

RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES

TRANSVAAL

1976 - 1977



Whites helped to plan ^{STAR} Soweto riots—Botha ^{24/6/76}

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — White people were involved in the planning and preparation of the riots in Soweto, which were caused deliberately, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha, said in the Assembly today.

Mr Botha said the riots

did not occur spontaneously. A great deal of planning and preparation had gone into the unrest.

The riots had nothing to do with the language medium dispute, Whites, too, were involved in inciting the people of Soweto to riot, loot and arson.

SCANDALOUS

Mr Botha, who was speaking during the third reading of the Appropriation Bill, defended his

deputy, Dr A P Treurnicht, against a "most scandalous political campaign."

He said members of the Opposition and certain newspapers had tried to make out that Dr Treurnicht alone was responsible for the implementation of Afrikaans in Black Schools.

He described the attacks on Dr Treurnicht as "superficial" and made

for "cheap political gains".

To loud cries of "Resign, resign, resign!" from the Opposition benches, Mr Botha denied that he had snubbed Dr Treurnicht by not inviting him to the talks held with African leaders in Soweto.

Mr Botha also defended himself against United Party accusations that he had said on June 11 — five days before the rioting began — that he had no knowledge of any unhappiness at Soweto.

He said his department was aware of certain incidents at the Naledi High School, but that these had nothing to do with the language issue.

He added that the Government would continue to implement its policies, with certain adjustments where necessary.

Rioting spreads to homeland

STAR

22/10/76

Pretoria Bureau

Rioting today spread to the third largest homeland town, Ga-Rankuwa in Bophuthatswana, when schoolchildren marched, stoned buildings and set vehicles on fire.

Apart from Mamelodi, where three buildings were set on fire, other townships around Pretoria where trouble broke out yesterday remained calm and under police control.

Brigadier "Kappies" van Zyl, Chief of the Northern Transvaal CID, said at midday that a bottle store at Mamelodi was on fire.

Earlier reports from Mamelodi were that a clinic and a shop had also been fired by tsotsis. Schoolchildren were reported not to be involved.

The offices of the Bantu Investment Corporation in Ga-Rankuwa closed when the trouble started.

Attempts to contact the Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana, Chief Lucas Mangope, for comment on

the rioting were unsuccessful.

However, a spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development confirmed that Chief Mangope had been in Pretoria during the morning for talks with officials of the department.

At least 13 people died in yesterday's rioting in the Transvaal, bringing the total death toll since the outbreak of unrest last Wednesday to more than 140. Ten were killed in the Pretoria area and three on the East Rand.

In the townships surrounding Pretoria more than 70 buses were burned out or damaged yesterday and millions of rands damage done to buildings.

Brigadier van Zyl said nine of the 10 deaths in the Pretoria area were caused by bullet wounds and one by stoning.

Four Blacks and one White were injured.

Brigadier van Zyl said that there had been no reports of trouble during the night but residents of Mamelodi said there was sporadic gunfire lasting about 10 minutes shortly after 10 pm.

Bus services from Mamelodi were back to normal, but those serving Mamelodi and Atteridgeville were operating only to and from the edges of the townships.

Train services from Mamelodi and Atteridgeville were operating on schedule but many people had to walk several kilometres to the stations.

There were no bus or taxi services and the only vehicles moving belonged to the police.

Mr K P van Wyk, housing director of Pretoria's Bantu Affairs Administration Board, said the board's personnel had been warned to stay out of the trouble areas until

1 323 336
2 109

Plea for Blacks in riot inquiry

By ANTHONY HOLIDAY

THE EVANGELICAL secretary of the Ned Geref Kerk in Afrika, the Reverend Willie Cilliers, said yesterday it was essential that Africans should sit on a commission to inquire into the causes of the rioting in their townships.

Gun shops report soaring sales

By MIGNONNE CROZIER

THE RIOTING in Johannesburg townships has led to a rush on Peninsula gun shops, where ammunition sales and applications for pistols and revolvers have increased sharply in the past few days. Mr M Kroezen, manager and director of W M Rawbone and Co, said yesterday that over the past week applications for firearms, mainly revolvers and pistols,

had risen by about 50 percent in his firm, while ammunition sales had soared by 75 percent. He attributed these increased sales to the "riots" and described the phenomenon as a "psychological thing". Mr A J Harrison, director of City Guns, said his ammunition sales and applications for firearms had increased by about 100 percent in the past few days.

And in an interview from Johannesburg, the Rev D P M Beukes, Moderator of the NGK, revealed that the moderator of the "Moeder Kerk" would be discussing the riots at a meeting in Pretoria today.

Mr Cilliers said he felt it important "that the reality be communicated to the people in decision-making structures".

Asked what practical measures he thought should be taken, Mr Cilliers listed three points:

- There should, in the first place, be consultation with the parents of African schoolchildren.

- The regulations enforcing the use of Afrikaans as a teaching medium in certain African schools should be "removed altogether".

- Africans should serve on the Government commission which is to investigate the causes of the riots.

"For the Black community a one-man commission of investigation is unacceptable. If a proper investigation is to be made, it is of the utmost importance that Blacks should serve on it," Mr Cilliers said.

Asked what he felt about these suggestions, Mr Beukes said that although he agreed that there should be consultation, he felt certain that there was far more to the causes of the riots than the feelings of the African pupils over teaching in Afrikaans.

He said a liaison committee of the NGK had held talks on the riots yesterday with the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

We are guilty, says DRC minister

CAPE TIMES

21/6/76

Political Correspondent

THE VAST GULF between Black and White attitudes during the Soweto unrest has been emphasized by the evangelical secretary of the Ned Geref Kerk in Afrika, the Reverend Willie Cilliers.

Writing in Rapport yesterday, Mr Cilliers said his greatest impression of the past few days had been the "tremendous reality of two worlds, circles which never meet."

Even those who over the years had tried to build up communication and understanding had to conclude that they still did not understand this reality completely, he said.

"We saw this catastrophe coming and we did not articulate it enough," he said. "We are therefore guilty."

Responsible Black leaders, said Mr Cilliers, had told him that the volcano had been opened over the language regulations in Black schools.

"And then all the frustration and the humiliation and the suffering under the regulations and laws of the White man suddenly boiled over."

"We pleaded for years. We used the legal channels at our disposal for years. But nobody listened."

The Black people had said it had not helped to talk to people who had access to authority. "We will no longer do it because we want to talk ourselves."

And during the past week he had heard Whites saying that the Blacks were ungrateful for what they had been given and if they rebelled this should be suppressed. If they rebelled this for trouble, we must shoot."

After referring at some length to various similar Black viewpoints, Mr Cilliers concluded: "When we stand at the ash heap and bow before the judgment of God, we stand at a new beginning."

News of relatives of victims sought

CAPE
TIMES
24/6/76

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Teams of detectives were yesterday battling to unravel details of riot dead and wounded as streams of Africans poured into police stations and mortuaries across the reef in a search for missing relatives.

With latest estimates of the dead now approaching 150, the six days of riots have produced South Africa's highest civil unrest death toll since 1922. And yesterday a senior spokesman for the insurance industry said the final claim for damage to property caused in the riots would probably exceed any similar claim lodged in the past.

It was hoped that by today the police would have exact figures of those unidentified or the numbers whose relatives were being sought.

Food gifts sent to Soweto

JOHANNESBURG. — The first truck-load of food given by the public and several food companies was sent into Soweto yesterday.

The appeal for non-perishable foods was made by the Institute of Race Relations and several churches here on Monday.

The food will be collected by clergymen from the worst affected areas in Soweto — White City, Jabavu, Orlando West and Meadowlands. — Sapa

Students charged over slogans

PRETORIA. — Three students from the University of Witwatersrand and one from Pretoria University appeared in court yesterday on an allegation of attempting to paint subversive slogans backing the Soweto riots.

The four, all aged 19, are said to have tried to paint the words "amandla Soweto" (power to Soweto) on the walls of the University of Pretoria on Friday last week. The case was remanded to June 30.

Call to rebuild Soweto

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A call for Johannesburg to contribute R2,5m to the reconstruction of Soweto has been made by the leader of the Progressive-Reform Party in the City Council, Mr Alf Widman.

He will ask councillors to approve the donation of half a million rands a year for five years to assist in the replacement of services destroyed in the riots.

Committee to allocate aid

JOHANNESBURG. — A committee of Blacks and Whites has been set up by the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) to allocate aid given by the public to help people affected by last week's riots.

WRAB said in a statement released here yesterday that its emergency relief fund would assist people affected by the riots in Soweto, Alexandra, Dobsonville, Krugersdorp and Randfontein. — Sapa

Homelands are quiet

JOHANNESBURG. — The riot-torn homelands are reported to be back to normal as all the schools were closed before time to avoid the spread of incidents.

Homelands which were affected by the riots are Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu, Lebowa, Venda and Qwaqwa. The Chief Ministers of these homelands made a special appeal to their citizens to stop further acts of arson and looting and give the Black leaders time to negotiate with the Government.

Beeld hits out at Government

Cape Times 24/6/76 (323)

THE Nationalist-supporting newspaper Beeld this week hit out at the Government for "sweeping Black opinions aside" and said that the attitude of Dr Andries Treurnicht, Deputy Minister, could lead to more Sowetos.

Beeld's editorial, referred to in the Cape Times leading article today, said:

IN THE wake of the slaughter in Soweto, Alexandra and other Black townships, we must look ahead and take care that such outbursts do not happen so easily again. The real danger is that too many of us will sit back in the facile belief that the police and cold weather quelled the unrest and taught "them" a lesson.

We do not believe that the medium of instruction in schools played by far the

dominant role. But neither is the answer to put the blame on agitators.

The compulsory use of Afrikaans by teachers and pupils who are not at home in the language did play a role. So did agitation. But that does not diagnose the disease. These are merely symptoms.

Only people with legitimate grievances are susceptible to agitation on a large scale. Can we honestly say that the hundreds of thousands living in Soweto, alongside the splendour of a rich city, have no reason to be dissatisfied with many aspects of their existence?

Basic living facilities are lacking: Sufficient protection, adequate street lighting, shopping facilities, electricity... Now we hear that the police had to shoot;

water cannons could not be used against the rioters because there is not enough water!

The authorities who don't supply these services force the people to live there.

On top of this comes something that affects many other matters besides the language issue: A (possibly unconscious) official arrogance. There are many other issues involved, but let us take the instruction medium as the best known example.

For Whites, that quarrel is settled at the polling booth — as far as such matters can be settled in that way. But the Blacks of Soweto have no hope of having a voice like this in their children's education. They are simply told what will happen. Their

opinions are swept aside — if anyone in authority has ever listened to them. This very year, Dr Treurnicht said in Parliament he did not know how many school principals opposed the language system and that he regarded it as unnecessary trouble to find out.

If this sort of attitude continues we can expect more Sowetos.

Naturally the authorities cannot be expected to correct all wrongs overnight. But much can be achieved immediately if the will and inclination are right: If responsible Black leaders know they will be heard sympathetically, that avoidable conflict points will be set right as quickly as possible and that the unavoidable will be handled with understanding.

ARGUS 24/6/76 (323)

SA must change or face new violence

— GRAAFF

The Argus Political Correspondent

SIR DE VILLIERS GRAAFF, Leader of the Opposition, today warned that as long as Government persisted on its dogmatic, blind, deaf, wilful and endlessly self-deceiving course South Africa stood in dread of new bloody clashes and an escalating chain of violence.

Sir de Villiers was speaking at the start of the Third Reading Debate on the Budget, the last debate of this year's session of Parliament which ends tomorrow.

Referring to what he calls the tragic events of last week, Sir de Villiers said South Africa could no longer afford the luxury of self-deception or take refuge in comfortable evasions of the reality of its situation.

The good these events may do depends on our willingness to face the facts and at whatever cost to our political pride and our destroyed illusions to find the necessary remedies, he said.

INJUSTICE

Sir de Villiers said much of the unjust race discrimination had been expanded and institutionalised by laws made by Parliament and in the present session further restrictions on the South African way of life had been imposed.

Many of those who were today endangering the security of the State and public order were no lon-

ger motivated by communist ideals but by a sectional nationalism and a burning sense of injustice, induced by institutional-

(Continued on Page 3, col 8)

Food main need in riot areas

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The Argus Bureau

PRETORIA. — It is still calm in Pretoria's townships following the violence of Monday and Tuesday, and the priority is now to restore food and fuel supplies.

Bread, milk and meat are in short supply in the riot-stricken areas, and coal merchants are running short of supplies.

Brigadier Kapples van Zyl, chief of the Northern Transvaal CID, said today the situation was calm but police were still keeping a watchful eye on the townships.

He said there had been no change in the figures of 10 dead and 64 arrested. It was still impossible to say how many had been injured without detailed reports from all the hospitals and first-aid posts.

A spokesman for Putco said buses were going into Mamelodi today, but permission from the police was being awaited to send buses into Atteridgeville and Saulsville.

Services operating from Mabopane and Ga-Rankuwa to Pretoria were operating normally today.

A spokesman for the Bantu Investment Corporation said two buses had windows broken by stones in Mabopane last night.

ANNOUNCED

Meanwhile, a series of meetings is being held to organise the resumption of administrative services and repair work in the riot-ravaged areas of the Witwatersrand and Pretoria.

This was announced in a statement by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha.

Mr. Botha inspected some of the riot areas on the Witwatersrand from a helicopter yesterday.

He was accompanied by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr. W. A. Cruywagen, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Dr. A. P. Treurnicht, and Bantu Administration officials.

Quiet but grim after riots

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — Even at a glance Mamelodi township, one of Pretoria's riot-torn black townships, looked relatively quiet but grim today.

Sullen-faced, fearful older residents, most of them mothers with younger children, sat in the sun in backyards while others either waited at bus stops and taxi ranks or sauntered about the sprawling village.

In contrast, groups of cheerful youths crowded in front of shopping centres, some severely damaged by rioters, and others roamed the streets.

Shouting 'it's them,' they scattered in all direc-

tions disappearing into rubble-filled side streets and alleyways whenever a police vehicle approached.

The venom from rioters in Soweto, Johannesburg, was evidently aimed particularly at administration offices, bottlestores, Putco bus company, cars and Whites.

But in Mamelodi township the disastrous rioting took a puzzling new twist. In addition to administration buildings, liquor centres and Putco buses, the Black business community as well as medical practitioners became veritable targets.

So were school buildings, libraries and health

centres. They were either gutted, smashed and looted during the rampage which started last Monday.

Some traders have had their businesses completely ruined while others lost entire stocks. A mortuary and surgery situated in a block of shops were destroyed.

An explanation for this kind of attack on Blacks by Blacks came from some residents, no one would give his name, for fear, they said, of reprisals.

It was claimed 'some traders are fronts for Whites.' There were also allegations that they

worked as 'informers' for police.

Traders and the residents interviewed agreed the pillage and looting were caused not by schoolchildren but grown-ups, specially tsotsi elements.

Food and coal supplies were stopped yesterday. Today bread was virtually unobtainable in the shops. Meat and coal supplies were drying up.

Moving through the dirt streets criss-crossing the Black township one is struck by piles upon piles of rubble and garbage from dustbins. It seemed garbage collectors had not been able to work since the rioting.

Officials silent

No reply to attacks on Ministers

The Argus Political Staff
THE Minister and Deputy Ministers in charge of Bantu affairs have adopted a low profile in the face of scathing attacks on them by members of the Opposition and Black leaders since the outbreak of violence and riots in Black townships.

Soweto leaders will not yield on language

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Soweto leaders are to insist that Afrikaans be scrapped as a medium of instruction in Black schools, when they meet the Secretary for Bantu Education in Pretoria tomorrow.

A member of the 30-man delegation, Mr Leonard Mosala, has said the delegation will not yield on the language issue which was the primary cause of the disturbances.

PUPPETS

Mr Mosala said the delegation was not against Afrikaans being taught as a language but rejected its enforcement as a medium of instruction.

However, Mr Mosala said some of the delegates may be puppets of the regional director of Southern Transvaal, Mr W. C. Ackerman, and his inspectors.

Repeated demands for their resignation had come from members of the Opposition in Parliament and yesterday the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, made a stinging attack on Mr M. C. Botha accusing him of having done 'much damage to aggravate the deteriorating racial situation in South Africa.'

Chief Matanzima said that while deprecating the rowdy behaviour of Soweto students, the Transkei Government strongly condemned the use of guns on young students who acted 'no differently' from White students at Rhodes and Witwatersrand universities — 'but the latter were not killed.'

IMPROPER

'This to us demonstrates in no uncertain terms the victimisation of the Black people in the racial discriminatory application of the laws of this country and is a vindication of the step we have taken to quickly get out of the suppression we have long endured.'

Reacting to the attack by Chief Matanzima, Mr M. C. Botha, the Minister of Bantu Administration

and Development and Bantu Education, said through his private secretary today that he did not consider it proper to react publicly to the statements.

'I have sufficient opportunity to talk to them personally. As I have said before, I do not react to speeches which Bantu leaders make in public,' he said.

VISIT

Earlier this week, Soweto principals challenged Mr Botha on statements he made to the effect that they had agreed to Afrikaans being used as a medium of education.

They challenged him to give the venue, date and names of people who attended the meeting where he claimed agreement had

been reached on the use of Afrikaans.

Questioned on this today, Mr Botha said he was getting further information on the matter.

Mr Botha and two of his three deputies, Dr A. P. Treurnicht, in charge of Bantu Administration and Bantu Education, and Mr W. A. Cruywagen, who handles Bantu Affairs, visited the riot areas yesterday.

But, as before, no indication had been given by them of any new initiatives to change the administrative machinery or of steps to improve the situation with regard to Black people in the urban areas, as is being increasingly called for by the Opposition and also the Nationalist Press.

Looting victim broken man

The Argus Bureau
PRETORIA. — Mr Nat Liebenson is a broken man.

On Monday his livestock and poultry farm near Winterveld, Pretoria was plundered by more than 300 rioters. They burnt down his house, they herded off all his animals and fowls, they stole his two trucks and they came close to murdering his wife, their child and him-

self. Mr Liebenson lost R40 000 in all.

'My plans for the future,' he wryly asked today. 'I wish I could tell you. I am living on faith, hope and charity right now.'

He is staying at present with friends in Mountain View.

Mr Liebenson says it is impossible for residents in the Rietgat area, near the townships of Mabopane

and Winterveld, to insure their belongings.

Yesterday some of his furniture — scarred and battered — arrived back at the homestead. A police spokesman in the area said many of the thieves returned property that could be easily recognised.

About 14 arrests have been made so far in connection with the looting on Mr Liebenson's farm.



MR. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. U.P. calls for his resignation.

The Argus Parliamentary Staff
WHITE people were involved in planning and preparation of the riots in Soweto which were caused deliberately, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, said today.

Speaking in the Assembly for the first time since the rioting began last week, Mr Botha said the riots did not occur spontaneously. A great deal of planning and preparation had gone into the unrest.

The riots had nothing to do with the language-medium dispute. Whites, too, were involved in inciting the people of Soweto to riot, loot and arson, he said.

There were calls from Opposition benches for Mr Botha to supply names. Mr Botha, who was speaking during the third reading of the Appropriation Bill, defended his Deputy Minister, Dr A. P. Treurnicht, against a most scandalous political campaign.

Newspapers

He said members of the Opposition and certain newspapers had tried to make out that Dr Treurnicht alone was responsible for the implementation of Afrikaans in Bantu schools.

Mr Botha described the attacks on Dr Treurnicht as 'superficial' made for cheap political gains.

To loud cries of resign, resign, resign from the Opposition benches, Mr Botha denied that he had snubbed Dr Treurnicht by not inviting him to the talks held with Bantu leaders in Soweto.

Unhappiness

Mr Botha also defended himself against United Party accusations that he had said on June 11 — five days before the rioting began — that he had no knowledge of any unhappiness at Soweto.

He said his department was aware of certain incidences at the Naledi High School, but that these had nothing to do with the language issue.

He said the Government would continue to implement its policies with certain adjustments where necessary.

Questions

Earlier Mr Botha pointed out that if language was the issue at Soweto then why did the follow-

● Bottle stores were plundered and the liquor con-
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Whites involved — Botha

(Continued from Page 1)

sumed by the looting
crowds;

● Buses, buildings and
beerhalls were burnt;

● School hostels were
razed to the ground in
the homelands — where
Afrikaans was not used in
schools;

● Students burnt down
their own service centre at
Turfloop University and
farmers molested on their
smallholdings.

Arson

Mr Botha said it was
significant how effectively
the buildings were set
alight. It indicated that pro-
fessionals were used, who
had knowledge of how to
go about arson.

He indicated that the
Government would apply
the 50-50 medium of teach-
ing subjects at Bantu
schools in accordance with
Government policy.

However, deviations
would be allowed, and in
most cases schools were
teaching mainly in English
already, with one subject
only being taught in Afri-
kaans.

The Government was
not facing a policy crisis,
instead it had to contend
with reckless liberals,
who were exploiting mis-
understandings among
Bantu people.

GRAAFF WARNS

(Continued from Page 1)

is-d discrimination on the grounds of colour alone.

This discrimination was not only handicapping South Africa in the battle between free enterprise and communism but it was undermining the loyalty and patriotism of large sections of the population.

It would be foolish to assume that the tragedy of Soweto was not a consequence or that it would be the only or final consequence of the failure to tackle this problem expeditiously.

The Government and its propaganda organs, in advance of the findings of the judicial commission of inquiry, allege that the entire disaster was engineered by provocateurs to coincide with Mr Vorster's visit to Europe.

There may be some truth in that theory, though it raises questions about the masterly efficiency of the agitators and the incompetence of State security that stagger in imagination, he said.

QUESTIONS

Whatever the spark that caused the fire, it is perfectly clear that it fell on material that had been highly inflammable for many years.

Sir de Villiers said he would be the last to condone violence as a means of settling any dispute because it could not redress a solitary wrong or remedy a single unfairness.

Few could, however, still believe that the independence of the Transkei, or other homelands would halt the growing frustration in the Sowetos, Mabopanes, Kwa-Themas or in any urban Black community.

The immediate cause of the riots, the language instruction in certain schools, had been well known for some time, with growing discontent, and with no intervention by the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, or his deputy, Dr A. P. Treurnicht.

CAUSE

Speedy and properly informed action could do much to restore the situation to normal and repair losses of confidence in respect of future race relations caused by the riots.

Among the steps to be taken should be the granting of local government status to Soweto and the right of home ownership.

For confidence to be restored, the resignation of the Minister and Deputy

Minister seemed absolutely essential.

I cannot see how they can live down the attitude they have adopted in this matter.

Mr Botha's claim that there has been a misunderstanding of his policy after all these months of dispute is evidence of incompetence too gross to tolerate.

Neither Mr Botha nor Dr Treurnicht were present in the chamber when Sir de Villiers spoke and there were cries from the Opposition benches of 'Where are they?'

Sir de Villiers said the question of citizenship for those Xhosas and Sothos who had become socially and economically detached from their tribal origins was fraught with difficulties and ripe for the creation of new conflict situations.

UNDER SIEGE

The free enterprise system was under siege and steps should be taken to ensure that South Africa's Black people accept and defend the system.

The relative Black indifference to, and, in some cases, approval of, the emergence of new states supported by communist military and economic aid on South Africa's borders showed that many of South Africa's Blacks did not believe that a Black socialist system could be worse than what they now had to accept within the private enterprise system.

POWER STRUGGLE

South Africa had become involved in the world power struggle. That, essentially, was why the United States had taken South Africa off the back burner and why Dr Kissinger and Mr Vorster had found it necessary to talk.

The confrontation between the communists and the free world was no longer concerned so much with ideologies as with power and influence.

South Africa's deficiency, from the free world's point of view, was that it was seen as a political liability.

While there were advantages to decentralisation of power and economic opportunity to the homelands, the immediate priority should be the granting of full citizenship and equal opportunity to those Black and Brown communities who would always be with the Whites.

Sir de Villiers said the federal system had undeniable merits.

He again called for a council of state on which leaders of all communities could serve.

Police stand by in 11 areas, as calm holds

Rand Daily Mail 25/6/76

Staff Reporter

POLICE remained on standby in African townships throughout the Reef last night, as the uneasy calm following last week's widespread riots was punctuated by sporadic incidents of arson and rowdiness.

The police peacekeeping force was on the alert in Pretoria's still-troubled Mamelodi and Atteridgeville townships, as well as in seven more previous troublespots on the East and West Rand and at Klerksdorp and Stilfontein.

A woman was shot in the leg in Jouberton, near Klerksdorp, early yesterday, when police opened fire after a small group of Africans stoned a police patrol car. She was the only casualty.

A rowdy group set fire to a church pulpit in Stilfontein's African town-

ship on Wednesday night, but no violence was reported. Police were on standby in both townships last night.

Life in the East Rand's riot-ravaged townships yesterday appeared to be slowly returning to normal. There were no serious incidents, apart from sporadic attempts at arson, said Brigadier Gordon Polson, Divisional CID officer for the East Rand, yesterday.

Arsonists tried to set fire to the health clinic in Daveyton — 200 m from the police station. They smashed a window and started a fire which burned only a part of one room.

As a Rand Daily Mail reporter toured the township, an African screamed at him with clenched fist: "There is no peace. This is the beginning of the end." But police reports

indicated a general "all quiet."

At Heidelberg, police are probing the possibility of arson, after a shed on Dr S. Bosman's farm "Bosfontein," burnt down on Wednesday night.

At Vosloorus, near Boksburg, one of the heaviest-hit areas, school pupils had returned to their favourite pastime — playing soccer. At Kwa Thema, where one beerhall was set on fire three times, vehicles stoned and where children rioted, policemen on standby played football with Africans.

All was quiet at the West Rand troublespots of Kagiso and Munsieville in Krugersdorp and Mothlakeng, near Randfontein.

Meanwhile, reports from various sources indicated that damage in the riot-hit areas already totals at least R2.5-million.

53 riot dead still to be identified

By MERVYN REES
Chief Crime Reporter

A TOTAL of 53 bodies — victims of the bloody Soweto and Alexandra Township riots — have still to be identified, Brigadier J. F. Roos, the Witwatersrand's CID Chief, said yesterday.

While teams of detectives investigated every death, casualty and damage to property yesterday, Brigadier Roos said it was a slow and difficult task to trace relatives and missing people after the seven-day riots.

"We have injured in hospitals stretching from the Johannesburg General to Boksburg, Tembisa, and Baragwanath. We have bodies in the Hillbrow and Boksburg mortuaries apart from the large numbers arrested and being held in different police stations," he said.

To date, six bodies have been released for burial by relatives and detectives are working overtime to identify and trace the families of the dead.

People who feared that relatives might have died in the riots were asked to go to the Hillbrow and Boksburg mortuaries.

Missing people now in custody could be traced by asking at the police station in the area in which they disappeared.

Meanwhile, police in Johannesburg yesterday warned relatives of riot dead to be on the lookout for people who have been demanding R200 from families in order to get bodies released from the mortuaries.

Brigadier Roos said many Africans had also started appearing in courts throughout the involved areas. They are appearing on various charges and all are being held in custody at present.

Nat editor worried

By DIRK REZELMAN
MR Dirk Richard, editor of Die Vaderland, said yesterday that Nationalist accusations in Parliament that the English Press and a section of the opposition were agents for Moscow were evidence of emotional rather than thoughtful response to the recent riot.

In his regular column, Na my Mening, Mr Richard takes all those to task who have allowed their emotions to govern their thinking over the riots.

Mr Richard says South Africa cannot continue

along the old road of race relations "as if nothing has happened."

He says he is worried that the general reaction to the riots has generated "a poisonous reaction against the Press in general."

He also says allegations that opposition members of Parliament are agents of Moscow are unworthy.

"To accuse the PRP and the English Press of being lackeys of Moscow is proof rather of hot-headedness than of the truth," he says.

25/6/76

Financial Mail

"SA is unwilling to make any drastic changes to the broad concept of separate development at a time when the policy is coming to fruition" — Hilgard Muller, Bonn, Monday

A prescription for disaster

The fruits of the policy of apartheid are frustration, injustice, and hatred. Among its latest consequences are arson, rioting, and slaughter. If it is continued, the end result may well be revolution.

It is a policy which is rejected by the broad mass of the African people. Yet they are being subjected to it with a remorseless insensitivity that can only invite disaster.

The horrifying events in the townships last week were thus not unexpected. Indeed warnings that children detested being made to study mathematics in Afrikaans had been sounded again and again. They were ignored. Now at least 140 people are dead and we face the consequences of another Sharpeville.

Soweto was a riot waiting to happen. The language issue was merely the match to the gunpowder. The rapidity with which the violence spread to the rest of Soweto and then to other parts of the country shows that there were explosive situations there too. One spark, and years of pent-up grievances were aflame.

This is the first point to be noted. The second is that the children had to take to the streets to make themselves heard. The third is that they, and their parents, said they objected to Afrikaans not only because it was difficult but also because it was the language of their oppressors.

The fourth point is that, ugly as it was, the destruction was not mindless. It was in the main purposefully directed at Bantu Administration liquor stores, vehicles, and offices; at Bantu Education schools; and at Putco buses — White property and symbols of White authority. Houses were not destroyed.

Why do the children reject Afrikaans? Why do Blacks set fire to government property? Why should the riots have spread so quickly? The answer does not lie simply in the authorities' insensitive handling of the language issue. It goes to the very heart of how White SA and the government it has elected treats Blacks.

In short, the events of the past 10 days are the inevitable result of apartheid, of

a philosophy which seeks to divide — and polarise — a country rather than unite it.

Blacks no less than Whites have made SA the prosperous country it is today. They have tilled the soil, reaped the maize, paved the roads, built the railways, constructed the cities, dug the gold. But they are denied a fair share of the rewards. The White man has decreed that all but 13% of the country belongs to him, and that Black people are welcome there only as workers.

When unification took place in 1910, Black people had limited voting rights on the common roll. Even these were obliterated. In the early Sixties their two main political organisations, the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress, were banned. Inevitably, they went underground and turned to violence, which until then they had shunned.

The result is that today Blacks in the cities and towns have no say in the political decisions which affect their lives, their jobs, and their children's education. Since it is the White man who decides, he inevitably puts his own interests first. Because Blacks have no vote to use against it, faceless officialdom has inevitably developed an attitude of mind which expects Blacks meekly to do exactly as they are told. When they do voice objections, they are brushed aside and branded as agitators. So, once again inevitably, when they want to be heard they have sooner or later to take to the streets.

To city Blacks it is the Department of Bantu Administration and its agents, the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards and Bantu Affairs Commissioners, who symbolise this system of rule by decree. It is they who unilaterally push up rents, administer the pass laws, herd people into compounds, and sometimes even set fire to homes, as happened in one of the squatter camps near Cape Town.

And the police, of course, are always at hand to enforce the White authorities'

decisions.

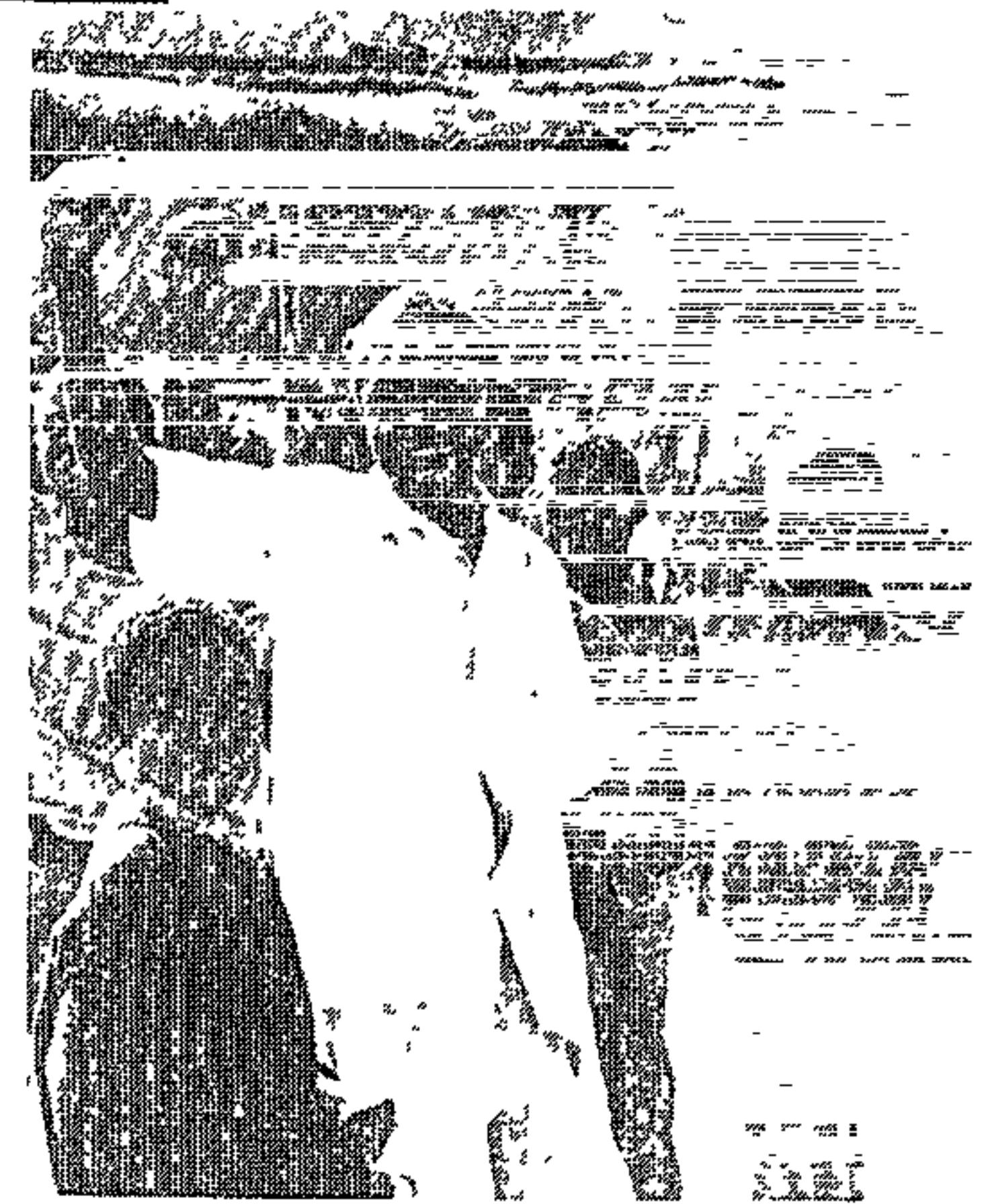
Every day of the year they arrest hundreds upon hundreds of Africans who fall foul of the pass laws. These laws are feared and loathed. Originally they applied only to men; when they were imposed upon women too they provoked violent resistance. Nor should it be forgotten that Sharpeville started with a peaceful protest against passes.

Then there is the migratory labour system, which separates men from their families and compels them to live in compounds — huge heartless places without any of the comforts of home. No smiling wife or chattering kids to greet father on his return home from work; only long bleak evenings, frequently drowned in drink. This system too has sent out warning signals: endemic violence in the mine compounds, which has cost 170 lives in the past two and a half years.

Significantly, many Africans refer to urban townships merely as "locations". Freehold rights once existed, but were stripped away. The leasehold concession recently announced has been virtually nullified by the condition of Bantustan citizenship attached to it.

Instead of having incentives to create real communities with tidy streets and to take pride in homes and gardens which they can own, township Africans are still officially regarded as "temporary sojourners". Most locations are situated far out of town, so that people have to rise before dawn to get to work on time. Commuting is tiring and costly. Here too the warning lights have been flashing, with bus boycotts.

The issue of Bantustan citizenship is another potential flashpoint. The great majority of city Blacks are just that — city people. They work with modern machinery, wear modern dress, listen to Western music, play Western sports, and read Western books. They no more regard themselves as Bantustanians than Afrikaners regard themselves as Hollanders. Government's determination to force them to become Bantustan citizens



Did anyone plan and control the Transvaal riots as alleged by the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster and the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha?

The secretive habits of both revolutionary conspirators and the Security Police make it impossible to give a conclusive answer at this stage.

The Star has been seeking evidence, but the weakness of this evidence is that much of it comes in the form of anonymous whispers and tip-offs from people with axes to grind.

Also we find it impossible on the evidence available so far, to distinguish where innocent organisation of protest ended (if it even started) and where its exploitation for more sinister purposes began.

Ironically, both the Government and revolutionary exiles try to give the impression there was organisation and political inspiration behind the violence.

From the Government point of view a populace manipulated into rioting by political activists is preferable to one exploding from genuine frustration at their conditions of life.

Ambivalent

The exiles, and no doubt internal underground organisations, stand to gain both international and local credibility from a demonstration of ability to cause widespread trouble in South Africa.

However, their attitude is ambivalent in that they also have reasons for preferring a spontaneous outbreak to show that apartheid makes life miserable for the bulk of the people.

