africa and "create a better understanding" among US Government leaders, members of Congress and business firms.

Mr Hallamore (70), a well-known figure in Washington, said he was "still formulating thoughts" about his new job.

He said: "The rioting you have been having is no worse than we experienced in Miami and I don't expect it to hamper my work"

Like Mr Hallamore, the law firm is to engage in political propaganda as defined by American law, but it will do so in letters, speeches and "personal discussions."

Mr James Symington, a former congressman, laughed at a tongue-in-cheek question recalling the Muldergate scandal: Might he try to buy a Washington newspaper for the South African Government? "I might go out and buy today's edition," he said.

Mr Symington described this week's disturbances in Cape Town as extremely distressing. "We hope we can have better things to report from South Africa in future," he said

But he equated the riots with incidents in America and said they did not affect the firm's brief

Editor defies troublespot Press ban

STAR 274 20/6/80 ~~257~~

In the front page story in today's edition of the Post (Transvaal), the editor, Mr Percy Qoboza, says he will defy the ban imposed on journalists by the police on coverage of "trouble spots."

Mr Qoboza says that because the ban was not imposed under a specific law but under ministerial edict, he will instruct his news editor to send reporters into trouble spots to cover any unrest.

And if any of the Post staff are arrested by police, Mr Qoboza says he will send in senior staff and even go into trouble spots himself and face arrest.

"If I get arrested, then at least I will sit in that prison with dignity and honour both to my profession and in the defence of one of the greatest principles of democracy — the right of the people to know," Mr Qoboza says.

● It now appears, however, that in the absence of any other law, the police are controlling the area through the system of issuing permits to whites to enter black townships. Therefore Mr Qoboza and all blacks have free access to Soweto and other townships.

The police ban does not apply to the major riot areas of the Cape or in any coloured or Indian areas. Police did attempt for several hours this week to apply such a ban. During the worst riot of all, however, surprised Cape Town pressmen reported that they had never had such good co-operation from the police.

STAR 20/6/80

SA like volcano says Hendrickse

(740)

The leader of the coloured Labour Party, the Rev Abel Hendrickse, said in London the current unrest indicated a "total rejection" by non-whites of the apartheid system.

In an interview yesterday with a London radio station he said: "There has to be some talking."

The use of coloured and black policemen to quell the rioting was a "conscious movement of antagonising people in their communities."

The situation in South Africa was "like sitting on a volcano that has erupted, that can subside, but can also erupt at any time," Mr Hendrickse said.

Mr Dirk Mudge, the DTA leader who is in London for talks with the British Government, told a BBC interviewer: "We have abolished apartheid completely. I'm sure there will have to be a change in that direction in South Africa."

The Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev Simeon Nkoane, has appealed for a week of national fasting and prayer from next Sunday to persuade the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to meet church leaders over "the worsening crisis in our country," in an open letter to all Christians in South Africa.

In Washington, Mrs Cardiss Collins, the leader of the black caucus in the House of Representatives, urged the Congress "to apply all its persuasive might on the Botha Government."

Mr Peter Kostmayer, a liberal Democrat, said: "Bishop Desmond Tutu has wisely counselled peaceful resistance, not violent reaction, to the repressive South African Government."

Most of Fleet Street's quality newspapers today quote the Minister of Police, Mr le Grange, announcing the official death toll.

In a front-page report in The Times, Nicholas Ashford says Mr le Grange told the Foreign Correspondents' Association the "Shoot to kill" statement was a mistake. — The Star Bureaux, The Star's Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter.

As unrest subsides, official death toll now 32

STAR 20/6/80 (274)

Own Correspondent

The official death toll in this week's unrest has risen to 32.

Lieutenant-Colonel Leon Mellet of the Directorate of Public Relations of the police said two more people had died, one in Bloemfontein hospital and the other in hospital in the Cape.

Of the 32 deaths in the unrest so far, 29 have been in the Western Cape, one in the Boland and two in Bloemfontein.

It has been reported, however, that the death toll is as high as 42.

This has been denied by the Minister of Police, Mr le Grange, and the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys.

Hospital sources in the Western Cape have placed the death toll at more than 40 but it is not known whether all these people died as a result of police bullets.

Mr le Grange said in Pretoria last night 174 people had been injured — 100 of them knifed or injured in stone-throwing incidents.

Only one major incident of unrest occurred in the troubled Cape Flats yesterday when police used teargas to disperse a crowd of 300 chanting people in Elsies River. No shots were fired.

It is believed many more were injured but that their injuries were not reported to police.

Life began returning to normal yesterday in the riot-torn areas.

Several shops and buildings, which had been destroyed by fire, were demolished and the rubble removed.

Halt Road, the scene of most of the unrest, was continuously patrolled by riot police vans.

It was the focus of attention for a short time when a field used by a local team for rugby practice, caught fire soon after 7 pm.

A fire tender accompanied by three vanloads of riot police, soon put the fire out.

In Modderdam Road, where it meets the freeway, a smouldering car seat lay in the road. There was also evidence of stone-throwing.

Damage in the troubled Cape Flats is estimated at millions of rands.

Early this morning arsonists set alight a car in Manlyn Walk, Hanover Park.

The blaze was put out

To Page 3, Col 5

US warns SA over 'shoot-to-kill' orders

WASHINGTON — The United States warned South Africa on Wednesday that unless the Government did not use restraint in dealing with racial unrest, relations between the two countries could be impaired

The Assistant Secretary for State, Mr Richard Moose, conveyed the message to the South African Ambassador, Mr Donald Sole

Referring to reports that South African forces had been given "shoot-to-kill" orders in dealing with rioting black and coloured people, Mr Moose said such lack of restraint would inevitably impair relations between the two countries.

Officials said this did not mean an official break in relations, but declined to be more specific about the warning.

A Department spokesman, Mr Hodding Carter, said earlier that Mr Moose had deplored the growing violence in South Africa and called for the South African Government to use the utmost restraint in establishing order — Sapa-Reuter

Police look into Press incitement allegations

Political Staff

POLICE are investigating allegations that certain foreign correspondents and television newsmen incited blacks to stage stone-throwing and other incidents during nationwide unrest earlier this week.

Announcing the investigation at a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday, the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, appealed to the Foreign Correspondents' Association to submit to the police any information its members might have on the alleged incidents

But, challenged by indignant foreign correspondents to release information the police claim to have in their possession, Mr Le Grange said he was not prepared to go into details until the investigation had been completed.

Police banned the Press from entering unrest areas earlier this week after claiming they had obtained information that certain foreign correspondents and television crews were inciting blacks to stage stone-throwing incidents.

Mr Le Grange said yesterday that local and foreign Pressmen would be allowed into unrest areas under police escort, but he could not say at this stage when the ban on free entry would be lifted

SAP lashed in UK Press riot reports

RDM 20/4/80.

London Bureau

LONDON. — The unrest in South Africa dominated the British media yesterday at a level scarcely seen since 1976

Condemnation of the SAP included a comparison between them and Hitler's Gestapo

In a full-page feature in the Rightwing Daily Mail, under the headline "The police who cheered the order to shoot to kill", correspondent Peter Younghusband said there was a period of "commendable" police restraint after the first shooting of two pupils at Elsies River

But when rioting stepped up and a constable was stabbed to death, Younghusband says, the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, told the Prime Minister and the Minister of Police that he refused to "pussyfoot around", and the Government "let him have his own way"

In his verdict on what followed, Younghusband said that ". . . there are probably more sadists, racists and bullies to every 1 000 men in the SAP than there has been in any police force since the Gestapo"

The mass circulation Daily Mirror, which carried the frontpage headline: "Police gun down mob in riot frenzy — 60 die in rampage of hate", warned in a main leading article that bloodshed in South Africa was only beginning.

"The years of repression are bringing their inevitable violence," said the Mirror

The front page of The Times was dominated by the headline "South Africa threatens relentless action to suppress rioting."

Many other newspaper front pages throughout Britain and Europe, including those of leading papers such as the Paris-based International Herald Tribune, were dominated by the crisis

The British provincial Press is also concentrating on the South African situation, and the conservative Scotsman yesterday carried an indictment of apartheid and the police in its leader columns that illustrates the depth of concern even in rural Britain

The Scotsman said "In its way, the South African authorities' coyness about the number of dead and injured in the rioting in a coloured suburb of Cape Town is very revealing it is a sign of insecurity, of fear

"The South African Government is always anxious to proclaim that a state of tranquility, of normality, prevails in its own domain, and there is a tendency in State-controlled broadcasts there (as in the Soviet Union) to gloat over, and to exaggerate, the problems of countries such as Britain

"But apartheid is a policy which provokes constant irritation among its victims, and when this boils over into outright rage, as in Cape Town this week, the only official answer is repression. Unctuously, police chiefs deplore the violence, but routine police violence is a major part of the explanation both for peaceful and furious protest.