There is some evidence that there could have been organisation behind the rioting. There is also evidence that militants were taken by surprise by the outbreak but they then moved to try and control events and spread trouble as widely as

Plot or a powder keg blast?

STAR 26/6/76

KEVIN STOCKS

The evidence in favour of a conspiracy theory is:

(1) On Tuesday, June 15 The Star was tipped-off that 10 000 schoolchildren would march the next day in protest against the use of Afrikaans as a teaching medium in Soweto. The march actually took place and led to the first rioting.

(2) The Star was told during the rioting that the prefects from the four schools initially involved attended a meeting on the day before the march. The source was one that should have known but there has been no confirmation.

(3) According to some sources, certain White students were involved for weeks in helping organise protests in Soweto on the language question.

(4) On the day before trouble began at the University in Zululand the Daily News in Durban was told there would be an outbreak there. The prediction was fulfilled.

Visit

(5) The Daily News was also warned there would be trouble in certain Natal townships. This did not happen but at the time rioting was supposed to break out in the townships there was a disturbance at the University of Natal medical school

(6) Some Black school students visited the

offices of the University of the Witwatersrand SRC on the day rioting broke out in Soweto.

(7) According to some policemen on riot duty, agitators in TJ cars and vans travelled to townships away from Soweto to stir up trouble after the initial Soweto rioting.

(8) According to reports from The Star's Lowveld Bureau trouble only broke out at a local teachers training college after agitating students from Black universities visited the college.

(9) According to one unconfirmed source, a member of the British Communist Party warned a South African in London to delay her return home. This was at least three days before the trouble began.

The problem with most of this evidence is that it is open to different interpretations.

Undoubtedly, the march of 10 000 schoolchildren was organised but it cannot be taken as read that the organisers intended the march to end in rioting.

The students had been protesting and striking against the use of Afrikaans as a teaching medium for weeks and the march could have been intended as no more than a continuation of the protests.

It can, however, be ar-

gued that any sort of intelligent anticipation would have foreseen that serious trouble could arise from an assembly of 10 000 volatile and excited students. This raises the further possibility that the organisers, without actually planning violence, foresaw the possibility and were prepared to take the risk.

Initiative

Mr Jimmy Georgiades, former president of the Wits SRC, says anyone who thinks Wits students were involved gives them too much credit for initiative, enterprise and organising ability. In his experience they are not capable.

He is also quite open about the visit of Black students to the SRC offices. They wanted to discuss the situation as they were worried it was getting out of hand.

The Black students wanted members of the SRC to go with them to Soweto but it seems they all refused. Mr Georgiades said he had not heard of any Wits students being involved in organising Soweto protests and if they had been involved they would have to be members of some highly secret "cell." He had never heard of such a cell.

Most Blacks are adamant that if Saso had

heard of White students intervening in the language protests they would have hounded them from Soweto in short order.

Many Black schoolchildren are members of Saso's junior wing, the South African Students' Movement which means that the senior organisation would have been almost certain to hear of any White involvement.

The speed with which Wits students reacted to the riots struck many as suspicious. Hardly was The Star on the streets with the first news, than Wits students had organised a protest.

However, students say they had an early warning as a Black university employee phoned with the news from Soweto as the first police shots were being fired.

Once the riots were underway there is little doubt that militants tried to seize control of events.

However, the sporadic nature of the rioting and the fact that many areas had little or no trouble suggests there was no prepared plan and no existing organisation.

It seems certain that agitators did fan out from Soweto to other areas but if the rioting had been organised in advance cells would have been ready in all areas and there would have been no necessity for agitators to travel and to take the risk of being picked up by the police.

Both Saso and the Black People's Convention kept a low profile during the protest and riot periods. The BPC line was that the students had its moral support but that the movement was not involved.

Spokesmen overseas for the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress have hinted darkly at being involved and it seems likely that their supporters within the country were among the militants who tried to spread the rioting.

It also seems possible that, whatever their reaction when violence had started, they were as surprised as the authorities

Women of mercy

amid horror

CARYL BLANCKENBERG

"We were right in the thick of the Soweto riots — as Black mothers and women," says Mrs Deborah Mabiletsa, national vice president and Transvaal president of the South African Black Women's Federation.

She was sitting at her desk at the SA Council of Churches' women's Work Division of which she was appointed the new director a few weeks ago.

She is a middle-aged buxom woman with a mop of curly hair — and a face creased with pain. The pain of remembering.

"From the first day of the trouble I and Lyndy Myeza, Emma Mashini, Sophie Mazibuko and Joyce Siwani, all members of the Black Women's Federation, felt we owed it to the women to be with the mothers and families involved

in the Soweto crisis.

"As we drove around the township, groups of kids would direct us to where we'd find those who had been wounded in the rioting.

"It was horrifying driving through that smoke and shooting and chaos. It all blurs into a four-day nightmare of screams and tears and panic.

COMFORTING

"We went from home to home — comforting and consoling and identifying with mothers. There was the bewildered woman we found trying to revive her little boy because she thought he had fainted. Blood was all over his head where he had been shot.

"He had come running into the house and collapsed — she was convinced she could revive him.

"There was the boy running through the streets near our car

with his arm hanging torn and bleeding and useless where a bullet had ripped into it.

"I cringe to remember that charred corpse we had to pass for three days. It lay there under a trailer — hideous, burned down to the bones," Mrs Mabiletsa shuddered and takes a deep breath.

"Many times I found myself weeping with a distressed mother. I was part of their misery and tragedy. How could I sit at home or in my office?

"I think the worst day of all was Thursday (June 17). I had been up all night working about my husband who had not returned from giving a relative a lift to Deep Kloof. When I found him he was in a bad way."

Her husband, advocate Mr Martin Mabiletsa, came home with a swollen partially closed eye and two



Mrs Deborah Mabiletsa . . . her sorrow hangs heavily.

broken ribs. "He told me he had been hijacked by thugs, involved in a car crash and then beaten up and arrested by police near the looted Orlando East bottle store.

FRENZY

"People were really running a muck that Thursday. We were trying to help frenzied women searching for their children in all the chaos. At times I felt like an automaton — avoiding the shoot-

In the hell of township riots . . . a small band of women went out courageously. Their mission was to comfort. Each had a shoulder to lean on and a tear to share while all around them was death and grief — the allies of mob violence. . . .

ings, picking up hysterical women and children, even approaching the Orlando Police Station when we heard our friend Joyce Setroke, national secretary of the YWCA, had been arrested.

"The place was like an army camp, swarming with soldiers and policemen, all armed. They turned us away. Round the corner we almost drove into a machine-gun trained from an army truck.

RIDDLED

"Then there were the Black Power groups who stopped us from point to point. They would jump into the car at a barricade and demand to know our credentials. Then: 'OK Black mothers, you can pass. . . ' and on we would go."

There is a knock at the door and Mrs Mabiletsa pauses. It is a friend inquiring after her husband. "I'm still nursing him," she says. The talk goes back to the mutual acquaintances who have been waiting to identify their children at the Government mortuary. "Some of those faces

have been half blown off," says the man. "Other bodies of children are riddled with bullets."

Mrs Mabiletsa frowns. "You know I lost a young brother-in-law in the Alexandra shootings," she tells the man. "In a way we consider he died something of a hero. He was not armed but stood his ground with an outstretched fist shouting: 'Power. Power.' in the face of the police."

"His body had seven bullet-wounds — with the final one straight through the forehead. And he was a very small chap . . ." Her sorrow hangs heavily in the room.

What does she feel the rioting and shootings have left in their wake? "Remorse, bitterness and racial hatred . . . yet perhaps a message has been conveyed to the powers-that-be that you can't resolve such an issue by force."

She thinks quietly then adds: "But one thing is sure — I don't think anything will ever be the same again."

NPA 28/6/76

BONN — Some church leaders were involved in the Soweto riots, Mr. Vorster said at an international Press conference here yesterday.

He was replying to questions at the last official function of his six-day visit to West Germany.

In Cape Town yesterday the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, released correspondence between Mr. Vorster and the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Timothy Bavin, which, he said, exposed the attitude of English-speaking churchmen.

The Prime Minister told more than 100 newspaper, TV and radio men in Bonn, that the riots had not been spontaneous and he described a United Nations report that 1 000 people — and not 148 — had been killed as "snert" (rubbish).

The riots had been blown up, he said, and he said in a reply that the riots had failed in their main purpose, which had been to stop him visiting Germany. "They didn't want me to come," he said.

"Some church leaders were involved to a lesser or greater degree. A resolution was passed recently that I should not come.

"But it was necessary in the interests of southern Africa that I should come.

He was asked if 142 killed was blowing it up.

Mr. Vorster replied that he regretted the deaths but said it should also be remembered that Blacks had killed Blacks.

However, a senior Judge was to investigate the entire matter and he did not want to comment further.

Mr. Botha, speaking about the church attitude during the Third Reading debate of the Budget in the Assembly, said he was quoting

banned or detained."

Mr. Vorster wrote back saying this reply did not warrant an answer and he would release the correspondence in view of the publicity the original synod resolution had received. He called it a purely political manoeuvre to embarrass the Government and to cause dissatisfaction.

Mr. Botha said that, to his knowledge, Bishop Bavin was not even a South African citizen.

Mr. Botha said the Prime Minister had also received a telegram following a meeting of leaders of the South African Council of Churches after the Soweto riots.

After hearing first-hand reports of the disturbances, the telegram said, they had adopted a resolution calling on Mr. Vorster to postpone his overseas visit.

Mr. Botha said it was interesting to note that the London Sunday Express had said in a leading article that the Soweto riots were not spontaneous, but designed to sabotage Mr. Vorster's meeting with Dr. Kissinger.

Mr. Vorster at his Bonn Press conference yesterday also said that everyone concerned with peace in southern Africa was doing his level best to achieve it.

Sapa-AP reports from London that Britain accepted an American request to join in the search for a peace formula in southern Africa, but said it would take no initiative in Rhodesia until the Government of Mr. Ian Smith stepped down.

This was disclosed by the spokesman for Dr. Kissinger after a one-hour conference with the British Prime Minister, Mr. James Callaghan.

At the conference, Dr. Kissinger briefed Mr. Callaghan on his talks with Mr. Vorster. He also asked the British Government to play a major part in the search for Black-White peace.

The spokesman said Mr. Callaghan had indicated that "the United Kingdom accepts her full responsibilities in this regard."

● See also Page 16.

From ORMANDE POLLOK, who is travelling with Mr. Vorster

from the correspondence with Mr. Vorster's permission, and said it would be released to the Press.

The letters concerned a resolution adopted by the diocesan synod of the Anglican Church urging Mr. Vorster to call "a national convention with the acknowledged leaders" of South Africa's population groups on how best to evolve a just and open society.

This was forwarded to Mr. Vorster on June 3. He wrote back a week later asking who, in Bishop Bavin's view, the acknowledged leaders of the various sections of the South African community were.

The Bishop replied on June 11 that he had consulted with the mover of the resolution, who had said the word "acknowledged" was more important than leaders "whom he regards as having been imposed upon Blacks, Coloureds and Indians."

Bishop Bavin said:

"I appreciate that it is obviously difficult to determine just who the acknowledged leaders are, if they are not those who are officially recognised.

"It has, however, been suggested that possibly some of them are among those who have been

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176 killed in riots, says Kruger RDM 26/6/76

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said yesterday that 176 people were killed during last week's riots in Soweto and other areas.

Statements that more than 700 people died in the riots and that Citizen Force reserve troops were employed and used .22 bullets were irresponsible and devoid of all truth, Mr Kruger said in a statement in Pretoria yesterday.

No Citizen Force units or any Army unit or any

other group except the police were in action in Soweto, the Minister said.

"Regarding the casualty figures it must be pointed out that the official body count found 176 people of all races killed during the riots," Mr Kruger said.

Meanwhile, Mr Kruger has extended a ban on unauthorised public meetings from June 29 to July 7, according to a notice published in yesterday's Government Gazette. — Sapa-UPI.

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Riot death toll set at 176

PRETORIA — The Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, announced here that the official casualty toll in last week's rioting was 176 dead, 1 139 injured and at least 1 298 under arrest.

Mr Kruger said "many black people were killed by black rioters and many of the casualties among rioters were caused by .22 calibre bullets," which he said were not used by police.

The leader of the student march that sparked the riots was definitely not a student, Mr Kruger said.

"The leader of the mob was not a student at all, as we later found out," he said. "He took up a very, very threatening attitude."

Police felt their lives were in danger and shot the man dead, Mr Kruger

said. He did not name the alleged leader but said he was thought to be aged between 25 and 30.

He said black police first opened fire on rioting students in Soweto and said a total of 22 police were injured in the disturbances.

Police did not come under gunfire during the violence although two blacks were arrested in Soweto with .22 calibre pistols. It had not been established whether the guns had been fired recently.

Mr Kruger gave an account of the confrontation on June 16 between police and students protesting at the use of Afrikaans in black schools.

He said an officer and 30 black policemen, some armed with guns and others with batons,

approached a group of about 2 000 demonstrators.

"The police tried to talk to them and the riot (escalated) to such an extent that tear gas was thrown — as you will appreciate, in the open air tear gas does not have a very good effect," Mr Kruger said.

Then they baton-charged, and finally opened fire.

The rioters dispersed and began attacking whites.

Defending the police actions, he said minimum force was used and the police were always non-partisan. He thought between 30 and 40 per cent of the total casualties resulted from police bullets. The rest were caused by black fighting black. — SAPA.

Figures false, page 9

Church leaders involved in riots —Vorster

By ORMANDE POLLOK
'Mail' Man on the Spot

BONN. — Some church leaders were involved in the Soweto riots, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said at an international Press conference in Bonn yesterday.

He was replying to questions at the last official function of his six-day visit to West Germany. He arrives home today.

Mr Vorster told more than 100 newspaper, TV and radio men that the riots had not been spontaneous. He described a United Nations report that 1 000 people had been killed as "snert" (rubbish).

The riots had been blown up out of "all proportion"; but they had failed in their main purpose which had been to stop him coming to Germany. "They didn't want me to come," he said.

"Some church leaders were involved to a lesser or greater degree. A resolution was passed recently that I should not come. But it was necessary in the interest of Southern Africa that I should have come."

Mr Vorster said he regretted the deaths in the riots, but it should also be remembered that Blacks had killed Blacks.

However, a senior judge was to investigate the entire matter as a commission and he did not want to comment further.

Later, in totally rejecting the United Nations' findings on the riots, he invited "anybody with better evidence" than the judge would have to come forward and present it.

Mr Vorster said his meeting yesterday with the West German Chancellor, Mr Helmut Schmidt, had not been linked with his talks with Dr Kissinger. South Africa's economic relations with West Germany were good and would continue to be good, he said.

● In London yesterday Dr Kissinger briefed the British Prime Minister, Mr Callaghan, on his talks with Mr Vorster.

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① ~~323~~ (336)
② ~~297~~
③ Education - ~~University~~

167 tried in prison court

ADM 26/6/76
PIETERSBURG — Altogether 167 Black students, detained by police during rioting at the University of the North a week ago, appeared in a makeshift court in Pietersburg's prison grounds yesterday on charges of public violence, a police spokesman said.

The reason for holding the trial in prison was because the magistrate's court was too small, he said.

Newsmen were not allowed to attend. The court adjourned to August 6. — Sapa.

Je Grim Legacy

SOUTH AFRICA has inherited a grim legacy from the riots in Black townships and universities of the past 10 days.

They have been a further blow to race relations, have badly damaged South Africa's image of stability and have shaken international relations and detente.

The riots have also highlighted the plight of urban Blacks, the failure of the Government to tackle the problem and the need to defuse the situation by making changes now.

These were among the conclusions of experts asked by the Sunday Tribune this week to examine the aftermath of the riots, which have claimed 176 lives, left 1 139 injured, 1 298 arrested and caused millions of rands of damage.

Those who gave their views were Dr Francis Wilson, senior lecturer in economics at the University of Cape Town, Professor Willem Kieynhans, head of the Department of Political Science at UNISA, and Mr John Barrett, director of the Institute of International Affairs.

Dr Wilson said race relations had received a further serious setback from the riots and the Government's response to the disturbances.

"According to reports, Blacks don't even want to see a White face. However, the biggest setback to race relations has been the response to the riot, which has been completely inadequate."

Dr Wilson referred to a statement by Dr Andries Treurnicht arguing that because Whites paid the taxes they had the right to say what was taught in Black schools.

"This is bad economics and bad politics," said Dr Wilson.

Race relations would become more damaged and embittered, unless there was statesman-like response to the situation. "So far there has been no statesmanship at all."

Dr Wilson said: "Immediate and deep thinking

is needed about the position of Blacks in cities to find a way of enabling them to have effective participation in the decisions that affect their lives.

A sign

27/6/76

"I would envisage a large commission to find ways of bringing Blacks into effective participation. Such a commission should think through the implications of these riots, as a sign that the Government is taking the situation seriously."

Professor Kieynhans said the message from the

A MESSAGE FROM SOWETO WRITTEN IN BLOOD

urban Black areas had now been written in blood. Urgent change was essential.

"The political message is that crushing this kind of unrest is no good. It just postpones the day of reckoning. The situation is politically dangerous."

The Soweto and other riots had exposed the myth of apartheid on the issue of urban Africans.

"Millions of urban Blacks who have lived in the so-called White South Africa for generations are nothing less than a voiceless and voiceless Black proletariat with no meaningful political rights and political power." It was essential to do

two things immediately:

- Establish sovereign local governments in all the urban Black areas, with powers to raise money and enforce law and order. This would enable the Black elite to gain experience in administration previously denied to them.

The key

- Give Blacks the right to own property and ditch the migrant labour system, which breaks up families. This would give Blacks a feeling of permanency and would have wide political and economic implications.

"Permanency is the key. Other grouses and grievances fall away when

you get rid of insecurity. Instability breeds unrest.

"Today we may be able to quell the Blacks in urban areas, but I cannot see that they will not occur again unless we introduce drastic changes. The message is written in blood."

Mr Barrett said the riots had damaged South Africa externally, and increased pressure for change by the international community could be expected.

"However, I must stress that the internal implications are far more serious and far more important."

On international affairs, Mr Barrett said: "There does not appear to have been such a clear-cut con-

demnation of the Government as there was after Sharpeville. It seems more to have been a reflection on the whole system in South Africa.

"It has adversely affected the image of stability that the Government has tried to create and has rather changed the priorities as far as Southern Africa is concerned."

Priority

Up until now the focus for change has been, firstly, on Rhodesia, then South West Africa.

"Now South Africa has become parallel in terms of priority, and the most important.

1 323 336
2 153

My vision...

STRIB 27/6/76

Freedom coming for all of us believes Dean Tutu

By CAROLINE CLARK

DEAN TUTU believes that his prayers for a miracle in South Africa have been answered. "I feel that freedom is coming for all of us."

The Dean told me this week that the belief came to him while he was kneeling at the vigil held at St Mary's Cathedral.

"I don't know when or how, but I know God is giving us an opportunity of making a fresh start. And maybe I'm whistling in the dark, but I believe there is still a possibility of freedom coming peacefully."

Dean Tutu still believes the Government must implement the three reforms he suggested to the Prime Minister to defuse the situation:

- Free hold property rights for urban Blacks.

- The repeal of the pass laws.

- A national convention to lay the foundations for a non-racial, open and just order.

This week he put forward a fourth point: The release of Robben Island prisoners.

He explained: "They

should be brought back into the political arena. The people would listen to them."

The Dean described what Blacks regard as their inalienable rights.

"It really boils down to the right to choose.

"Freedom is also the choice of the mother to decide where her child will be born, the choice of mate, the choice of where to live, the choice of work, of education and where to obtain it.

"Freedom is also to determine political life style, and the freedom to bargain over labour."

With freedom came the acceptance of responsibility and obligations.

Freedom for Blacks would set Whites free.

"By limiting my freedom, you are limiting yours, because you always have to watch me to make sure I am staying within the limits you have set. You can't enjoy a freedom you deny me."

Whites had extremely high divorce and suicide rates and White homes had to be protected by burglar-proofing.

"Whites are distorting other areas of their lives by denying freedom to Blacks," he said.

Township tension would have been eased if the Government had expressed sympathy for the

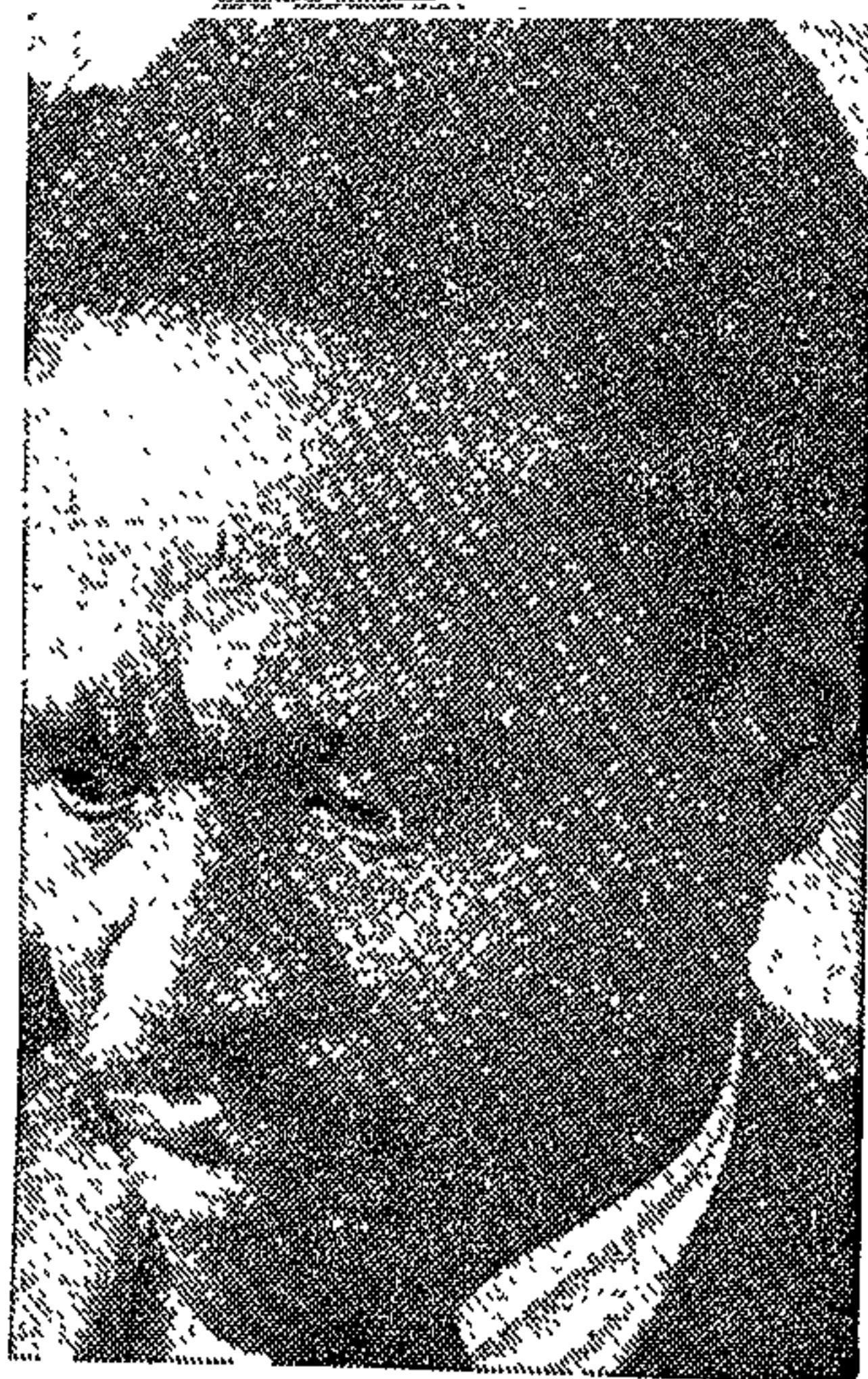
innocent victims of the riots and suspended the Afrikaans language requirement, said Dean Tutu.

"It would have shown the people the children did not die for nothing; that they achieved something."

Calm would return to the townships, but it would be "brittle and superficial" unless there were changes.

He added: "We must not underestimate the anger in Black hearts — the smouldering anger that exists. It doesn't help that Mr Kruger praises the police. It is going to take a long time for Blacks to love them."

Why Blacks^{S TRIB} destroy symbols of the system



By OBED KUNENE, Editor of *Ilanga*

WHENEVER there is rioting in South Africa and there is a heavy loss of life and property, the question invariably asked by many disbelieving Whites is: "Why do the Blacks always destroy facilities provided for their own use?"

Another favourite cry is: "Look at them. We Whites build everything for them and they burn it all down."

It's a typical reaction from people who do not always understand the issues involved, or if they do, choose not to see the situation for what it really is.

Blacks do not destroy facilities. They destroy symbols of the entire system devised by Whites for them. The system entails: The pass laws with all their repugnant manifestations, 'Bantu' education, job reservation, unequal pay for equal work, no security of tenure, no land ownership rights, poor living conditions, migrant labour, an inequitable distribution of the country's wealth and a denial of the democratic right to decision-making.

It is a system that has virtually ruined the fabric of Black society, especially in the urban areas. It is abhorred, resented, despised and hated almost to pathological limits. And the blame is squarely on the Whites who consider it their divine right to order and regulate the lives of Black people.

Leadership mockery

The Nationalist Government in its wisdom prescribes a policy of separation. Blacks, it rules, shall remain in their areas, free to determine their own affairs. But do they? No.

Instead, the White man retains full control of all the executive powers in the Black townships, and a mockery is made of Black leadership. The Urban Bantu Councils are nothing but glorified advisory bodies with inconsequential powers. They pass resolutions which always disappear somewhere along the bureaucratic pipeline.

Blacks are fully aware of these things. They talk about them among themselves and with trusted friends. But they are powerless to do anything about it because they do not have the vote. There's nowhere they can turn for succour. Thus frustration, despair, anger and a frightening vengefulness build up.

And when riots come, as they did in Soweto and elsewhere, all the institutions and services that bear the stamp of White authority become prime targets.

Mr Manie Mulder, chairman of the West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board, made a significant remark in a radio interview at the height of the Soweto eruptions. "They are destroying all the White man's properties," he said of the Blacks who had gone on the rampage.

I fancy Mr Mulder would have been nearer the point if he had said: "They are pulling down the White man's economy..." For, let's face it, that's exactly what it was. In most Black eyes, those properties represent an economy from which they benefit little.

It is hard for the average Black man to reconcile White opulence, almost sinful in its abundance, with the rank poverty and deprivation in which he has to live virtually all his life. He starves in the midst of plenty.

The late Zulu king, Cyprian Bhekuzulu kaSolomon, speaking at a public function in Durban more than 20 years ago, observed that the city had come a long way from its early bush days to the era of sky-scrapers and neon lights. He remarked that in building it, the White man with his technical know-how always had the Black man with his physical toil.

Silent suffering

"And yet my people cannot live in the fine buildings they help to build," was the king's final comment.

One wonders if Whites ever stop to reflect that what they desire for themselves by way of material and other creature comforts, the Blacks also wish for themselves. After all, they are just as human.

What about the stoning and the burning of the buses and the libraries, and the attempts to interfere with railway lines? They have to get to work to earn a living for their families, don't they?

Far be it from me to condone violence and senseless acts of vandalism. But spare a thought for the township dweller who daily has to leave his home before dawn to catch the earliest train or bus to work. He doesn't get back home much before 8 p.m. The conditions under which he has to commute are often indescribable.

Sometimes the buses are not there, or the train service breaks down, as often happens in Durban. This results in unpunctuality. It's a serious matter for the worker who can be sacked outright, and he has no trade union to turn to for redress.

Remember, too, that the Blacks never asked to be placed in residential areas far from their places of work. It all adds to the daily frustrations which they suffer in silence... until the riots come.

As for the libraries they are part of a system of education which the Blacks did not ask for. It was foisted on them and they have never stopped resenting it.

Black anger, I suppose like any other type of anger, does not always pause to rationalise. It knows few barriers. The killing of Dr Melville Edelstein, the Johannesburg social worker, was a shameful, tragic business.

But I doubt if those who so brutally ended his life knew who Dr Edelstein was, or if they knew of the good work he had done for the people of Soweto.

It seems a reasonable deduction that, as far as they were concerned, Dr Edelstein was just another White face. He had to pay for the sins of others.

Blacks, like the human beings that they are, hate to be patronised. They do not want to live on the White man's charity yet they have been liberally reduced to that level.

GIVE them the same opportunities which for others are a matter of right.

GIVE Blacks a real stake to fight for and preserve.

GIVE them security, a sense of truly belonging to the country, instead of living like pariahs.

GIVE them all this and I'll wager we will be on the way to a happy frictionless co-existence.

My five-point plan to defuse the race bomb

27/6/76
S TRB



By PERCY QOBOZA, Editor of World

THE INITIAL SHOCK of the bloody riots that rocked the country a week ago is over and South Africans, predictably, are settling down again to their own lives.

Whites have gone back to their privileged positions and Blacks are back to square one — their own form of denigration and second class citizenship.

It happened after Sharpeville. The shock and impact of it then prompted many to predict that South Africa would be never the same again. But after the dust had settled the need to learn a lesson from the disasters of 1960 quietly vanished.

Now the situation could be the same. Everybody is settling back into their cosy positions. Those who furiously bought guns are now packing them away — only for them to be stolen to increase the gun-toting populations of the townships dramatically.

Everything is well. The Security Branch, no doubt embarrassed that they did not anticipate the disturbances, will respond with more dramatic raids and more Blacks will find themselves facing indeterminate periods of detention.

In other words, our traditional way of life will go on as if nothing happened. Nothing at least for the moment . . .

Yet the Soweto riots must have shown South Africa the intensity of the Black man's impatience. Whereas Sharpeville claimed nearly 80 lives, last week's death toll will be much higher on the final count.

And make no mistake, unless something is done to defuse the situation, these riots will become a monotonous, permanent feature. What's more, they may not necessarily be confined to the borders of the townships, for a flashpoint may just happen in the middle of a city.

What can be done to defuse the situation?

We must agree straight away that at the heart of our problems lies the fact that basically, South Africa has a racist society. And in all racist societies, tensions are naturally high among peoples of various groups.

Whether we want to call our official policy apartheid, separate development or the more recent legendary Alice-in-Wonderland description, differentiation, what it all amounts to is that we are pursuing a policy designed to entrench White privilege and perpetuate Black denigration.

We will not have even started coming to grips with the situation unless our countrymen — Whites — realise their very future and existence depends heavily on their sharing equally with their Black fellowmen on the basis of mutual respect.

For in the final analysis, Whites must realise that they either share with us what they have, or lose everything. I would therefore suggest a five-point plan by which Whites can immediately defuse the situation, show their goodwill and preparedness to make South Africa a home for us all.

- The Government must suspend immediately all discriminatory legislation that causes friction among people and differentiates be-

tween them on the basis of colour.

- Take effective steps to grant immediate freehold rights to Blacks wherever they are, without insisting on the absurd provision that they produce homeland citizenship certificates.

- Appoint a constitutional commission to work out a federal system of Government since the homeland policy has advanced to a stage where it is difficult to undo.

- Introduce immediate compulsory education for all children, giving their parents the right to choose the type of education and medium of instruction.

- Lastly, Mr Vorster must call a national convention of all South Africans, representative of all political shades and views, to work out a national constitution in which the rights and security of all South Africans will be guaranteed.

I am well aware and appreciate the fears of my fellow South Africans that the removal of racial discrimination may well result in chaotic conditions.

The White worker, for example, will fear that the removal of job reservation will result in his being displaced by Black and cheaper labour. But then the Government must ensure there is no cheaper labour and must insist on the rate for the job. How long must the economy be burdened by incompetent White labour merely because the White worker is protected from active competition with Black workers?

Home ownership is the first and major prerequisite to the development of any secure and orderly society. Rioters burned all those public buildings in Soweto and they will continue to destroy property wantonly, because they have no meaningful stake in such properties.

For all they cared, Soweto could have gone up in flames because Soweto stands as a monument of their shame and denigration. We would never destroy what is meaningfully ours — under any circumstances.

We have consistently warned that separate development, far from solving the country's problems, was going to compound them. Nobody can now undo the homeland setup. Chief Kaizer Matanzima has now had a taste of the trappings of power and there is no way in which Whites will persuade him to step down and surrender the Transkei.

He would, however, be receptive to a federal system of Government, in which the autonomy of the Transkei would be guaranteed but tied to a common South Africa, to which we share one national loyalty.

A National convention is something Mr Vorster and his government will have to call one day. Better to do it in an atmosphere of peace and calm, rather than be forced by circumstances and bloody riots.

Mr Vorster must wake up to the fact that such a convention must include representatives of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Students Organisation and the Black People's Convention.

And whether we like it or not, we will have to talk to Nelson Mandela and other Robben Island prisoners.

The ball is clearly in Mr Vorster's court, if we are to avert a major calamity that this country might never survive.

By SEAN O'CONNOR

A SOWETO father is heartbroken . . . and frightened.

His life has been ruined by the death of his son, who was shot dead in last week's riots.

But on top of this, Mr Albert Ngoma is scared.

"I live in more fear of the White man now after all this violence, and I think most people in Soweto feel the same way," he said.

Mr Ngoma is married, with four children. He is a clerk at a Johannesburg television company.

At his three-roomed home in Jabulani this week, he told me.

"We Blacks don't know what is going to happen to us now — we don't know where we stand. Perhaps the Whites will really strike harder on us. Maybe they will punish us for what we have done."

Mr Ngoma spoke bitterly about his son's death.

"Tennyson was 20 and had set his heart on getting a good education. He did not take part in the riots and had no grievance about being taught subjects in Afrikaans.

"He was killed by a stray police bullet as he tried to avoid a gang who were looting a shop. Tennyson was the finest man in our family. He left school in Std 6 and worked for two years. But he decided he needed a better education and on his own accord returned to school," Mr Ngoma said.

Mr Ngoma first came to Soweto in 1947. He lived in an iron shanty. In 1958, he moved into a house with his family.

"I have watched Soweto grow. I can remember in the 50's there were no leaders to voice our dissatisfaction.

"But gradually they cropped up and began to tell us that we should not be living like we were. They told us we were being pushed around by the Whites and ever since then I have seen these riots coming.

"And finally it was the education issue which caused the violence.

"I am shocked that the riots developed to such an extent — I am not sure they are over," Mr Ngoma said.

• Mrs Caroline Ngoma sits in her house, deep in mourning for her son, shot in the Soweto riots. She will stay in the room until the funeral. The candle indicates a member of the family has died. With her is a grandchild.

Picture: DANIE COETZER

**And the
breaking
of a father's
heart . . .**

Scarred Soweto is slowly healing

SOWETO was a mass of scars this week as normal life crept back into the city's sprawling townships.

Children played in charred buildings, clambering over burnt furniture and tinkering with bits of debris.

Wrecked cars and buses marked where rioters had massed.

Glass, stones and bricks scattered many roads.

Indian and Chinese traders gathered in groups to shovel burnt merchandise from their shops. Nearby, others made do by selling their goods from trucks.

This was Soweto, ten days after some of South Africa's worst riots.

But day-to-day living is almost back to normal. The road blocks to the townships have gone.

Wholesalers and suppliers are beginning to make deliveries again.

Putco has resumed services into the heart of the townships and trains are operating to all stations.

Mr Sam Moss, MPC, said only people who had lost someone in the violence would not readjust.

"Events hold a grimmer reality for them than those left untouched by the riots," Mr Moss said.

"Life is returning to normal... life is going to carry

By **SEAN**

**O'CONNOR and
SHEILA WING**

Three clinics and the Orlando West Inspectorate offices were burnt down. Another clinic was damaged and looted.

Dr Kin Bensusan, chairman of the Johannesburg City Council Health Committee, said "We believe all our records have been destroyed. But until we can get into Soweto, it is not easy to assess the situation. Unfortunately, we do not keep duplicates of the records at our Johannesburg offices."

"These records may take years to replace — we will have to start from scratch. If any of the records can be salvaged, we will do so," he said.

Dr Bensusan said all clinics in the townships had been closed.

"We hope to resume services early next week. Mobile clinics — two are available — will have to be introduced to perform inoculations, family planning clinics, pest control services and general health measures."

"There is no immediate danger of epidemic, but if



● A child perches on a wrecked cash register in a burnt-out greengrocer's shop in Moroka, Soweto.

BJ digs paper, Botha buries it

Express Reporter

THE MINISTER of Defence, Mr P W Botha, this week attacked the Fleet Street Sunday newspaper which his own Prime Minister last week praised as an example of "objective reporting."

In a television interview in Bonn last Sunday, Mr Vorster singled out the London Sunday Express for its coverage of the township riots.

This newspaper, the Prime Minister said, had shown itself to be far more responsible in assessing and reporting the riot situation than many of South Africa's own newspapers.

But in Parliament on Friday, Mr Botha, who is acting Prime Minister while Mr Vorster is in Europe, attacked the Sunday Express for calling Afrikaans "the symbol of an arrogant, ruling minority."

Overseas newspapers, he claimed, took their "propaganda" directly from some South African newspapers or journalists.

"They get it from their agents here in South Africa," the Minister added, "the traitors who crawl around here in the night."

Townships are quiet

THERE were no new outbreaks of riots yesterday in Black townships on the Witwatersrand as police stood by on an alert because of the banned ANC's "Freedom Day."

But in Cape Town, anti-riot police stormed a flat in Retreat and routed a gang, armed with pangas and knives.

Picture: **DANIE COETZER**

Sunday Express

27 June 1976

on — the people are picking up the pieces.

"The African people are very resilient — they will bounce back and make the most of what is available at the moment.

"We will just have to start building again and go forward with positive thinking. Now, it's a problem of management. The West Rand Administration Board is busy working things out," Mr Moss said.

He estimates it will take five years and R30-m to restore Soweto to its pre-riot condition.

Meanwhile, it is feared that all health records for Soweto were destroyed in the riots.

we delay the re-introduction of environmental health services, a health hazard could easily arise," Dr Bensusan said.

In Moroka, Jabulani and Orlando, the atmosphere was uneasy this week.

A car with White passengers brought glares from young Africans at the side of the road.

Several shook their fists. But older people hardly seemed to notice.

The streets were alive with children and around every bend a soccer match was being played.

But their schools are closed and there's nowhere else for them to go but the streets.

Riot killing of informers 'is nonsense'

By TIM CLARKE

THE COMMISSIONER of the SAP, General Gert Prinsloo, has dismissed a statement that several Black Government "informers" were liquidated during the Witwatersrand riots as "utter nonsense".

The allegation was made at the United Nations Security Council by the Director of Foreign Affairs of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr David Sibeko.

Kruger feared White backlash

Express Reporter

THE Government was "very worried" about a White backlash during the township riots, according to the Minister of Justice and Police.

Mr Kruger told foreign newsmen in Pretoria he had been specially concerned about sealing off Johannesburg's Alexandra township, because it was surrounded by "exclusive White suburbs."

"The last thing we wanted was a White backlash," the Minister said. "We were very worried about a White backlash."

Mr Kruger also revealed that the death toll of the riots now stood officially at 176. All but two of these victims were Black.

Police killed between 12 and 16 schoolchildren, the Minister added, and between 30 and 40 per cent — 56 to 70 — of the 176 dead.

He denied as "irresponsible and unfounded" overseas reports that the Government had allowed White vigilante groups to enter Soweto and "murder" Blacks.

Reports from the United Nations Committee on Apartheid, claiming that more than 1 000 Blacks had been killed in the rioting, were also "devoid of all truth."

Mr Kruger said the Government expected sporadic outbreaks of violence to continue

until "the excitement dies down" and things would return to normal.

Giving for the first time the official police version of how the riots started, the Minister said the first confrontation between students and police happened in Soweto at 7.40 last Wednesday morning.

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," Mr Kruger said, "and the crowd's leader was shot dead then."

He turned out to be a "non-student", aged between 25 and 30.

Earlier, Mr Kruger said, a baton and teargas charge on the students had proved ineffective.

"It would definitely appear the riots were planned and timed" to coincide with Mr Vorster's meeting with Dr Henry Kissinger.

The Minister told the newsmen gasoline, paint and paraffin, sometimes carried in "balloons", were used in the arson campaign that erupted simultaneously in separate parts of Soweto "when the police were not expecting trouble."

More than 150 buildings, most of them Government offices, had been gutted.

The making

A NEW BREED of riot police was born in South Africa last winter.

Every police division in the country — there are 80 — was ordered to reorganise its riot control section "to fit into the changing patterns".

The move came after an in-depth study of rioting and crowd control round the world.

During the past two weeks the "new" riot squads demonstrated the efficacy of their improved methods in quelling the arson, looting and destruction that swept the Black townships.

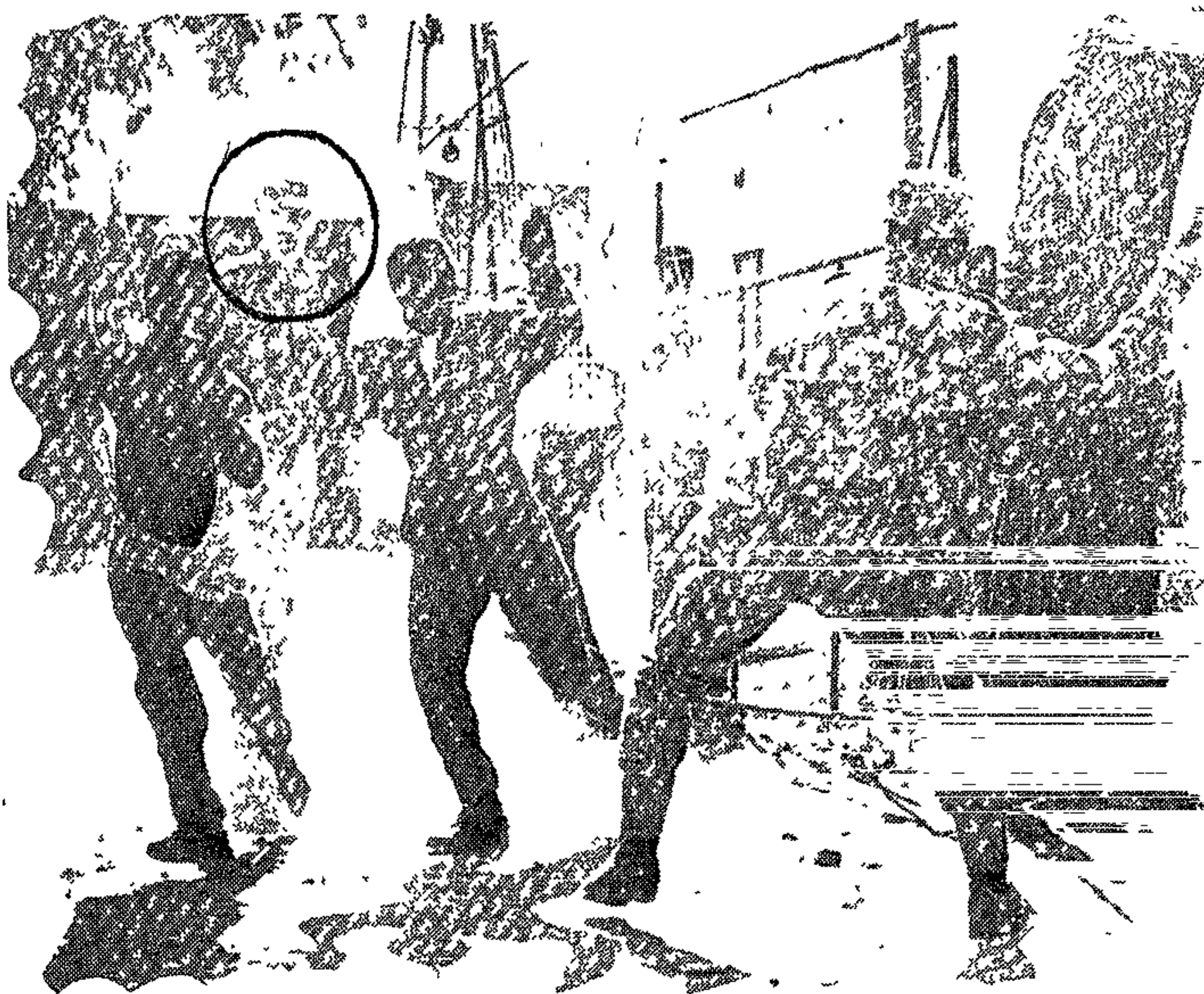
I watched the Johannesburg riot section in action at the height of the riots that gripped Alexandra last Friday.

Despite the apparent chaos, the members of the squad operated like a well-oiled machine. Discipline was stringent and during one skirmish with looters I heard a senior officer threaten a member of the team with disciplinary action for using undue force to arrest a looter.

And each time the police convoy stopped in the township, the men moved with amazing swiftness to cordon off the affected section. One point I noticed immediately was that guns were not used unnecessarily. The moment a mob had been put to flight or it was possible to use batons or dogs instead, the order to cease fire was given.

And after each encounter, every man had to account for shots he had fired to an official recorder attached to the squad.

This week, Col H O Eksteen, who is attached to the Riot Squad Head-



● Moments after this picture was taken, a senior officer (circled) threatened the policeman wielding the baton with disciplinary action for using undue force to arrest these two alleged looters.

quarters in Pretoria, explained how the "new" squads were born and outlined the intensive training they must undergo.

"During winter last year every police division in the Republic was ordered to reorganise its riot control section to fit into the changing patterns," he said.

The men selected to serve in the squads were all carefully screened and had to meet certain requirements. "Discipline" and an ability to "control their emotions" under stress were essential.

Selected from all sections of police

The members were selected from all sections of the police force and include filing clerks, financial clerks, computer programmers and radio operators.

The men do not serve full-time in the riot squads and do normal duties at police stations around the country when not in action.

But all are on call and can be fully mobilised within hours in an emergency, as the recent riots showed.

Squad members have to do an intensive training course during which they study the background to riots and learn how to quell disturbances.

Their subjects include;

- The psychology of crowds;
- the legal aspects of crowd control;
- investigations;
- civil unrest;
- riot prevention and control;
- planning and training for riots;
- physical control of crowds;
- aids used for crowd control, such as rubber batons and tear smoke;
- strikes, which are handled differently to riots.

Each man is told under what conditions he may use a gun — and faces disciplinary action if he transgresses the order.

An order on the use of firearms from the Commissioner of Police, General G L Prinsloo, says: "Less dangerous weapons must always be used before firearms."

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quote.

This sometimes acts as a deterrent when rioters see how well organised the police are;

- verbal persuasion;
- use of water, if available;
- use of tear smoke;
- use of dogs;
- a baton charge;
- firing at specific targets which are pointed out to sharpshooters;
- use of shotguns;
- and finally, "full fire force".

But, the orders say, the police must always make sure there are "escape routes" for the crowd to leave the area. And it says the police must always tell the crowd where these "escape routes" are in order to avoid panic or a stampede.

Replying to criticism that police should have used rubber bullets — as in Northern Ireland — Col Eksteen said: "Our policy is to use minimum force and by the time we shoot, we have to."

He said extensive investigations into the use of rubber bullets "throughout the world" had shown that they were ineffective for riot control.

"It is accepted all over the world that this type of ammunition only tends to incite a crowd more because it has no real effect."

Col Eksteen said water cannons had not been used in the townships because of poor water supply and low pressure.

"But water is effective for controlling a peaceful crowd, not a violent one."

The riot police, Col Eksteen said, tried to keep up-to-date with "all the best methods of crowd control" and constant "reading and studying of new methods is done".

Among these new methods is audio-visual television, which is still in the experimental stages. It would be used to identify the leaders of a riotous crowd, as court evidence and as a training aid.

the mobs...

of a

riot

cop

By RAYMOND JOSEPH

The order goes on to say that weapons may only be used when it is essential — and "the moment there is no more use for firearms, their use must be stopped immediately." And it is made clear that "if there is any doubt, firearms must not be used".

Col Eksteen, who was in charge of operations in the Atteridgeville township near Pretoria during the riots, said: "Our whole policy is to use minimum force and our actions are prescribed by the situation which faces us when we arrive at the scene."

"The men may only fire when their OC orders them to or if their lives are endangered and they are legally entitled to shoot . . . and then that person must prove that he had to open fire."

According to Col Eksteen, every shooting incident is investigated by the CID.

Organisation acts as a deterrent

But, he stressed, the use of guns is a last resort.

Again he referred to Gen Prinsloo's orders which map out police action when dealing with a riot.

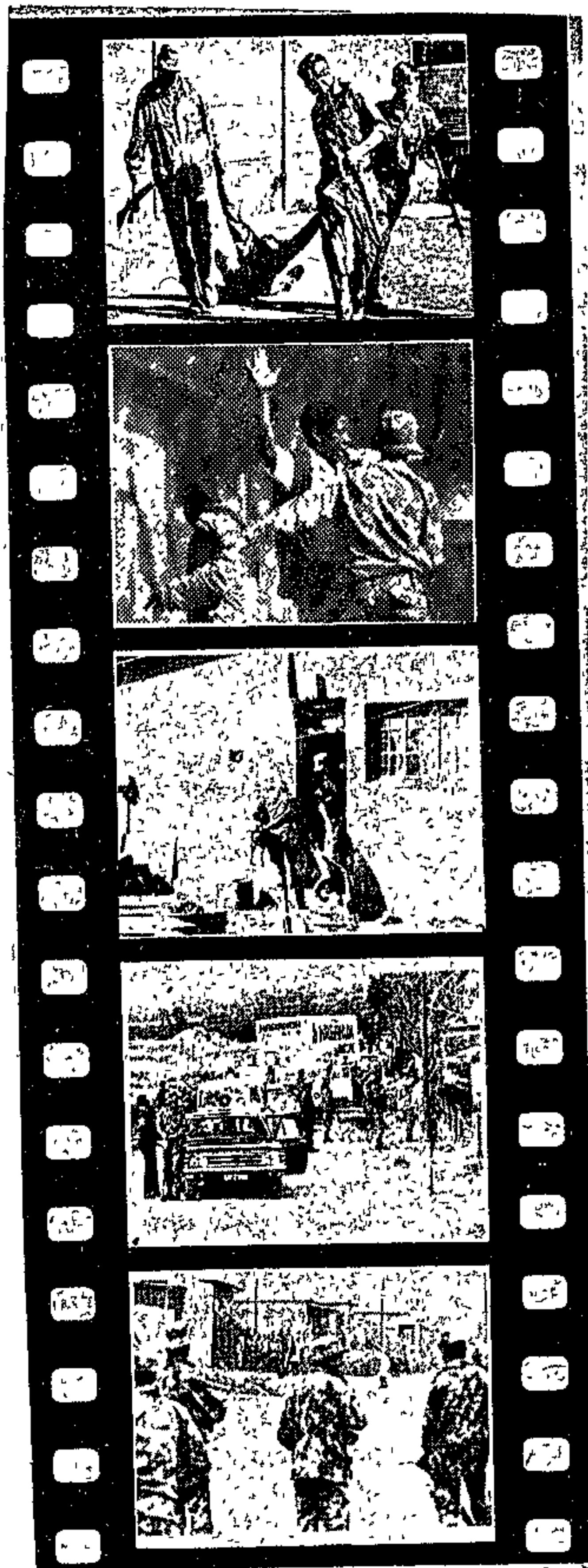
They are:

- a show of force;
- the formation of sections in drill sequence.

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● The riot squad in action scenes from the unrest in Alexandra Township last Friday.

1 312 Dete. Ho.
2 323

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Soweto: Church official detained

The Argus Bureau

PRETORIA. — An official of the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference, Mr Victor Gallingi (35), has been detained in the city by security police in connection with the recent disturbances in townships near Pretoria. Colonel J. C. Broodryk, commander of the Pretoria branch of the security police today confirmed the detention and said there was a possibility of still further arrests.

Mr Gallingi, according to a spokesman for the conference, which is the highest administrative body of the Roman Catholic Church in Southern Africa, was an administrative secretary to the Commission for Social Communication and the Commission for Ecumenism of the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference.

He was detained by the Security Police at about 2.30 pm on Thursday last week at the bishops' conference offices at 140 Visagie Street.

PLAY BANNED

Meanwhile, tonight's performance of Gibson Kente's play *How Long?* in aid of victims of township rioting has been banned by the Acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, Mr Louis Francis. The Argus Correspondent reports from Johannesburg.

Charity performances of the play were scheduled for tonight, tomorrow night and on Friday in the Donaldson Community Centre, Orlando.

The takings were to be in aid of riot victims.

Acting in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act, Mr Francis declared the performances 'prohibited gatherings.'

The ban will stay in force from 7.30 pm today to 7.30 pm on Friday night.

How Long? has a strong political theme, and police officers apparently feared it would inflame emotions in Soweto.

Police urged: Release names of riot dead

30/6/76
RDM

Staff Reporter

PUBLICATION of an official list of the names of people killed in recent riots was in the public interest, Dr Manas Buthelezi, chairman of the Black Parents' Association, said yesterday.

He was commenting on the statement by General W. H. Kotze, Witwatersrand Divisional Commissioner of Police, that no official list would be released by the police.

"I feel it is not in the public interest not to release the names of the dead," Dr Buthelezi said.

"The Black Parents' Association is trying to help and locate relatives of the dead to render whatever assistance to them it can. Sometimes it is very difficult to find them. They keep indoors nursing their sorrow."

The association yesterday gave further details to the Deputy Chief Magistrate in Johannesburg of its plans to hold a mass burial on Sunday of the Soweto dead.

Details were requested after an earlier application for permission had been made.

Dr Aaron Mathlare, another key member of the Black Parents' Association, said: "I see no problem in granting permission. We Black people respect death.

There will be no violence."

Dr Mathlare is compiling a list of the dead in Soweto as and when their relatives are tracked down. His list stood at 28 yesterday.

The Association has launched a fund to help relatives of dead meet burial costs.

Donations or enquiries should be directed to Dr Buthelezi at Diakonia House, 80 Jorissen Street, Braamfontein, Johannesburg, Dr Mathlare, 676 Nadedi (surgery), PO Box Kwa Xuma, 1868 in Soweto or Dr N. H. Matlana's surgery at 1401 Dube or Diekloof Zone 1, Soweto.

Damage to board buildings, bottle stores, beer halls and other installations was still being discussed with insurance assessors.

The total extent of the riot damage should be known next week, he said.

Meanwhile, the board had given a priority to the restoration of its revenue earning services, and of its administration buildings and machinery.

Most of the bottle stores and beerhalls, and the boards buildings, had been substantially damaged by fire.

"All services, however, are virtually back to normal, including health services, rubbish removal and the technical repair

services," Mr Kotze said.

Pretoria's two African townships, Mamelodi and Atteridgeville, have simmered down to "near normal", the director of the Bantu Administration Board for the central Transvaal, Mr C. H. Kotze, said yesterday.

The synodal commission for Christian Service of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk in Africa (Southern Transvaal) had decided to make relief funds available for people and families who had suffered in the recent unrest, the chairman of the commission, the Rev E. M. Mataboge, announced yesterday.

He said that any such people, irrespective of their church affiliation, should apply for assistance to the N. G. Church in Africa in their area, who would forward applications to the commission for consideration.

The Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr Justice P. M. Cillie, said yesterday he had not yet been notified of the terms of reference of the commission of inquiry into the Soweto riots.

Mr Justice Cillie is to head the commission, assisted by Dr Percy Yutar, the retiring Attorney-General of the Transvaal.

He said he expected to be notified shortly what the commission's terms of reference were to be.

The Star Wednesday

Jo'burg council uproar over Soweto aid

30/6/76.

After Johannesburg city councillors belaboured political insults at each other last night, the council turned down a motion that a R2,5-million grant (over five years) to riot-torn Soweto be considered.

During the uproar the manager, Mr Monty Sklaar, threatened to eject certain councillors.

Mr J F Oberholzer, MPC (UP), chairman of the management committee, said: "People created a bomb in search of a fuse. If not this, it would have been another. The Progressive Reform Party is not blameless."

He added: "If people are told to lose their chains, you are sowing the seeds of revolution."

During the ensuing commotion he pointed to PRP benches and said: "Your representatives have done so."

He said of Dr Selma Browde, MPC (PRP): "If I had to tell you of her actions in Soweto, you would know what I mean."

He voted against the PRP motion and in favour of a National Party motion because the board was the administering body in Soweto, he said.

Mr Sam Moss, MPC (PRP) said Mr Oberholzer's attack was "mean, contemptible and despicable."

Mr Widman, MPC (PRP), accused Mr Oberholzer of "gutter politics."

Mr Carel Venter, NP leader in the council and deputy chairman of the West Rand Board, said he opposed the PRP motion because it was premature.

"Planning has not yet progressed far enough," he

said, and added that when plans were ready, the board might ask the council for R1-million — or nothing.

The council earlier approved R50 000 be given to a mayoral emergency relief fund.

Putco plan is rejected

Recent riots, when Putco buses were burnt, have been given as a reason against the siting of a Putco depot at Johannesburg's Wembley Stadium.

This was put forward at yesterday's Johannesburg Council meeting by the United Party which has gathered 2 000 signatures in an organised campaign against a Putco application for a depot on the Wembley site.

Mr J F Oberholzer, MPC (UP) chairman of the management committee, said Blacks had burnt buses — "we Whites have not burnt buses."

Mr Alf Widman, MPC (PRP) leader in the council, accused the UP of "whipping up White feelings against Blacks."

The National Party sup-

ported the UP and the council voted to recommend the Administrator of the Transvaal prevent the Putco rezoning.

● Johannesburg's plans for a new rugby stadium at Ellis Park have been threatened by a new snag.

Mr J F Oberholzer said one of the conditions agreed to by the council last year, had been rejected by the Transvaal Rugby Football Union.

The council had agreed it should give Ellis Park to the TRFU, buy the TRFU ground at Springfield for R2-million, and give council land at Moffat Park to the TRFU.

However the Moffat Park side of the deal was subject to the ground, which was under mining title, being freed by the Mining Commissioner.

Mr Oberholzer said this condition was not acceptable to the TRFU.

No ruling on mass funeral

A decision has not yet been made on the application to hold a mass funeral for victims of the Soweto riots. The application is still being considered.

The decision was expected yesterday.

But the deputy Chief Magistrate in Johannesburg, L. P. Francis, said today he had asked for further particulars from the funeral's organisers.

"I will not be able to make a final decision until after receiving these," he added.

THE DATE

The funeral is being organised by the Black Parents' Association.

The date has been set for Saturday.

The association's executive committee is to meet tonight.

Dr Montwedí Mathare, a trustee of the organisation, hopes a decision on the application will be made by then.

Although plans for the funeral are still under way, at least 10 victims have already been buried.

However, many bodies are still waiting to be claimed from mortuaries.

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AFRICANS HOPE FOR REFORM AT RIOT TALKS

29/6/76 NM
JOHANNESBURG — African leaders from Soweto and neighbouring townships meet the Secretary for Bantu Administration, Mr. I. P. van Onselen, in a second round of post-riot talks.

TEACH BLACKS AFRIKAANS 'AFTER TALKS'

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Dr. Hennie Terblanche, the chairman of the Genootskap vir die Handhawing van Afrikaans (Society to Promote Afrikaans) said that Afrikaans should be taught in African schools, but that the arrangement should be made after reasonable discussion with Black teachers.

He said that South Africa was a bilingual country and education authorities must take this into account.

"In an independent State the authorities can decide what the language medium shall be.

"In South Africa, African schools must consider the policy and requirements of the Government, especially as the Government supplied the schools and the subsidies for African education."

It is "basically wrong to reject the hand that gives education," and this must be considered when the Soweto protest against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction is judged.

"But I feel that unnecessary coercion in the question of language choice . . . is undesirable."

The first round occurred on Friday when African leaders met the Secretary for Bantu Education, Mr. G. J. Rosseau. A three-man delegation was elected to meet the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. M. C. Botha.

A spokesman for the Department of Bantu Administration said yesterday there was no fixed agenda and African leaders would be free to raise any issue for discussion.

The Mayor of Soweto, Mr. T. J. Makhaya, has already given an outline of some of the key issues which Africans will raise in their bid to bring about reform.

The controversial ruling limiting participation in the 30-year leasehold scheme to urban Africans in possession of homeland citizens' certificates will figure prominently.

Influx control and the position of township businessmen who have to take out homeland citizenship in order to continue trading, are certain to be raised as well.

Mr. van Onselen was not available for comment yesterday, but judging from an earlier interview he will have at least one item to add to the agenda — repair to the damaged townships.

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29/6/76

What social scientists know about riots

RDM
29/6/76

IN the wake of the Black township unrest PROF HENRY LEVER, professor of sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand, looks at what sociologists know about riots in general.



NOW that the worst of the riots appears to be over, we can attempt to take stock of the situation in the light of the existing knowledge on riots.

The early writers on the subject were concerned with passing moral judgments on riots and this influenced the way they analysed the situation. Le Bon had a strong dislike of riots. In his fascinating book, *The Crowd*, he argued that crowds were irrational and that they would eventually destroy society (not one society, but society in general).

Sorel, on the other hand, considered riots to be good since they exposed the institutional violence upon which the society is based.

In Sorel's view, it is necessary to distinguish non-institutional violence (riots) from institutional violence (that of the police and army). The police act in the name of the law and their conduct is more or less regulated by society.

Social scientists are generally agreed that riots have the following characteristics:

- They involve mass activity.
- They are usually spontaneous and unplanned.
- They involve physical violence either to persons or to property.
- The targets of the aggression, whether they be people or their possessions, are of a generalised nature and are necessarily miscreants or the people directly responsible for the incidents giving rise to the riots.
- They are not institutionalised and are of comparatively short duration.

There are many theories concerning the causes of riots. The problem as one leading authority has pointed out is not the absence of explanations but rather the absence of proof.

There are a number of simple theories in which riots are attributed to "long hot summers", "the irresponsible nature of the African" or "the work of agitators, communists or hooligans."

The difficulty with these theories is that they fail to explain the absence of riots when these factors are operating. It is clear that an explanation for riots must be found in a combination of factors.

Riots require a combination of precipitants, underlying conditions and auxiliary conditions. Often the precipitant is of comparatively little seriousness itself.

Thus the commission appointed to investigate the Durban riots of 1949 found that: "The spark which caused this tragic explosion was almost ludicrous in its significance." (a mild assault on an African boy, but accompanied by the sight of blood resulting from being pushed through a window pane).

Similarly the tragic rioting in Watts (Los Angeles) was precipitated by a minor incident: A White policeman arrested a Black for drunken driving.

Other incidents are far more serious such as the 1919 Chicago riots when a White man threw stones at a Black youth swimming in Lake Michigan, resulting in his drowning. But whether it is serious or not, the resulting violence exceeds the precipitating incident in intensity.

A further complicating factor has been introduced with the advent of television. In the US it has been found that news programmes showing the violence, burning and pillaging in the Black ghetto's while the riot was in progress was sufficient to bring Blacks out on to the streets in protest in cities hundreds of miles apart.

This has not yet become a crucial problem in South Africa, since only a small percentage of Africans possess television sets.

For the riot to occur there must be a crowd of onlookers who perceive, or misperceive, the precipitating incident. For example, in the 1943 Harlem riot the precipitating factor concerned a Black soldier who was shot by a White policeman while seeking to intercede in the arrest of a Black woman.

The rumour which led to the eruption of violence was of a Black soldier who was shot and killed (not true) in the presence of his mother (not true).

Le Bon refers to "collective hallucinations" and says that: "The simplest event that comes under the observation of a crowd is soon totally transformed."

In order for events to be interpreted in one way rather than in another there

must exist a hostile belief system on the part of the people involved. This hostile belief system is fostered, in part, through ignorance on the part of one group of the other and in part by bitterness arising from frustration and deprivation.

A number of riots in South Africa have been preceded by protests, petitions and deputations expressing grievances. As Chief Luthuli expressed it: "A child that does not cry may die unnoticed, carried by its mother on her back." Unfortunately, the cry is not always heeded.

As professor Leo Kuper (formerly of Durban, now in California) points out, the cry to assuage suffering, the reasoned petition, and the gentlemanly deputation have been of little avail in South Africa.

A few days ago, I looked once again at Jabavu's book, *The Black Problem*, which was published in 1920. In that book Jabavu listed the principal grievances of Africans in this country. With a few exceptions (such as successive droughts in the 1910's) these grievances are essentially the same grievances as those reported in the Quotso surveys of 1973 and 1975 and the Markinor survey of 1974.

Some progress has been made but it is quite remarkable that in a period of more than half a century the principal grievances of Africans have not been redressed. Many of these grievances are not of a political nature.

Rioters usually do not come from the most downtrodden sections of the community. They are more likely to be recruited from the ranks of the less deprived sections of a deprived community. A number of studies have shown that rioters have a higher level of education, more high status jobs and a higher income than non-rioters from the same area. Home ownership has been shown to exercise a definite moderating influence on Black militancy. Riots are also less likely to occur when the shops and other businesses in the area are owned by the Blacks in the neighbourhood.

Riots have been influenced as well by a number of auxiliary conditions.

One such condition concerns the population of Blacks. Riots are not determined so much by the proportion of Blacks in a community or by the sudden influx of Blacks. Of far greater importance is the actual number of Blacks.

Professor Spilerman has shown that a certain minimum number or "critical mass" of Blacks is required before a riot can occur. Furthermore, the probability of a riot occurring decreases progressively from the large city to the smaller city to the town to the village to the rural area.

A further condition for riots concerns the inadequacy of social controls (police or otherwise). Insufficient policing or inadequate training in crowd control can be important factors. Once social control has broken down, other activities such as looting, the settling of old scores and sex abuse are likely to occur.

Riots are symptomatic of the inadequacy of existing social institutions. One of the most important ways of institutionalising and regulating conflict is found in our system of parliamentary democracy. A great deal of electoral and political activity in South Africa since 1910 has been a sublimated form of the conflict of interests between English and Afrikaner.

Instead of taking to the streets or hitting each other on the head with bricks, their conflict has been fairly well regulated and channelled into a socially acceptable form.

Unfortunately we have excluded Africans, Coloureds and Indians from the parliamentary process and have not even given them a minority voice in parliament.

Conflict can therefore be expected to be of a non-institutionalised form. In other words, riots are the price we have to pay for much foolishness.

Afrikaans — 'but no force'

Staff Reporter

UNNECESSARY coercion over the choice of language in schools is undesirable, says Dr Hennie Terblanche, chairman of the Genootskap vir die Handhawing van Afrikaans (society to promote Afrikaans), and could create resistance to education generally.

But he still believes that Afrikaans should be taught in African schools — after reasonable discussion with Black teachers.

Dr Terblanche said in a statement: "South Africa is a bilingual country and

the education authorities must take this into consideration and carry it out effectively.

"Apart from that, it is important in the use of a language medium to consider practical education aspects like expressiveness, comprehension and lucidity.

"In an independent state, the authorities can decide what the language medium shall be.

"In South Africa, African schools must consider the policy and requirements of the Government, especially as the Govern-

ment provides the schools and the subsidies for African education."

Dr Terblanche said it was "basically wrong to reject the hand that gives education", and this had to be considered when the Soweto protest against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was judged.

Afrikaners formed the "majority of the Government" and Afrikaans was an official language, he said. Black children should realise that Afrikaans had great value for them and should have a proper place in their schools.

No Soweto tours yet Yutar chosen

Staff Reports

POLICE patrols are back to their pre-riot normal, but it is "still very dangerous" for tourists to go through Soweto.

West Rand Administration Board officials will decide today when to lift the suspension on their daily bus tours through the townships.

Soweto has been out of bounds to tourists since violence flared 12 days ago. Tours scheduled for this week have also been cancelled.

A booking officer said yesterday provisional bookings were being accepted for next week.

"It's still very dangerous to go through Soweto, you know", she said.

General W. H. Kotzé, Divisional Commissioner of police said yesterday most of his men were back on

normal duties in Johannesburg with guards at buildings "we regard as possibly vulnerable to attack".

Brigadier S. W. le Roux, Divisional Commissioner for Soweto, said the number of patrols had been reduced from last week, but many men were still on instant recall for riot duty if needed.

DR PERCY YUTAR, the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, has been appointed to present evidence and arguments before the commission of inquiry into the recent riots in Soweto and other places, the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, announced in Pretoria yesterday. — Sapa.

First riot trials next week

RDM

29/1/76

By HELEN ZILLE

THE FIRST trials arising from the recent riots are due to begin next week, the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court's senior public prosecutor, Mr K. von Lieres, said yesterday.

He could not say how many of the 1298 arrested during the riots had been charged.

Colonel C. Maritz, who is in charge of investigations in Soweto, said 250 people were still in custody there. All had been charged Mr Von Lieres confirmed.

Most will appear on theft charges as a result of looting. Others will appear on allegations of murder, assault and arson.

Major P. A. Laubscher

of the Alexandra police division refused to give details for his area.

Mr Von Lieres, who will be controlling all prosecutions arising from the riots on the Witwatersrand, said many of those charged would not be prosecuted.

"Cases arising from riots are particularly difficult to investigate because of identification problems," he said. "People in hospital have to recover sufficiently to identify their assailants and the police have to identify those arrested in rioting mobs."

Mr Von Lieres said he expected the load on the courts to be heavy. Few applications had been made for bail — and they had been refused.

No names of riot victims, say police

By M. 29/6/76
Staff Reporter

THE Witwatersrand Divisional Commissioner of Police, General W. H. Kotze, said yesterday that no official list of names of people who died during the riots would be released by the police.

Names of the dead could be obtained from relatives if they were prepared to tell the Press — and this would be a private matter, not an official one.

The total number of people identified at the mortuaries so far would be released in due course by the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said General Kotze.

● See Page 3

CALM, BUT SEARCHES CONTINUE

Mercury Correspondent

NM 28/6/76

PRETORIA — Motorists leaving or entering Mamelodi township had their cars thoroughly searched and inspected by armed White policemen at the main entrance of the township.

Mamelodi, where about 10 people were killed during the height of the riots on Monday and Tuesday, is the only Pretoria Black township where police roadblocks are still maintained.

Police checked particulars of vehicle registra-

tion and looked into the boots of cars.

While the police checked at the entrance of Mamelodi, the residents of the township saw one of the biggest funerals recently when a local businessman, Mr. Samuel Mabunda (46), was buried yesterday.

Mr. Mabunda was one of the victims of the violent rioting in Mamelodi on Monday evening. He was shot through the head while he was chasing after a young looter.

Blacks in Cape Town's Langa township stormed the post office in Washington Street early on Saturday, breaking windows and attempting to burn down the building.

The mob who thronged the building threw burning wads of newspaper through broken windows, but other than several broken panes and slight scorching the post office was not seriously damaged.

Other townships throughout the Cape Peninsula were relatively quiet.

The official death toll of 176 in the Reef and Pretoria township riots makes it the most violent episode involving Africans and police in South Africa since the formation of Union in 1910.

The bloodiest incident before these riots occurred at Bulhoek, near Queenstown, when the Smuts Government ordered the use of force against a religious sect for defying an order to move from a piece of land. The death toll was 163.

Between then and the outbreak of riots in Soweto on June 16, there were recurring clashes between protesting or defiant Africans and police.

Among the most important were:

● The death of 62 tribesmen in 1923 at Bondelswarts in South West Africa for refusing to pay a dog tax;

● The death of nine striking African miners in Johannesburg in 1946;

● The "May Day" riots of 1950, which resulted in the death of 18 Africans;

● The death of 67 Africans at Sharpeville in 1960, after police opened fire on a crowd during anti-pass law protests.

The 1976 riots differed in at least two respects from previous violence — they were spread over a wide area stretching from Kagiso on the West Rand to Duduza on the East Rand and taking in townships about 35km north of Pretoria, and much of the violence was inflicted by African on African.

According to the Minister of Police, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, police bullets only accounted for between 30 to 40 per cent of the casualties.

A White Sunday for Blacks

By DOC BIKITSHA

BLACKS in the townships had a taste of White Sunday at the weekend, when all paid and organised sport came to a standstill because of directives from street administration boards.

In addition, all beer-halls, gardens, lounges and stores were closed — that is, the beerhalls and stores not razed during the riots. To make matters worse, most drinking establishments are near sports grounds and stadiums in the affected areas.

Before the riots people could nip over quickly for a drink when Kaizer Chiefs and other teams were play-

ing. This weekend there was neither Chiefs nor pubs, only bleak, empty stadiums and desolate grounds.

Missing were the long queues from homes to official drinking halls. The habit was so strong that people went automatically, only to come back cursing.

Mothers and wives who usually criticise the drinking men, said: "Did you not think of your thirst when you burned and razed these buildings? How's the taste of your own medicine now?"

Last weekend looting was finished and regular customers had to go back

to the shebeen. Many of them did not give drink on credit. It was strictly "cash now and credit tomorrow".

I heard people saying in Soweto that the Kliptown bottlestore made a fortune because it was not in the riot-torn areas. The whole of Soweto had to buy there or in Johannesburg.

Yesterday's SABC broadcasts seemed to be only hymns and sermons.

Tennis never had it so good, particularly the Johannesburg African Lawn Tennis Association, which is in its second week of tournaments at the Pinetown courts. Many fans

have been glued to radio sets for whatever news of Black sport relayed from Durban and other places.

The last straw has been the African's idol, Muhammad Ali's draw with a wrestler. Township fans cannot believe that of Ali.

Those who saw placards and banners saying "Welcome All Blacks", mistook this to mean that the White authorities had at last come to accept and welcome Black Power.

POLITICAL comment in this issue by Rex Gibson and John Imrie; news-bills by John Leask; headlines and editing by Brian Ross-Adams; all of 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.