"The boycott by coloured students of their inferior education system has been, for the most part, peaceful, although the police contrived to shoot two children. This week's riots were an explosion of rage, a desperate gesture

"It is a tribute to the folly of the South African Government that the colouredd community, traditionally docile and rather conservative, should now be showing its anger by rioting as well as by boycotts."

The Scotsman adds "So far, the Government has shown no sign of listening to black and coloured complaints, to white expressions of concern, or to the voice of business, at home and abroad, urging liberalisation before conflict reaches unmanageable proportions"

Police PRO's plea to the Press: Stop hitting me

RDM 21/6/80

Staff Reporter

THE chief media liaison officer of the Police Directorate of Public Relations, Lieutenant-Colonel Leon Mellet, complained yesterday that he was overworked neither ate nor slept — and on top of that the Press kept "hitting" him

There was a "concerted effort on the part of the local and foreign Press to slam the directorate, he said

'We are going out of our way to help the media so that they, in turn, could keep the public well informed But all the Press does is vilify us "

He was asked, in view of the international news coverage given to police action during the present unrest, to comment on criticism of the police and, in particular, the directorate, charging that

o There was still considerable confusion as to who issued the controversial "shoot to kill" statement,

o There was an apparent lack of co-operation between the directorate, the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, and the Minister of Police Mr Louis le Grange, and that this led to confusion as to who was the official spokesman for the police;

o The police action had caused South Africa considerable damage abroad,

o The handling by Col Mellet of the recent Press conference with foreign correspondents created the impression that the directorate was badly informed and could not answer journalists' questions, and that

o Police refused to keep the Press informed by declining to give the number of people killed and injured.

'These are very unfair questions " Col Mellet said

"There is a concerted effort on the part of the local and foreign Press to slam the directorate "

Despite everything he was doing for the Press, newsmen were constantly "hitting" him, he said

'What are the foreign journalists complaining about? I took 40 of them into troubled areas to show them everything

"I'm not sleeping I'm not eating. I'm working my backside off and then still get a kick in the backside."

Because the South African Police had made the headlines overseas there was no reason why they should be vilified in South Africa, he said

Col Mellet said Mr Le Grange had already answered all queries about the "shoot to kill statement And he said there had, in fact, never been such a order

'The warning that in future no mercy would be granted to looters and arsonists was issued after the shootings "

At a Press conference this week, Mr Le Grange said Gen Geldenhuys had not read the controversial statement, issued on his behalf by the directorate, and that the "choice of words" in the statement was "most unfortunate"

Col Mellet said yesterday the directorate never denied the Press any information He only received orders from the Commissioner and the Minister of Police to convey certain information to the Press

"We work under tremendous pressure and people must really stop hitting us," he said

Unrest brings wave of concern

LONDON — Concern at the unrest in South Africa was expressed in British House of Commons yesterday

And African Foreign Ministers meeting in Sierra Leone, expressed support for the 'national liberation struggle of the South African people

The British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said she condemned apartheid and violence wherever it occurred

She was replying to a question by an Opposition Labour Party MP Mr Stan Newens, who demanded she 'denounce the police brutality with which the South African authorities have suppressed the riots in South Africa

Labour's Shadow Foreign Secretary, Mr Peter Shore, warned that South Africa was at the crossroads and time was fast running out to avoid serious bloodshed

They can carry on with apartheid and internal repression against increasing difficulty resistance and violence, or they can reappraise fundamentally the whole course of development of their unhappy society" he said

Next Friday the House of Commons is to debate reports that 33 British companies operating in South Africa are paying their black workers "starvation" wages

The companies were identified through reports submitted to the British Board of Trade in terms of the European Common Market code for companies operating in South Africa

In Freetown Sierra Leone yesterday, a 50-nation meeting of Foreign Ministers expressed support for "the national liberation struggle of the South African people in all its forms, including the armed struggle'

A resolution unanimously adopted, called on the United Nations Security Council "to impose obligatory and global sanctions against South Africa under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter including an oil embargo'

The resolution called on all member states of the OAU and the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries "to take unilateral collective or regional measures to end oil deliveries to South Africa' by the multinational oil companies

The resolution reiterated previous OAU condemnations of racial discrimination in all its forms in South Africa and called for continuous economic, political, diplomatic and military pressure to impose black majority rule -- Sapa



protestors violence?

274
S. Post
22/6/80

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dreds of others.
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The whole focus on June 16 was on Soweto. Here, it was believed, that there would be trouble. The Minister of Police warned action would be taken in the event of unrest.

However, June 16 memorial services having



The cops move in — and violence flares.

Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Ambrose Reeves. Although it was planned as a peaceful demonstra-

died, and at least 200 were wounded.

The Government's re-

the general student body.

The Government, of course, had been cautious throughout, and a series of "security" laws had been introduced over the years since Sharpeville — and was implemented.

Then came June 1976, again planned as a peaceful march to Orlando Stadium, where a mass protest meeting was to be held to discuss the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

The police intercepted the marching students — and when the first shots were fired, it marked the beginning of another event of bloodshed and chaos.

Then this week, it happened all over again. Memorial services in several major areas were banned and the police

SUNDAY POST, June 22, 1980



Why do
turn to

**JOE LATAKGOMO looks at the historical patt
tion to the South African Government.**

SOUTH AFRICA went up in flames again this we
death of at least 40 people and the injury of hun
It did not happen in Soweto, flashpoint of
this was not totally unexpected.
Why did unrest suddenly increase in the Cape
against inferior education? Why did what was
demonstrations suddenly turn into a violent nigh
The exact number of people who lost the
known. The Commissioner of Police Gen Mike G
ures reported in the media this week were misle
— the police should know better, he said — was
The background to events like this must al
vious events. There is a definite link — all of the
violent, but turned into bloodshed.

22/6/20
POST

been banned in most of the major black areas, there was no way for the emotion-charged people to vent their emotions.

Perhaps it is necessary to ask why there was no bloodshed in 1978 and 1979, when June 16 services were left to go on without much interference.

It is significant, therefore, that the major difference between those two years, and this year's planned services, was that this year the Government tried to clamp down.

When the coloured boycott started, it reminded me of what a prominent black spokesman once said: "As the circle in which I moved in Johannesburg widened, I realised that the ferment that was in me was in everybody else."

Black unrest has a history of starting off as non-violent, but becoming violent because of police actions.

One only has to look back a few years to observe the pattern. In March, 1960, the PAC and the ANC planned peaceful anti-pass campaigns.

The ANC were to hold their campaign in collaboration with the Organisation of 14 under the

tion of the hatred of the pass laws, people like Chief Albert Luthuli opposed such steps as they believed they were too hasty and rash.

However, the spirit of militancy had taken root. Neither the ANC nor the PAC could provide evidence of success achieved through any other form of action. Those who believed there was still room for negotiation were relegated to the back seat, just like those still hoping for peaceful negotiation now are considered weak.

PLANNING

In planning the campaign for the PAC, it was believed that if the legal machinery of the Government can be thrown into chaos, by people handing themselves over because they had no passes, the Government might be forced to take action or resign.

There would also be a "stayaway". On March 21, the PAC mustered 15 000 people in Sharpeville and another 6 000 at Langa and Nyanga. It is history now that everything was peaceful until the police opened fire — and finally 70 people

action — as in the aftermath of June 16 — was one of repression. A state of emergency was declared in 120 magisterial districts, the ANC and the PAC were banned, and more than 1 000 people were arrested.

Those who escaped the police dragnet left the country and went to neighbouring Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, from where some of them left for other African countries, Europe and the United States.

The same pattern was followed after June 16, 1976.

Two years later, after the release of Mr Potlako Leballo, the PAC's underground movement, Poqo, was crushed after documents were seized during a raid on the organisation's Maseru headquarters.

The apparent calm that followed probably gave the Government a feeling of security. However, the beginning of 70's heralded student participation in the struggle.

This, in turn, led to the rousing of political awareness on a scale never seen before among

were out in full force to act against those who defied the ban.

SHOOT

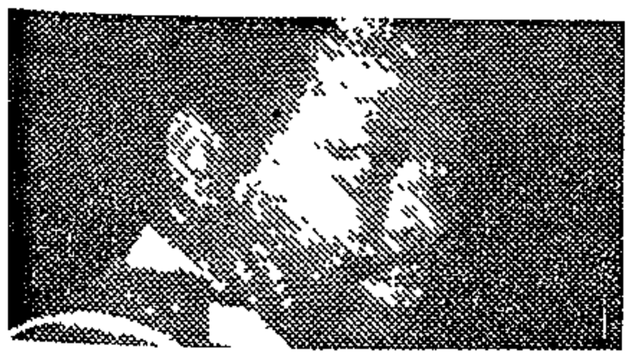
Not only that — the Commissioner of Police told his men to "shoot to kill". This statement, plus the ban on June 16 services, were seen as provocative, rather than preventive.