Riots — SA's worst episode since 1910

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The official death toll of 176 in the Reef and Pretoria township riots makes it the most violent episode involving Africans and police in South Africa since the formation of Union in 1910.

Till then the bloodiest incident occurred at Bulhoek, near Queenstown, when the Smuts Government ordered the use of force against a religious sect for defying an order to move from a piece of land.

The death toll was 163.

Between then and the outbreak of riots in Soweto on June 16, there were recurring clashes between protesting Africans and police.

Among the most important were, in chronological order:

- The death of 62 tribesmen in 1923 at Bondelswarts in South West Africa for refusing to pay a dog tax.

- The death of nine striking African miners in Johannesburg in 1946.

- The May Day riots of 1950, which resulted in the death of 18 Africans.

- The death of 67 Africans at Sharpeville in 1960, after police opened fire on a crowd during anti-pass law protests.

The 1976 riots differed in at least two respects from previous violence.

They were spread over a wide area stretching from Kagiso on the West Rand to Duduza on the East Rand and taking in townships about 35 km north of Pretoria.

Much of the violence was inflicted by African on African.

Police bullets

According to the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, police bullets accounted for only between 30 to 40 per cent of the casualties.

Some of the casualties had 22 bullet wounds.

Police do not use 22 calibre weapons.

Commenting from London, Prof Julius Lewin, former professor of African Government at the University of the Witwatersrand and author of several books on race relations, described South Africa as a "sick society."

"Great changes are overdue but they are evidently impossible to bring about," he said.

"These tragic days have proved that the South African Government has learnt nothing since Sharpeville, nothing about African rights and wrongs and nothing about crowd control."

"Soweto is far more significant in scale and pattern than Sharpeville, which was a kind of accident."

"The events of past weeks will be mourned for a generation."

"Africans are virtually leaderless if we define leaders as men who have many followers and who are free to express Black opinion."

"In these circumstances, Africans cannot distinguish long-term from short-term aims."

Rioting was the bloodiest since 1910

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE OFFICIAL death toll of 176 in the Reef and Pretoria township riots makes it the most violent episode involving Africans and police in South Africa since the formation of Union in 1910.

Until then the bloodiest incident occurred at Bulhoek location, near Queens-town, when the Smuts Government ordered the use of force against a religious sect for defying an order to move from the location. The death toll was 163.

Between then and the outbreak of riots in Soweto on June 16, there were recurring clashes between

protesting and/or defiant Africans and police. Among the most violent were:

- The deaths of 62 Bondelswarts tribesmen in 1923 in South West Africa for refusing to pay a dog tax.
- The deaths of nine striking African miners in Johannesburg in 1946.
- The May Day riots of 1950, which resulted in the deaths of 18 Africans.
- The deaths of 67 Africans at Sharpeville in 1960 after police opened fire on a crowd during anti-pass law protests.

The 1976 riots differed in at least two respects from previous violence. They were spread over a

wide area, stretching from Kagiso on the West Rand to Duduza on the East Rand and taking in townships about 35 km north of Pretoria. Much of the violence was inflicted by Africans on Africans, say the police.

Commenting from London, Professor Julius Lewin, former professor of African government at the University of Witwatersrand and author of several books on race relations, described South Africa as a "sick society."

"Great changes are overdue, but they are evidently impossible to bring about," he said.

"These tragic days have

proved the South African Government has learnt nothing since Sharpeville... nothing about African rights and wrongs and nothing about crowd control.

"Soweto is far more significant in scale and pattern than Sharpeville, which was a kind of accident. The events of past weeks will be mourned for a generation.

"Africans are virtually leaderless if we define leaders as men who have many followers and who are free to express Black opinion. In these circumstances Africans cannot distinguish long-term from short-term aims."

Urging immediate reforms, Prof Lewin listed abolition of the poll tax — "a measure which will be immediately understood by all Africans" — and legal recognition for African trade unions as priority reforms.

"There is no revolution round the corner, but White South Africans must learn to live in a situation in which there is neither tranquillity nor chaos, neither racial war nor racial peace."

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8 000 in UK

STAR 28/6/76 Soweto rally

The Star Bureau

LONDON — On the hottest Sunday on record a rally of more than 8 000 people marched through London's West End as a token of solidarity with the dead and injured of Soweto.

Earlier, representatives of several freedom movements, Black students and members of the Black South African community in London met to draft a resolution.

This called for co-operation between exiled, conflicting groups in condemning the Soweto killings and in declaring total support for the "revolutionary actions by the South African peoples against the repressive regimes."

EXPLOITED

The earlier demonstration made a unanimous call for "total political, moral and material support for the immediate liberation of the oppressed and exploited majority of South Africa."

The resolution ended: "We call upon the liberation movements to hasten the process of unity and the formulation of a political strategy in order to intervene effectively in

South Africa for the recovery of our land."

The Hyde Park rally, supported by more than 20 organisations, was organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement. It started with an arduous march in grilling heat behind a coffin symbolising the dead of South Africa's Black townships.

Messages of support and sympathy poured in from MPs, trade union leaders and politicians.

In an address, Miss Joan Lester called for rapid economic disinvestment from the South African economy.

SUNDAY EXPRESS 27/6/76

The riots — by the man Message from the

THE MOST important message to emerge from last week's bloody violence in Soweto is that young Blacks are determined to live in a society totally different to the one known to their parents.

It is a message that White South Africans cannot afford to ignore, says Mr Leonard Mosala, the man who warned two days before the riots that another Sharpeville was imminent unless the sensitive language issue was defused.

In an interview this week Mr Mosala, a member of Soweto's Urban Bantu Council, said adolescent Blacks wanted a non-discriminatory society — one in which their grievances would be given a proper hearing.

Schoolchildren had shown they were prepared to die for this cause.

"The events of last week, their intensity and the way they spread spontaneously throughout the country

must not be seen as the result of political agitation or the work of irresponsible people.

"We must be realistic and take them for what they are — a spilling-over of long-pent-up feelings of discontent, frustration and possible hatred."

Mr Mosala said he issued his Sharpeville warning when it became clear the build-up of resentment had reached explosive and uncontrollable proportions.

His warning went unheeded. Two days later the violence erupted.

Tracing the events that preceded his Sharpeville prediction, Mr Mosala said children had been boycotting classes for more than four weeks.

"They took a positive stand because they did not want to be taught in Afrikaans. In spite of appeals from the Department of Bantu Education, their parents and their principals, they refused to go back to school.

"To me this was a clear indication the children had decided unequivocally that the dual medium educational system was simply too much of a burden to bear."

Mr Mosala said the position had been aggravated by certain factors:

- Parents had failed in their fight to alleviate the children's burden.

- Various organisations had made unsuccessful representations to the Department of Bantu Education to have the system changed.

"Those of us who were here at the time of Sharpeville and had witnessed all the conditions that led up to that event fully understood what would happen if there was a confrontation between the police and the children.

"To the children, Sharpeville was no more than an event in history. They did not have any experience of it and as such

there was nothing to inhibit their actions.

"On the contrary, what happened at Sharpeville probably acted as a motivation to the children. They wanted to go down in history as people who tried to achieve something."

Mr Mosala said the children — because of their high level of education and intellectual sophistication — were much more sensitive than their parents to the effects of discrimination. As a result their level of frustration was considerably higher.

"It was the recognition of these factors that prompted me to issue the Sharpeville warning. I appealed to the authorities to keep the police away from the children."

Mr Mosala said he remained convinced that if his appeal had been heeded, the riots would have been averted.

Mr Mosala said it was now vitally important to do something to meet the real aspirations and expectations

Who warned of a new Sharpeville



Just two days before last week's riots erupted Soweto Urban Bantu Councillor Leonard Mosala warned that another Sharpeville was imminent. In this outspoken interview Mr Mosala, who admits that his own people regard him and his fellow councillors as collaborators, spells out for the first time his view of the full background to the riots — and some of the urgent changes urban Blacks are demanding.



'collaborator'



CHAMBER OF INDUSTRIES

Sunday Express

27/6/76

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By PETER BUNKELL

of Black people in all spheres.

"Concrete programmes to eliminate the causes of Black discontent and frustration must now be planned and implemented."

According to Mr Mosala, these are some of the things that should be done:

- Grant Black parents the right to choose the medium of instruction for their children.
- Make Black education free.
- Scrap political ideology from the educational system and stop using it as an excuse for enforcing unwanted political policies.
- Reconstruct the constitutions of the school boards so parents have effective representation. (This would avoid such practices as the wholesale sacking of teachers, a major cause of pupil discontent).
- Put an immediate stop to the dismissal of school board members who disagree with Bantu Education field officers.
- Reconsider the status of Black teachers and give con-

sideration to bridging the wage gap between Black and White teachers.

- Eliminate all discrimination at university level and open all universities to Blacks.

- Recognise the right of qualified Blacks to be appointed on merit to high positions at universities.

- Grant independent charters to existing Black universities and create the possibility for them to be placed in the hands of qualified Blacks.

Mr Mosala said these aims, and methods of achieving them, would be raised at coming meetings between Government officials and deputations of urban Blacks.

He told me he believed the two most unfortunate aspects of last week's riots were:

- The fact that Black children had to pay with their blood for efforts to bring about changes in the system.

- The fact that the violence erupted over the language of a people who, more than any other people in the world, understood what it meant to have another man's language forced down their throats.

On a more positive note, Mr Mosala said he believed the township violence might convince the authorities of

the need to increase the powers of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council.

He agreed one of the major problems in the townships was that there was no leader accepted by all the people. Government policy prevented the emergence of a universally acceptable leader.

"Urban Blacks still regard Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe as their leaders. The UBC is rejected by the people because it has no power."

Mr Mosala said the UBC was a Government-created platform. Members of the council were subjected to a large amount of abuse from their own people who regarded them as "collaborators".

An examination of election results provides clear evidence of Black rejection of the UBC. In the last election two years ago, more than 84 000 were entitled to vote. Only 12 000 did so, a 14.32 percent poll.

When the Government decides to increase the powers of the UBC, no special law will have to be passed.

In terms of the 1961 Urban Bantu Councils Act, considerable authority is envisaged for the councils. But the powers for the councils contained in the Act have simply never been granted.

Pupils flee Soweto gangs

Whites quit township

29/7/76 STAR

Soweto pupils streamed out of school today as arson attempts by gangs at two schools in the townships sent panic waves through residents.

At the same time heavily armed police patrols were out in several areas of Soweto. White township officials hurriedly left their posts and cleared out of the area.

The Bantu Education Department has also withdrawn their White officials.

The latest arson attempts were at schools in Moleletsane and Mofolo South where gangs of youths tried to set fire to the buildings and frightened the pupils out of the school.

Attacked

At Fred Clark School in Mofolo South a gang of about 30 youngsters, said to be members of the school, attacked the school and many of the pupils in class fled in panic. The principal then spoke to the attackers and persuaded them not to set the building alight.

The pattern at the school in Moleletsane was the same, according to Brigadier S W le Roux, Soweto's police Commissioner.

Called

A Soweto high school student leader, Mr Tsietsi Mashini, today called on Soweto pupils to return to school and not loiter in the streets.

Last night and early today, six more schools on the Reef and in Soweto were damaged by arsonists bringing to at least 10 the number of schools fired in the townships this week.

At the same time, the majority of Soweto pupils had returned to school by today and things appeared to be getting back to normal, according to principals.

Crisis

A senior member of the Urban Bantu Council, Mr Leonard Mosala, has called for urgent talks between Soweto's pupil leadership and the Government and other bodies, to resolve the crisis that is threatening following the walk-out of thousands of pupils from classes today.

The Sundumbili Secondary School at Nyomi in Zululand was another target for arsonists when they allegedly set fire to and destroyed books and furniture worth R545 last night, reports The Star's Maritzburg correspondent.

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Inspectors must go — Soweto teachers

JOHANNESBURG. — A spontaneous meeting of nearly 400 school heads in Soweto yesterday called for the immediate removal of Mr A. C. Ackerman, the Regional Director of Bantu Education in the Witwatersrand, and four senior school inspectors.

The meeting was called following poor attendance in most schools in Soweto yesterday.

The press was barred from the meeting, but a statement was issued afterwards by the presiding chairman, Mr Hamilton Dlamlenze, secretary of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa.

The four senior school inspectors are Mr T. de Beer, Mr O. Terblanche, Mr D. B. Shill and Mr A. Grobler.

© Schools in Soweto will open — police, page 8.

The Star Friday 1

Weighing cost of riots

Devastating township riots broke out last month only 10 weeks after the Afrikaner-dominated Santam group took over the West Rand Administration Board's insurance contract.

Now, Santam assessors are studying claims from the WRAB which may exceed R12-million, according to informed sources.

In April, Santam won the WRAB contract from Incorporated General Insurance, who had held it since the board's inception in 1973.

IGI's managing director, Mr Michael Lewis, has discounted rumours that the takeover was influenced by politics. "It was a straightforward business matter," he said.

Santam Insurance manager Mr A H de Swardt adopted a philosophical attitude to the massive

28/7/76
riot claim his group faces. "It's part of my business," he said, pointing out that the loss would be shared through reinsurance.

The WRAB's "physical" losses in the riots have

been officially estimated at R7-million — a figure which former Soweto administrator Mr Sam Moss regards with "scepticism."

He pointed out that hardly any WRAB property in the townships

had escaped damage, and many buildings were totally destroyed. Despite repeated requests, the board has not issued a breakdown of its losses.

The East Rand Administration Board was also a Santam client. The ERAB estimated its physical losses at R1,25-million, and loss of income is running at about R2-million a month.

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STAR

22/7/76

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Staff Reporters

Black schools on the Witwatersrand and Pretoria opened today for the first time since the pupil demonstration of June 16 which erupted into violence, but few pupils turned up.

Principals felt the absence of pupils was the result of the short notice given of the decision to open today and was not a boycott.

There were isolated outbreaks of arson at schools stretching from Soweto and the Western Transvaal to Nelspruit, but in most cases damage was confined to individual classrooms.

A spokesman for the Bantu Education Department in Pretoria said all schools in the Transvaal, including those in Witbank and Middleburg which were closed yesterday after the outbreak of violence there, had opened today.

A classroom of a Nelspruit location primary school was gutted last night after arsonists started a blaze, police said today.

The remainder of Thandulwazi Primary School was undamaged. All is apparently quiet in the location today.

Desks burnt

Desks were burnt at two Soweto schools last night, but residents living nearby put out the flames before damage could be caused to the schools.

Police in the area said a desk was burnt at Isipho School in Moroko. An identical fire was started in a desk at Phelamani School Mofolo North.

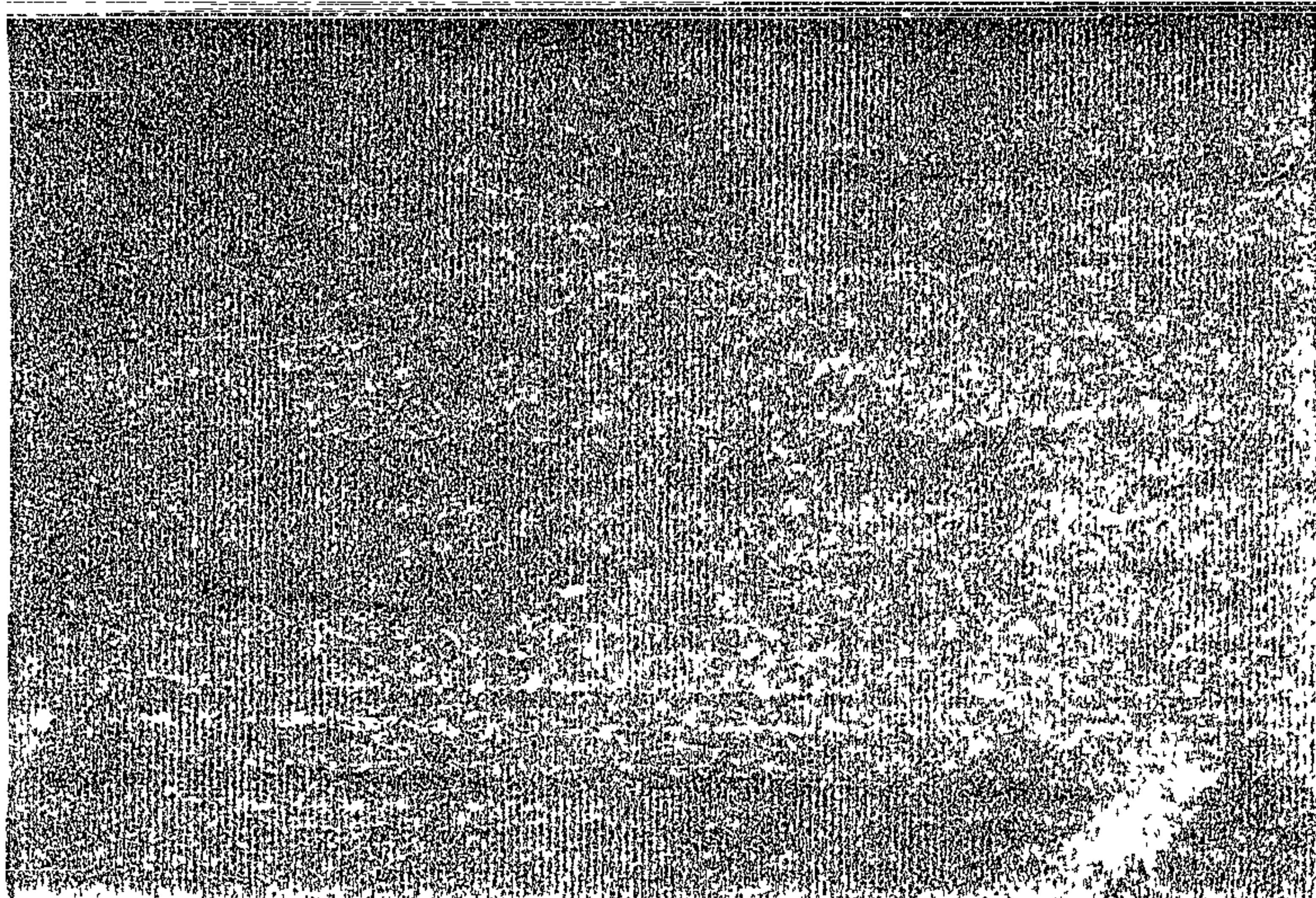
In Soweto all was quiet as a few pupils drifted into school.

But at Phelani Junior Secondary School, in Orlando West, where the boycott of classes over the medium of instruction issue began, no pupils had turned up.

A teacher did not think this was significant as he felt little notice had been given of the opening.

At the nearby Bella, Thuluzwe and Embombeni Schools — which were in the middle of the medium of instruction boycott and the pupil demonstrations — there were few pupils, but principals said they expected full classes by Monday.

In areas near Pretoria there was a similar situation.



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In Mamelodi, there was a small trickle.

Last night the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kruger, said he had ordered the reopening of Soweto schools because the delegation of West Rand township leaders he had met yesterday had given him

To Page 3, Col 3

Few pupils as schools STAR 22/7/76 reopen

From Page 1

the assurance that the opening would "take place in an orderly fashion."

"I have been given an assurance at this meeting — which was very representative and took place in a spirit of co-operation — that these people with the co-operation of the parents, would see to it that the reopening will take place in an orderly fashion," he said.

Mr. Kruger was also asked by the township representatives to lift the ban on public meetings. He said he was not yet prepared to do this.

He would consider the ban as soon as he was satisfied there would be no further trouble.

The township representatives also met the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. Cruywagen.

RDM 22/10/76
By PATRICK LAURENCE

VIOLENCE yesterday spread to seven African townships in the Pretoria - Witwatersrand complex and isolated incidents of arson occurred in four of South Africa's eight homelands.

Ten Africans were killed in townships near Pretoria and along the East Rand, the Minister of Police Mr Jimmy Kruger, announced last night.

The provisional toll of dead and injured since the start of the riots in Soweto last week was 140 dead and 1 128 injured, Mr Kruger said.

He added: "We cannot tolerate any extension of unrest. The police will have to act to contain these disturbances."

Three Pretoria townships — Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and Mabopane — and four East Rand townships — Kwa-Thema, Daveyton, Dudusa and Watts-ville — were affected in the latest wave of rioting.

Rioting in Atteridgeville and Mamelodi started when students of local high schools refused to attend classes after morning prayers. Slogans were painted across school walls, among them "Long Live Azania" and "Viva Soweto".

The students then marched through the townships, collecting pupils and adult residents as reinforcements. The demonstration degenerated into rioting, as buildings and vehicles came under attack.

The Mamelodi offices of the local Bantu administration board were set on fire and looted. The Mamelodi post office also attracted the attention of arsonists. Bottle stores were looted.

In Atteridgeville the Bantu administration board was stoned and a bakery burnt.

According to eye-witnesses, the rioting started when a group marched from the nearby Winterveldt squatter settlement and Soshanguve to the local BophuthaTswana bus depot.

The depot was set alight. Police were called and opened fire. Police confirmed that two people were shot dead. One was identified as Hlengane Boykie Baloyi, 21, of Mabopane.

Among the injured was 10-year-old George Mabo. He was taken to Ga-Rankuwa Hospital.

At Kwa-Thema pupils

demonstrated outside the Bantu administration board office. A similar demonstration took place at Duduza.

Vehicles at Kwa-Thema were stoned. At Duduza pupils were joined by adults and attacks launched against official offices. Police opened fire in both townships. Five people were injured.

At Daveyton, near Benoni, pupils who were sent home from school stoned a vehicle driven by a White. Then a delivery van was set on fire and a truck smashed. Police fired teargas and bullets to disperse the mob.

A schoolboy was found lying dead in a Daveyton road. Senior police officers denied he had been shot by police.

Mabopane falls within BophuthaTswana. In Lebowa a teachers college and a technical college were set alight. A bookshop was burnt down at Sibasa, Venda and a bid to fire a school at Witzieshoek in QwaQwa was thwarted by police.

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~~1373~~
2 Educ - Primary
3 Educ - Secondary

Strike schools' pleas were refused

Staff Reporter

THREE of the Soweto schools which went on strike before last week's riots had had applications for Afrikaans exemption turned down by the Department of Bantu Education in April last year.

They were Belle, Thulasizwe, and Emthonjeni higher primary schools where pupils had already started striking over the Afrikaans issue in the

third week of May this year.

These schools had been asked by the Orlando-Diepkloof Zulu School Board to implement 50-50 teaching from the beginning of this year.

The departmental circular read: "Should practical difficulties arise in giving instruction in half of the subjects through the medium of one or other of the official languages,

es, department approval must be obtained for any deviation from the above decision.

"Department approval in such cases will be dependent largely upon the availability or non-availability of teachers competent to teach the particular subject through the official language concerned."

Mr Thys de Beer, who is circuit inspector for all three schools, was reported

ed to have said he was "satisfied" that teachers were competent.

"I know my teachers. I did go to some of them — not each and every one I spoke to them in Afrikaans," Mr De Beer said yesterday.

Asked whether he had heard any of the teachers conduct lessons in Afrikaans he said: "I am not going to explain any thing I did my duty."

Police quell rioting pupil

nm 21/7/76

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Mercury Correspondents
JOHANNESBURG — Police, using teargas and firing shots in the air, quickly brought rioting pupils under control at Middelburg yesterday.

Riots later erupted at Lynnville township, 2km from Witbank, where teargas was again used.

The night before, trouble flared briefly at St. Chad's, a high school, 4km from Ladysmith, and in the Mofokeng African township near Randfontein.

Before the police action in Middelburg's Mhluzi township, just before lunchtime, 150 pupils marched through the township stoning cars and chanting slogans.

A milk lorry was forced to stop and its driver fled to a cafe. Some of the youths climbed on the back of the vehicle and began to throw full milk bottles at passing cars.

A tractor and trailer also taking milk to the township was attacked by stone throwers.

Escaped

A Bantu Affairs official, Mr. Lourens Wheeler, had his light delivery van forced off the road but he escaped to a nearby building.

The pupils continued their march, hurling stones at the clinic, Bantu Affairs office and police station charge office, all of which had damaged windows and doors.

Police closed roads to the township, causing queues of vehicles for most of the morning.

Police confirmed later

about 150 children had been involved and that the six schools in Mhluzi had not opened yesterday.

Children at the Hendrina School were sent home by police and school officials after an arson attempt on the school early yesterday.

The main building suffered little damage but the storeroom and principal's office were burned.

The Bothsabelo training centre, 8km from Middelburg, attended by many students from

TURNHOPAGE 2

FROM PAGE 1

Soweto, was calm and opened without problems.

At Lynnville, police with teargas waded into Africans wielding placards.

Entrances to the township were closed.

Indians in the centre of the township reported that hordes of Blacks had been stoning their shops.

Mr. Ishmail Abdul, a store owner, said: "There are Blacks all around my shop hammering against the windows with sticks."

A Black store owner speaking on the telephone from his shop said that rioters had blocked the roads and were stopping anyone who refused to give a Black Power salute.

"I know of at least one person who has been shot," he said.

Mr. Dawie Steyn, the town clerk of Witbank, who visited the township yesterday afternoon, after being told that several municipal buildings were ablaze, said he saw at least two being burned. On a second visit last night he saw at least two more shops on fire.

A reporter turned away by security police said police at the township described the situation as "safe."

He said he saw Blacks lining the streets chanting and egging the police on.

"I saw a man brandishing a club wade into scores of onlookers before being overpowered by Blacks," he said.

Commando units in

Witbank were placed on full alert.

At St. Chad's African high school, near Ladysmith, students stoned the kitchen building.

Police were called about 11.30 p.m. on Monday but no arrests were made.

Yesterday, 120 boys chose not to attend classes and two buses were sent to take them to Ladysmith.

Some of the 110 girls decided to stay and the school will remain open. The students are from Natal and the Transvaal.

Col. S. J. H. Pretorius, District Commandant at Ladysmith, said the trouble started when some boy pupils were late taking their places at dinner. The prefects rebuked them and the students retaliated by chasing them into the kitchen building.

The pupils helped the girls break 17 panes of glass, the only damage.

Col. Pretorius said he mustered the police at Ladysmith and sent a detachment out under the command of Lt. Col. J. A. Kruger.

The students were told to disperse and go to their dormitories, which they did without trouble.

Police remained on standby throughout the night.

At Mohlakeng, a primary school was set alight and two classrooms were partly destroyed on Monday night, a police spokesman said yesterday.

An attempt at arson was foiled by police in the Western Transvaal when they arrived in time to put out a fire in a school at Hartebeesfontein early yesterday.

Two die in youth rampage

21/7/76 STAR

The trouble in Lynville started at 2.10 pm, according to Brigadier R R Trollip, acting divisional commissioner of police for the Eastern Transvaal.

Set fire

"A mob of Africans — all students as far as we know — gathered near the Indian business district and set fire to a Highveld Bantu Administration Board vehicle.

"The mob set fire to a Bantu Administration storeroom and the local offices. Both buildings were gutted.

"The Indian community centre was burned down, and terrified Indians fled when the mob set fire to two shops and a house in their area."

Schools

The rampaging mobs also gutted two schools and at least six vehicles, said Brigadier Trollip.

"Police were compelled to open fire on two occasions," he said.

A handful of policemen aboard a Bantu Administration truck were surrounded by a mob when they tried to reach a petrol storage depot. The situation became threatening, and they were forced to shoot their way out.

"On the other occasion, a detachment tried to arrest an agitator who was inciting the crowd to violence. The crowd charged when they moved in, and they were forced to shoot."

When the rioting died down, police found a youth lying dead with a bullet wound in his head. At least nine others were injured.

Brigadier Trollip said a young boy was knocked down and killed by an administration board vehicle when the driver ap-

To Page 3, Col 8

Black schools were shut today in the wake of a 'youth rebellion' which swept Witbank, Middelburg and Carletonville late yesterday, claiming at least two lives and leaving scores injured.

Violence flared in three areas — at Lynville township near Witbank, Mhluzi, near Middelburg and Khutsong, near Carletonville.

At least eight Whites, including a four-year-old girl, were injured when roving mobs stoned cars on the Pretoria-Witbank highway.

An attempt was also made to burn down a school in the Western Transvaal hamlet of Coligny.

Black schools in Transvaal country districts reopened after the winter vacation yesterday. All those involved in the disturbances are said to be schoolchildren.

Police sources speculated that the riots were timed to coincide with a rumoured uprising on the Witwatersrand. Rumours of the rising, said to have been planned for yesterday, turned out to be



Armed police stop and search people entering the riot-torn Witbank township of Lynnville early today.

Two deaths in youth rampage

From Page 1.

parently tried to accelerate his way through a threatening crowd.

Trouble at Mhluzi started at 10.15 am, when 300 youths marched on the township's administrative centre.

Police adopted a restrained approach, and repeatedly dispersed the demonstrators without firing a shot. Police vehicles were stoned on several occasions, a beer depot plundered and a bus set alight, but damage

was slight and there were no injuries.

Brigadier Trollip said 18 suspects were arrested.

Small bands of arsonists started moving around in Khutsong near Carletonville after dark last night, stoning schools and buses and setting fire to selected targets, including three schools.

Police and firemen reacted speedily. The fires in the schools, a beer hall and a Lutheran church were extinguished before they caused much damage.

A Greyhound bus was gutted, and two Government vehicles stoned.

Police in all three areas said there were hints that outside "agitators" had been at work in the townships.

Police spokesmen said no adults were involved in the disturbances.

All was quiet in Soweto and Alexandra today. Police reported isolated incidents of bus stoning last night, and policemen on patrol were taunted by youths, but no serious incidents took place.

New riots break out in Transvaal

Cape Times
21/7/76

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In the Mhluzi Township near Middelburg, yesterday morning, about 150 students marched through the streets, setting fire to a bus, stoning cars and chanting slogans.

A 16-year-old boy, Philemon Mokoana, is believed to have been slightly wounded in the thigh when warning shots were fired to control the mob.

Six schools, due to reopen yesterday, remained closed while panic-stricken parents rushed to fetch their children home.

The demonstrators — who said they were marching to demand the release of all Soweto schoolchildren arrested during the riots last month — hurled rocks at the clinic, Bantu Administration offices and the police station charge office.

They forced a milk lorry belonging to a local farmer off the road, and when the driver fled to safety in a nearby cafe, several youths boarded the lorry and began hurling full bottles of milk at passing cars.

Mr Lourens Wheeler, an official of the Bantu Administration Board, narrowly escaped injury when his light delivery van was forced off the road by the mob. He escaped to a nearby building as rioters attacked his car.

In Soweto and Alexandra police patrolled the streets, but reported that everything was "exceptionally quiet".

Own Correspondent and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — Renewed rioting broke out in the Transvaal yesterday. Last night 3 000 Black youths attacked Indians, Coloured people and Whites in Witbank.

In nearby Middelburg all was reported quiet after violence which began with a march by 150 high school pupils. Police had to be called in to use warning shots and teargas to stop the demonstration.

The army and police reservists were on standby at Witbank last night, and as far as

was known, three Indian shops had been burnt down, as well as the Indian community centre.

A Black man was killed, and several Whites were injured in attacks on cars on the Pretoria-Witbank highway.

Witbank's entire Indian population was evacuated,

and they have been moved to Pretoria where they are staying with friends.

A special riot squad from Pretoria has been moved to the area.

A four-year-old White girl was among the injured when the car in which she was travelling was stoned. She was thrown through the windscreen. The extent of her injuries is not yet known.

About 20 people were injured in the Witbank area.

The Highveld Bantu Administration offices were attacked and about 15 vehicles several of which belonged to the board, were completely destroyed by fire.

Brigadier Trollip, Acting Divisional Commissioner of Police, said that the police were forced to fire shots into the air after being threatened by a mob when they tried to make an arrest

Fort Hare meeting

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Acting Rector of Fort Hare University, Professor A Coetzee, said last night that the university council would meet in Pretoria on Monday to decide when the university would re-open.

He said a senate meeting had been held yesterday, but no decision on re-opening had been taken.

Fort Hare and Lovedale College, where unrest broke out on Monday, were both quiet yesterday.

It was announced in Durban yesterday that the University of Zululand, burnt out in students riots last month, will open in 1977. The date will be announced later.

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Blacks in talks on citizen issue

STAR 2/7/76

A delegation of Africans representing the urban bantu councils and advisory boards of West Rand townships today were meeting the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. Cruywagen, for talks on township disturbances and the controversial issue of homeland citizenship.

The meeting was at the Deputy Minister's offices in Pretoria, behind closed doors and a spokesman said it was not intended a statement would be issued after the talks.

But it is known that one of the issues high on the agenda was the issue of homeland citizenship as it affects urban Blacks.

Since the Government announced last October that Blacks had to take homeland citizenship before they could build or buy their own homes in urban areas, Black civic leaders have expressed bitter opposition.

MINISTER

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, has made it clear that urban Blacks will be forced to take out homeland citizenship if they want "preference" in housing and jobs.

Another hot issue which the delegation would have

mentioned is the regulation promulgated on May 7 which rules that as from the beginning of next year all Black traders and professional people hiring premises in urban areas will have to take out homeland citizenship to

get their licences renewed.

The National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) is also due to meet the Deputy Minister to discuss among other things, the issue of citizenship.

July, 21, 1976

DD

Man dies as riots spread

JOHANNESBURG — At least one schoolboy was shot and a man killed when violence erupted in a number of Transvaal townships yesterday.

One black man has been killed, and several whites were injured in attacks on cars on the Pretoria-Witbank highway.

Trouble was reported from the Middelburg-Witbank area and from the West Rand. The giant Soweto township remained quiet, although administration officials there stayed away from work yesterday.

Teargas and shots fired in the air brought unruly scholars under control in Middelburg's Mhluzi township just before lunchtime yesterday. Earlier 150 of them had marched through the streets of the township stoning cars and chanting slogans.

Philemon Mokoana, 16, was slightly wounded in the thigh when police fired warning shots.

A milk lorry owned by a local farmer, Cmdt K. Ericson, became the first target of the scholars. They forced the driver to stop and when he fled to the shelter of a cafe some of the youths climbed on the back of the vehicle and

began to throw full milk bottles at passing cars.

The students were demonstrating for the unconditional release of all students arrested during the unrest in Soweto schools last month.

Late in the afternoon riots erupted at the Lynnville township 2 km from Witbank.

In the swirl of burning buildings and looting, police used teargas against hordes of blacks wielding placards. The township was cordoned off.

Some 3 000 black youths attacked Indians, Coloureds and whites.

The Army and police reservists are on standby, and as far as is known, three Indian shops have been burned down, as well as the Indian community centre.

The entire Indian population has been evacuated and moved to Pretoria where they are staying with friends.

A special riot squad from Pretoria has been moved to the area.

Indians living in the centre of the township told a Dispatch correspondent by telephone that blacks had been stoning their shops.

Mr Ishmail Abdul, a store owner, said. "There are blacks all round my shop hammering against the windows with sticks."

A black store owner, speaking from his shop, said rioters had formed road blocks and were barring anyone who refused to give a black power salute.

"I know of at least one person who has been shot," he said.

The Highveld Bantu Administration offices just outside Witbank were attacked and about 15 vehicles, several of which belonged to the board, were completely destroyed by fire.

On the Pretoria-Witbank highway a four-year-old white girl was among the injured when the car in which she was travelling was stoned. She was thrown through the windscreen. The extent of her injuries is not yet known.

About 20 people were injured in the Witbank area.

A train was also stoned.

A school was set alight at Hendrina, south-east of Middelburg, on Monday night, razing the principal's office and a storeroom.

Another school, this time in Mohlakeng Township near Randfontein on the West Rand, was also set alight on Monday night, burning two classrooms. Attempts to burn a school at Hartebeesfontein failed.

There were demonstrations at the Khutsong township near Carletonville last night and attempts were made to set some buildings on fire.

In Soweto, no white officials of the West Rand Administration Board turned up for work yesterday and hundreds of people were unable to pay rents.

All was quiet in Soweto as heavily armed police, some in camouflage uniforms, patrolled the streets. — DDC-SAPA

POLICEMEN CONCERNED

nm

Mercury Correspondent

19/7/76

JOHANNESBURG — Police were concerned about what was said about them at the weekend while keeping a close watch for possible trouble in some Black residential areas.

I suddenly found myself surrounded by four White policemen inside a White-owned cafe in Springs on Saturday night.

It was shortly after I had finished phoning through a story about my observations on police activities in Reef townships which I visited from the West to the East Rand, including Soweto and Alexandra.

I had phoned within the hearing of Whites inside the cafe, using a public phone situated on a counter.

One of the White policemen, wearing a camouflage uniform, demanded to know why I had mentioned that police were manning road blocks.

I explained to him that whoever had informed him about what I had said over the phone must have definitely misunderstood. I handed to him a copy of the story I had

dictated and asked him to read it.

He was satisfied after reading the last sentence in the story which said that no road blocks were held by the police. He then handed the copy back to me before he and his colleagues left the cafe.

Cape Times 17/7/76
**'Grudge' shooting:
2nd man dies 323**

KRUGERSDORP. — A second West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board official has died following a shooting incident in the board's offices here on Thursday.

Mr X T J van der Merwe, 50, died in a Krugersdorp hospital.

A gunman shot dead Mr J L Roos, the board's manager in Krugersdorp, and then wounded Mr Van der Merwe in the back.

A man aged about 34 is at present under police custody in the Leratong Hospital, Krugersdorp. He has a bullet wound in the leg. — Sapa

All quite in tense Soweto

STAR
17/7/76

Police are keeping a low profile in Soweto this weekend after fears yesterday that the tightening up of measures to prevent a recurrence of last month's riots might spark another wave of violence.

The huge township's complex was quiet today, said a police spokesman.

No roadblocks were set up to keep Whites out of Soweto, despite reports that they would be put up early this morning.

The Star's Pretoria Bureau reports that it was also quiet in the Black townships around the city. There was no serious crime in the city or in the Northern Transvaal division last night.

Meanwhile, 14 Black schoolchildren detained in connection with the unrest in Soweto, were released into the care of their parents yesterday after a hearing in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court.

Four detectives who on Thursday went to investigate information that a crime suspect was hiding at a recreation hall in Jouberton, near Klerksdorp, had to defend themselves against an aggressive mob of about 50.

An African man was shot and taken to hospital.

Cape Times
17/7/76

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Strong police patrols probed the streets of Soweto today as a police standby order came into force in Pretoria and the Reef, aimed at preventing a recurrence of township riots.

The Commissioner of Police, General Gert Prinsloo, said the move followed wildfire rumours circulating in Johannesburg and other areas that there would be 'trouble' next Tuesday, the scheduled reopening date of Soweto schools.

He also pointed out that intensive police investigation had not brought any conspiracy to light. Meanwhile Soweto was 'quiet and relaxed' today according to residents and the police.

A new wave of security arrests could follow the proclamation of the new Internal Security Act which makes provision for preventive detention for up to a year.

Key members

The Security Police round-up of key members of Black consciousness movements in Soweto is continuing. A spokesman today confirmed the arrest of Mr. Jarius Kokong, former regional secretary of Saso.

At least nine key members of the South African Students Organisation, the South African Students Movement and the Black People's Convention are now in detention.

Permits

A spokesman for the West Rand Administration Board today confirmed that no further permits for Whites to enter Soweto would be issued.

Existing permits will also be withdrawn, he said. Permit holders are being informed of the decision individually.

'At this stage we cannot guarantee the safety of people in Soweto,' he explained.

New permit applications may be granted under exceptional circumstances, he said.

Reaction

There was mixed reaction from Soweto over the news that schools would not reopen on Tuesday.

Mrs Sally Motlana, president of the National African Housewives' League, said the Government was disrupting the education of the Black child.

'We are not the cause of the riots. They caused them. I abhor the attitude of the authorities,' she said.

Miss Lily Jiyana, a Soweto social worker, said

(Continued on Page 3, col 4)

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THE ARGUS, FRIDAY JULY 16-1976

Rand shooting: Second official dies in hospital

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A second West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board official has died following a shooting incident in the board's Krugersdorp offices yesterday.

Mr X. D. J. van der Merwe, 50, a labour official, died in Paardekraal Hospital, Krugersdorp, last night after doctors tried for hours to save his life.

A gunman shot dead the board's Krugersdorp manager, Mr J. L. Roos, and then shot Mr van der Merwe in the back.

During the shooting the alleged gunman was shot in the leg. A man was later admitted to Leratong Hospital, Krugersdorp, where he is under police guard and in a satisfactory condition. He is aged about 34.

After the shooting, the gunman ran outside the offices, waving his arms in the air and shouting: 'Hey lekker, hey lekker.'

HAD GRUDGE

The gunman, who is believed to have had a grudge about accommodation or the reclassification of his wife, arrived at the offices yesterday to see an official, but the official was not on duty. He was then shown into Mr Roos's office.

About five minutes later Mr Roos's secretary, Mrs J. Lindague, heard two shots from behind the closed office door. A man holding a firearm came running out.

Mr Roos was found lying dead at his door with bullet wounds in the head and arm.

A police spokesman said the man then struck a

member of the public over the head with the firearm, but his victim was able to disarm him.

The gunman then ran out of the building.

Several inspectors fired shots at him and two of them overpowered him after a chase.

Colonel Karel Coetzee, divisional CID officer, West Rand said the 0.45 firearm used in the shooting and an 0.32 pistol found in a suitcase the gunman left outside Mr Roos's office were reported stolen from a Krugersdorp house earlier in the day.

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16/7/76

Patrols on standby in streets

Police alert in Soweto

Strong police patrols watched the streets of Soweto today as a big standby operation came into force, aimed at preventing a recurrence of last month's bloody township riots.

A new wave of security arrests could follow the proclamation today of sections of the new Internal Security Act which makes provision for "preventive detention" for up to a year.

16/7/76

Kruger
STW
explains

The West Rand Administration Board has ruled that all Whites are to be barred from Soweto "because it is impossible to guarantee their safety at this stage."
General Gert Prinsloo, the Commissioner of

move

John Patten, Political Correspondent

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, today warned that Black schools on the Reef and in Pretoria would remain closed "till the Blacks show a willingness to use schools for the right purpose."

Ban hits Soweto weekend

The ban on all public gatherings in Soweto has hit weekend sport heavily in the townships.

The West Rand Administration Board today ordered that all sporting events scheduled for Soweto this weekend be postponed.

- This ban hits: the Johannesburg and District amateur boxing championships which were to have been staged at Jabulani Hostel tonight and tomorrow night.

- The Johannesburg African lawn tennis junior championships which started on Wednesday and were to end tomorrow.

- All soccer matches organised at grounds throughout the township by the Johannesburg Bantu Football Association.

- The inter-club cycling and athletics championships which were scheduled Meadowlands stadium on Sunday.

Mr J D Muller, deputy director of the West Rand Board, said the organisers of all these sporting events had been advised to postpone them "for a week or two."

"We are responsible for the safety of the people of Soweto and have merely asked that all sports be postponed for a week or two during which time we hope things will return to normal," Mr Muller said.

Expanding on the drastic steps he announced last night, Mr Kruger said he would be guided in his decision as to when the schools could reopen (they were to have opened on Tuesday) by information from several different sources, including from the Blacks themselves.

The Minister made it clear:

- The decision to keep Black schools closed after the holidays applied only to schools on the Witwatersrand and in Pretoria.

- The preventive detention clause of the Internal Security Act — brought into force for the first time — would apply only in the Transvaal, and

- The renewed ban on open-air meetings would apply for one month from yesterday, effective country-wide.

PROCLAMATION

These drastic steps had been necessary, he said, because political agitators and tsotsi elements in large numbers were still at work, especially in Soweto.

The preventive detention clause had been brought into force to enable the police to hold people responsible for the agitation, but the application of the clause would be de-proclaimed as soon as conditions allowed.

The proclamation was due to be published in the Government Gazette today. No one had yet been arrested in terms of the preventive detention clause, but the powers were now there to be used when needed. "It will depend on the situation whether it is used, but we will use it if it is required," Mr Kruger said.

Police, told The Star police units throughout the Witwatersrand and in Pretoria had been placed on standby.

The move, he said, followed rumours circulating in Johannesburg and other areas that there would be "trouble" next Tuesday, scheduled reopening date for Soweto schools.

Reaction

There was mixed reaction from Soweto over the news that schools would not re-open next Tuesday.

Mrs Sally Motlana, president of the National African Housewives League, said today that the Government was disrupting the education of the Black child.

"We are not the cause of the riots, they caused them. I abhor the attitude of the authorities," she said.

Miss Lily Jiyana, a Soweto social worker, welcomed the ban and said some parents were apprehensive about rumours of disturbances planned for next Tuesday.

She was, however, worried about the disruption of classes.

Mr Ben Ntoso, chairman of the Johannesburg branch of the social workers' association said what worried parents was that children were going to be idle "and idleness causes a number of problems like vandalism and crime."

Probe

General Prinsloo said intensive police investigations had not brought any conspiracy to light.

Some Government sources today criticised the Government's decision not to reopen the schools next week, describing it as a "panic reaction."

The security police round-up of key members of Black consciousness movements in Soweto is continuing.

A spokesman today con-

To Page 3, Col 8

More riot children to be freed

Another 14 Black children, detained since the rioting in Soweto a month ago, were due to be released today into the custody of their parents after being charged in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court.

This was confirmed by the Senior Prosecutor for Johannesburg, Mr Klaus von Lieres, who said that once these children were released after they appeared in court, only three were still in custody at John Vorster Square.

These three children were likely to appear in court again next week and then it would be decided whether they would be prosecuted, he said.

Today the Commissioner of Police, General Gert Prinsloo, said more Black children could be in custody at other police stations on the Reef but he had no knowledge of this.

"Altogether 17 children held since the riots have been released into the custody of their parents," Mr von Lieres said. "These do not include the children to be released today."

16/7/76

Police on alert

From Page 1

STAR

firmed the arrest of Mr Jarius Kokong, a former regional secretary of Saso. At least nine key members of the South African Students' Organisation, the South African Students' Movement and the Black People's Convention are now in detention.

A spokesman for the West Rand Administration Board said today that no further permits for Whites to enter Soweto would be issued.

Existing permits will also be withdrawn, he said.

"At this stage we cannot guarantee the safety of people in Soweto," he explained.

New permit applications may be granted under exceptional circumstances.

General Prinsloo said the sections of the Internal Security Act which made provision for preventive arrest would be proclaimed today. As yet no such arrests have been made.

Soweto was "relaxed and quiet," according to residents and policemen.

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Cape Times 16/7/76
**Gunman
 with
 'grudge'
 slays
 official**

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A man with a stolen gun and a grievance yesterday killed a West Rand Bantu Administration Board official and wounded another in a wild shoot-out with board inspectors in their Krugersdorp office complex yesterday.

The Krugersdorp manager, Mr Johannes Ludiwikus Roos, 62, of Premier Street, died with .45 bullets in his head and arm.

Mr X T J van der Merwe was shot in the back and taken to Aardekraal Hospital in Krugersdorp where his condition last night was critical.

A police spokesman said later the man claimed he had a personal grievance against Mr Roos because he had not been allocated a house.

Reclassified

He also said he was angry because his wife had been reclassified.

He did not elaborate on this.

The gunman, carrying a suitcase, called on Mr Roos and was allowed to see him by his secretary after Mr Roos had finished a telephone call.

He shot him, burst out of the office, shot Mr Van der Merwe and ran into the board's general office.

Several board inspectors, who carried guns, fired at him.

A bystander, named by police as a Mr Victor, grabbed the gunman's revolver and hit him over the head with it.

The man had been wounded — apparently in the stomach — and was arrested by inspectors.

Colonel Garel Coetzee, divisional CID officer for the West Rand and the Vaal Triangle, said Mr Ross had been shot with a .45 revolver

stolen earlier yesterday from a Mr Slabbert in Piet Retief Street, Krugersdorp. The house had been broken into and the revolver and a .32 pistol had been stolen.

Mr Roos is survived by his wife, Millie, and sons Louw, Gerrie, and a daughter Ger-tie Haarman.

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Black schools to stay shut, Kruger rules

STAR 16/7/76

With the re-opening of Black schools postponed, a ban has been imposed on gatherings from today and preventive detention is to be used to counter agitation in African areas

This was announced in Pretoria last night by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger

He said the measures were being taken because

of continued agitation and intimidation in Soweto and other areas. This was aimed at starting renewed rioting when schools reopened, despite the fact that the language issue had been resolved.

Black schools, due to reopen next Tuesday, would remain closed until the agitation had ceased, he said

Mr Kruger expressed regret at the suffering this would cause to law-abiding pupils and parents and said strong police

units would be on hand to deal with anyone trying to cause a disturbance

"These units will have instructions to protect law-abiding citizens and property at all costs and to do so with all the means at their disposal," he added. "No disorder will be tolerated"

Mr Kruger did not announce any duration for the prohibition of gatherings, but said it was similar to the one imposed under the Riotous Assemblies Act which ended on July 7.

The 1950 Suppression of Communism Act, amended during the last session of Parliament and renamed the Internal Security Act, now includes provisions for preventive detention. This is believed to be the first time these provisions have been used

"People are being intimidated and threatened with assault should they not do what these agitators want them to do," Mr Kruger claimed.

"Some residents, workers and children have been scared by agitators and by rumours and are apprehensive of what might happen on Tuesday."

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New prohibition

"In these circumstances the Government had decided on the following measures"

① A prohibition on meetings similar to the one that ended on July 7, imposed with effect from today

② Sections of the Internal Security Act, authorising the preventive detention of people engaging in activities that endanger the maintenance of public order will be brought into operation immediately.

③ Black schools will not reopen on Tuesday, but will remain closed until agitation has stopped.

Mr Kruger said: "Agitators who do not cease their activities immediately will be prevented from continuing with it by being placed in detention in terms of the internal security act.

"Similar steps will be taken in respect of the manipulators who send out others while they themselves remain in safety out of the public eye"

Law-abiding

The Government was conscious that many law-abiding pupils, and parents who worked hard to help their children through school, would suffer

"They will, however, realise that this state of affairs has been brought about by subversive elements misusing scholars and threatening residents for their own peculiar selfish ends," said Mr Kruger

"The government will do everything in its power to eliminate these elements and to restore school facilities to the residents of affected areas as soon as possible."

Residents and pupils could contribute by not allowing themselves to be intimidated by a handful of criminals, and by calling for police assistance when they were molested by such people

They should also note that, with the school language issue resolved, agitators were now trying to inflame the people by spreading rumours about children under arrest as a result of last month's disturbances — Sana

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'Blacks turn to violence because...'

STAR 16/7/76

It is a psychological fact that violence and aggression are features of a community of people forced to live in a semi-human state — as is the case with Blacks in South Africa. When the possibilities of communication break down and understanding disappears aggression and violence take over.

These remarks were made by Dr Ramsay Karelse, a top psychiatrist at Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town.

He was reading his paper "Black Perspective" at the conference of the Institute of Black Studies at Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre.

Deeds of violence in

South Africa, he said, were performed easily by those (Blacks) trying to establish their self-esteem, defend their self-image and demonstrate that they too were significant.

As long as people remained in a semi-human state, aggression and violence could not be abated easily, he said.

BLACK EGO

The electorate confined and defined the Black man by the colour of his skin. Geographically and opportunitywise he has a black ego with all its implicit and explicit inferiority status.

"The electorate decides for him what is wrong and right and how he should be treated. The electorate is White and he has a White super ego," he added.

The Black mother — who had to reflect a society to her infant, was forced to treat

him (the infant) ambivalently; suppress his muscularity and prepare him for a subordinate place in the world — unwittingly became the inhibiting instrument of oppressive society.

However, Blacks did not direct their violence against Whites only. Angry Blacks often displaced their hostility on to safer targets.

A good example of this, noted Dr Karelse, was the burning down of administration buildings, beerhalls and bottle stores during the recent disturbances in Black townships.

Earlier Professor Nthiwa Mbatha, one of the three South African expatriates attending the conference, said despite continued domination by minority groups in Africa, Blacks proudly preserved and retained their identity.

Move on Black agitators

Schools to stay closed

Cape Times
16/7/76

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, last night announced a postponement in the re-opening of Black schools, the imposition of a ban on gatherings as from today and the immediate operation of the preventive detention sections of the new Internal Security Act to counter agitation in Black areas.

Mr Kruger said in a statement here that the measures were being taken because of continued agitation and intimidation in Soweto and other areas, aimed at starting renewed rioting when schools reopened, in spite of the fact that the language issue had been resolved.

Black schools, due to reopen next Tuesday (July 20), will remain closed until the agitation had ceased, he said.

Mr Kruger expressed his regret at the suffering this would cause to thousands of scholars and parents and said strong measures would be taken to deal with anyone trying to cause a disturbance on Tuesday or any other day.

"These units will have instructions to protect law-abiding citizens and property at all costs and to do so with all the means at their disposal.

"No disorder will be tolerated," Mr Kruger said.

He did not announce any duration for the prohibition of gatherings, but said it was similar to the one imposed under the Riotous Assemblies Act which ended on July 7.

Intimidated and threatened

Mr Kruger said agitators were active in Soweto and other areas inciting residents towards renewed rioting on July 20 when schools were due to reopen.

"People are being intimidated and threatened with assault should they not do what these agitators want them to do.

"Some residents, workers and children have been scared by agitators and by rumours and are apprehensive of what might happen on Tuesday," Mr Kruger said.

"In these circumstances..."

on the following measures

① A prohibition on meetings similar to the one that ended on July 7 has been imposed with effect from Friday, July 16

② The sections of the Internal Security Act, 1950, authorizing the preventive detention of persons engaging in activities that endanger the maintenance of public order will be brought into operation immediately

③ Bantu schools will not reopen on Tuesday. They will remain closed until agitation has stopped."

Mr Kruger said the provisions of the Internal Security Act would be used to curb agitation.

"Agitators who do not cease their activities immediately will be prevented from continuing with it by being placed in detention in terms of the Internal Security Act," he said.

"Similar steps will be taken in respect of the manipulators who send out others while they themselves remain in safety out of the public eye."

The Government was conscious that many law-abiding scholars, and parents who worked hard to help their children through school, would suffer because schools would not reopen on Tuesday.

Mr Kruger said the detention of juveniles was being used by agitators seeking to incite new disturbances.

Police free 14 riot children

15/7/76
STAR

At least 14 Black children who were arrested after the disturbances in Soweto and other townships have been released, says Soweto's CID chief, Colonel J P Visser.

At the same time, Colonel Visser said he was not certain how many more children were still being held. But even if he knew he would not tell the Press, he added.

Last week The Star reported that children as young as eight years old were being held in cells at John Vorster Square after the riots which began on June 16.

After this report Brigadier J F. Roots, divisional CID officer for the Witwatersrand, said only 33 children, the youngest being 15, were still in custody and were able to see their parents.

In a report in an Afrikaans newspaper today, Mr Klaus von Lieres, the Chief Prosecutor of Johannesburg, was quoted as saying most of the children held since the riots had been released from jail in

the custody of their parents after they had appeared in court and their cases had been adjourned.

This could not be confirmed as Mr von Lieres was not in his office earlier today and his deputy said he knew nothing about the children's cases.

Colonel Visser confirmed that several prosecutors were handling the children's cases, but he had been unable to con-

firm with them the number of children still being held.

"But even if I knew the number, I still would not tell you," he said.

General Geert Prinsloo, the Commissioner of Police, earlier said it was not unusual for juveniles to be kept in cells for long periods before trials.

"They can also be held on suspicion of having committed offences," he said.

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Cape Times 14/7/76

Riot damage 'staggering'

Staff Reporter

A MONTH after the Soweto riots, which left 176 dead, thousands wounded and millions of rands damage, Black businessmen in the township are beginning to count their losses — and are staggered by the magnitude of the destruction.

Mr T. J. Makhaya, "Mayor" of Soweto and chairman of the Urban Bantu Council, said yesterday in a telephone interview from Johannesburg that he was "very worried and concerned" about the damage done to Black businesses, especially those which rendered essential services to the people of Soweto.

Completely destroyed

On a partly completed list of businesses damaged or destroyed in the riots, Mr Makhaya said that of 51 shops, most were completely destroyed.

The shops include fish shops, eating houses, dry cleaners, grocers and general dealers.

In many cases, expensive equipment and stocks were destroyed, even if the shop was not burnt down, Mr Makhaya said.

"We are staggered by the amount of damage done and see this as a great drawback for the development of Black business."

Mr Makhaya said that the UBC, shopkeepers and officials of the Department of Bantu Administration and

Development, were still trying to ascertain the amount of damage done to Black-owned shops.

No completed figures were available yet because reports were still being received as owners worked out their losses, but it would "certainly be many thousands of rands".

"We are especially concerned about the shops which provide essentials to our people and are trying to provide temporary premises and stocks so that business can carry on."

"For many shopkeepers, their businesses were their only livelihood, which they and built up over many years."

"Some were insured, but insurance companies are refusing to pay out for riot damage."

"The task of rebuilding the shops is a huge one. The Department of Bantu Administration is being very co-operative in helping this reconstruction — we must give them this credit."

Mr Makhaya appealed to businesses in South Africa to assist Black entrepreneurs to recover from their losses.

"By helping shopkeepers in Soweto, businesses would be helping the whole community and it would make many people very happy."

SA's problem not racial — Botha

AK645 12/7/76

Question: At Soweto recently, people were killed in demonstrations. The world gets the impression that the only way your Government has of dealing with a demonstration is by firing into it. There have been previous cases, Sharpeville being the best known. Why is it a demonstration ends up in bloodshed, in this kind of a situation?

Botha: In the first place, it's the only demonstration in the past decade that has ended up in bloodshed. If one takes into account demonstrations over the world — including demonstrations in this country and other European countries — it is not the only demonstration which was initiated by students. South Africa is not the only country where student unrest has occurred. It has occurred in many other countries in the world and in some countries you don't even hear about it. But there are many countries in the world where you would not even hear about a tragedy like this. And let me emphasise this, please. My Government very deeply regrets the events. We are deeply saddened by it and we are pained by these events.

MR. R. F. ('Pik') Botha, South African Ambassador to the United States, interviewed by Washington Star Staff Writer Henry S. Bradsher.

Q: What is this underlying frustration that people are trying to express by the kind of riots that develop from one clash?

A: This question goes to the heart of the matter. I've got to wait for the judicial commission to complete its inquiries, but let me point out some known facts as of present. The impression that is being created — that the persons concerned were killed by police bullets — is a wrong impression. Many were slain by the rioters themselves. It was a question of Blacks killing Blacks to a great extent indeed. For instance, 22 of those who died of bullet wounds, died of bullet wounds inflicted by 0.22 (calibre) arms. Now police don't use that at all.

Q: Are you denying there's a sense of frustration in these townships where people are living in rather miserable conditions and having to com-

mute long hours to get to work in the White areas?

A: I do not deny that they have grievances and I do not deny that they may be frustrated. What I am saying is, why was it necessary to use force? Why was it necessary to set fire to their own schools, Black businesses, Black clinics? Why was that necessary? If the purpose of the exercise was aimed entirely, as you put it, against the authority of the South African Government — and that would be a strange way to go about it — why kill your own kind?

Q: As these riots developed people kept saying they were the worst since Sharpeville 15 years ago and then finally the death toll became higher. Are we building up toward greater and greater difficulty so that 15 years from now it will be even worse? Where is this all leading in South Africa?

A: The basic problem in South Africa is not a racial

very little sympathy from this.

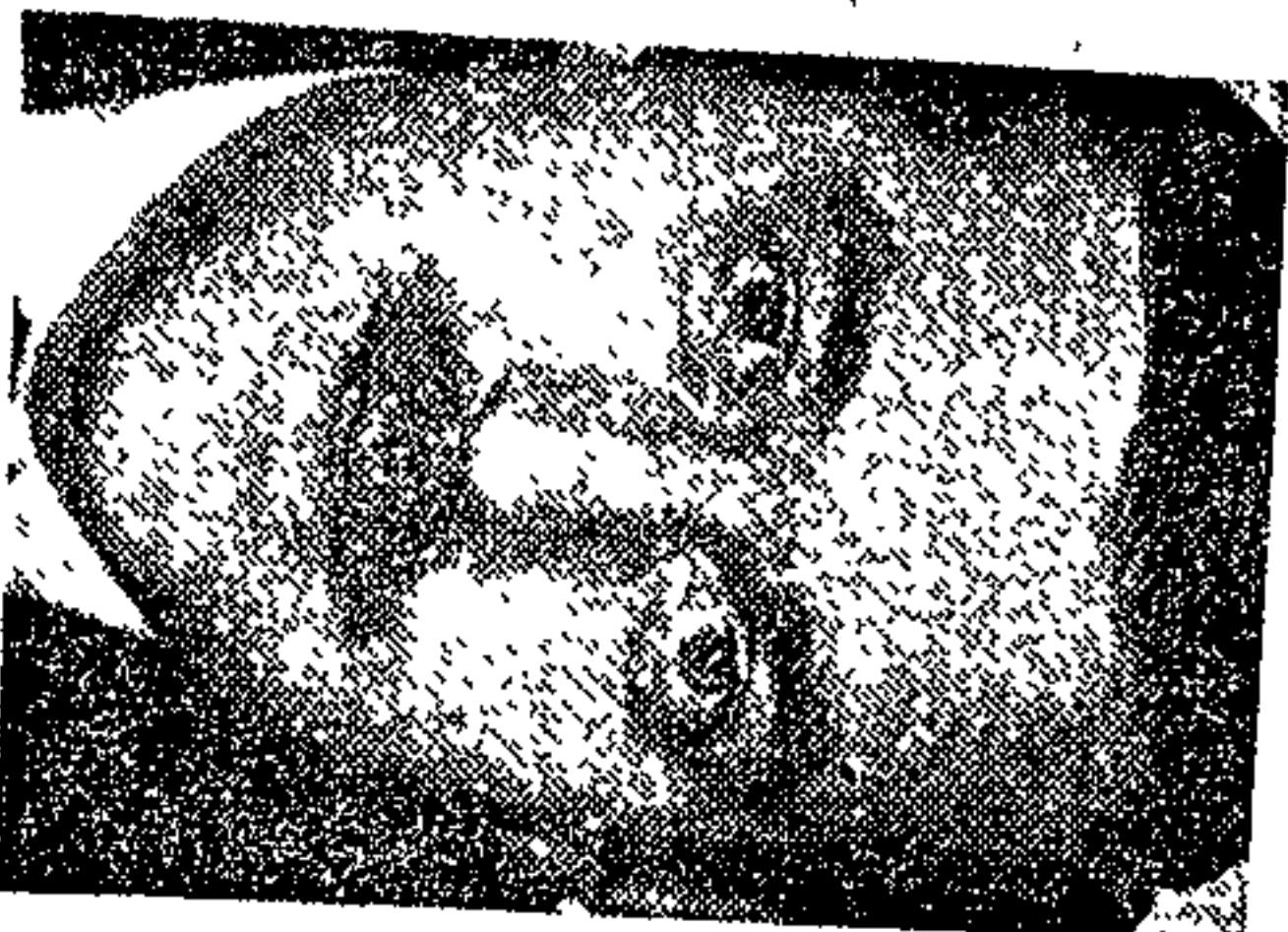
It is as if the world's media continuously predict disasters and then when unrest and a demonstration does occur it's almost as if some sectors of the media are rejoicing in this. What we need is encouragement to move away from those things we said we'd move away from — namely, discrimination based solely on the colour of a man's skin. We're dealing with populations, we're dealing with nations, we're dealing with groups and nations of peoples.

Q: What is the internal political stability as long as you have this unrest?

A: The present Prime Minister of South Africa has had more meetings with leaders in South Africa than all of his predecessors together.

Q: But are they representative leaders? Do they truly represent the feeling of the people in Soweto?

A: They have been elected in free elections. In elections as free as elections taking place inside this country, which is more than can be said about two-thirds of the world's peoples. They have been elected. No, body, I think, not even in this country would deny



Mr R. F. ('Pik') Botha

labour for the cities of South Africa for the White people in South Africa, then they're no longer properly organised.

A: Those who were demonstrating had direct representation in the cities. That they have. There is no question about it. They vote in their homelands. Their numbers were not many until industrialisation, which was only created the other day, although we are as old as you in the sense we have been there 300 years. Now why must South Africa do things which no one else has done in Africa, but we've got to be forced to? We've got to tow the line which no one else expected to

Argus 12/7/76

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ial problem. There are several Black nationalisms and nobody can deny it. This is the crux of the matter and the basic question is how to accommodate the differing nationalisms. And this is what my Government has been trying to do under very difficult circumstances. With Mozambique, South Africa has managed thus far to live in peace with a Government that differs, not in colour — we were not interested in the colour of the Government — but in ideology, very, very far from our own. I think South Africa has played a constructive role.

My Prime Minister personally took visits to several African heads of state. My Prime Minister did a lot to create an atmosphere amenable for talk for discussion. And in South West Africa you have a problem area where there is a conference continuing between Black and White; they're sitting around a table discussing their political future. These things were not thought possible two or three years ago. I would appeal for in-depth understanding of the real issues in Southern Africa. Nobody is going to change the situation by trying to change it by force. It is just not possible. Force will then be met by force and it will continue. And you will eventually get an escalation of conflict, the consequences of which will be disastrous for both Black and White. What we've got to do is to arrange a situation where the White nationalism and the Black nationalism can come to an agreement with one another. You must first get political stability. You must remove the fear of domination, of the one nationalism from the other. This is what we are trying to do but we are receiving

that Mr. Matanzima has been elected by a majority of the Transkei, a majority of four million of those people. Nobody will say that Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthaswana was not elected in this way. Or Professor Tsanwisi, or Mr. Phatudi and others. Nobody can allege that. These are the leaders produced in the free elections by the Black peoples of South Africa. It's a different matter if you tell me that these Black leaders, elected as they were, do not agree with the policies of my Government. That's a totally different matter. That's their right. But there is no question on this one point.

Q: They're on the homelands; they're not in Soweto. They don't have a chance to represent the people in Soweto and that's where the trouble explodes.

A: In Soweto, as in many of the urban areas of South Africa, you find not only South Africans, South African Black people. There are more than half a million Blacks from other countries of Africa who even enter the country illegally to find employment. If it's such a racial colony, why do they come in these numbers?

Q: Many of them are imported by your Government, though, aren't they?

A: I'm talking about Blacks who come freely and illegally. Illegally crossing borders to find employment. On the order of more than half a million.

Q: I'm putting to you the proposition that the people who belong in the homelands that are within South Africa are represented by the elected leaders in the homelands, but once they move into the townships to provide

Q: Be forced by whom?

A: By the arguments that are being used by you. I said before there is Black nationalism and there is White nationalism.

There is no way to force this artificial unity but through force. So its either got to be done by forcing the Whites into it or its got to be done in a way to respect the nationalism of both. As you remove the fear of domination — and let me say it here, there's no use beating around the bush — surely, surely does the White man think that with the one-man, one-vote system he would lose. He would lose straightaway and that would be the end.

Soweto riots — the aftermath

How long can we be complacent?

By THE EDITOR
Cape Times
7/7/76

IT IS now three weeks since the riots. Yet South Africa has shown a remarkable reluctance to grapple with Soweto. Why?

It could be that the events have been too monumental for immediate rational analysis; that the end-of-session rush provided little Parliamentary opportunity for reflection; or that escapist South Africans would rather not think too deeply about it all.

Whatever the reasons, such inertia could be folly. It comes at a time when realistic and creative answers must be found for South African questions without delay, if the initiatives are not to be lost to forces that will eventually impose change. Predictably, and without producing evidence, the Government has blamed the riots on political agitation.

Black Power and even opposition, newspaper and church elements. Comfort has been taken in the escapist thoughts that unrest is the order of the day in the world in which we live, and that the incidents were to some extent a case of Blacks killing Blacks. The authorities have not even thought it necessary to issue an official casualty list, after the death of 170 people!

Low-profile

The low-profile internal reaction has been aided and abetted by a less-furious-than-expected reaction from abroad, though it is arguable whether this is because urban unrest is now confidently expected in the Republic or whether informed people abroad really thought Soweto unimportant.

A one-man commission has been appointed, but the Government has refused to have an in-depth inquiry into the position of urban Africans. The official reaction has been to liken the events to routine unrest that happens in Spain, Ulster or elsewhere. There has been reluctance to admit that there is such a thing as an urban African problem.

Perhaps the official view is that when temporary sojourners go on the rampage it is "just one of those things" — and not a deadly danger to the fabric of South African society.

Few people have sat down and pondered just what this appalling loss of life, well-wanted destruction of property means to this country; or how the urban African scene can ever be the same again.

Bitterness

Black-on-Black attacks, tsotism and hooliganism and succour given to Whites by Blacks are clearly factors to take into account, but also important is the bitterness expressed towards Whites by

the Blacks of tomorrow; the insults and missiles hurled; and the evidence of rising confidence and defiance among young urban Blacks. It is complacent to take comfort in the former factors and to ignore the latter — which included the razing of many buildings closely identified with White authority.

Perhaps the major conclusion that should be drawn is that Soweto has shown that South Africa is not immune from the growing violence in Southern Africa. There has been a lot of humbug of late, with South Africans pointing to the critical position in Rhodesia and giving the impression that "it couldn't happen here".

The magic potion of separate development has been trusted implicitly to ward off any Rhodesia-type unhappiness. Yet the urban chaos of Soweto stands in stark contrast to the relatively peaceful situation, so far, in urban townships in Salisbury and Bulawayo.

No longer can complacent South Africans expect to sit by smugly watching Rhodesia slip under Black rule. The two countries might be very

different but their problems are inter-related, however much people might try to separate their destinies.

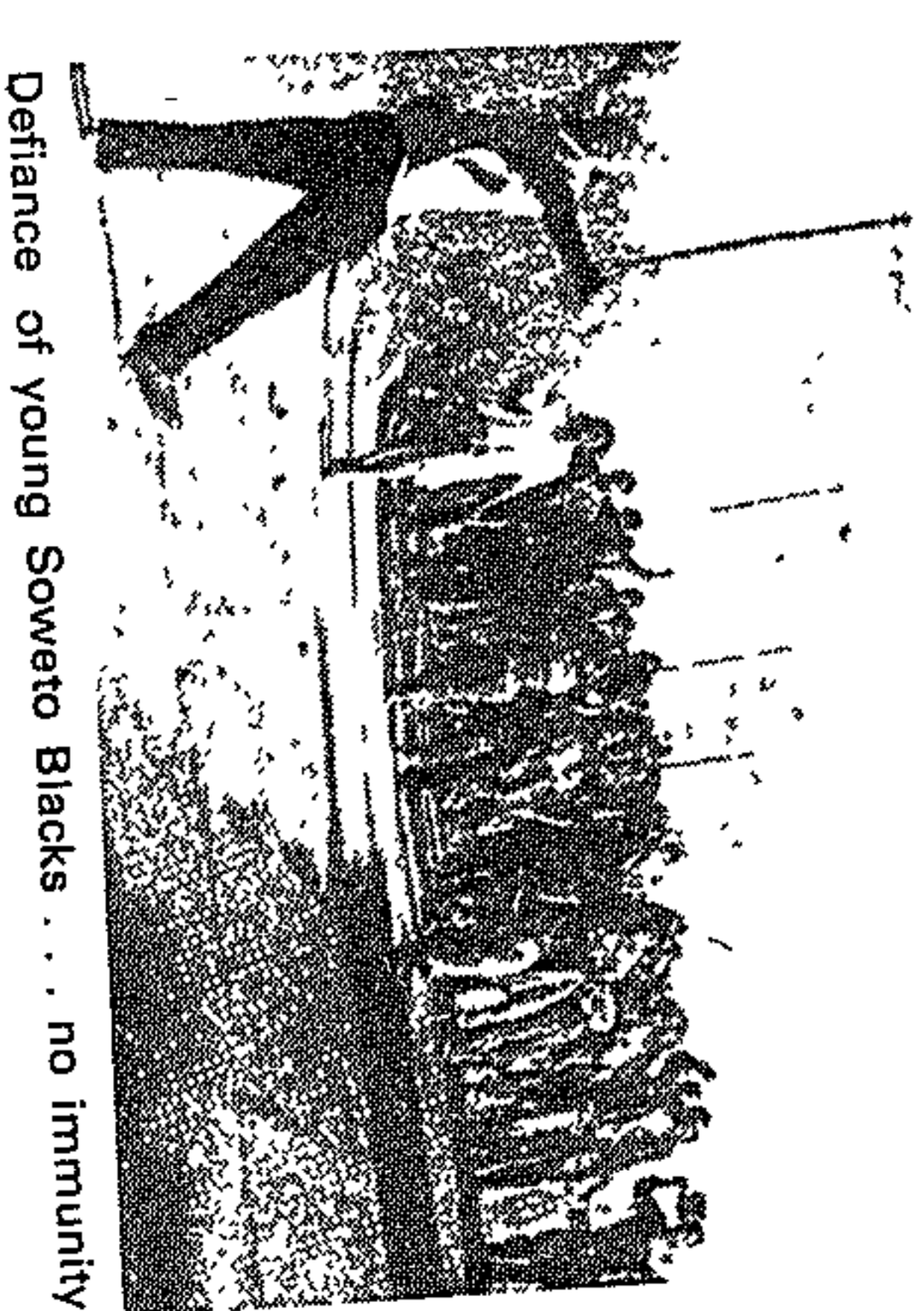
Deaf ears

Another implication of Soweto is that if Black voices clamouring for a hearing are met with deaf ears for too long, things will happen which will make the rulers listen.

What many urban Africans have been trying to say is that — quite apart from the political question of the vote — they don't approve of a policy which condemns them to be labour units, strips them from their families, claps them in jail for technical offences, denies them many of the good things of life enjoyed in over-abundance by Whites.