Although the police have said most of those shot to death were looters and arsonists, it is significant to note that the violence only escalated after the first shootings.

Unfortunately, the "shoot to kill" remark will not help bring the situation to normal — despite an assurance by the Minister of Police that the statement was withdrawn soon after the Directorate of Information had issued it.

The fact is, some policemen may have taken the remark at face value, and carried out the order to the letter. We will never be able to establish that. However, we know the result: thirty — or 40 or 60, whatever the figure may be — have lost their lives.

22/6/80 SUN TRIB (274)



Dr Oscar Dhlomo

Prime Minister Botha gave millions of South Africans hope for a peaceful future with his promises of change but today those millions are still hoping and waiting...



Prime Minister Botha

Today Inkatha Secretary-General OSCAR DHLOMO gives his view...

It was such a beautiful noise...



22/6/80

SUN TRIBE

Widespread unrest . . . . what has happened to the new deal?

have peace and stability in South Africa.

It is now history that the Schlebusch report did not adopt a single proposal we put forward. Instead a separate black council, which will have a semi-advisory function, has been created.

To add insult to injury, Minister Smit explained the other day that the reason why there is a separate black council is because we blacks are slow thinkers. Inkatha has therefore refused to have anything to do with this separate black council.

It is surprising that this Government hopes to succeed in fostering minority rule (white, coloured, Indian, Chinese) in South Africa while it so vehemently rejects majority rule.

Whilst we have seen many majority-rule regimes around us, we have never seen a minority rule government in the democratic Western world which has been able to wield power permanently. These are axioms with which the Government should come to terms.

As for June 16, we know that in 1976, children were complaining about the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium for instruction. Now in 1980 they are complaining about the numerous inequalities in our education system. These are two sides of the same coin.

While we have condemned the methods the students have used in expressing their grievances, we unequivocally declare that we whole-heartedly sympathise with their grievances.

Expert education opinion is remarkably united on the issue that what we need in our country is a uniform educational system properly funded and geared towards training students of all races to meet the future and the needs of this country.

If the education commission that the Prime Minister has announced aims at achieving this objective, then it needs to be given all the support it deserves. But if the Prime Minister is still thinking in terms of an ethnically fragmented education system for the country, then he will be sowing the seeds of continued unrest in our schools.

So, as we take stock today, we are definitely not persuaded to believe that the Government is seriously contemplating abolishing racial discrimination and planning a national convention where all leaders will participate in drawing up a new constitution for the country.

From time to time people have asked Inkatha what it would consider as real change in South Africa. We have repeatedly stated that the following steps on the part of the Government would be accepted by us as a genuine move in the right direction.

- The abolition of all forms of discrimination. Laws that entrench discrimination should be repealed and not reformed or applied more humanely. For this purpose the Government should therefore draw up, in consultation with all leaders, a clear programme aimed at abolishing discrimination within a specified time.
- The Government must unequivocally commit itself to the principles of power-sharing involving all of South Africa — and not only majority groups. The mechanics of power-sharing can then be a subject for discussion at a national convention.
- The Government must also commit itself to the convening of a national convention where all the leaders (including those who are banned, in prison or exile) will be represented. If the Government has a problem with the concept of a national convention, then it should at least clearly endorse the principle that any political intervention that will be internally and externally acceptable to South Africans is the one that will have been worked out jointly by all the people of South Africa.
- The Government must forget the notion that blacks are not South African citizens. Coupled with this, must come the realisation that South Africa is one state which should not be unilaterally fragmented into small pseudo states that are not economically viable.

The problem we face is that of time. Time is running out and the three basic conditions I have enumerated above may be overtaken by events within a year or two. Already while we inside the country still talk in terms of "power sharing", those of our people who are struggling from abroad are now talking in terms of the "seizure of power".

This is a clear indication that what is negotiable today might not be negotiable tomorrow.

Lastly, may I also warn the Government that those of us who are still talking in terms of negotiations are not doing so out of weakness but out of a belief that it is not wise to destroy what one is fighting for.

Chief Buthelezi, the President of Inkatha, could for instance assemble one of the most effective and disciplined guerrilla forces this continent has ever known, bearing in mind the military history and prowess of the people he leads.

Is it not a blessing that despite all this power (or probably because of it), Chief Buthelezi has still chosen to walk the lonely path of non-violence?

It is, for this reason therefore, that the Buthelezi Commission, which will look into the future of KwaZulu and Natal within the context of South Africa, should be given all the support it deserves, not only by the people of Natal but all South Africans who still cherish the ideal of peaceful change.

The Buthelezi Commission represents our belief that, given the constitutional latitude, Natalians can devise a formula that will accommodate all groups and thus pave the way for a constitutional arrangement that will be acceptable to all South Africans.

2/6/80

Sun TRIBE

THE 1980 Parliamentary session has just ended, the Schlebusch Commission of Inquiry into the constitution has just produced its report, and June 16 has come to pass. South Africans are obviously asking themselves if the events above have enhanced the possibilities of change in South Africa.

People who heard and took seriously Prime Minister P. W. Botha's promising noises just before the start of the Parliamentary session are no doubt utterly disappointed. I will count myself among these people who thought that the Prime Minister really meant what he said when he urged his people to "adapt or die".

Clearly we felt that the session which has just ended would be marked by an unprecedented and deliberate Government campaign to slaughter as many holy cows of Afrikanerdom as possible. But when we add up the score after the session, we realise to our dismay that apartheid is still alive and kicking. What is even more distressing is that apartheid is still the cornerstone of Government policy.

One now wonders whether or not the Prime Minister is operating on the same wave length as those of us who are working for change in this country. It seems as if he is speaking in terms of refurbishing apartheid when we speak in terms of fundamental structural change that outlaws apartheid.

If that is the case, then we will soon be overtaken by violence because while our leaders will assure their followers that fundamental change is in the offing, the Government will studiously resist real change and simply insist on refurbishing apartheid.

This state of affairs actually serves to strengthen the view that the Prime Minister and his followers are in fact incapable of spearheading any meaningful change.

They want to be all things to all men and still remain themselves. To blacks they want to be respected agents of change. To their conservative followers they create the impression that there has not been and will never be any change to Government policy, and that what appears to be change is in fact a logical development of the policy of separate development.

As far as the Schlebusch Commission is concerned, it will be recalled that Inkatha gave evidence before this commission despite severe criticism from other groups that refused to give evidence.

Not only did we object to the composition of the all-white commission in our evidence, but we also emphasised the fact that as long as ethnicity was used as a basis for determining people's political rights, we would never

UK Press sees SA on 'a path to war'

RDM 23/6/80.

London Bureau

LONDON. — Heavy-handed action by the South African police, tighter control of the Press, and the drift away from reform by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has brought more reports in British newspapers of the inevitability of war in South Africa.

Only the Rightwing Sunday Telegraph sprang obliquely to South Africa's defence — likening South Africa's reaction to the dilemma of the West in its readiness to resort to nuclear war to defend itself against the Russians

In a leading article the Observer said South Africa was moving towards war at alarming speed

"When a normally peaceful community like the coloureds go on a violent rampage, as in Cape Town last week, it is time the world community woke up to the danger," it said.

"While Mr P W Botha rightly recognises the peril of revolutionary violence, he seems unaware that official violence can be even more dangerous

"The security forces' crude suppression of the coloureds' protest can only fuel more violent opposition in the future This will make it harder for different racial communities to work out their future together."

The Observer said that if urban terrorism were once to take root in Soweto and other large black towns round the white cities, then "more or less peaceful change would become a forlorn hope".

"Violence has grown sharply at a time when significant social and economic changes are occurring But because these have not touched the monopoly of white political power, the real sources of violent discontent remain

"It was only because the Government feared a more violent and radical black opposition that it accepted the need for change, yet growing violence has made it even harder to persuade the white electorate to go further.

"Unless they are persuaded, violence will get worse Mr Botha, for all his faults, understands this danger. So do his army chiefs

"But the white leaders do not know how to make their supporters accept the more radical changes that are needed — when the changes already made have failed to contain the violence The drift to war has begun"

In a report headlined "Catastrophe on the Cape", the Sunday Times of London said the events had "destroyed South Africa's carefully polished new image and exposed the reality behind the promises of reform"

But in the Sunday Telegraph, conservative commentator Peregrine Worsthorne raised the startling argument that the West was willing to resort to thermonuclear war to defend itself against the Russians — "and judged by that yardstick, the South African whites are doing nothing unusual".