However effectively statutes might legislate away people's rights, their aspirations remain. If these are not met, one day there will be trouble. That is another lesson of Soweto.

Yet the Government shows no concern whatever about the harmful effects of its race policies; there is not even recognition that they are at least partly to blame



Defiance of young Soweto Blacks . . . no immunity

they have to be taken into account. But at the same time no

Maybe the situation will hold for longer than many critics think, but for how long?

Those who think that the lid can be screwed down tightly forever, while separate development trudges its orderly course, creating Bantustans but also urban African frustration, are surely hiding their heads in the sand. The Transkei's independence is in itself a positive development but it leaves the major problems of the cities unchanged. And Soweto's significance is related to big urban concentrations. Even a pretty timid integrationist solution for the Coloured people proposed

No ducking

Mr Vorster will have weather domestic right-wing pressure, or give up the chance of being allied to it

Cape Times
7/7/76

There is some relaxation of the rigid Afrikaans language policy, but little else.

On unofficial level the odd academic, northern newspaper editor or churchman has ventured to voice doubts; but the party's inner core has shown an iron discipline in dismissing such faint-hearted thoughts and blaming agitators and trouble-makers.

No proof

Even the wisdom of this approach is suspect, quite apart from the fact that there is no proof yet on which to base it. If people are told that agitation can produce such an explosion the situation in the country will be shown to be more precarious than previously thought.

The security authorities will be deemed to have been incompetent for not having seen such organized events coming. It is difficult to see how, even as propaganda, such a line can have beneficial results.

And, to equate rioting by a rightless, rootless majority with protest demonstrations by privileged students elsewhere in the Western world shows a failure to grasp even the elementary significance of Soweto.

The ultimate folly is the Government's refusal to budge from its policy of apartheid or separate development. Hence Mr Vorster speaks at his foreign press conference as if there are nine Black nations and no detribalized urban Africans, and our diplomats continue putting out the multi-national over-simplification in world capitals.

It seems that little has been learnt since Sharpeville. Then, after some initial hesitation, there was a tightening of security and far more rigorous pursuance of separate development. South Africa was lucky, and the critics were confounded. The iron fist worked that time, but will it work again? Last time there had been no fall of the Portuguese empire, no Russian encroachment in Southern Africa, no boost in the Black man's awareness of his industrial and economic power. These ingredients exist this time, and

by the majority of the West, materially, spiritually and politically. This will

It is hoped that the Transkei issue will now be relegated to where it belongs i.e., near the periphery of South African politics, while formidable attention is focused on the political and other aspirations of the growing millions of urbanized Blacks who have diminishing ties, or no ties at all, with the homelands. This is the real issue, and it should be treated as such. If it is neglected, chaos could result. — Cape Times editorial, June 11, 1976.

radical for the National Party.

If this analysis of the reaction to Soweto is correct, what prospect, then, is there for peaceful resolution of South Africa's problems? It must be accepted that if violence is to be averted, change will have to come in large measure from those who hold power, that is the National Party. A lot will depend on the fate of submerged currents of conflicting opinion which lie beneath the monolithic surface of White Nationalism.

There could also be some considerable encouragement to effect change from friends abroad.

A significant new feature is the jolt that Russia's Angola adventure has given the Western nations, notably the United States. They have been forced, at last, to assess realistically the value of this part of Africa in meeting Western mineral, industrial and other needs. This could explain Dr Kissinger's initiatives which have brought the American spotlight to bear on Southern African affairs as never before.

Ominous

It means that this region has moved dramatically up the list of Western priorities, an ominous pointer to how serious things really are.

But the hopeful sign is that pressures for change to a more just society will be given a new boost from friendly and influential quarters abroad. Mr Vorster will receive glowing headlines and TV coverage as he hob-nobs with Western leaders; investment and contacts might be stepped up; Southern Africa could even emerge with a powerful guarantee of support, if only to keep the Russians out

mean showing due regard for the things that Western nations regard as important, such as free expression, equality before the law, freedom of movement and so on.

The time will come when these choices cannot be ducked any longer. Once Rhodesia's and SWA's destinies are clarified, South Africa will be the only "unfinished business", as seen by the anti-colonial lobby in the world. And it is then that the country will no longer be able to avoid making the historic choice.

Soweto was a reminder, perhaps a timely one, of where the priorities for urgent action lie. But its lessons will have to be learnt quickly if any good is to come of it.

TOMORROW: What the West can, and should, do to help

Soweto funerals quiet

Cape Times
5/7/76
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A police helicopter hovered in the distance as Dobsonville buried its dead from the riots that hit Soweto and nearby areas at the weekend.

Mass funerals were banned but the dead were being buried side by side as services were being held at the same time and near each other.

Road blocks were set up on all roads leading into Soweto by members of the South African Police, the West Rand Administration Board and the Johannesburg City Council's Traffic Department.

The same spades were being inter-changed from one grave to another as the last rites were being said over the deceased. Many people had travelled from Soweto to the graveyard waiting for hearses as they went through the gates.

Before the funerals, a symbolic Requiem Mass was held at Regina Mundi in Rockville and from Botswana reliable sources said a prayer meeting was held in Gaborone's town hall attended by refugees and sympathizers.

Other funerals were held yesterday in Soweto, Dobsonville Alexandra township and Tembisa.

In spite of the directive to ban mass funerals, the undertakers and people in charge of the cemeteries made this a mass funerals occasion by having the graves side by side and also at the same time.

People came from as far afield as Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland.

R839 000 damage in East Rand riots 5/7/76 RDM

Staff Reporter

DAMAGE to three townships on the near East Rand in the recent riots amounted to R839 000, the chairman of the East Rand Bantu Administration Board, Mr Schalk van der Merwe, has announced.

Worst hit was Tokoza township near Alberton with damage of R533 000. Damage to buildings and vehicles in Tembisa has been estimated at R244 000 and at Katlehong R62 000.

Wherever possible, ERBAB machinery and equipment had been removed from the troubled townships, said Mr Van der Merwe.

People had supplied food and refreshments to police and board officials on duty during the unrest, proving their willingness to assist the authorities, he said.

The chairman of Germiston's management committee, Mr Sarel Hattingh, said Germiston civil defence had supplied 2 600 meals to men on duty in the townships.

Putco did not have any buses damaged in these three townships.

Although 122 Putco buses were damaged or burnt in other Reef areas, the situation in the Germiston area had been anticipated and buses had been removed in time.

The situation in Katlehong and Tokoza was virtually back to normal this week.

Police patrols were back to what they had been before the riots.

(2, 105)
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Sack Treurnicht and Botha demands Sebe

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN
— Mr Vorster has been
challenged to "sacrifice

the Minister of Bantu Ad-
ministration and his depu-
ty — Mr M C Botha and

Mr Treurnicht — for the
peace in Southern
Africa "

The Chief Minister of
the Ciskei, Mr L. L. Sebe,
who returned from
overseas at the week-end
was commenting on the
Soweto riots which he said
he watched on TV while in
Germany

He said it was the right
of each parent to educate
his child in the language
of his choice.

"Other nations are
taught in the language of
their choice but not
blacks."

He said that in 1974 Mr
Vorster had been asked to
remove Afrikaans and to
have Mr M. C. Botha
amend the Bantu Educa-
tion Act but this had not
been done

He said Afrikaans could
be taught as a language
but should not be made a
vehicle of knowledge for
black children.

"Do we have to pay in
bloodshed for our
children? Does blood have
to flow from our children
for our rights?"

"The death of people in
Soweto shows you cannot
suppress the needs of peo-
ple indefinitely," Mr Sebe
said

Though there was a lull
in Soweto the issue had
not been settled and "Mr
Vorster must sacrifice two
ministers "

Mr Sebe also warned

"It is five minutes past
midnight for South Africa
and they had better take
my warning this time "

He said while in Ger-
many he had met the
Foreign Affairs Minister
who had assured him of
financial assistance for
the development of the
Ciskei

In October, he said,
leading industrialists
would visit the Ciskei to
investigate a possibility of
establishing industries

He said steel and shoe
factories had already been
approved for the Ciskei

A textile factory which
had already been approv-
ed for Madagascar by the
Foreign Minister had been
approved for Dimbaza

In August, he said he
and one of the ministers as
well as the chairman of
the Ciskei National Cor-
poration would attend a
seminar in Berlin where
industrialists would dis-
cuss the development of
the Ciskei

He said he had been in-
formed in Germany that
the Transkei's in-
dependence would not be
recognised before its
recognition by the OAU
The ambassadors in Bonn
and America, he said,
would soon be sent back
because the two countries
did not approve of the
Transkeian independence
and felt they should not be
involved in the affair. —
DDR.

(11325 - Defentra.
(2) 336

Soweto riot writers detained

4/7/76
PRETORIA — The chairman of the commission investigating the Soweto riots, Mr. Justice P. M. Cillie, said yesterday two detained Johannesburg reporters writing a book about the Soweto riots had not approached him. He did not think their arrest was connected with an approach that had been made to him by another person.

Speaking at the first public session of the commission, he said newspaper reports could give the impression that

the two, whom he did not name, had been arrested because they had approached the commission.

This was not so. Anybody who wished to approach the commission in confidence would be protected.

Mr. Justice Cillie said a newspaper report had stated the two journalists had been writing a book on the riots and had approached him to try to arrange a consultation.

The facts were that a person connected with a newspaper had approached him, but he was not one of the two journalists arrested.

The person who had telephoned was to write a book on the Soweto events, and wanted to discuss the evidence that would be available.

The person had been referred to the commission secretary.

"The secretary arranged for a meeting between him and me some time tomorrow," Mr. Justice Cillie said. (Sapa.)

What top Govt supporters say about riots

By JEAN LE MAY

TOP Nationalists cannot agree on the reasons for last month's sudden eruption of township violence — or how to make sure it doesn't happen again.

They give the impression that they are seeking scapegoats to blame for the riots, and that they cannot find a solution to the problem of the urban Blacks within the framework of the policy of separate development.

This has emerged from a Sunday Express survey of opinion among VIP Government supporters — businessmen, politicians and academics.

The Express put three questions to them:

- Don't you think the riots show that it is time urban Blacks were given rights in urban areas?
- Can this be done within the framework of separate development?
- If so, how?

Nobody answered the first two questions, and there were some blunt verbatim reactions to the third.

Most who did respond wriggled around in a flood of rhetoric, sometimes submerging completely in cross-currents of qualifying clauses.

Some implied they would say more if they could (but they couldn't), and others

Urban Blacks: the question that makes Nats wriggle

commented: "That's policy and I can't say anything."

One man said: "Let me find a way of evading the questions instead."

Several, asked if they were keeping quiet because of party discipline, were affronted. They had ways of making their voices heard "in places where it counts" they said — implying that an English-language newspaper was not the place to air their views.

The more conservative among them clung strictly to the framework of apartheid.

Some were uncertain how to interpret the Prime Minister's statement (at his Bonn Press conference) that Blacks in White areas would have the same status as migrant labourers from Mozambique and the BLS countries.

"In that case, they should

be controlled by the Department of Foreign Affairs while in South Africa and the Department of Bantu Administration will eventually find itself phased out of existence," commented one academic.

Nor would anybody with the single exception of Senator Denis Worrall comment on Mr P W Botha's hint (just as Parliament was ending its session) that some form of constitutional revision was being considered.

"Now is not the time to argue for grandly increased forms of representation for Blacks domiciled outside the homelands", said Senator Worrall.

"If the riots are to be seen in perspective, there are more urgent steps to be taken."

"Firstly, it is the difficult task of the Government to

cope with the White backlash, which cuts across party lines, and at the same time to meet its obligations to the great majority of law-abiding Blacks.

"Secondly, positive measures to improve living conditions in the townships are urgently needed."

"Finally, the riots underline the need for clear channels of communication between the races

"But political representation, especially on a shared power/majority rule basis, is something else."

"No doubt it is in the line of Government policy to evolve more effective ways where Blacks domiciled outside the homelands can express their particular interests. But to want to do this in terms of 'shared power' thinking will lead only to dead-lock."

Professor Gerrit Viljoen, rector of the Rand Afrikaans University, also commented on "channels of communication".

"Even if the official policy of not granting political rights to urban Blacks is maintained," he said, "it seems urgent that some channels of communication should be created to give

Blacks an opportunity of expressing their views and of influencing the decision-making processes.

"These channels would also enable Black leaders to influence the Black masses positively in crises such as those of the last month. When the crisis arose, there was no way their leaders could reach them."

Professor Johan Boshoff, who is to retire as rector of Turfloop University at the end of the year, allowed a tinge of bitterness to colour his comment.

"I sincerely hope," he said, "that the authorities are now at last aware of the deep-lying dissatisfaction — of which they have been warned and which no amount of glossing-over will put right."

"The time has come to go into the matter of urban Blacks in great depth, and to put right what is wrong."

Dr P Etienne Rousseau, head of Federale Volksbelegings, said in a guarded statement:

"I believe the majority of residents of Soweto do not condone the events of the past fortnight. These responsible people must be encouraged to become involved in reconstructing the

amenities and in broadening the base of their social life. "The taxpayer of South Africa cannot be expected to create and subsidise better housing in the townships, but the time has come for the African householder who can afford it to be given the opportunity to achieve it at his own expense."

Dr J S Weidemann, head of the Bureau of Economic Research (Bantu Development) stressed the importance of sustaining an overall high economic growth rate joined with "an accommodation of political goals".

Ds D M Beukes, Moderator of the Transvaal and of the General Synod of the NGK, would not commit himself beyond: "They should be given all the rights they are entitled to within the framework of separate development."

Dr Hennie Terblanche, chairman of the Genootskap vir die Handhawing van Afrikaans, put the blame for the riots squarely on the shoulders of township "tsotsis", adding that he hoped the Express "would follow the example of the British Press and not that of the rest of the English Press in South Africa which has spent all its time blaming the police."

Most forthrightly verkramp of all reactions was that of the Hon. Hans Abraham, former Commissioner-General to the Xhosa-speaking peoples. "My answer to your first question, whether urban Blacks should be given political rights, is NO," he roared.

"They are migratory labourers whether they have been in the townships for four generations or not. They have never acquired title to land in White areas and they never will."

2 The Cape Times, Saturday, July 3, 1976

Judge tells of riots inquiry

PRETORIA. — The venue for hearing evidence in public by the one-man commission of inquiry into the riots in Soweto and other places last month would be the Old Synagogue in Pretoria, the chairman of the commission, Mr Justice P M Cillie said here yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference, Mr Justice Cillie said the synagogue had been chosen because it was the most central place, considering the different places the riots had occurred. Sitting of

the commission might, however, also take place at other places if it was deemed necessary.

It was not possible to say when the commission would begin hearing evidence, but it was not likely that it would be before the end of the month. It would depend on when sufficient witnesses were ready to give evidence.

Newspapers

Mr Justice Cillie said letters had already been sent to the editors of all the major newspapers requesting them to submit the reports, including photographs, which had appeared during and after the riots.

It might also be necessary to ask reporters who had witnessed incidents, or who had conducted interviews in connection with the riots, to submit anything that might assist the commission in its task.

Referring to the powers of the commission, Mr Justice Cillie said they appeared in the Commissions Act of 1947 and the regulations promulgated today.

"Shortly, these powers are for practical purposes the same as those of a Supreme Court in relation to the fixing of a venue, the summoning of witnesses, the hearing of evidence in public, the exclusion of the public or part of the public where deemed necessary, and the production of documents and related matters."

In reply to a question, Mr Justice Cillie said people



Mr Justice Cillie

could be summoned to give evidence, but naturally the commission would prefer witnesses to give evidence voluntarily.

The commission would give a witness every protection which a witness received in the Supreme Court.

For the guidance of the public and newspapers, Mr Justice Cillie drew attention to certain provisions of the Commissions Act and the regulations promulgated.

From the Act he quoted a section dealing with "hindering or obstructing a commission:

"Any person who wilfully interrupts the proceedings of a commission or who wilfully hinders or obstructs a commission in the performance of its functions shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R100 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, or to

both such fine and imprisonment."

From the regulations, Mr Justice Cillie quoted as follows:

"If any person who gave, or is giving, evidence before the commission, or has been summoned to give evidence, to requests by the commission, no person shall publish in any manner whatever the name or address of such person or any information likely to reveal his identity

"No person shall, except insofar as shall be necessary in the execution of the terms of reference of the commission, publish or furnish the report of the commission, or a copy or part thereof, to any other person unless and until the report has been laid on the tables of the Senate and the House of Assembly.

"No person may insult, disparage or belittle the commission, or a member of the commission, or prejudice, influence or anticipate the proceedings or findings of the commission."

Mr Justice Cillie said the date of the first sitting of the commission would be published later.

New unrest?

Asked what the situation would be if further unrest occurred, Mr Justice Cillie said the terms of reference only referred to riots that had taken place during June, 1976. Should further unrest take place a further proclamation would be required to instruct the commission also to investigate them.

Mr Justice Cillie said that as had already been announced, evidence would be adduced by Dr Percy Yutar, Attorney-General of the Transvaal, assisted by Mr P B Jacobs, an advocate, but there was a strong possibility that more legal officers would have to be appointed. The secretary of the commission is Mr D Jacobs of the Department of Justice and the Assistant Secretary, Mr L Viljoen. — Sapa

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Weighing the damage

F.M.

2/7/76

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How will the riots affect business. Some of SA's top executives give their views

Another Sharpeville, some executives once predicted, would be disastrous for business and the economy. International and indeed local confidence in the future political and economic stability of the country would surely collapse. Households would grow reluctant to spend, industry would curb its investment, profits would plunge. Foreign investment would dry up.

Well, we've had another Sharpeville. In terms of death the Transvaal riots were worse than Sharpeville; not 69 but 176 were killed. What has been the average businessman's reaction?

Caution — yes. Pessimism — no. He

has noted the muted reaction overseas and has drawn comfort from it; he is confident the wrath of the world is not about to descend on SA and snap his foreign trade and investment links. And he is conversant with Pretoria's strict exchange restrictions, which prevent any outflow of long-term capital.

While he is convinced that some political change is necessary (and is prepared to say so) he has no doubt that Mr Vorster is firmly in the saddle — and has a tight enough rein on Black political activity to prevent the country from galloping into a revolution.

Whether he believes the next 15 years

will be as profitable as the last 15 is another matter. His time horizon simply does not stretch that far.

Wally Reid, Tongaat's financial director, accurately reflects the mood of White business when he warns against over-reaction. "One should be careful," he says, "not to place too much emphasis on the riots. The stock market has been relatively unaffected and there has been no loss of confidence."

"At the same time the riots have shown that there are many gaps in understanding which must be bridged and that we must move faster in gaining the confidence of people of all race

groups.

"Great strides have been made in business towards improving human and race relations. Tongaat in particular has made great efforts but we sometimes forget that people tend to express themselves differently when trying to say the same thing.

"People who have traditional business ties with SA know our problems and have learned to live with them. Besides,

sider any of its policy decisions just because of the riots.

He makes the point, however, that government's economic policies will ensure that business experiences difficult times over the next six to nine months, riots or not. "I am afraid that this will hurt the Black man — which won't help matters."

Like Du Plessis, Herber believes SA must take a long hard look at the under-

Barlow Rand's chief executive **Mike Rosholt** believes the root causes of the riots are "many and complicated." He hopes Mr Justice Cillie's one-man Commission of Enquiry will come up with the answers.

"It becomes imperative that to avoid further recurrences of this nature, and for the sake of normal good relationships between Black and White and indeed all sections of the SA community, that ade-



Dolling, Pickard, Du Plessis, Drummond . . . pondering the lessons of Soweto

there are other great worries such as Angola and Rhodesia," says Reid.

Fred du Plessis, chairman of Senbank, is less sanguine — perhaps because he was nearer the scene of riots. His bank has not detected any concrete evidence of harmful overseas business reaction. Nonetheless he himself is greatly concerned at the turn of events.

"The economic implications," he avers, "depend on how the government is going to handle the situation. Does it see it as an isolated incident — or as something that needs attention?"

"My personal view is that it is serious enough for government to take a hard look at the basic causes. If nothing is done about the situation in the townships, and there is more unrest, then clearly there will be a negative effect on the economy.

"Businessmen could take a more pessimistic view of SA," says Du Plessis.

Lawrence Herber, president of Greatermans, also emphasises that the immediate effect on business has been small. His firm's sales suffered a minor setback in the worst three days up to Saturday June 19 but have since recovered. His board has no mind to recon-

sidering causes: "To attribute the problem to agitators is short-sighted. Living standards have to be re-examined as soon as possible. Our own labour liaison committees have been expressing concern at conditions of life in the townships for some time."

He warns that if job and other opportunities are not improved "this unrest will not be the last".

On the commercial banking front **Henri de Villiers**, managing director of Stanbic, says the only effect so far has been the postponement of the opening of Standard's Soweto branch from August to September. **Frank Dolling**, managing director of Barclays, reports that his bank's Soweto branch was burnt down, but that he will re-open for business as soon as possible.

Overseas reaction is "hardly favourable", says Dolling. "People are waiting to see how the government reacts — and what comes out of the Vorster-Kissinger talks. Notwithstanding the death and destruction, which was a ghastly step backwards for SA, good could still come out of the riots if they lead to positive change.

"By that I mean the creation of equal opportunities for all."

quate machinery for dialogue and good communication be set up without delay. Such machinery must allow for full representation."

Assocom's director, **Raymond Parsons**, believes both political and economic factors lie behind the riots. Assocom welcomes the Commission of Enquiry and is itself "studying the economic aspects carefully to see what adaptations can be recommended. Soweto represents capitalism in a microcosm. Organised commerce is therefore anxious to give Blacks a bigger stake in the performance and preservation of the private enterprise system."

Errol Drummond, director of Seifsa, is among the more confident of SA's industrial leaders. He believes the riots will not affect investment and that the steel and engineering industries "have been moving so fast over the past three years that we've beaten the pistol".

SA Breweries is not changing any of its investment decisions, reports managing director **Dick Goss**. "It's too early to tell, but business has apparently returned to normal." Goss holds the view that "well informed foreign investors, who have been doing business in SA over a



STAATSKOERANT
VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

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2 JULY 1976

[No. 5207

PROKLAMASIE

*van die Staatspresident van die Republiek
van Suid-Afrika*

No 123, 1976

**KOMMISSIE VAN ONDERSOEK NA DIE OPROER
BY SOWETO EN ANDER PLEKKE IN DIE
REPUBLIEK GEDUREND JUNIE 1976**

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 1 van die Kommissiewet, 1947 (Wet 8 van 1947), verklaar ek hierby dat die bepalinge van daardie Wet van toepassing is op die Kommissie van Onderzoek na die Oproer by Soweto en ander Plekke in die Republiek gedurende Junie 1976 wat ek op die 24ste dag van Junie 1976 aangesel het, en vaardig ek hierby die regulasies in die Bylae hiervan vervat met betrekking tot genoemde Kommissie uit.

Geege onder my Hand en die Seel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Vier-en-twintigste dag van Junie Eenduisend Negenhonderd Ses-en-sewentig.

N. DIEDERICH, Staatspresident

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-rade:

J. T. KRUGER.

**BYLAE
REGULASIES**

1. In hierdie regulasies, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

“beampte” iemand in die voltydse diens van die Staat wat aangestel of aangewys is om die Kommissie by die uitvoering van sy werksaamhede behulpsaam te wees;

“dokument” ook 'n boek, pamflet, aantekening, lys, omsendbrief, plan, plakkaat, aanplakbiljet, publikasie, tekening, portret of prent.

“Kommissie” die in hierdie Proklamasie bedoelde Kommissie van Onderzoek na die Oproer by Soweto en ander Plekke in die Republiek gedurende Junie 1976;

“lid” 'n lid van die Kommissie;

“ondersoek” die ondersoek wat deur die Kommissie ingestel word.

“perseel” ook grond, 'n gebou of bouwerk of enige gedeelte van 'n gebou of bouwerk, 'n voertuig, vervoermiddel, vaartuig of ligvaartuig.

“Voorsitter” die Voorsitter van die Kommissie.

50076—A

PROCLAMATION

*by the State President of the Republic of
South Africa*

No 123, 1976

**COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE RIOTS AT
SOWETO AND OTHER PLACES IN THE REPUBLIC
DURING JUNE 1976**

Under the powers vested in me by section 1 of the Commissions Act, 1947 (Act 8 of 1947), I hereby declare that the provisions of that Act shall apply to the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and other Places in the Republic during June 1976 which I appointed on the 24th day of June 1976, and I hereby make the regulations contained in the Schedule hereto with reference to the said Commission.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Twenty-fourth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-six.

N. DIEDERICH, State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council:

J. T. KRUGER.

SCHEDULE

REGULATIONS

1. In these regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates—

“Chairman” means the Chairman of the Commission;

“Commission” means the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and other Places in the Republic during June 1976 referred to in this Proclamation;

“document” includes any book, pamphlet, record, list, circular, plan, placard, poster, publication, drawing, photograph or picture;

“inquiry” means the inquiry being conducted by the Commission;

“member” means a member of the Commission;

“officer” means a person in the full-time service of the State who has been appointed or designated to assist the Commission in the performance of its functions;

“premises” includes any land, building or structure or any part of a building or structure, any vehicle, conveyance, vessel or aircraft.

5207—1

2 Die Voorsitter kan te eniger tyd een of meer persone wat na sy mening oor besondere kennis van enige aangeleentheid, plek of gebied beskik, koopteer om die Kommissie met betrekking daartoe in 'n raadvende hoedanigheid behulpsaam te wees.

3 Die verdragte van die Kommissie word genoteer op die wyse deur die Voorsitter bepaal.

4 (1) Iemand wat aangestel of aangewys is om die verdragte van die Kommissie in snelskrif aan te teken of op meganiese wyse op te neem of om sodanige verdragte wat aldus aangestel en of opgeneem is, te transkribeer, moet vooraf 'n eed of bevestiging in die volgende vorm aflê:

Ek, A.B., verklaar onder eed/bevestiging en verklaar—

(a) dat ek getrou en na my beste vermoë die verdragte van die Kommissie van Onderzoek na die Oproer by Soweto en ander Plekke in die Republiek gedurende June 1976 in snelskrif sal aanteken/op meganiese wyse sal opneem soos deur die Voorsitter van die Kommissie gelas,

(b) dat ek enige snelskrif-aantekeninge/meganiese opname van die verdragte van die Kommissie van Onderzoek na die Oproer by Soweto en ander Plekke in die Republiek gedurende June 1976 deur my of iemand anders gemaak volledig en na my beste vermoë sal transkribeer.

(2) Geen snelskrif-aantekeninge of meganiese opname van die verdragte van die Kommissie word getranskribeer nie behalwe op las van die Voorsitter.

5 'n Deur die Voorsitter daartoe aangewese beampte kan by die aanhoor van getuie by die ondersoek aanwezig wees en getuie en argumente wat op die ondersoek betrekking het, aanvoer.

6 Die Voorsitter of 'n beampte deur die Voorsitter in die algemeen of spesiaal daartoe gemagtig, lê 'n getuie wat voor die Kommissie verskyn, die eed op of neem van hom 'n bevestiging af.

7 'n Getuie wat voor die Kommissie verskyn, kan slegs deur 'n persoon in kruisverhoor geneem word indien die Voorsitter toelaat dat dit deur daardie persoon gedoen word omdat dit na die Voorsitter se oordeel in belang van die werksaamhede van die Kommissie nodig is.

8 Indien 'n persoon wat getuie is voor die Kommissie afgelê het of af lê of wat opgeroep is om aldus getuie af te lê, die Kommissie aldus versoek, mag niemand die naam of adres van so 'n persoon of enige inligting wat wat klink as identiteit sal openbaar, op enige wyse hoegenaamd publiseer nie.

9 'n Getuie wat voor die Kommissie verskyn, kan deur 'n advokaat of prokureur bygestaan word slegs in die mate waarin die Voorsitter dit toelaat.

10 Die Voorsitter of 'n beampte kan te alle redelike tye enige perseel vir die doeleindes van die Kommissie se ondersoek betree en besigtig en enige dokument wat op sodanige perseel is of bewaar word, opeis en in beslag neem.

11 Elke persoon wat diens doen by die uitvoering van die Kommissie se werksaamhede, insluitende iemand wat ingesluit reguleer 2 gekoopteer is of wat aangestel of aangewys is om verdragte van die Kommissie wat in snelskrif aangestel en of op meganiese wyse opgeneem is, te transkribeer, moet ten aansien van enige aangeleentheid of inligting wat by die vervulling van sy pligte in verband met bedoelde werksaamhede tot sy kennis kom, geheimhouding help bewaar, behalwe vir sover bekendmaking van sodanige aangeleentheid of inligting vir die doeleindes van die Kommissie se verslag nodig is, en elke sodanige persoon,

2. The Chairman may at any time co-opt one or more persons who in his opinion has or have special knowledge of any matter, place or area to assist the Commission in relation thereto in an advisory capacity.

3 The proceedings of the Commission shall be recorded in the manner determined by the Chairman

4. (1) Any person appointed or designated to take down or record the proceedings of the Commission in shorthand or by mechanical means or to transcribe such proceedings which have been so taken down or recorded shall at the outset take an oath or make an affirmation in the following form:

I, A.B., declare under oath/affirm and declare—

(a) that I shall faithfully and to the best of my ability take down/record the proceedings of the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and other Places in the Republic during June 1976 in shorthand/by mechanical means as ordered by the Chairman of the Commission;

(b) that I shall transcribe fully and to the best of my ability any shorthand notes/mechanical record of the proceedings of the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and other Places in the Republic during June 1976 made by me or by any other person.

(2) No shorthand notes or mechanical record of the proceedings of the Commission shall be transcribed except by order of the Chairman.

5 An officer designated thereto by the Chairman may be present at the hearing of evidence at the inquiry and adduce evidence and arguments relating to the inquiry.

6. The Chairman or an officer authorized generally or specially thereto by the Chairman, shall administer to any witness appearing before the Commission an oath or affirmation.

7. Any witness who appears before the Commission, may only be cross-examined by a person if the Chairman permits it to be done by that person because it is in the Chairman's view necessary in the interests of the functions of the Commission.

8 If any person who gave or is giving evidence before the Commission or has been summoned so to give evidence so requests the Commission, no person shall publish in any manner whatsoever the name or address of such person or any information likely to reveal his identity.

9 Any witness who appears before the Commission may be assisted by an advocate or an attorney only to the extent to which the Chairman permits it.

10. The Chairman or any officer may, for the purposes of the inquiry of the Commission, at all reasonable times enter and inspect any premises and demand and seize any document which is or is kept upon such premises.

11 Every person employed in carrying out the functions of the Commission, including any person co-opted in terms of regulation 2 or appointed or designated to transcribe proceedings of the Commission taken down in shorthand or recorded by mechanical means, shall aid in preserving secrecy in regard to any matter or information that may come to his knowledge in the performance of his duties in connection with the said functions, except in so far as the publication of such matter or information shall be necessary for the purposes of the report of the

behalwe die Voorsitter of 'n beampte, moet voordat hy enige diens by die Kommissie verrig 'n eed van getrouheid of geheimhouding voor die Voorsitter in die volgende vorm afle en onderteken

Ek, A.B., verklaar onder eed/bevestig en verklaar dat, behalwe vir sover dit by die uitvoering van my pligte in verband met die werksaamhede van die Kommissie van Onderzoek na die Oproer by Soweto en ander Plekke in die Republiek gedurende Junie 1976 of ingevolge 'n bevel van 'n bevoegde hof nodig is, ek geen aangeleentheid of inligting wat in verband met genoemde Kommissie se ondersoek tot my kennis kom, aan enigiemand sal mededeel nie en niemand sal toelaat of veroorloof om toegang te verkry nie tot stukkies van die Kommissie, met inbegrip van enige aantekening, opname of transkripsie van die verrigtinge van genoemde Kommissie in my besit of bewaring of in die besit of in die bewaring van genoemde Kommissie of 'n beampte.

12. Niemand mag, behalwe vir sover dit by die uitvoering van die Kommissie se opdrag nodig is, die verslag van die Kommissie of 'n afskrif of 'n gedeelte daarvan publiseer of aan iemand anders verstrek nie, tensy en totdat die verslag in die Senaat en in die Volksraad ter Tafel gelê is.

13. Niemand mag die Kommissie of 'n lid van die Kommissie beledig, neerhaal of verkleineer of die verrigtinge of die bevindings van die Kommissie benadeel, beïnvloed of vooruitloop nie.

14. Iemand wat—

- (a) die bepalinge van regulasie 8 of 12 oortree;
- (b) die Voorsitter of 'n beampte by die uitvoering van 'n bevoegdheid in regulasie 10 bedoel opsetlik hinder, teengaan of dwarsboom; of
- (c) die bepalinge van regulasie 13 oortree, is aan 'n misdryf skuldig en by skuldigbevinding strafbaar—
- (i) in die geval van 'n misdryf in paragraaf (a) of (b) bedoel, met 'n boete van hoogstens R200 of gevangenisstraf vir 'n tydperk van hoogstens ses maande, en
- (ii) in die geval van 'n misdryf in paragraaf (c) bedoel, met 'n boete van hoogstens R1 000 of gevangenisstraf vir 'n tydperk van hoogstens een jaar.

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

DEPARTEMENT VAN JUSTISIE

No 1187

2 Julie 1976

AANSTELLING VAN KOMMISSIE VAN ONDER-
SOEK NA DIE OPROER BY SOWETO EN ANDER
PLEKKE IN DIE REPUBLIEK GEDEURENDE JUNIE
1976

Hierby word vir algemene inligting bekendgemaak dat die Staatspresident behaag het om 'n kommissie van ondersoek na die oproer by Soweto en ander Plekke in die Republiek gedurende Junie 1976 aan te stel met die volgende opdrag

Om ondersoek in te stel na en verslag te doen oor die oproer by Soweto en ander Plekke in die Republiek gedurende Junie 1976, en die oorsake wat daartoe aanleiding gegee het

Die Kommissie bestaan uit Sy Edelste Regter Petrus Malan Cillie, Voorvoorsitter van die Hooggerechte Hof in die Noord-Kaap, as Voorvoorsitter en enigste lid.

Commission, and every such person, except the Chairman or any officer, shall before performing any duty with the Commission, take and subscribe before the Chairman an oath of fidelity or secrecy in the following form:

I, A.B., declare under oath/affirm and declare that, except in so far as it shall be necessary in the performance of my duties in connection with the functions of the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and other Places in the Republic during June 1976 or by order of a competent court, I shall not communicate to any person any matter or information which may come to my knowledge in connection with the inquiry of the said Commission, or suffer or permit any person to have access to any records of the Commission, including any note, record or transcription of the proceedings of the said Commission in my possession or custody or in the possession or custody of the said Commission or of any officer

12. No person shall, except in so far as shall be necessary in the execution of the terms of reference of the Commission, publish or furnish the report of the Commission or a copy or part thereof to any other person unless and until the report has been laid on the Tables of the Senate and the House of Assembly.

13. No person may insult, disparage or belittle the Commission or a member of the Commission or prejudice, influence or anticipate the proceedings or findings of the Commission.

14. Any person who—

- (a) contravenes the provisions of regulation 8 or 12;
- (b) wilfully hinders, resists or obstructs the Chairman or any officer in the exercise of any power referred to in regulation 10; or
- (c) contravenes the provisions of regulation 13, shall be guilty of an offence and on conviction liable—
- (i) in the case of an offence referred to in paragraph (a) or (b) to a fine not exceeding R200 or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months; and
- (ii) in the case of an offence referred to in paragraph (c) to a fine not exceeding R1 000 or imprisonment for a period not exceeding one year.

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

No 1187

2 July 1976

APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
INTO THE RIOTS AT SOWETO AND OTHER
PLACES IN THE REPUBLIC DURING JUNE 1976

It is hereby notified for general information that the State President has been pleased to appoint a commission of inquiry into the riots at Soweto and other Places in the Republic during June 1976 with the following terms of reference:

To inquire into and report on the riots at Soweto and other Places in the Republic during June 1976, and the causes which gave rise thereto

The Commission shall consist of the Honourable Mr Justice Petrus Malan Cillie, Judge President of the Cape and Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa, as Chairman and sole member.

Belanghebbende persone en instansies wat getuenis voor die Kommissie wil aflê of skriftelike vertoe wil voorlê, word versoek om 'n memorandum (in tweevoud) waarin 'n saaklike samevatting van die vertoe verstrekkend word, nie later nie as 31 Julie 1976 by die Sekretaris, Kommissie van Onderzoek na die Oproer by Soweto en ander Plekke in die Republiek gedurende Junie 1976, Privaatsak X81, Pretoria, 0001, in te dien en aan te dui of hulle ook mondelinge getuenis voor die Kommissie wil aflê.

Interested persons and bodies wishing to give evidence before the Commission or to submit written representations are invited to submit a memorandum (in duplicate) not later than 31 July 1976, containing a concise summary of the representations, to the Secretary, Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and other Places in the Republic during June 1976, Private Bag X81, Pretoria, 0001, and to indicate whether they also wish to give oral evidence before the Commission.