"Rather than be ruled by Russia, the Western peoples would be prepared to risk destroying the human race," said Worsthorne "Such is the measure of their detestation of alien domination

"They would go to any length — including the first use of weapons which would poison the earth's surface for hundreds of years and endanger the entire species, most of whom have no interest in the defence of the West — to prevent a Russian takeover."

He continued "In spite of this, many in the West are surprised and even shocked by what the South African whites are prepared to do to defend their way of life What monsters they must be to shoot a few score black and coloured rioters, how can they possibly justify such ruthlessness

"To my mind, there is something a little inconsistent about this Western squeamishness For, if it is so manifestly right for the West to be prepared to wreak universal havoc rather than accept Red rule, why is it so manifestly wrong for the South African whites to kill a few score Africans rather than accept black rule?"

Worsthorne concluded: "Just as we see no alternative, neither do they, just as we shut our eyes and harden our hearts, so do they (Theoretically, of course, the South Africans could partition their country fairly. But, then, so could the Europeans develop enough conventional forces to escape the necessity of reliance on nuclear weapons Unfortunately, in each case, the sacrifices needed for such solutions are beyond the bounds of practical politics).

" This is not because the South Africans are monsters but because, like us, they are caught in a tragic dilemma . . which forces even honourable men to act like cornered animals, for whom reliance on brute instinct has become the only rational guide.

PM's warning

(274) ~~327~~ RDM 23/6/80

THE outbreaks of violence in South Africa had not yet seen the State acting with its full might, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said in a television interview broadcast by SATV last night.

"If we are forced to do so, people will be hurt very much more," he added.

"I am not seeking confrontation, nor am I seeking violence, but if people choose this above reasonableness, above sensible discussion and above consultation, then the State has no choice — then it will have to use its might."

Asked earlier about warnings he had sounded that people and organisations involved in revolutionary activities would "burn their fingers", Mr Botha said there were people who had played with fire and who had burnt their fingers.

The Prime Minister said the security position was generally calm, with points of unrest which flared up, and then again became less dangerous.

The Cape Times

MONDAY, JUNE 23, 1980

The task of the police

A FULL, public and independent inquiry into the ghastly events of last week is essential To insist on this is not to attack or destructively criticize the police It is just the contrary. It is to recognize that the police in South Africa, as a result of our constitutional arrangements and the inadequacy of callous politicians, have been burdened with an impossible task. We, in common with all but the most embittered of South Africans, are more than willing to acknowledge that the police as individuals and as a force discharge their functions in good faith and in terms of the procedures laid down by higher authority The necessity from time to time to shoot people dead by the score is a consequence of the system, not of defects of character or training on the part of the men charged with maintaining law and order.

Inquest inadequate

The routine inquest, the routine response of the politicians on these occasions, is totally inadequate. An inquest is an isolated inquiry, limited to establishing the cause of death and determining whether the law has been infringed The cause of death in last week's unrest is obvious — the victims were shot dead by the police Even if there is no indemnifying legislation to absolve the police and government from all liability, the corollary to any finding is inevitable, that there is is "no evidence" of wrongdoing or law-breaking on the part of the police. The inquest magistrate, however diligent, is investigating the death of an individual and cannot go further. He cannot take into consideration the scores of other deaths He cannot assess the whole machinery of law and order in the light of the shootings at Sharpeville, the 478 men, women and children shot dead by the police in 1976, the 49 men who have died unnatural deaths while in detention. He cannot take into account the seething resentment and frustration of whole communities of force with limited powers in a restricted field. The idea of the friendly neighbourhood policeman, part and parcel of the community he polices, has no place in South Africa. The police are awesome figures in riot uniform, with rifle, pistol and tear-gas canister, without identifying numbers, embodying the remote white authority

The people our police are called on to control are segregated in what many of them regard as ghettos, far from their places of work, lacking the social disciplines of settled communities, victims of their own hooligan elements, discriminated against in pay, in educatoon, in claims to self-respect and personal dignity They haven't the faintest independent voice in the central legislature that makes the laws in terms of which order is so drastically enforced. They have been deprived even of a part to play in the local government of the town of which they form the majority of the inhabitants The fundamental principles for the redress of grievances, such as the doctrine of *habeas corpus*, have been done away with. In their place we have wholesale arrests without charges, detention without trial, bannings, expulsions . . . To say, as the commissioner of police is reported, that the death and violence in Cape Town last week was "non-political" is another milestone in the South African capacity for self-deception.

Casualty lists

An adequate inquiry will separate the facts from the excuses in other aspects calculated to undermine public confidence in the police Days after the event the higher police authorities (in Pretoria, 1 600 km away) were not able to give definite figures of how many people had been shot, let alone the full, prompt and detailed casualty lists that the events called for Local hospitals were prohibited from giving information to local newspapers (which means the local public) Newsmen were kept out of the riot areas, closing the only channel for independent evidence of police activity

3/6/80

Cape Times

underprivileged people forefully segregated in terms of race. He cannot give his mind to whether any police force, however high-minded and efficient, could succeed in maintaining law and order in a racist and fragmented society, lacking by its nature any common patriotism or common loyalty to a common set of civic values.

The main obstacle to effective police work is that South Africa, alone of the countries of the Western world, has had the political misfortune to put its faith in a national police force. In nearly every country policing is the function of local police forces, appointed and controlled by, and responsible to, the local authority. Police activity at the national level is confined to a small

On behalf of the commissioner of police it was officially announced that there had been "orders to shoot to kill". The damage done was not undone when the remark was withdrawn a few hours later nor when the minister of police commented merely that there had been an "unfortunate choice of words" What is essential is to be told whether and to what extent the withdrawn remark reflects the frame of mind at high levels of the administration.

A prompt and independent inquiry will go some way to lessening the effect of yet another devastating projection of the South African way of life. To be effective its members must include representatives of the communities which have been the victims of institutionalized violence and which are usually excluded because of their race from occasions most directly affecting them

Minister lifts press ban

Cape Times 24/6/80

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The ban prohibiting newsmen from entering troubled areas has been lifted by the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange.

However, the reason for imposing the blanket ban on both foreign and local newsmen has not been disclosed.

Lieutenant-Colonel Leon Mellet, head of the Directorate of Public Relations for the South African Police, last night said that the evidence was still being investigated. "Things like this take a lot of investigation," he said.

The ban on newsmen was imposed by Mr Le Grange more than a week ago after overseas television news cameramen were allegedly seen to be meting unruly behaviour.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mellet said: "If the minister so wishes he will reintroduce the ban under circumstances that he may see fit."

RIOT INSURANCE
Becoming a necessity

Last week's major fire at Safknit's Cape Town subsidiary Maxmore Knitting Mills highlights the need for adequate and appropriate riot cover insurance. The fire, causing damage estimated at between R1m and R4m, was part of widespread violence and looting on the Cape Flats.

Exact causes of the massive Maxmore fire have not yet been determined. Newspaper reports have speculated on one of two probable causes -- either a petrol bomb was thrown through a window or fires from burning tyres in an adjacent area spread to the factory.

The Myerson brothers, Peter and Neville, directors of the company, are reluctant to disclose the extent of the damage. However, the company is covered by SASRIA (South African Special Risks Insurance Association) which should ensure that whatever the cause the claims should lead to some recovery. Nevertheless, whether the fire was caused by vandalism or was politically motivated is highly significant in terms of their insurance claim.

Conventional cover usually excludes any act calculated to overthrow or influence any government authority with force, or by means of fear, terrorism or violence. Also excluded is any act calculated to further any political aim or to bring about social or economic change, or protest against any government authority for the purpose of inspiring fear in the public.

According to the Commissioner of Police, the widespread violence and looting on the Cape Flats last week was conclusively due to a "skollie" element and the Myersons are right behind him.

conventional fire insurance
iat the burden of proving that
s not politically motivated rests
th the claimant. In the opinion
of David Way, a director of insurance brokers Robert Enthoven-Nebicon. It is almost impossible for the claimant to discharge that onus of proof. In the case of the Maxmore fire (if SASRIA cover had not been obtained) the publically stated opinion of the Commissioner of Police would not be relevant nor furnish sufficient proof in any court action that the insured would undertake against the insurers. The claimant has to prove conclusively that the looters did not intend to influence government opinion by their acts.

Brokers at odds

But Denis Gamsy, MD of Alexander Howden, is at odds with Way, believing that the Commissioner of Police's opinion could hold water. Says Way: "There is no practical alternative for companies who wish to cover themselves adequately but to purhase SASRIA insurance.

Recent events have shown that riot cover is becoming a necessity, but SASRIA cover is considered expensive by most brokers.