INHOUD

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Kruger says no to mass funeral

STAFF REPORTER

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, has refused the Black Parents' Association permission to hold a mass burial for people killed in the recent Soweto riots.

In a statement issued in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Kruger said it appeared that Black power organisations were affiliated to the Association and that political agitators were involved in planning the mass burial.

This showed, "in my view, that it is an exercise in political agitation and not an effort to assist the bereaved with the laying to rest of their next of kin," he said.

Mr Kruger said: "The Black Parents' Association has applied to the Magistrate of Johannesburg for permission to hold a mass burial of persons who died during the recent riots in Soweto. This application has been referred to me.

"It appears that known Black Power organisations are affiliated to the Black Parents' Association and that well-known political agitators are actively concerned with this organisation and involved in the planning of the mass burial.

"Thus, as well as the manner in which the burial is to be held, show in my view that this is an exercise in political agitation and not an effort to assist the bereaved with the laying to rest of their next of kin.

"It is obvious that such an occurrence can quite possibly lead to renewed rioting and even to violence. Furthermore, no evidence was submitted

Pretoria riots: churchman held

AN official of the Roman Catholic bishops' conference, Mr Victor Gallin, 35, has been detained by Security Police in connection with the recent disturbances in townships near Pretoria, Sapa reports.

Colonel J. C. Broodryk, commander of the Pretoria branch of the Security Police, yesterday confirmed the detention. He said further detentions were possible.

Mr Gallin, according to a spokesman for the conference, was an administrative secretary to the Commission for Social Communication and the Commission for Ecumenism of the Roman Catholic bishops' conference. He was detained last Thursday.

A staff reporter writes

that the organisation concerned has any mandate from the next of kin to arrange the burial on their half or even knows who all the deceased and next of kin are.

"The bodies of the deceased can therefore not be handed over to the organisation.

"In these circumstances, I have refused the application.

Invited

"The next of kin are invited to come forward to identify and claim the bodies of the deceased and to arrange burials in the usual way and in the areas where the deceased lived. No political speeches will be allowed at such burials.

"It is a given aim of the Black Parents' Association to provide financial assistance to the next of kin concerned. This the organisation, or anybody else, can of course do. In fact, the State as well as the West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board itself, assists indigents in such cases."

The Black Parents' Association, meanwhile, has called for a day of prayer on Saturday. It was decided to make the call before Mr Kruger's announcement.

Mr David Pooe, vice-president of the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce, said he would suggest that traders should close their shops on Saturday. "More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of," he said yesterday.

Charity performances of Gibson Kente's "How Long" in aid of the Soweto riot victims have been banned by Mr Louis Philip Francis, Assistant Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Mr Kente was handed the order at his Dube home yesterday. Another was pinned to the door of the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre where the show would have been staged last night. The performances were to have continued to Saturday night.

that a poet and a former vice-president of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) are also believed to have been detained.

Mr Lefifi Tladi, a poet and sculptor is believed to have been detained on Friday. He lived in Ga-Rankwa, Pretoria.

Mr Thomas Manthata, former vice-president of Saso and executive member of the Black Peoples' Convention, is assistant to the director of the South African Council of Churches' Justice and Reconciliation Division. He was arrested at his office on Monday.

Mr Manthata is a member of the Black Parents Association.

He was previously detained for 230 days without being charged.

Soweto aid show banned

11/7/76
Mercury Correspondent

NM

JOHANNESBURG — Charity performances of Gibson Kente's *How Long?* in aid of Soweto riot victims have been banned by the assistant chief magistrate of the Johannesburg District under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Playwright Gibson Kente was handed the order at his Dube home yesterday morning while another was pinned on the door of the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre where the first show should have been staged last night. The performances should have run till Saturday.

All the proceeds were to be forwarded to the Black Parents Association.

The association's application to the Magistrate of Johannesburg for permission to hold a mass burial of the victims has been refused by the Minister of Justice, Mr. J. T. Kruger.

In a statement, the Minister said it appeared that known Black Power organisations were affiliated to the Black Parents Association and that political agitators were involved in the planning of the mass burial.

"This showed in my view that it was an exercise in political agitation and not an effort to assist the bereaved with the laying to rest of their next of kin," the Minister said.

The next of kin were invited to identify and claim bodies and to arrange burials in the usual way. No political speeches would be allowed at such burials.

The Minister said a mass burial could quite possibly lead to renewed rioting and even to violence. Furthermore, no evidence was submitted that the organisation concerned had any mandate from the next of kin

to arrange the burial on their behalf, or even knows who all the deceased and next of kin are. The bodies of the deceased can therefore not be handed over to the organisation," he said.

"It is a given aim of the Black Parents Association to provide financial assistance to the next of kin concerned. This the organisation, or anybody else, can of course do. In fact, the State as well as the West Rand Administration Board itself assist indigents in such cases."

Mayor: Lift ban on mass burial

Argus 1/7/76
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Mayor of Soweto, Mr T. J. Makhaya, today appealed to the Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, to withdraw his prohibition of a mass burial for people killed in the recent Soweto riots.

Members of the Black Parents' Association, who have been organising the funeral would not comment immediately on the Minister's decision but said they would discuss it fully at a meeting tonight.

'I am very sorry that this funeral has been prohibited. I am certain that it would have been conducted in a very respectable manner,' said Mr Makhaya.

CUSTOMARY

He said he sympathised with the Black Parents' Association. Such burials were in African tradition.

When many people had died in a single occurrence, it was customary for them to be buried together.

Mr Makhaya said he wanted to ask Mr Kruger to rescind the ban. 'The people of Soweto are going to be very unhappy about this decision.'

Mr Kruger said on television last night he had refused an application by the Black Parents' Association to hold a mass burial.

Urban Blacks they want a voice

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Black leaders from the Witwatersrand, are confident the Government will act on the recommendations they submitted to the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, Mr I. F. van Onselen, at their meeting yesterday.

They believe the political future of the country rests on dialogue and consultation between Black and White.

Soon after the meeting Mr T. J. Makhaya, chairman of the Urban Bantu Council (UBC), expressed the feeling of the delegation when he said: 'We are confident of winning the battle for more rights in urban areas. We spelt out all the grievances of urban Blacks and were assured that the issues discussed would be attended to.'

Parliament

Mr Makhaya emphasised that Blacks wanted nothing less than direct representation in either the Provincial Council or Parliament in Cape Town.

'This is the only way our voices can be heard clearly,' added Mr Makhaya.

Mr Richard Maponya, a Soweto businessman, said he was happy the Government was now prepared to consult urban Black leaders.

'We have been harping on this issue for a long time, and the recent disturbances got home our point. The riots were not just isolated incidents, but a way of expressing the people's deep-seated grievances,' said Mr Maponya.

Other delegates saw the wide-ranging talks as the Government's first step towards extending its detente exercises with Black states, to local Blacks.

The 30-strong delegation was drawn from civic leaders and educationists who met Mr van Onselen

and other senior officials from the department and the Bantu Administration Boards.

Their discussions included: wages, trade unions, transport problems, housing facilities, homeland citizenship, influx control, trading rights for Blacks in urban areas, provision of educational facilities, job reservation and the status of the urban Bantu councils.

Funerals

Saturday, the date originally set for the mass funeral of victims of the recent riots, has been declared a national day of prayer.

The Black Parents' Association would hold the national day of prayer on Saturday because at least 47 victims are to be buried in Soweto at the weekend.

They wanted Blacks, particularly Soweto residents, to get to the Regina Mundi Roman Catholic Church at Rockville township at 11 am on Saturday to be able to pray together.

The Argus Pretoria Bureau reports that senior police officers will meet in Pretoria soon to discuss riot control measures adopted during the Soweto riots.

Wednesday June 30 1976

Sacked Moss to support Soweto

STAR.

John Patten,

Political Correspondent
The Department of Bantu Administration has dropped Mr Sam Moss of the Progressive Reform Party from membership of the West Rand Bantu Administration Board at the end of his three-year term.

Mr Moss, Johannesburg City Council's first nominee to the board when it was established in 1973 and nominated for reappointment, commented today on his experiences and strongly criticised the present application of the board system.

He has been replaced on the board by the deputy leader of the National Party in the JCC, Mr Jan Burger.

Mr Moss said in an interview today his three-year term had been "completely frustrating." He had often wanted to resign but had been persuaded not to do so because his many Black friends in Soweto valued his presence on the board and felt he could make a difference by serving on it.

Dealing with the workings of the board system, Mr Moss came up with three major criticisms:

- All board decisions are subject to approval of the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha, thus making the board "a tiger without teeth," unable to initiate policy and "slavishly following the dictates of Pretoria."

- The board should include direct Black representation. "The people of Soweto should have a voice on the board. The era is past where Blacks can be regarded paternalistically as children."

- The board is financially hamstrung because the Government says the board must balance its own budget and makes no subsidy.

The board lives on a "booze economy," one of the major sources of income being from liquor sales.

The riots: Soweto's power plan

By PATRICK LAURENCE

URBAN African leaders yesterday proposed a plan to expand the powers of Urban Bantu Councils as a preliminary step towards representation in the provincial councils and ultimately in Parliament.



Soweto's mayor, Mr T. J. Makhaya . . . after yesterday's meeting

Their plan — based on unequivocal rejection of separate development — was put to the Secretary for Bantu Administration, Mr I. P. van Onselen, at a meeting called to discuss the recent riots

In a memorandum presented on behalf of 36 leaders from Soweto and its sister West Rand townships, Mr M. T. Moerane warned that unless positive steps were taken in that direction South Africa would drift into a confrontation.

It would be "of such dimension that the current unrest will be like a Sunday school picnic in comparison."

Mr Moerane, president of the Association for the Educational and Cultural Advance of Africans, said separate development rested on an arbitrary and unilateral division of South Africa which left the African majority with only 13 per cent of the land.

"And that kind of order cannot last but will bring strife and disaster to this land," he said.

Already there was a school of thought, particularly among young Africans, that their position was the result of "sheer conquest" and that the way out was a counter assault.

"We here adopt the view that fighting it out is not the only nor the best way to resolve the basic political problems of this country," Mr Moerane said.

RDM

30/6/70

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"We believe that through sincere dialogue and serious mutual consultation and discussion a way can be found that will assure that our people can have the opportunity to make their contribution in decision-making and administering this country."

Although a wide range of issues was discussed, including trade union rights, influx control, homeland citizenship and the wage gap, the focal point was political rights for Africans.

Mr Moerane explained why political rights were the priority.

The vote would ensure an adequate African voice in deciding on the budget and from that would flow free and compulsory education and adequate provision of public facilities and amenities.

"We would be assured a proportionately reasonable share of the land and its resources, unlike the present setting where we Blacks are like foster children of the South African State, poor and without rights or privileges."

According to the delegates, Mr Van Onselen remained impassive throughout the nine-hour meeting.

The official statement described the meeting as "frank". It added: "Mr Van Onselen gave the delegates the assurance that all the matters they raised would receive his attention."

● Mr Sam Moss, one of Johannesburg's two representatives on the West Rand Administration Board, has been dropped in favour of Nationalist Councillor Mr Jan Burger — in spite of the fact that Johannesburg nominated Mr Moss.

Rioters return to burn beerhall

By JOHAN BUYS

BANTU administration Board officials removed the last liquor supply from a beerhall and bottle store complex in Kwa Thema, Springs, but determined arsonists went back to set the building on fire for the second time yesterday and saw it burn down.

This was the only serious incident yesterday on the Far East Rand where riot police were still patrolling the two trouble spots, Duduza and Kwa Thema.

At Duduza, near Nigel, where rampaging mobs burnt public building on Monday, police were still maintaining road blocks to the township entrances. Whites were not allowed in.

When Bantu Board officials removed the last of the liquor in Kwa Thema from liquor outlet No. 3 on Monday, a mob set the building alight.

Rioters stoned the firemen battling with the blaze, and one, Mr Gert Muller, 20, was hit on the hand by a rock.

The bottle store was badly damaged, but the building was saved. Then yesterday at lunch time, arsonists set the building alight for the second time and firemen could not save it from being gutted.

Rioters also fired a primary school in Kwa Thema and gutted a class room and store room.

Sporadic reports of unrest were received from Benoni's African townships of Wattville and Daveyton, but no serious incidents were reported.

Indian traders in Actonville, which borders Wattville, reported gangs of "tsotsis" who threatened to set fire to their shops.

In Daveyton a number of suspected looters were arrested in a beer depot which had been set fire to on Monday.

5 years and R30m to restore township

RDM 23/6/76

By VIVIAN DE CHALAIN

IT will take about five years and R30-million to restore Soweto to its pre-riot condition, Mr Sam Moss, MPC, estimated yesterday.

This restoration work depended on large sums of money being made available by the Government, he said.

"West Rand Administration Board officials are still sitting in conferences to try to assess the damage. There are sections of Soweto which they have only just been able to visit. It will probably take another week or two to assess the full extent of the damage."

Mr Moss said most of the buildings and other amenities destroyed in the riots were built over the past 25 years by, at first the Johannesburg City Council's Non-European Affairs Department and, since 1973, the West Rand Administration Board.

"Nearly all the records in Soweto were destroyed," said Mr Moss. "The average man in the street just can't understand the extent of the damage."

TENTS

He said that WRAB officials would probably have to adopt temporary measures to administer the township.

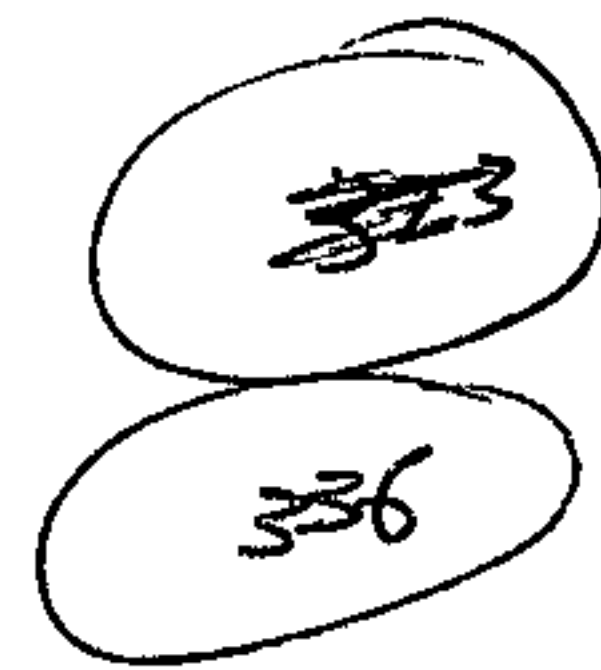
"They would probably have duplicates of some of the paper work at their Albert Street offices, but not all. They'll probably set up tents or prefabricated offices in Soweto to take the place of the destroyed administrative buildings. But it's going to be an administrative nightmare."

To avoid the destruction of records if similar confrontations happen in the future, Mr Moss said: "Every record should be duplicated, microfilmed and filed in vaults. Any building is vulnerable."

But Mr Moss felt the most important problem facing WRAB and the restoration of Soweto is to avoid future confrontations. "To do that there

urban African as a permanent part of our population.

"Flowing from that recognition, they must be given a stake in the city. We must build a stable middle-class, home ownership so that they can save and become secure. This middle-class would act as a buffer against agitators and pure vandalism."



The Cape Times

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23, 1976

How many more Sowetos?

AS Nationalist propaganda media, including the SABC radio and television, and Nationalist Parliamentarians assiduously divert attention from unpalatable truths, it is well that the Leader of the Opposition should be insisting that the country should face the facts of the Soweto riots. As Sir De Villiers Graaff asked in his speech at Sea Point: "How many more Sharpevilles and Sowetos must we suppress? How many more Erika Therons must we reject. . ." The Government should take responsibility for the present state of affairs, Sir De Villiers said, because it stemmed from their consistent refusal to take the Black areas and industrial townships seriously as part of the social fabric of South Africa.

The Leader of the Opposition is right to demand the resignation of the ministers responsible for Bantu administration — who are obviously out of touch with urban African opinion and do not recognize the burning resentment and sense of grievance which Nationalist policies have created in the townships. Here and there among Nationalists and, happily, in Nationalist newspapers there is some awareness that genuine grievances are at the root of the riots — and that such grievances

will have to be eradicated if there is to be real peace. But the official propaganda lines, as put out by Nationalist spokesmen, attribute the riots in simple fashion to "organization" and "agitators" whose aim it was to disrupt the Vorster-Kissinger talks. The inference is that urban Africans are blissfully happy with Nationalist policies and there is no need for reform. Let it be agreed at once that there are sinister political forces at work whose objective it is to sow dissension in South Africa. Of course there are. But such forces would get nowhere if there were not fertile soil for agitation and a bitter sense of grievance among urban Africans. With the MP for Pine-lands, Dr Borraine, South Africans who love their country and all its peoples are appalled and distressed beyond words by the attitude of some Nationalist parliamentarians to the agony of Soweto. They are blaming agitators, "communist" newspapers and subversive propaganda and, in so doing, are blinding themselves to the truth. In the interests of all its peoples, South Africa cannot fail to learn the real lessons of Soweto. We should begin by seeking the views of urban Africans themselves.

1 000 dead in Soweto, UN is told

NM 24/6/76
NEW YORK — The UN Committee Against Apartheid heard charges yesterday that 1 000 or more Black Africans were killed in the recent violence in South Africa, and not the approximately 140 officially reported.

The committee's rapporteur, Mr. Nicasio Valderrama of the Philippines, told a meeting of the 18-nation body that, according to information received from South Africa by the UN's Centre against Apartheid, "leaders of the Black people estimate that about 1 000 Africans have been killed in the recent massacre."

He also said that many of the victims were killed by .22 calibre bullets, which were not South African Police issue.

Mr. Valderrama said Black leaders reported that bullets of that calibre were used by a White vigilante group called Citizens Reserve Force, "which was allowed to go into Soweto to murder the Blacks."

Mr. George Houser, executive director of the American Committee of Africa, an anti-apartheid group, also told the UN body that in spite of official claims of about 140 dead and some 1 200 wounded, unofficial observers had provided information that "the figures of those killed must number 1 000 or more, and those who had been injured or wounded in the many thousands."
— (Sapa-Reuter.)

① 297
② 323
③ 375-6000
336

Students bailed at R100 each

Mercury Correspondent

PRETORIA — Three students from the University of Witwatersrand and one from Pretoria University appeared in court yesterday on an allegation of attempting to paint subversive slogans backing the Soweto riots.

Andre du Toit, of Sunnyside, Pretoria, and Pretoria University, and Robert MacNamara, of Milner Park, Bernard Peter Fisher of Bellevue and Michael Louis Resnick of Brooklyn, all Wits students, appeared on an allegation of malicious damage to property.

The four are said to have tried to paint the words "Amandla Soweto" (Power to Soweto) on the walls of Pretoria University on Friday of last week.

The case was remanded to June 30. The students, all aged 19, were granted bail of R100 each.

336

Gatherings

ban is

extended

ARGUS
24/6/76

(12523)

(20312-451)

THE ban placed on outdoor public gatherings by the Minister of Justice, Mr. J. T. Kruger, until June 29 has been extended until July 7.

The ban was applied after the rioting in African townships on the Witwatersrand which started last week.

The ban does not apply to sports meetings, meetings inside buildings or meetings specially authorised by the Minister or the magistrate of the area concerned.

336

(1) 331
(2) 333
(3) 337

Cape Times
**Natal students
throng court 23/6/76**

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Crowds of students thronged the corridors of the Durban Magistrate's court yesterday when 87 pupils from the University of Natal medical school appeared on charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act. The students were arrested on Friday when they staged a march in Sydney Road in sympathy with the Soweto rioters.

336

(1) ~~See~~ - 12-1-1966
(2) ~~See~~

New move to aid Soweto children

STAR 23/6/76

A newly formed emergency relief group has decided to make the provision of recreation and occupational facilities for Soweto children

their immediate priority

The group, the Mayoress' Soweto Children's Programme, was formed yesterday under the patronage of the Mayoress

of Johannesburg, Mrs Molly Sklaar, to provide emergency relief aid to Soweto and other townships.

"Various organisations have already started raising funds for welfare purposes and for rebuilding destroyed amenities, but I feel we can do something to help, even if it is in a small way," said Mrs Teresa Graham of Victoria, Johannesburg, who formed the group.

At yesterday's meeting it was decided, following a suggestion by Dr Selma Browde, MPC for Houghton, that the group's first goal should be providing

children with something to do now that their schools had been closed.

"Mothers in Soweto are worried about their children, who now have nothing to do and might get involved in any possible further violence or riots," she said.

The group decided to appeal to the public to donate sports equipment, paints, easels and other equipment. Mrs Sklaar offered the group the use of recreation centres in Johannesburg as depots.

Further details can be obtained from Mrs Graham at 728-2466.

Riots fault of Botha, says Chief

24/6/26
N.M.
UMTATA — The Chief Minister of the Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, yesterday advised South Africa to grant unqualified equality to all races.

In a statement released after he had met members of his Cabinet following his return from abroad, Chief Matanzima also said the riots on the Reef last week demonstrated victimisation of Blacks and vindicated the Transkei's decision to become independent.

He also said the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, had done much to aggravate the deteriorating racial situation in South Africa.

He said posterity would place the blame squarely on Mr. Botha's shoulders if violence became the order of the day.

"We advise the Government of South Africa to repeal all discriminatory laws and grant unqualified equality to all races of this country on the lines we propose to do when the Transkei becomes independent," Chief Matanzima said.

Referring to the recent riots on the Reef, he said his Government strongly condemned the use of guns by the police on young students who had acted no differently from White students in Rhodes and the Witwatersrand universities.

"We regret what is happening in our sister States as a result of a system of education applied forcibly against their protestations.

"This, to us, demonstrates in no uncertain terms the victimisation

of the Black people in the racial discriminatory application of the laws of this country and is vindication of the step we have taken to get out of the suppression we have long endured."—(Sapa.)

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Riots fault of Botha, says Chief

MM
24/6/23

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Riot aid for Indians

Political Correspondent

THE ASSEMBLY: — Indian businessmen whose businesses were destroyed in the Rand riots and who were made homeless, are to be assisted by the Government to re-establish themselves.

This was announced at the end of the Indian Vote debate yesterday by the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr S. J. Marais Steyn, in answer to a question by

the United Party MP for Benoni, Mr H. J. van Eck.

Mr Steyn said he had already instructed his department to investigate the financial plight of Indians affected by the disturbances.

The Minister also announced that new plans had been developed concerning an Indian medical school which he regarded as necessary and urgent. The plans would soon be considered by the Cabinet.

①-823 336
② 312-6004

Withdraw letter, demand PRP

Cape Times
23/6/76

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Progressive Reform Party yesterday demanded that the Government withdraw "without further ado" the letter to its Houghton MPC, Dr Selma Browde, warning her against interfering in the unrest on the Witwatersrand.

The demand was made by the party's Sandton MP, Mr David Dalling, during the Police Vote. The letter he said, had tarnished her good name.

The letter, signed by Johannesburg's Chief Magistrate, Mr A. H. de Wet, warned Dr Browde to dissociate herself totally and completely from interfering with the unrest. It did not elaborate.

Mr Dalling said that Dr Browde had replied demanding to know from Mr De Wet under what statutory provision the letter was sent and on whose authority and instruction was it done.

"UNDEMOCRATIC"

Mr Dalling said that Dr Browde had not received an official reply except a telephone call from assistant magistrate Fourie to say that the Chief Magistrate had no comment to make.

"We in these benches believe that this letter constitutes a severe and unwarranted invasion of Dr Browde's rights as a public representative and an undemocratic interference with her ability to carry out her obligations

in that capacity," Mr Dalling said.

"That public representative's good name has been blackened in a most insidious manner and at a time when feelings are running high."

Mr Dalling said that Dr Browde was a respected political figure in Johannesburg enjoying the overwhelming support of her constituents.

Mr Dalling said that Dr Browde was an opponent of apartheid and the Government. She opposed violence in any form and had often warned the Government of possible unrest and violence if the grievances of Blacks were not taken seriously.

Mr Dalling said that the PRP was a group of South Africans who loved their country and who saw it as their vital task to democratically point out to South Africa a better way than apartheid, a safer way than entrenched discrimination and a more compassionate way than authoritarianism.

"If that is her sin, Sir, then it is our sin as well, and it is the sin of hundreds of thousands of South Africans, countrymen of ours."

Graaff calls for resignations

CAPE TIMES 22/6/76

323

Staff Reporter

THE Leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff, last night accused the Government of ignoring a constant stream of warnings preceding the Soweto riots and called for the resignations of the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr M C Botha, and his deputy, Dr Andries Treurnicht, for "gross incompetence".

Addressing more than 300 people in the Sea Point Civic Centre, Sir De Villiers said that when one spoke of law and order, one should ask how a government should claim to have done a good job if it allowed a long-existing situation to erupt into violence without any previous intervention by those in the Cabinet responsible for good relations with the people concerned.

The questions were: Why the violence occurred and what could have been done to avoid it by intelligent mediation and peaceful negotiation? The Government should take responsibility for the present state of affairs, he said, because it stemmed from their consistent refusal to take the Black areas and industrial townships seriously as part of the social fabric of South Africa.

ACTION CALL

Permanent machinery should be created to ensure that in future such a situation could not develop without its being a subject of discussion between the highest authorities on both sides.

Sir De Villiers called for speedy and properly informed action to restore the situation and to repair the loss of confidence in respect of future racial relations.

He called for the resignation of Mr M C Botha, and said his claim that there had been a misunderstanding of his policy was evidence of incompetence "too gross to tolerate".

The Government had, instead of showing signs of moving away from institutionalized discrimination, given Dr Andries Treurnicht a ministerial office "to prove, apparently, that if anything changes it will change in his direction."

Speaking on the Theron Commission Report, Sir De Villiers said the United Party was happy to endorse the overwhelming majority of its recommendations and certainly those of major importance. The report amounted to a complete rejection of Government policy.

Sir De Villiers said he did not foresee a conflict between the federal proposals of the United Party and the support it would give "to any constructive proposals to meet the urgent political needs of the Coloured community . . ."

There were both English- and Afrikaans-speaking voters who saw the National Party's "retreat-

ing action in defence of a smaller South Africa" as a logical and realistic policy.

"How many more Sharpevilles and Sowetos must we suppress? How many more Erika Theron must we reject? How many more Transkeians made stateless aliens before people understand that fear diminishes and confidence strengthens us?"

Nat challenge to PRP over riots

CAPE TIMES 22/6/76

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— There was a terrorist tactic known as "J'accuse", developed overseas, and now being used in South Africa by anarchists and agitators, and the tactic was even being used in Parliament, Mr Tom Langley (NP Waterkloof) said in the Assembly last night.

Speaking in committee on the Police Vote, Mr

Langley said the PRP should indicate where it stood concerning the riots in Soweto and the PRP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, should tell the House whether he was in touch with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi on Sunday and whether he was with Chief Buthelezi in Soweto.

Mr Eglin: "I was not."
Mr Langley said the

methods used by the PRP of accusing the Government smacked of "J'accuse".

The PRP had seen fit to say the blame for the riots was not that of "so-called activists", but that of the Government.

The PRP knew the activists and were in touch with them.

The National Party had warned the PRP repeatedly not to isolate English-speaking people and Blacks against the Afrikaners, and it was typical of the spirit of the PRP that this had now happened, Mr Langley said.

Mr David Dalling (PRP, Sandton) said the National Party did not appear to understand the role of the PRP or its attitude towards the unrest.

The PRP wanted to arrive at a lasting solution and wanted to help people understand the frustration of the Blacks.

It was evident that the Government was insensitive to the problems of many of the Black people.
— Sapa

Arrest before riots recalled

Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— The ill-fated march by schoolchildren at the Soweto school of Naledi which sparked off the rioting last Wednesday could have been triggered by the arrest of the chairman of the school's student Christian movement, Mr David Dalling (PRP Sandton) said last night.

Speaking in the police debate, Mr Dalling said that on June 8 a police officer attempted to arrest the boy at Naledi School. The attempt failed and the officer's car was overturned and burnt.

A further attempt the next day also failed, by which time the "entire school was in a state of tension and anger."

Against this background and against the background of the already tense language dispute, the boy's home was apparently visited by police in the early hours of Sunday, June 13 or Monday, June 14, Mr Dalling said.

"He was spirited away and has not been seen again.

"I believe it was after that action that the students of Naledi planned their ill-fated and tragic march."

Mr Dalling called on the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, to say why the boy was arrested and what had happened to him.

He also put these questions to the Minister:

● Could more tactful police action not have prevented the spark from being ignited at that moment?

● Why, after the riots had started, were there so few police at Phefeni School?

● Why were they not clad then or later in proper protective clothing proof against stones and sticks?

● Why were they not equipped with the weapons of a modern riot squad — shields, hoses, hose trucks, rubber bullets?

● What role in the disturbances was played by the police reservists — Black and White?

'No solution'

Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.—

If the National Party got rid of the Progressive Reform Party and the entire English-language Press tomorrow by "whatever means" the problems of South Africa would still remain, Dr Alex Boraine (PRP Pinelands) said last night.

The PRP, he said, held no brief for violence and had clearly condemned violence. At the same time he wanted to know what the Government was doing to combat right-wing terrorists.

Food, fuel for Soweto

336

Hungry Soweto's essential food and coal supplies returned to normal today as milk vans and bread delivery vans entered the townships for the first time in four days since the rioting began.

Although hardships were to be expected, there was no question of famine there.

A spokesman for the Premier Milling group which supplies bread to Soweto said: "One of our bakeries baked until 11 pm on Saturday and traders from Soweto called to collect the bread."

An executive of Clover Dairies, one of the main suppliers of milk to the area, said today "normal" supplies of milk were sent into Soweto.

Coal supplies began trickling again yesterday — the coldest day in Johannesburg this year.

According to Black traders, many made special trips into Johannesburg on Friday and Saturday to stock up with goods like mealie meal and sugar.

Police indicated that top priority would be given to getting food into Soweto.

Putco bus and train services were operating normally today.

HEALTH

The fate of the Soweto clinics — vital component of the township's health services — is still virtually unknown.

There have been rumours that at least two of the clinics, one of them the pride of the Hospital Services Department, Diepkloof, have been extensively damaged or even destroyed.

It is understood that an assessment of the situation will be made within the next day or so.

Early on in the riots all doctors were withdrawn from the clinics to their home base, Baragwanath Hospital, where arrangements were made for

them to continue their work.

Unless the clinics can be restored to their full operational capacity soon, it is feared that health in the townships may suffer. At the same time an in-

To Page 3, Col. 1

(From Page 1)

tolerable burden will be placed on Baragwanath.

The Johannesburg Electricity Department braved riot-torn Soweto on Thursday to repair an essential pumping station in Meadowlands, supplying the area with water.

It was the normal Monday morning rush to get to work in Alexandra early today.

Workers streamed out of the township by car, on foot and queued up at the Putco bus terminus for buses into town.

The only signs of last week's riots were the burnt-out cars, buses, trucks and shops, beer crates strewn over the roads.

Uncollected garbage piled up on corners, and there were only a handful of police to be seen, mainly near the wrecked shopping centre and the clinic.

There was no sign of bread or other food supplies being delivered, and all the shops were closed.

One worker said there had been bread available on Saturday, but nothing since then.

In nearby Wynberg shops and factories were opening as usual, and there were no signs of police anywhere.

The Alexandra Health Centre and University Clinic in Wynberg is open for business as usual today. The staff was evacuated on Friday.

It was decided initially to keep the clinic open in keeping with its tradition of offering medical services to Alexandra township and surroundings 24 hours a day.

Some of the nurses from the centre manned an emergency clinic in the township throughout the weekend under the Red Cross.

A spokesman for the centre said today that the entire staff had turned up and that the services were back to normal.

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(1) 150
(2) 192
(3) 67
(4) 323

Hungry workers down

tools

STAR 22/6/66
Pretoria Bureau

Production at Pretoria's Chrysler Park car factory stopped today when about 1000 hungry Black workers refused to return to work after the 9 am tea-break.

The managing director of Chrysler South Africa, Mr W K McPherson, said: "Workers at our plant near Mamelodi arrived at work hungry and restless because of the conditions in the township.

"At 9 am every day we provide tea and bread for our Black workers. Today, for unknown reasons, the bread did not arrive."

On hearing that no bread was available the workers refused to go back to work and milled around the canteen area.

Mr McPherson said they were not at all aggressive, just "confused, worried about their homes and hungry."

He also said he had decided to close the plant for today, but production would resume as usual tomorrow.

The police were called to the plant but stayed only a few minutes before leaving.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, visited riot victims at the Baragwanath and Natalspuit hospitals yesterday, and said afterwards he was "stunned and horrified by the tragedy".

"I saw young children who will be paralysed for life. Others were seriously injured by bullet wounds. Some of the injured said they were demonstrating peacefully when they were shot. Some children told me they were waiting to meet their mothers.

CAPE TIMES 21/6/76

Chief 'stunned and horrified'

"Wounded adults were returning home from work. Some were shot, some were stoned, and others were stabbed," Chief Buthelezi said.

"I had read about the events but when I met the wounded children face to face, the tragedy really hit home," he said.

"I cannot believe that anything justifies the

shooting of unarmed children.

"After Sharpeville, one would have thought South Africa had learned something. We should be able to disperse mobs with the minimum of violence by using chemicals or rubber bullets. Shooting should never be used to rout crowds of unarmed children", he said.

Earlier, Chief Buthelezi appealed for calmness to avoid further loss of life and warned that the Black man's struggle would be a tough and demanding one.

"We are an insane society and we cannot fight insanity with insanity. Such moves by us will result in our complete annihilation. The battle for our human rights cannot be resolved through acts which will give the powerful an excuse for our decimation," he said.

● On behalf of the Inkatha movement, Chief Buthelezi later launched an all-Black disaster fund with a sum of R1 000.

Language: The 3-year fight

JOHANNESBURG. — Black leaders on the Reef told yesterday of their vain three-year battle to inform the Government of the impossibility of introducing the dual-medium system into Black schools.

At a meeting here more than 60 Black leaders told the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, how they had finally resorted to giving gardening lessons in Afrikaans to meet Government requirements.

Recently, teachers had been driven to teaching mathematics in Zulu and then — while the children were writing it down — translating the instructions into Afrikaans purely for the sake of Government policy, Chief Buthelezi was told.

MR EGLIN

The meeting, which was also attended by Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive-Reform Party and Mr Sam Moss, PRP MPC for Parktown, was called to brief Chief Buthelezi on the township riots.

Members of the African Teachers' Association and Soweto educationists said they first complained in 1973.

Mr Jeremiah Mhlango, a former chairman of the Orlando Diepkloof Zulu school board, who was dismissed last year in spite of winning 37 out of 43 votes at the board elections, said his schools were told that since black education was financed by Whites, it was Government policy that English and Afrikaans should both be used.

In May, 1975, their application for exemption was refused.

In 1976 Afrikaans was introduced. "In those classes the children could not understand what the teacher was talking about," Mr Mhlango said.

Mr T J Makhaya said he had talked to Mr W C Ackerman, regional director of Bantu Education in the Southern Transvaal.

"Mr Ackerman told me the parents have no say in the matter and that the children who were boycotting classes because they could not understand Afrikaans would be expelled if they did not return.

"We have nothing against Afrikaans. We want it taught as a subject. But you must not expect a child to be prepared to be taught in two foreign languages," he said.

"We have chosen English because it is an international language.

"How many Afrikaans-speaking children would be prepared to be taught mathematics in Zulu or Tswana?" Mr Makhaya asked.

THORN

Other speakers said they had stressed to the department that in White schools only one language was used as a teaching medium. "Why then must we be forced to use both, especially since neither is our mother tongue?" they asked.

Mr Gibson Thula, KwaZulu's urban representative in Tembisa, told the meeting that the dual-system medium was such a thorn in the flesh of Black education that he had taken the matter to SA embassies abroad in an effort to impress the authorities that trouble was brewing.

~~Education - Section~~

(2 323

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Govt 'must help the riot victims'

NM 21/6/76.
Mercury Correspondent

PRETORIA — Opposition financial spokesmen have called on the Government to make funds immediately available to relieve the distress after last week's township riots on the Rand.

The United Party's financial authority, Mr. David Baxter, MP, said the Government must act at once to relieve any suffering resulting from the three days of rioting and destruction.

Money needed to repair houses and restore services must be made

available immediately, he urged.

Mr. Baxter said that if emergency food supplies were needed there should be no hesitation in distributing them.

"There is bound to be tremendous hardship after the happenings of the past week. The Government must not wait. The United Party will fully support speedy and realistic aid from the

Government," he said.

The Progressive Reform Party finance spokesman, Mr. Harry Schwarz, MP, said the reaction of the White community and the Government to the three days of rioting would be vitally important to race relations.

He praised industrialist Mr. Anton Rupert who gave R20 000 to relieve distress. . .