A further thorn in the businessmen's flesh is that there is no policy that offers cover for consequential loss. loss of profits and this could hit companies even harder than initial damages. Says Gamsy: "It took the authorities a long time to establish SASRIA the avenue for political riot cover on fire material damage policies. Surely the public can expect immediate action to fill the gap by SASRIA making available cover for loss of profits. I'm sure overseas investors will think twice prior to investments in SA if they can't obtain adequate cover.

774

Anger in the church

Following the unrest, there are growing complaints of lack of leadership in the NGK. IVOR WILKINS reports

A DEEP anger and disillusionment has taken root within the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk over the church's lack of leadership and action, particularly during the unrest which has swept South Africa in the past months.

"The country is busy going down and we are sitting around discussing our little white ties and suitable material for our black suits," said one NGK theologian.

"The church must move and must move quickly to clear up the spiritual confusion which is growing among its members.

"The young people in particular are saying that the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk (mainly for coloured people) has taken over the initiative.

□ □ □

"They are the ones who are going to see the Prime Minister and are trying to get negotiations under way to find solutions.

"Meanwhile, the big white church has turned into a great silent majority."

Another NGK dominee said the church's leadership at the moment represented a "backlash of old thinking from the 1930s"

He felt a split in the church was inevitable whereby there would be a realignment within the NGK family, with a black radical church on the left, a mixed church in the middle and a pure white arch-conservative church on the right.

The powerful white NGK has been under heavy pressure from its so-called daughter churches to use its influence with the Government to find solutions to the political, economic and social problems underlying the current unrest.

But its only public response has been two formal statements expressing condolences for those who had suffered, sympathy with the "daughter churches", and assuring the Government and police of the church's prayers.

Much stronger action had been demanded and yesterday the head of the Reformed Church in Africa (Indian), the Rev E J Manikkam, described the response as "wishy-washy and meaningless".

"Until 1948 the NGK shouted against the injustices they said were perpetrated by the British, but since then they have been singing a different tune: that we must obey the Government," he said.

The pressure for action on the white church included a call from the Sendingkerk for an unequivocal denouncement of apartheid, the RCA urged the white church to "break its silence" and use its "position of influence to ease the situation"; and this week it emerged that a group of 23 white dominees from the Cape had written a letter urging a clear statement to prevent local congregations from closing church services to blacks, as happened at a funeral in Potchefstroom.

The RCA message was transmitted by telegram and the letter from the 23 dominees was handed to the Cape Moderator, Dominee G S J Moller, to be passed on to the Moderature, the church's top body.

But, according to Dominee F E O'Brien Geldenhuys, the church's chief executive officer, neither the telegram nor the letter had arrived.

"I don't believe there is anything sinister about that. It is just one of those things that happen," he said.

He has asked for a new copy of the letter from the "23", and the RCA is investigating why their telegram did not reach its destination.

One of the signatories to the letter from the "23" — they have decided to remain anonymous at this stage — said the church leadership should crack down on local congregations that did not obey the dictates of the General Synod and the Gospel.

But Professor J A Heyns, one of the members of the full Moderature of the NGK, said it was not "entirely true" that the leadership had

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(274) 30/6/80

Govt slammed on del

THE South African Institute of Race Relations has criticised the Government for delaying the publication of details in the recent unrest and the manner in which they handled the meat industry unrest.

In a statement, the Institute reacted strongly to the delay by the police to release the names of the dead and injured during the unrest that swept the country and also called on the Government to make a declaration of intent to bring immediate amelioration of the "existing tensions amongst pupils of all race groups."

The Institute categorised the meat industry dissatisfaction into three issue, the right of workers to democratically decide on whom they wish should represent them, the intransigient attitude of employers in the meat industry to negotiate with workers who demand the right to determine how they should be represented and, finally, the biased role of the state in the matter.

HARDSHIP

It also urged the public to support the cause of the meat industry workers and requested that the public should respond to the severe financial hardship facing the workers.

The statement read in part: "The delay in publishing an official casualty list gives an unfortunate impression of callousness on the part of the authorities."

It was further stated that the Institute considered the demand of the meat workers for democratic non-racial representation was frustrated to the point where they had little option but to strike. In the same vein the Institute asked employers if they were perhaps not "misusing economic power" by refusing workers representation designed by them and urged them to engage in negotiations with them.

"The outcome of this one industrial dispute could mirror the abilities of differing power groups to negotiate a just solution to the problems

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Schools return to near normal

WHILE most schools have returned to normal, Eastern Cape students continue their stay-away and on Monday a security cop's house was burnt.

Students belonging to schools under the Department of Coloured Education also returned to classes but there were widespread repoits of continued refusals to attend lessons.

In Fort Hare boycotting students have been asked to return to classes. There have been no lessons since the university reopened on Monday.

Meanwhile on the East Rand, a 90 percent attendance at senior schools in Reiger-Park, Boksburg was reported yesterday when coloured schools re-opened for the second term this week.

At the Tlakula High School, in KwaThema, Springs, a 60 percent attendance was reported with students going back to classes after boycotting them for the last six days.

But there was unrest in Port Elizabeth, where the house of a security officer was burnt down and 18 buses were stoned on Monday night and early yesterday.

But routes were repeatedly being reshuffled in the black township according to Mr Carl Coetzer, general manager of Port Elizabeth tramways.

Crowds stoned 11 buses in Koyana Street, Zwide on Monday night, smashing 48 windows and causing damage amounting to about R400.

TEARGAS

Early yesterday seven buses were stoned in Johnson Road, Veeplaas causing further damage amounting to R270. The previous night police used teargas and baton charged a crowd of about 300.

The crowd threw stones at the police and Constable S J Webb was taken to hospital with an eye injury.

A petrol bomb which exploded in the home of a security policeman, Constable Z H Bopelo, caused damage amounting to R5 000.

Major van Rooyen said two arrests were made.

Big threat to close schools

FORT HARE students have been given an ultimatum to return to classes today or leave campus while authorities have threatened to close all Western Cape coloured schools by Friday if the situation remained abnormal.

The rector of the university, Professor J M de Wet, said in a press statement yesterday that those who did not attend lectures would have to leave the campus. A register of those who attend would be kept.

POST REPORTERS

Meanwhile the situation appeared tense on campus as a number of police vans drove about and dispersed gathering students. The rector has promised students who feared intimidation protection, and said some had asked for police protection.

One student said that although they went to classes, they did not carry books and lectures were disorganised. He said students went into any lecture room irrespective of the faculty they were in.

Some just moved around the lecture blocks before drifting to town or their dormitories.

And yesterday Dr Piet Koornhof said very important legislation which held great hope for the black people of South Africa and their children was at present being prepared by the Government.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development was opening a regional congress of chambers of Commerce of the Cape Midlands and Southern Cape in Port Elizabeth.

He said blacks should be patient and they should not be disappointed.

"It is an important bill aimed at the removal of discrimination and unjustified practices as far as humanly possible."

He appealed to blacks not to resort to violence in any circumstances This would not solve anything and merely obscure (vertroebel) relationships still further, according to Sapa.

In a circular sent to all Western Cape high school principals, the administration said they had hoped that the situation would have returned to normal when the third term started this week.

If pupil activities which did not form part of the normal school curricula continued they would shut the schools.

Pupils at schools which were closed, would be readmitted only with their parents' personal request.

Dr Frank Quint, the chief inspector for the Wynberg area, confirmed yesterday that the circular had gone out to all the principals.

The threat comes at a time when the pupils are meeting to decide whether the boycott should be continued The pupils had, in response to a call by the committee of 81 returned to school on Tuesday when schools reopened. It was done primarily to discuss whether to end the boycott.

No official decision was taken for a return to normal lessons, although at certain schools this had taken place.

Dr Quint said yesterday that the circular was merely a "precautionary measure" and possibly would never be implemented.

Tlakula High School in KwaThema, Springs, is back to normal with a 75 percent attendance reported.

Boycotting of classes started last Monday when schools re-opened for the second term, in sympathy with five members of the KwaThema branch of Azapo who were detained by the Security Police last month. One of the five detained was a matric student at Tlakula

At the East Rand senior schools in Reiger Park, Boksburg a 95 percent attendance was reported yesterday.

Designs for SA's war and peace

2174

RDM 2/7/80

By BRUCE STEPHENSON

THE Sasol attack drew attention sharply to the fact that South African engineers had fallen behind world trends in designing the country's infrastructure to withstand subversive activities, civil engineers were told at a conference yesterday

The Director-General of the Department of Water Affairs, Forestry and Environmental Conservation, Mr J F Otto, spelt this out at a University of the Witwatersrand conference on the role of the civil engineer in times of subversion and terrorist attack

Mr Otto said the fact that there had been no significant damage to the country's installations or property in more than 75 years — until the attack on Sasol II last month — had resulted in inadequate attention to engineering design with an eye to subversive activity

The identification and guarding of key installations alone could not eliminate the dangers of wilful damage

"It remains the reponsibility and duty of our engineers, in their role as planners, designers and administrators, to engineer and administer for reduced vulnerability and to do so as effectively and cheaply as possible in an economic climate where strongly competing demands exist for available funds and schooled labour."

Mr Otto said he viewed the engineer's role as three-pronged

- To reduce vulnerability at the planning and design stage ;
- To prepare for the rapid and efficient restoration of services after successful sabotage,
- To take appropriate administrative steps to improve preparedness.

The Ciskei's Secretary for Agriculture, Mr G F Godden, told the conference South Africa had to shake off its lethargy and indifference towards raising all its people to prosperity — or accept that it would fail to maintain peace across political boundaries

He firmly believed the greatest threat to the future peace and stability of South Africa would not come from beyond its borders, but from within them.

White South Africans, especially those involved in planning the infrastructure, should not forget their standard of living was possible because 80% of the country's land area was supporting 20% of the population

Moral and mandatory obligations to bridge the gap between affluent, white South Africa and the underdeveloped black areas were being ignored

"The abject poverty, the hunger, the human misery, the hardships, the years of neglect and evasion of responsibility in the development of basic physical infrastructure of these societies represents a gross indictment of affluent South Africa," he said

"It presents a situation made for disaster — as history has continually demonstrated"

All the country's resources of wealth, professional and technical manpower and skills and knowhow in the construction field had to be used to attain stable economic and political development

Mr Godden outlined six main points in designing for peace

- That blacks received an equitable share of the land area if the country was partitioned;
- That partitionings remain national states bonded together with South Africa in a confederation, without dividing the physical infrastructure of power, water, railways, national roads and communications,
- That nationals of all black states remain citizens of the greater confederal state,
- That adequate financial development aid be made available to raise the physical infrastructure of black states to equal South Africa's own,
- That private enterprise do all in its power to promote rapid development of underdeveloped sectors,
- That the vast resources of professional and technical manpower be made available to staff and manage development programmes in the black states.

STM 2/7/80 (2) 274

Patience of police running out, Geldenhuys warns

CAPE TOWN — The police would not be as patient as they had in the past with those causing unrest and agitation, the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, said yesterday.

He was addressing a passing-out parade of more than 100 policemen from the training college at Bishop Lavis.

General Geldenhuys said he wanted to deal with the recent "unnecessary unpleasant and criminal acts" of some people in some areas.

"I am not prepared to stand by and watch my men, the police, assaulted. I am not prepared to let the South African police stand with their hands folded when innocent people's shops are looted, set alight or have their cars set on fire or stoned without consideration for the lives of innocent people.

"The South African Police and other members of the public surely had nothing to do with the so-called grievances that certain people alleged they had.

"Therefore, I issue this warning to those in the unrest and to agitators: You will truly be hurt and the police cannot and will not be as patient as they have during the recent unrest and agitation."

Referring to the use of firearms, he said that, under certain circumstances, policemen were justified in using their weapons to defend themselves from death or serious injury.

"But it must be constantly borne in mind that, however well justified you may consider the use of your firearm, whether such use be the cause of loss of life or otherwise, you will have to prove that you acted with reasonable care, without recklessness or negligence and were compelled by circumstances to use your firearm.

"In spite of what I said earlier, use your firearm as a last means of protecting yourself or to maintain law and order," he said — Sapa.

Names of unrest dead not yet released

Argus 2/7/80 274

Crime Reporter

THE chief of the counter-insurgency unit of the South African Police, Major-General Vic Verster, has refused to release the names of those who died during the recent period of unrest in the country.

Through its Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria, General Verster said. 'If you want the names, you must get them from the families of the dead. We are not going to release them.'

For the past two weeks, since the first person died in the Western Cape, The Argus has been pressing the police for the release of the names.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape said he could not release the names because many of the dead had not yet been identified. He said that the names would be forwarded to Pretoria.

INQUESTS

Lieutenant Charles Erasmus of the Directorate of Public Relations, said that General Verster had said the Press could get the names of the dead when the inquests came to court.

In 1976, after the unrest in Soweto, inquests took up to 12 months to come to court.

The Argus has spent two weeks compiling a list of those who died from the families. Until today, 26 names have been received from the families.

They are:

John Faro, 18, of El Trinity Place, Elsies River, who died in hospital on June 27. Anthony van Schalkwyk of Epping Forest, Epping William Adams, 28, of 26 Foval Road, Nooitgedacht. Boswall Nixon, 14, of 15 Malawi Camp, Eureka Estate.

Johanna Moses, 18, of Totius Dalhof, Clarkes Estate Belinda Moore, 17 months, of the Transit Camp, Eureka Estate, Elsies River. Andrew Christians, 15, also of the Transit Camp in Elsies River Errol Adonis, 21, of 16th Avenue, Elsies River. Albert van Wyk, 29, of Gouwsblom Avenue, Uitsig. Gavin Slavers, 16, of Elsies River

Stephen Daniels, 33, of Elsies River. Shot on June

Transit Camp in Elsies River Errol Adonis, 21, of 16th Avenue, Elsies River. Albert van Wyk, 29, of Gouwsblom Avenue. Uitsig. Gavin Slavers, 16, of Elsies River.

Stephen Daniels, 33, of Elsies River. Shot on June 18/19 Trevor Gavin Niekerk, 16, of Bishop Lavis. William Rose, 19 of Ravensmead Joseph September, 34, of 28th Avenue, Elsies River. Arthur Prinsloo 20, of 26 Alpine Road, Matroosfontein. Lenie Briesies, 23, of Elsies River. Daniel Abrahams, 18, of 26 Avenue, Elsies River Danny Jacobs 15, of Grassy Park William Lewis, 15, of 10th Avenue, Retreat

Shirley September, 14 of 2 Ipsting Road, Lavender Hill.

Mrs Christine Horn, 22, of Klawershof, Clarkes Estate, Elsies River.

Mrs Edith Lewis, 46, of Hermanhof, Clarkes Estate, Elsies River. Glenda Scheepers, 18, of Clarkes Estate, Elsies River Avril de Bruyn, 25, of 16th Street, Sidneyville, Bishop Lavis. Constable Johan Coenraad Hugo, 21, of Stillewaters Farm, Durbanville, Glen Hendricks, 17, of Steenberg.

August ban 'to prevent further unrest'

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA
Political Reporter

THE ban on unauthorised "political gatherings" until August 31 remains

The Minister of Justice, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, said yesterday that he had been informed that gatherings aimed at further boycott and "other subversive activities" entailing the danger of renewed unrest were planned for coming weeks.

It also appeared that activists had changed the venue of meetings planned for districts which had been unaffected by the original prohibition he had imposed last month

"We cannot and will not give these people the opportunity of now again disturbing the delicate calm," Mr Schlebusch said

The original ban, imposed on the eve of June 16 commmemoration services, expired at the end of last month, but was extended to August 31 The number of affected districts was also increased from 24 to 45

The Minister said he had imposed a prohibition until the end of August "in order that, inter alia, the schools can have the opportunity of returning to their normal activities after the holidays, and in order that there may also be the opportunity for a return to normality in other areas"

The ban has been strongly criticised by black politicians, the Progressive Federal Party and race relations organisations"

With two parliamentary by-elections pending in Parktown and Simonstown, white political groups will also have to obtain permission to hold meetings of more than 10 people in affected areas

Mr Schlebusch said yesterday that it was not his intention to hinder the activities of political parties

Those concerned will have to apply to their local magistrates for permission he said.

FM 4/7/80

The stranger in the kitchen

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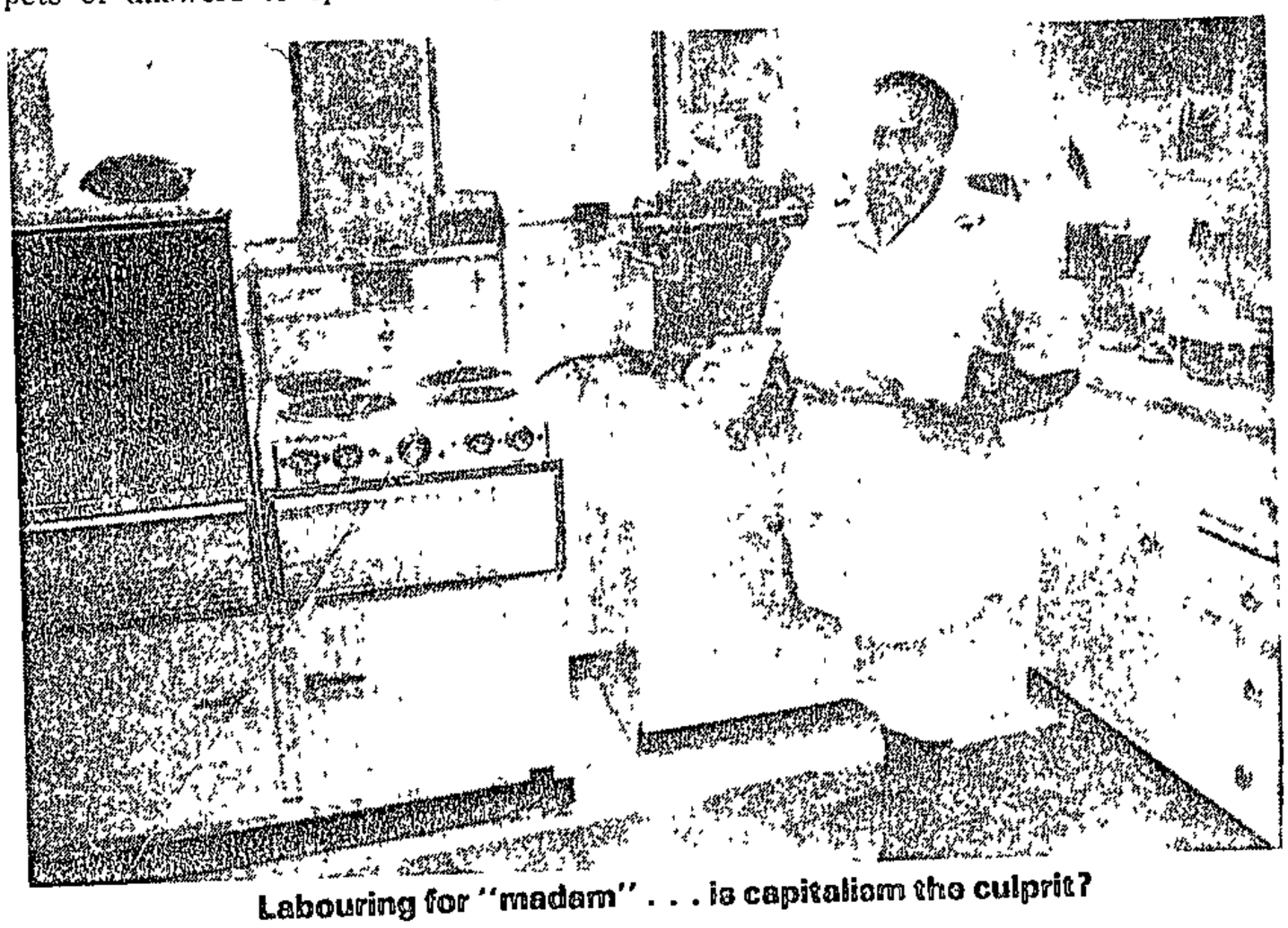
MAIDS AND MADAMS *by Jacklyn Cock (Ravan Press, 450 pp, R13,50 hardback; R4,10 softback)*

Based on a sample of 200 interviews with domestic servants and their "madams" in the Eastern Cape, the book examines both the conditions of service and the feelings and attitudes of the respondents on a wide range of interrelated issues. The tale is predictably one of grinding poverty, low wages, hard working conditions, insensitivity on the part of employers and ambivalent but quietly defiant servant attitudes

The research project was obviously conducted with great diligence and the formalities of scholarship have been impeccably observed. There may be problems with the impressionistic content Snippets of answers to open-ended questions



Labouring for "madam" . . . is capitalism the culprit?

may have been selected in a biased way, consciously or unconsciously. The danger is unavoidable in this type of research (which makes one wonder whether novelists do not accomplish such tasks more effectively than sociologists)

The reader is (at least) forewarned as the author does not hide her radical and feminist prejudices Social historians and others will nonetheless find the book useful as a source of data and impressions

While one naturally shares the author's concern for the plight of black domestic servants, the question remains What can be done about it? As an orthodox economist, I would advocate the lifting of all legal restrictions on the movement and choices of black labour, in general, and of black women, in particular. Beyond that, there is little that can be done Only economic growth overcomes poverty. Income redistribution may help to some extent but it could also backfire on account of the disincentives to high income earners and the ease with which they can emigrate

For Ms Cock, however, these suggestions would hardly suffice She recognises the burden of the legal constraints under which black domestics operate but these for her are merely a function of the real culprit, capitalism By defining "exploitation" and "surplus value" in terms of "socially necessary labour time" or, incorrectly but more commonly, in terms of some notion of gross profits (both definitions being absolutely nonsensical), Marxist dogma can conveniently assert that "exploitation" is *inevitable* under capitalism

Yet, interestingly enough, esoteric definitions of "exploitation" notwithstanding, the book repeatedly cites instances of *low wages (incomes)* and *income inequality* as indictments of capitalism Does the author really believe that abolishing private ownership of the means of production (ie, overthrowing capitalism) will raise the real incomes of blacks, let alone banish the spectres of racism and sexism?

Naivety seems to know no bounds In attacking capitalism the book at no stage attempts to present an argument in favour of socialism or to compare the costs and benefits of each system. Yet surely the merits of *any* system (capitalism included) can only be judged against those of its next best alternative!

The author, furthermore, displays an appalling ignorance of how market forces operate Not once is supply and demand mentioned as a factor determining wage levels Low wages are attributed to the absence of bargaining power and ought therefore — the moral undertone of the book seems to suggest — to be remedied by generosity on the part of employers On this point many neo-Marxists and some liberals share a touching innocence (although I would be the first to welcome individual acts of charity) With a neo-Marxist on the bench, however, the employer cannot win since generosity (when it does occur) brings with it a charge of "paternalism"

The author's implicit conception of the economy is that of a "cake" that has simply to be divided between profits and wages Bargaining power raises wages and squeezes the profits of dirty capitalists. At no stage does the author pay serious attention to the fact that setting minimum wages above market-determined wage levels will reduce the number of employees demanded The gain of some employees will thus be made primarily at the expense of other employees, notably the poorest, least-skilled and least-preferred among them

Jos Gerson

Cape Times 5/7/80 (274)

New book on 1976 unrest

Own Correspondent

LONDON — A new book on the Soweto uprising, which draws heavily on black students' accounts of their experiences, has been published here

A great deal of the information it contains was obtained from black student leaders who fled South Africa after the unrest in 1976

The authors of the book are Alan Brooks and Jeremy Brickhill. Mr Brooks was among the white students arrested for sabotage in 1964 and released by the then Minister of Justice, Mr B J Vorster, before the completion of long jail sentences.

He now lives in London after spending some time in Maputo

Like Alan Brooks, Jeremy Brickhill was born in Zimbabwe and studied at a South African university He fled the country after pro-Frelimo demonstrations in Natal, together with Joan Dobson, a newspaper reporter who refused to give evidence about the demonstrations. The couple are now married

This new book also differs from the many which have been published overseas about the Soweto uprising because it contains details, hitherto undisclosed, of the part played by so-called 'liberation movements such as the African National Congress

Thousands boycott schools

Students stayaway

Post 8/7/80

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Mr Jaap Strydom... no boycott.

THOUSANDS of students in Soweto, the Eastern Cape and Bloemfontein stayed away from school yesterday when schools reopened for the second term.

In KwaThema, Springs, students were forced out of classe by a group of youths going from school to school.

The situation in Soweto appeared confused as pamphlets calling for the boycott were reported

POST REPORTERS

schools closed last month. The areas were in support of the coloured schools boycott.

Thousands of pupils at an estimated 29 schools in Eastern Cape are believed to be still involved in the boycott.

There were no reports of incidents at any of the schools. At some, pupils were reported to be carrying placards and singing freedom songs.

The Department of Education and Training's circuit inspector in the Eastern Cape, Mr Steve Buys, yesterday refused to release details of the schools still affected.

"All I can say is that the boycott is still on," he said.

A spokesman for the Department in Pretoria, Mr G E Engelbrecht, referred enquiries to Mr J Owens of the Cape Town office who in turn referred them to Mr Buys.

The circuit inspector for Albany, Mr G Meerbold, confirmed that pupils of two schools in Grahamstown continued to stay away from classes.

It is believed that about five schools in Uitenhage are also affected by the boycott.

Meanwhile, Port Elizabeth community leaders are seeking an urgent interview with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, for a delegation to discuss pupils grievances about education.

The executive of the Association of Management Committee was also last week directed to seek such an interview by the annual congress of the body which was held in Port Elizabeth.

All schools in KwaThema were reported to be affected by this incident.

According to a KwaThema school principal who did not want his name mentioned, a group of youths were moving from school to school or-

• To Page 3

Boycott

• From Page 1

dering children to leave their classes and go home.

He said: "I cannot say what was the motive of the youths who just ordered students to leave their classes and go home. They did not damage any school property or march around the township during this."

A senior police spokesman for the East Rand confirmed the incident and said no arrests were made and no incidents were reported.

Mr A P van Zyl, the Department of Education and Training Regional director for the Highveld region, which also covers the East Rand, also confirmed the incident. He said: "I received a report yester-

distributed at the weekend.

But Department of Education and Training director, Mr Jaap Strydom, said a broadcast over one of the radio services had given the impression that schools only open today.

Mr Strydom said he had gone to some schools where he found normal attendances and at some schools there was a sprinkling of students. He said yesterday's position had nothing to do with the national boycott.

Our Bloemfontein correspondent reports that no students went to school yesterday, but some are expected to return to school tomorrow. Yesterday's stay-away was apparently to asses the situation.

Bloemfontein and the Eastern Cape have been on a boycott of schools for some weeks before

incidents.

"But all I have got is that there was no schooling in KwaThema yesterday. I cannot say at this stage, why the children were ordered out of classrooms, but I am going to investigate this."

Mr G Engelbrecht, chief liaison officer of the Department of Education and Training, said he had no details of what happened in KwaThema.

Legrange gets tough on pupil meetings

THE sporadic outbreak of unrest at schools in certain areas in the country could no longer be tolerated, the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, said in Pretoria yesterday.

In a statement released by the Police Directorate of Public Relations, he warned that from now on pupils would no longer be allowed to gather on school premises.

The statement reads "So far the SA Police have been constantly maintaining a low profile towards pupils who flock together at school premises despite the fact that this is contrary to the provisions of Proclamation 1405 of June 30, 1980

"In view of the latest events, however, in which pupils at certain schools have openly abused the above concession by holding unlawful political meetings, intimidating other scholars, damaging property and organising unlawful action outside school premises, I have given the order that the provisions of the proclamation should be strictly applied from today (Thursday)." — Sapa

ing schools unit's committee will confer accordingly to decide ... there is one department of education for all races and equal opportunity for all.

Figures show progress in black schools

STAR 29/10/80

The Department of Education and Training openly admits that education for blacks in South Africa is not ideal but believes the department does not deserve to be the one most people love to hate.

During the Eastern Cape schools unrest the department has come in for more criticism.

Spokesmen for the department complain that critics do not take note of the progress made since the Government took control of black education in 1955.

Statistics to back the progress claim include:

- In 1951, 36 percent of black children aged seven to 16 were in school. By 1975 the figure had risen to 75 percent
- Thirty years ago only two out of every 100 black pupils enrolled at school were in high schools. Last year 13 out of every 100 black pupils were attending high schools
- During all the years before 1956 only 1 426 degrees were awarded to blacks. From 1956 to 1978, 7 190 degrees were awarded.

Grievances

As pointers towards progress these figures are perhaps significant. In comparison with those for white education the figures mean that there is a long way to go before parity can be achieved in education.

Black pupils' grievances are often exposed in the media "as if nothing is being done to improve the situation," the department claims further.

Improvements, according to departmental statistics, have taken place

It is the Government's declared intention to provide equal education including facilities, textbooks, stationery and teacher training to all race groups.

To this end the budget for the Department of Education and Training was increased by 37 percent last financial year as compared with 17 percent increases for all other state departments.

Protest

Three of the five phases involved in a programme to reach parity in teachers' salaries for the different race groups have been completed.

Parity already exists from the rank of circuit inspector upwards, while black teachers earn, on average, 76 percent of what their white counterparts earn.

It is significant to note the widespread protest of white teachers this year. They have expressed dissatisfaction with their salary increases and have publicly deplored the situation of black teachers.

As far as teacher training is concerned, the average black teacher now has a standard 8 plus a teaching diploma. Considering that standard 4 was initially required as an entrance qualification to teacher training institutions it is impressive to read that standard 10 will soon be the minimum requirement for teachers.

Nursery

Advances in technical education include the new R50-million technikon at Mabopane, 14 centralised technical education centres for school children in standards 5 to 8 and there are plans to erect 15 technical colleges during the next four years.

In the pre-primary schools field, the department has extended its control to include nursery schools. The subsidising of pre-primary schools is being considered.

But despite tangible improvements there are two areas where the department's attitudes, according to educationists, will continue to arouse suspicion and the hackles of the black communities and their children.

One area concerns the formation of a single ministry of education and the other concerns broad-based consultation.

Demand

"A separate department for black education is of the utmost importance because such a special department is in a better position to effect the progress desired by budgeting specifically to eliminate backlogs and to provide for special needs," according to departmental spokesmen.

Boycotting school pupils' first demand is for one department of education and one minister of education for all races.

Although the department consults with recognised statutory bodies such as school committees and community councils, consultation with student or pupil bodies or those organisations not formally recognised by the Government does not take place

Closure

Since the closure of schools in the Eastern Cape consultation with recognised bodies has all but stopped. The department believes "the ball is firmly in the court of the communities to prove that they want the schools reopened."

Mr R L Peteni, president of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa believes otherwise.

"Consultation, with as many bodies as possible is important in finding a way around the boycotts."

The Natal Mercury
20/11/80 (331) 274

The Silverton Siege trial

Riots, resettlement 'moved accused to leave SA'

Mercury Correspondent

PRETORIA—The 1976 riots and the forced resettlement of people were among the incidents which had moved four young men to leave South Africa and join the African National Congress, Mr Justice Jaap de Villiers said in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Reviewing evidence for the third day in the marathon Silverton siege trial, Mr Justice de Villiers yesterday concentrated on the evidence of four of the nine accused.

They are Mr Johnson Lubisi, 28, Mr Petrus Tsepo Mashigo, 19, Mr Naphtali Manana, 24, and Mr Ikanyeng Moses Molebatsi, 27.

The other accused are Mr Hlolile Benjamin Tau, 24, Mr Phumulani Grant Shezi, 24, Mr Jeremia Radebe, 26, Mr Boyce Johannes Bogale, 26, and Mr Thomas Mngadi.

The nine men are charged with murder, attempted murder and charges related to their membership of the ANC.

Referring to the attack on the Soekmekaar Police Station in which Mr Lubisi, Mr Mashigo and Mr Manana were involved, he said that according to the evidence by the accused Mr Mashigo was their leader.

Mr Mashigo earlier gave evidence about how police shot and killed a friend of his, Mr Peter Magubane, in June 1976. He was not interested in politics until he decided to leave the country in November 1976, Mr Mashigo said.

He also related an incident during which municipal police raided a house in Soweto early one morning. These incidents disturbed him greatly, Mr Mashigo said.

After leaving the country he decided to join the ANC rather than the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) because he was not partial to the PAC call of 'chasing the whites into the sea', Mr Mashigo said.

He was taken to Angola and he later went to Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania. He was told not to attack people in South Africa 'who were unwillingly part and parcel of the apartheid system'.

The Soekmekaar Police Station was chosen as a target because black people had been moved from the area against their will and the police from the Soekmekaar Police Station had assisted the authorities.

Concerning the attack on the police station, Mr Mashigo said that he could have killed two black constables at the station with great ease, had that been his intention to do so.

Mr Mashigo denied any knowledge of the attack on the Volkskas Bank in Silverton on January 25.

Mr Manana also said in evidence that he fled the country after the 1976 riots. He denied that he had taken part in the unrest but said police had hunted him 'day and night'.

He feared arrest because a friend of his had suffered a broken arm after police had assaulted him when he was arrested, Mr Manana said.

He would not have left the country had it not been for riots, Mr Manana said.

He said that the Silverton bank siege did not concur with ANC principles as embodied in that organisation's Freedom Charter. The Soekmekaar attack was launched to make people aware of what they regarded as unjust, he said.

Another facet of ANC action that was repeatedly emphasised by the first four accused in their evidence, was that the ANC was opposed to the random killing of people.

Mr Manana said that ANC 'targets' were limited to buildings that symbolised apartheid. He would only resort to violence against people if he was 'cornered', he said.

Mr Molebatsi, who is charged with involvement in the Silverton siege, also said the attack on the bank was not in accordance with ANC principles.

Mr Molebatsi was ordered to establish three bases near Garankuwa, north west of Pretoria and he, Mr Tau, one of the accused, and Mr Fanie Stephen Mafoko, one of the three men who died in the Silverton siege, re-entered South Africa on the same day.

They were also ordered to attack the petrol depot at Waltloo, east of Pretoria. The petrol tanks were to have been attacked with an RPG7 Bazooka projectile or, if that failed, explosives would have been used.

He had been moved to join the ANC after his family, including his aged grandfather, was forced to move away from a place near the Magaliesberg where they had resided for many years, Mr Molebatsi said.