Mercury Correspondent **21/6/93**
WASHINGTON—The U N Security Council has unanimously
condemned South Africa for "massive violence" against the
Black demonstrators at Soweto and other townships last
week.

The resolution
described apartheid as "a
crime against the con-
science and dignity of
mankind, seriously
disturbing international
peace and security."

It also recognised the
"legitimacy of the strug-
gle of the South African
people" for an end to the
apartheid policy.

But while it "strongly
condemns" the Govern-
ment, the final draft
represented a watering
down of the original,
move by Black Africa,
backed by Russia and
China, which would have
called for punitive mea-
sures against South
Africa, such as trade
embargoes and sanctions.

The threat to expel
South Africa from the
UN was also kept off the
draft.

An American delegate
Mr. Albert Sherer, spoke
out very harshly in call-
ing on South Africa to
"abandon a system that is
clearly not acceptable
under any standard of
human rights."

Mr. Sherer said apart-
held forced most South
Africans to live "under a
system that deprives
them of their basic
human rights" and which
was administered so as to
prevent that majority
from taking "peaceful
action to alter that con-
dition of fundamental
deprivation."

There could be no
"dream of a future for
South Africa that does
not include both White
and Black working
together in harmony and
equality," he went on.
"Together with other
members of the Council,
we want to assure that
the dream does not
become a nightmare such
as we have witnessed in
recent days."

(1) 330
2/7/93

Ambassador "Pik" Rotha put up his usual sturdy defence of the South African position, telling the Security Council that Pretoria was "not prepared to be held hostage . . . in this way not to accept externally imposed restrictions on its freedom of domestic administration — least of all on its inherent duty of maintain law and order."

He told members it was untrue that Blacks were discriminated against in South Africa's educational system and forced to learn Afrikaans. He insisted that in the secondary schools "studies are set up on a 50-50 ratio of English to Afrikaans."

He suggested that the alleged grievance that touched off the Soweto riots was merely a pretext for an organised "chain reaction of incidents which led to an ugly situation and unnecessary bloodshed."

"It is not usual for the grievances of students to be exploited by political forces for their own ends," he reminded them.

Mr. Sherer took that point. He gave the Russian delegate a sharp look and remarked that while the U.S. opposed apartheid, the South African Government "is not the only one in the world violating human rights. Violations in some were perhaps more serious."

This is a deplorable misuse of power

THE order served on Mrs Selma Browde, Dr Beyers Naude and Mr John Rees prohibiting them from becoming involved in any way with the recent disturbances is of dubious legal standing. The very vagueness of its status confirms the worst suspicions about the Promotion of State Security Act. Examination of the Act shows the Minister of Police can now prohibit anyone from entering an area if he believes this will endanger State security. It does not, so far as can be seen, empower him to silence legitimate comment and actions in matters of public concern. But this is precisely how Mr Kruger appears to be using his new powers.

Implicit in the orders, which command the recipients to "disassociate yourself totally and completely from interfering with the present situation of unrest" is the threat that if the warning (which appears to lack legal substance) is not observed, Mr

STAR 21/6/76-
Kruger may use his new and draconian powers to have these people put away without recourse to the courts

Apart from the disgraceful smear carried in the warning that Mr Kruger describes as so "innocuous," it appears that he is prepared virtually to blackmail into silence people in public life like Mrs Browde, who have for years been campaigning, entirely within the law, for change in the interests of peace and security.

Her "offence" has been to oppose the Government, and to criticise those measures and administrative methods which are (and have just been proved to be) a threat to security.

Now, by virtue of the new powers he has seized, Mr Kruger is able to employ a new form of intimidation beyond the reach of the courts, to silence critics like Mrs Browde. It is a deplorable misuse of his powers. So is the practice of using magistrates for political purposes.

336

Rioting in Mamelodi, including stoning and attempts at arson, four buses burnt out at Mabopane and attempts to set a bottle store alight at Atteridgeville were reported as disturbances spread to the townships surrounding Pretoria today.

Colonel A. Erxleben, Officer Commanding Pretoria North Police District, said the situation was reasonably under control at Mabopane.

In Mamelodi, there was trouble with schoolchildren around the technical high school and another high school and with adults at widespread places throughout the township.

There was also trouble at the entrance to the township, but White suburbs, such as Silverton and Jan Niemand Park, and the Waltloo industrial area were not threatened.

In Atteridgeville, according to an employee of the Bantu Administration Board, schoolchildren stoned the building and two bottle stores, smashing windows but doing no other damage. They also burnt out a bakery lorry.

Police drove them from the scene and the children were then reported to be roaming the township.

Colonel Erxleben confirmed that buses were stoned and buildings set alight at Mabopane.

Chanting

He also said that buildings at Hammanskraal, north of Pretoria, and the bus terminus at Hebron, west of the city, had been set alight last night.

Workers trying to travel from Mabopane to Pretoria, a distance of 35 km, found the direct route blocked by rioters.

Rioters were chanting and shouting, blocking the road and compelling those seeking to travel to Pretoria to leave the township by an alternative route to the south-west.

All quiet

Several employers in Pretoria reported that workers from the Mabopane area had not arrived at work, but a spokesman for the African Bus Service said the peak hour rush had gone off without incident.

Unconfirmed reports from Mabopane are that 10 police vans and a riot

area. Police were stopping all traffic into the area and about 300 Black workers were stopped three or four kilometres from the township.

In Atteridgeville, it is believed a school was stoned and the hospital set on fire.

A recreation hall at Hebron Technical High School was gutted by fire early yesterday. Damage was estimated at about R30,000.

Mr Bethuel Kekana, an employee at the Bantu Administration bottle store in Atteridgeville, said that two branches, at Vembe and Shibakabakeng, were stoned and the Vembe bottle-store was burnt.

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336

Meanwhile the fire bugs strike

Isolated violence and arson flared up here and there in Transvaal Black townships over the weekend.

A disaster fund to help victims of last week's violence is to be set up with existing charities.

Weekend trouble spots:

● Hebron Technical High School at Mabopane, north-west of Pretoria, where fire destroyed a recreation hall, causing R30 000 damage.

● Sepho Temba High School at Residensia in the Vaal Triangle, where a blaze caused R100 000 damage.

● Tembisa, near Kemp-ton Park, where several youngsters, believed to be tsotsis, were injured after

they were attacked by heavily armed taxi drivers apparently retaliating after a driver had been robbed.

In Soweto an old man died of exposure in the Orlando area, apparently because he could not get home.

Also in Soweto fights have been reported among groups of hungry people.

Yesterday many areas were receiving adequate food supplies.

But at least one shop-keeper was attacked by looters.

The Dean of Johannesburg, the Rev Desmond Tutu, has called for a day of vigil and fasting, beginning at 6 am on Wednesday.

"This," he says, "will be

for our country, its rulers and its inhabitants and for the miracle of a change of heart."

No trouble had been reported by last night in the African townships of Springs, Nigel and Brakpan.

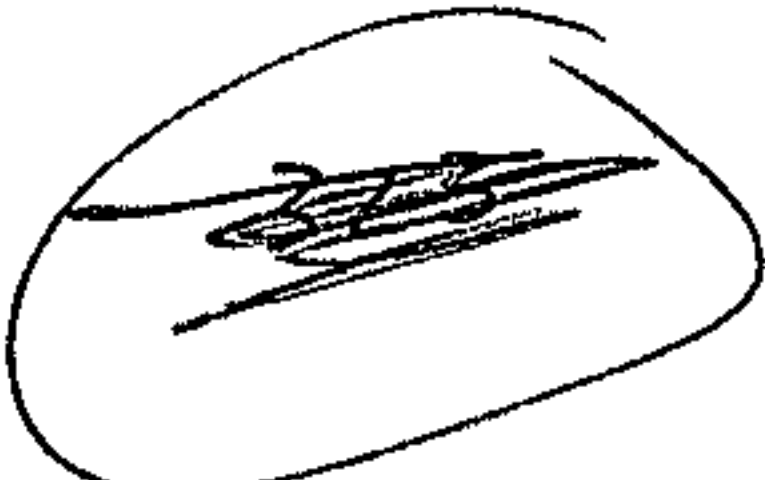
Commandos called out on Friday night were sent home on Saturday.

They stayed on standby.

In Vosloorus, Boksburg, there has been no further violence since rioters fired beerhalls, buses, the Post Office, hostel offices and a cinema on Friday.

Police are still watching the area, but most have been withdrawn.

Benoni's two Black townships, Daveyton and Wattville, have remained quiet.



Now townships start counting the cost

By CHRIS FREIMOND

AS LAW and order asserted itself in the East Rand townships yesterday, the authorities faced the mammoth task of compiling a report on the damage.

The chairman of the East Rand Bantu Administration Board, Mr Schalk van der Merwe, said preliminary reports would be available within days but a comprehensive survey could take months.

He toured townships in the board's area yesterday and reported no trouble.

"One got the feeling that things were at last returning to normal," he said.

It was difficult to say if there were food shortages as most shops were closed and deliveries did not nor-

mally take place on Sundays.

If the situation remained calm, there was no reason why firms could not deliver as normal today.

In Tembisa, Tokoza, Vosloorus and Katlehong, most of the board's buildings had been burned down, he said.

Most of the equipment such as vehicles and machines had been removed from the townships when the trouble began. Liquor had also been removed.

A preliminary report would be made at a board meeting on Thursday.

Mr Van der Merwe thanked the public for donations and the concern they had shown.

AMEEN AKHALWAYA reports that damage suffered by Indian-owned businesses in Soweto and Alexandra during the rioting is estimated at R500-000.

A spokesman for a firm of city insurance brokers, said yesterday a clearer picture of the damage would be obtained within the next few days.

The firm, he said, had insured most of the Indian traders in the two townships. "We haven't received all the claims yet but I would put the figure at roughly R500 000."

Indian community leaders have been at pains to stress they do not believe Indian shops were targets on a racial basis.

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Forcing pupils to take instruction through the medium of two languages lowers teaching and learning efficiency, says MR J L OMOND, a former Inspector of Bantu Education.

It is regrettable that what should be a solution to a problem based on educational and economic grounds has become confused with a language problem.

White, Coloured, Asian, Chinese and African homeland secondary school pupils study for and write their internal school examinations and the external Junior and Senior Certificate examinations in one official language.

But African secondary pupils living in White urban areas have to study for and write their internal and external Junior and Senior Certificate examinations in at least one or two subjects in one official language, and the remaining subjects in the other official language.

This regulation is resented by African parents, teachers and pupils, because the learning and teaching efficiency of pupils and teachers must, as a result, be lower than they would be if only one official language could be used as the medium of instruction.

If this "regrettable" regulation were based on sound educational principles, surely it would be compulsory for White, Coloured, Asian, Chinese and homeland African secondary pupils?

Lowered learning and teaching efficiency results in pupils obtaining lower examination marks in each subject. This in turn reduces the possibility of obtaining the minimum aggregate for a pass, for a first class pass or for a distinction.

Each time a pupil of any group in South Africa fails an internal or external examination it is a waste of public money and creates a feeling of at least disappointment, if not resentment, in the minds of the pupil, the teachers and parents.

The withdrawal of this discriminatory regulation would improve the productivity and efficiency of both pupils and teachers, to the great advantage of the country as a whole.

Which official language should be used as a medium of instruction

STAR 21/6/76

Language rule: only for Blacks

should be left to the discretion of the African school boards which are responsible for the local control of schools. The other official language, now often regarded in a sense of frustration, would undoubtedly be regarded in a more friendly light.

Not as a case for protest or violence.

The tragic, unnecessary and indefensible rioting by Black students in Soweto brought back memories of similar events in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town African townships in 1955, when large-scale boycotts of schools occurred. In 1960 more than 60 schools in my circuit were burnt to the ground by "persons unknown".

But as a result of patient negotiations and sympathetic understanding by the Department of Bantu Education, its officials, those of the Bantu Affairs Department of the Port Elizabeth Municipality and the fine response by the African Community, peace was restored.

Today there is an attitude of close co-operation and mutual respect between the African community, White officials and the White community of Port Elizabeth.

The change on the part of Africans was dramatically demonstrated just after the terrible Gamtoos River flood of August 1972, when nearly 100 people died.

One day the chairman of the African Principals' Association, Mr A Mnyanda, invited me to bring the Chief Magistrate of Port Elizabeth, Mr B Koen, chairman of the Gamtoos Flood Relief

Committee, to a meeting in New Brighton.

Mr Mnyanda presented me with a bag of notes and coins to the value of R500 from his association to hand over.

This donation from by no means affluent teachers was, he said, to indicate their sympathy to the relatives and friends of the victims of the Gamtoos River Flood — despite the fact that these teachers realised that the majority of the victims of the flood were Whites or Coloured people, and only a small percentage were Africans.

So if the bitterness of 1955 and 1960 could be changed to the sympathy of 1972, there is hope that a similar change of heart and attitude can and will be experienced in Soweto.

PM convinced riots aimed to stop talks

ORMANDE POLLOK N.M.
Political Correspondent

BAD GODESBERG — Prime Minister John Vorster said in a special interview yesterday that he did not believe that the Soweto riots had weakened his position for his vital talks with U.S. Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger. The two leaders will meet in Bavaria later this week for wide-ranging discussion on southern Africa but under the cloud of the Soweto riot death roll and unrest.

Mr. Vorster, who is firmly convinced that the riots were sparked off to coincide with his mini-summit with Dr. Kissinger and possibly cancel it, said he heartily welcomed the talks.

Mr. Vorster said the riots "have clouded the talks but I have no doubt that they were planned in such a way that I would be forced to cancel my visit."

However, those behind the riots failed in their objective and I do not expect Dr. Kissinger to adopt the attitude that they have weakened my position — in the same way that he was not weakened by student riots at Kent University."

Mr. Vorster said: "There is no fixed agenda but I will make use of the opportunity of putting the Government's view on all facets of southern Africa so that they can be sent to the American Government, through Dr. Kissinger."

Dr. Kissinger himself had said that they would be "exploratory talks,"

which in other words, said Mr. Vorster, meant they would cover "the whole area."

Mr. Vorster went on: "I believe that the talks this week are of particular importance and the consequences could be very important."

Reports from Washington indicate that one of the issues which Dr. Kissinger wants to discuss is South Africa's willingness to cut its future loose from the futures of Rhodesia and South West Africa.

SECURITY

The South African Airways Jumbo carrying the Prime Minister was diverted twice en-route as a security precaution.

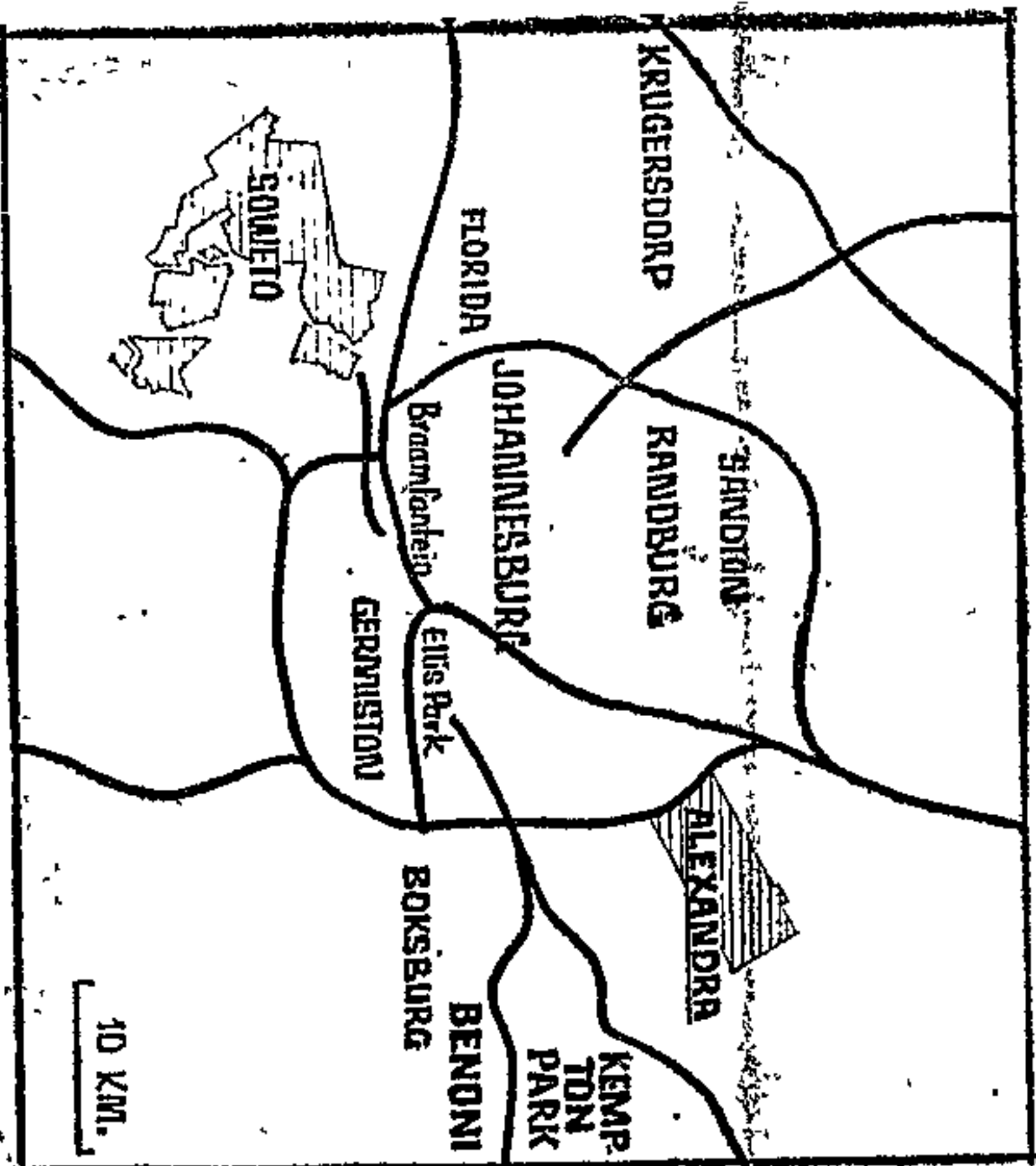
Sapa's special correspondent reports from Bonn that a few hours after the Prime Minister's low-key arrival, the West German Foreign Ministry issued a warning that a solution to South Africa's racial problem could not longer be postponed.

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TURMOIL IN NEW TOWNSHIP RIOTS

JOHANNESBURG. — Rioting in Alexandra township of north-east Johannesburg today has brought turmoil to surrounding suburbs, forced the partial closure of Louis Botha Avenue, sent shopkeepers and factory staffs fleeing and led to widespread destruction.

THE latest figures:
58 dead (56 Black, 2 White)
788 injured (783 Black, 5 White)



Meanwhile, the Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, today banned all outdoor public gatherings from today until June 29, inclusive, in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The ban does not apply to sports meetings, meetings inside buildings, or meetings specially authorised by the Minister or the magistrate of the area concerned.

In the Alexandra Township area, parents took their children out of White schools in adjacent suburbs and police opened fire on rioters and looters in the township as helicopters flew overhead. A number of people were believed to have been killed.

Citizen Force

A number of citizen force men in the north-eastern suburbs have been put on one-hour's standby. The explosion of violence in Soweto two days ago has now struck eight more townships in the Witwatersrand.

The riots have claimed at least 58 lives (56 Black, two White) and 788 injured (783 Black, five White).

New outbreaks of violence are at Tokosa and Daveyton in Benoni, Natal-spruit and Katlehong at Germiston, Vosloorus at Boksburg, Kagiso at Krugersdorp, Tembisa near Kempton Park and Alexandra.



THE burnt-out administration block of the University of Zululand photographed from the air today. More pictures on pages 3 and 4.

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Township trader's 'help' call

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — 'My wife is hysterical. There are five of us trying to hold her down. She mustn't scream or they'll know we are in here.'

These are the words of Mr Jose Fernandez, owner of Alexandra Fish and Chips. He and his staff barricaded themselves into his Second Avenue shop at 9.15 am as rioters surged through the streets, stoning buses and police cars.

Just now there was a big bang in the street outside, said Mr Fernandez, speaking in a hushed voice, as he cowered behind the counter. They are raiding the shop next door.

With Mr Fernandez was his terror-stricken wife and five Black women employees. They had barricaded themselves inside and were waiting for police to rescue them.

HYSTERICAL

Mrs Fernandez was hysterical. As her husband spoke on the telephone she could be heard whimpering in the background.

Please phone the police and tell them to hurry, pleaded Mr Fernandez. There isn't much time.

The trouble has flared up since late yesterday and at Benoni, Germiston and Boksburg it broke out today.

University

There has also been serious trouble at the University of Zululand in Natal and the University of the North at Turfloop near Pietersburg.

In Alexandra the entire business area in the township was burning today. Mobs looted liquor stores, smashed up administration offices and set fire to vehicles.

Gangs of youths set up makeshift roadblocks in Alexandra's streets.

Thick black smoke drifted across the prosperous nearby suburbs of Lombardy East and West.

Shops along Louis Botha Avenue in the Johannesburg suburb of Wynberg locked their doors this morning as groups of rioters, including children broke into bottle stores, burning cars and manning roadblocks. One shop assistant reported police were guarding the Post Office which was attacked early today.

(Continued on Page 2, col 8)

Appeal by

Buthelezi

— Page 8

Several people shot dead in rioting, arson

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VIOLENCE IN AARLS NEAR PRETORIA

The Argus Bureau

PRETORIA. — Police confirmed that two people were shot dead at Mabopane and there were unconfirmed reports of three dead at Mamelodi as violence flared in the townships surrounding Pretoria today.

Official:

128 die

A TOTAL of 128 people had been killed and 1 112 injured in the areas where rioting took place last week, the Commissioner of Police, General Gert Prinsloo, said here today. Prinsloo stressed that this was not necessarily the toll of those killed and injured in the riots. Police investigations were continuing to establish how many had been hurt in

unrelated private fights or incidents.

It has definitely been established that 41 Blacks were killed, and 75 injured as a result of police action, he said. Two Whites had been killed and six injured in the riot areas. Of the injured, 22 were policemen. A total of 894 arrests had been made, but nobody had yet been charged, General Prinsloo said.

Contingents of heavily armed police moved into the townships surrounding Pretoria today as rioting, violence, arson and looting erupted. Unrest is brewing in Daveyton, Benoni, where bottlestores were attacked.

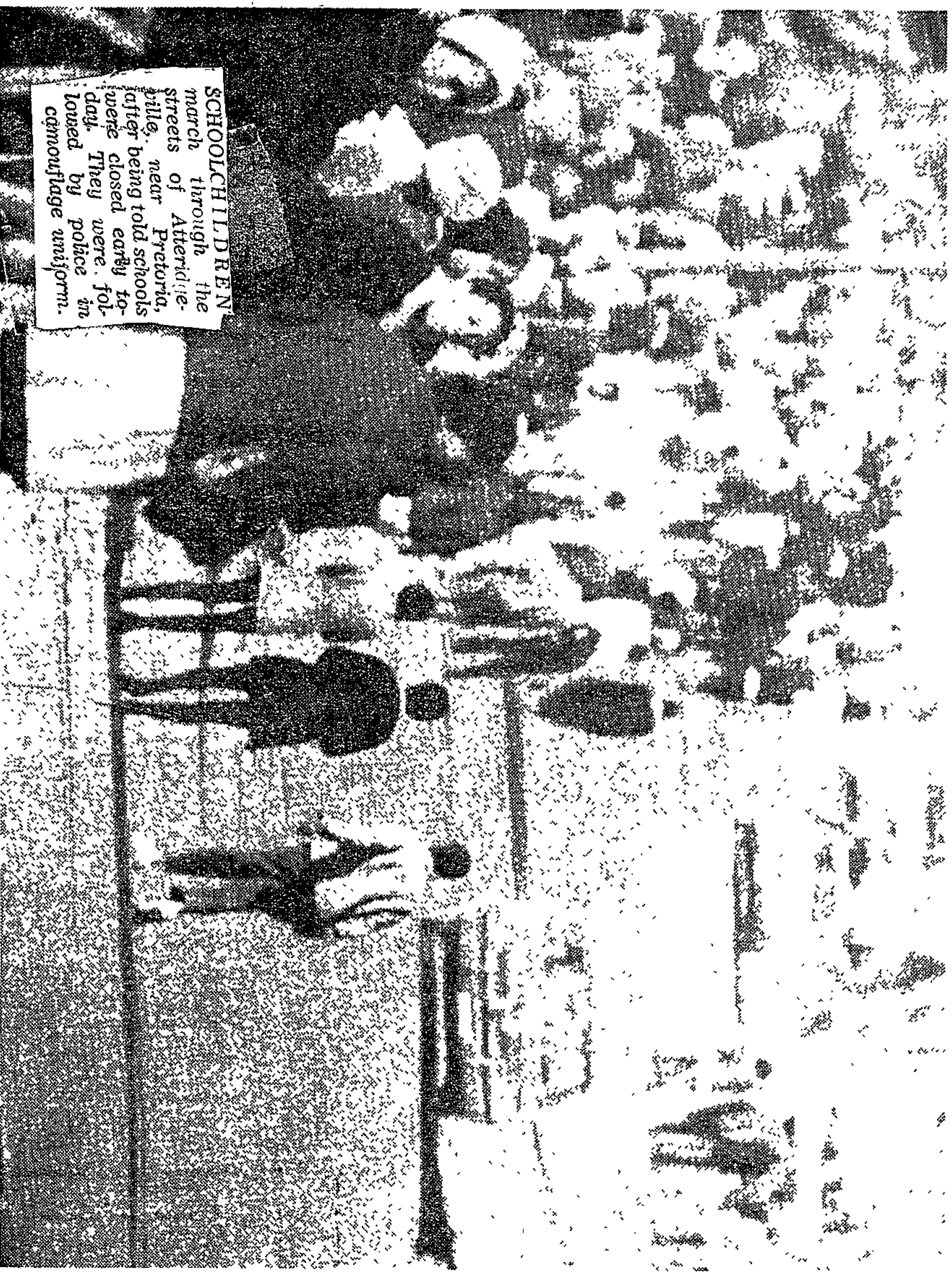
From Atteridgeville in the west, through Hebron and Mabopane in the north-west to Mamelodi in the east came reports of buses destroyed by stoning and fire, or buildings set alight.

All schools were closed down on the orders of the Department of Bantu Education, and White staff were moved from the Mamelodi maternity clinic and magistrates' court. Their cars were escorted by police vehicles as they left the township.

A spokesman at Police Headquarters in Pretoria said that the trouble in the Mabopane area appeared to have started when 170 workers at the Klipgat waterworks stopped work for higher wages.

Reports from Mabopane said that there were at least five wrecked and burnt-out buses, two cars and a police vehicle were

Arsonists strike in Northern



SCHOOLCHILDREN march through the streets of Atteridgeville, near Pretoria, after being told schools were closed early today. They were followed by police in camouflage uniform.

4 schools set on fire at Nigel

The Argus Correspondent JOHANNESBURG. — Four schools and a municipal bus were burnt out in Duduza African Township near Nigel today and another bus was wrecked when a large group of schoolchildren left their classes and streamed through the township. Police said it appeared that a group of schoolchildren had ordered all children to leave their schools. The school buildings and bus were then set alight. The other bus standing nearby, had its windows broken, and seats and tyres slashed to pieces within minutes. It was then turned on its side. In Springs 25 kilometres away a police spokesman said the trouble in Kwa Thema African Township was being controlled after extra police were sent there. He said it had been gun with the school.

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Transvaal

The Argus Correspondent

PIETERSBURG. — Police were out in force at the Seshego township today after arsonists struck at several educational institutions at the weekend and hundreds of pupils demonstrated and stoned police.

On Saturday night the offices at Madikoti Technical College and the Tseke Maboe Trade School in Seshego were burnt down and another building at Madikoti was damaged by arsonists.

Students at Tseke Maboe blamed the burning at their school on a few students from Madikoti.

Today the principal at Mohlakaneng Secondary School in Seshego was assaulted by demonstrating pupils who stoned the police when they intervened.

When The Argus Correspondent in Pietersburg, Mr John Mabe, went to the school today he was also stoned by pupils. Things quietened down

only after the Inspector of Schools for the area, Mr J. P. Mgoasheng, had spoken to the pupils and urged them to go home.

Students at the Kwena-moloto Teachers Training School also refused to attend classes today and held a mass meeting at the school but there were no incidents of violence there.

Two other training colleges in Lebowa — Sefo-loane, about 30 km west of Pietersburg, and Makopane, near Potgietersrus — were also reported to have suffered damage by arsonists at the weekend.

At present it is not clear what the reasons are for the students' action in Seshego and parts of Lebowa.

BOOKSTORE BURNED

Sibasa in the Venda homeland also suffered from unrest and the Ned Geref Kerk Mission bookstore was burnt down last night. Nothing could be saved.

Today parents of Turrloop students who were arrested by police at the university on Friday and Saturday were still trying to establish the whereabouts of their children.

Police have refused to release details of those being held who are thought to number as many as 500.

Dr C. N. Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, could not be reached today for comment on the situation here. His office said he was meeting the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in Pretoria.

None of the houses nor the post office have been set alight, the buses and their depots are the only targets at present, said an eyewitness earlier in the day.

The thatched roof of the Bophuthatswana transport bus depot was set alight, but employees extinguished the fire with hosepipes.

Warned

A pastor in charge of building operations at the new Theological College in Mabopane said he had been warned of trouble to come at 11 pm yesterday. Students at the college sent him a message telling him not to enter the township because it would be dangerous.

At noon hundreds of passengers awaiting bus transport to Pretoria were under police protection.

Riot vehicles with armed policemen entered the township during the morning to protect fuel dumps.

Burnings

At Mamelodi two municipal offices, a bottlestore and at least two cars and two trucks were ablaze at mid-morning.

Police dropped teargas bombs and flew low over the assembled rioters to scatter them.

A police spokesman said that White suburbs near by such as Silverton and Jan. Niemand Park, and the industrial area of Waltham were not threatened.

A little later police headquarters announced that a bottle store had been stoned and plundered and that the Mamelodi East Bantu administration offices and beer halls in its vicinity had been burnt down.

At Atteridgeville, slogans were spray painted during the night: "Don't Pray, Fight" and "Support Soweto and Mandela (power) Soweto". An unsuccessful attempt was made to burn

(Continued on Page 2, col 7)

A SMALL object, probably a stone thrown by a White policeman at a crowd of Soweto schoolchildren, lit the fuse that ignited Black townships on the Reef and two Black University campuses.

Over four days of riots, and with the help of Black leaders, the Sunday Tribune has tried to establish the causes of the situation that has rocked South Africa, and find out what the future holds as a result of the youth rebellion.

Police and military

So far the toll in terms of loss of life, injuries and damage to property in the townships and two Black Universities has been high.

At this stage there seems little doubt that police and military will be able to end the youth revolt.

But, say those who know, it is extremely doubtful whether stamping out the rebellion will crush the spirit behind it. Only fundamental change, they say, will prevent it from breaking out again.

One fact has emerged: the children of Soweto and other townships, when they return to school, will be very different kids. Having endured a baptism of fire, they will return as seasoned revolutionaries.

March in protest

It is also equally certain that there is no effective urban Black leadership to help the Government sort out the mess.

Trouble began when school children in the township of Soweto, the largest "city" in Southern Africa, marched in protest against

tuition in Afrikaans.

Youngsters and police confronted each other. According to eyewitness reports, a White policeman threw either a stone or tear-gas canister. The children retaliated with stones. Police opened fire. Children fell, dead and injured. The rest rioted.

While the long-standing Afrikaans language issue was the flashpoint it has become obvious that the root cause lies elsewhere.

One White woman tried to stave off her attackers in the township by shouting "I'm English, I'm English." It didn't help her.

New spirit in youth

The crisis, according to Blacks I spoke to, came about because there is a new spirit of militancy among the youth in the townships.

They are old enough to see themselves as members of an oppressed race; to resist the White establishment they see as the cause of their plight and to reject the passive attitudes of their parents.

One Black mother told me: "They don't trust the parents any more and won't tell us what is going on. They say we are members of the 'Ya, ya madam' generation."

Without fear

On the other hand, the child militants are young enough to rush into resistance without inhibitions, almost without fear.

Unlike their parents, I was told, they are not security conscious or fearful of jail or detention.

The Afrikaans issue, coupled with police action, has laid bare the key fact: Whether they know it or not, the school-going youth are becoming part of the Black consciousness movement which is sweeping the country.

Clenched fists

They have even adopted the symbols — witness the clenched fists and the shout of "Power".

Too young they may be to understand the philosophy. But what they lack in that direction they make up for in "gut reaction" to their situation.

Small black muscles have been flexed, and this has had a ripple effect throughout the Reef, parts of Kwazulu, and at the University of the North.

Looters and drunks

The children have attracted the support of Black students, sympathisers with their cause — and the situation has attracted the inevitable looters, tsotsis and drunks.

So far the children do not, in general, have the active support of their parents and the adults in the townships. But if the situation escalates, they too may be drawn into the conflict.

The children have shown a very sophisticated

By CAROLINE CLARK

recognition of "Whiteness," and this explains a number of factors which have baffled the authorities:

- An attack on Baragwanath Hospital, which treats only Blacks, over the problems in visiting injured children and what the rioters believed was slowness in treating casualties. Baragwanath came to symbolise "White red tape."

- The burning of offices, school and beerhalls because they either represented hated White authority or because the children saw them as symbols of White paternalism.

- The attack on the new R1 Rand hotel in Soweto because the rioters say it is a "showpiece", symbolic of a different class and a way of life which is not their own.

Offence to drive car

At the height of the riots in Soweto, it almost became an offence to drive a car or to own a wristwatch.

The legacy for the future looks bleak.

The morale of the children is extremely high and there could be renewed outbursts of trouble at any time. They are now adamant that Afrikaans must be banished from their schools entirely, and as a result of their stand will probably have new demands about their whole educational system.

Administration in chaos

The administration of Soweto, a number of the Reef townships and at the University of Zululand will be in chaos, due to the destruction of offices and records. Schools too have been destroyed. The present mess could take months, even years, to sort out.

Leadership problem

If and when the crisis ends, the authorities will still be faced with the problem that in the urban areas of South Africa, there is no effective leadership with which to negotiate in times of trouble.

HARD OF HEARING?

BECAUSE ALL HEARING LOSSES ARE NOT ALIKE WE ARE PROUD TO INTRODUCE THE FOLLOWING:

- Directional Hearing Aids
 - Discriminator Hearing Aids
- These all fit snugly behind the ear.

S. Tribune
20/6/76

The Cape Times

FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1976

What is at stake

AS the fires crackle over Soweto, South Africans should realize that the very future of their country is at stake. When, as we hope and pray, the fires die down, the pupils return to school, the police withdraw and things get back to normal, South Africans will ignore the lessons at their grave peril. The inquiries, the inquests and the court cases will probe the immediate and root causes of the disturbances and the degree of force used to deal with them; the public process will seek to find out why, in spite of a chorus of warnings, things were allowed to get to this violent stage. But one central point must not be forgotten in the welter of critical discussion and disputation: *the country has absolutely no policy for its millions of urban Africans.* They have been rendered strangers in their own land. Some might possess theoretical political rights to exercise by proxy in far-off homelands, but they are given no other choice in the matter. Those who want to be South Africans are told: *No/nee.* What lies at the base of the whole turbulent issue is the fiction that there exists a White South Africa and several Black South Africas, leading to the Government's obstinate resistance to the idea of accepting the reality of the true South Africa, a multi-racial country. The time has come to call a halt to this ostrich approach to human affairs — no longer because it is highly desirable, but because it is now essential. The particular issue of the forced use of Afrikaans at African schools — though it will be latched on to abroad as a crisp example of a ruling minority trying to force linguistic conformity on subjects — is, we feel, the mere symptom of the disease. Urban Africans suffer from something far more fundamental than unwillingness to appreciate the richness of Langenhoven, Van Wyk Louw or Adam Small. They suffer from the disease of alienation — the feelings of bitterness and frustration that go with a life that is, by law, denied full content in the land of their birth. The life of a labour unit. The life of a superfluous appendage. The life of a temporary sojourner. And out of this void can so easily come violence. Potential criminals can in fact be *manufactured* by the system, so that youngsters in blind abandon can destroy the very people and

institutions intended to give their arid, often fatherless lives some comfort.

If the real issue in South Africa is not settled once and for all, and urban Africans are not given a proper place in the sun, a veil will be drawn over this land. The independence of Bantustans might be well and good as far as this limited, positive step might go; but refusal to regard the rest of South Africa as anything but a White preserve has produced a negative corollary which strips millions of urban Africans of their citizenship birthright. Nothing is more important in South Africa today than the extension to urban Africans of the status of permanence, with rights to family, property and meaningful political rights as *South Africans* that characterize civilized communities. If such essentials are withheld much longer, this country will have to exist indefinitely clasped in an iron emergency; and the pressure will then grow and grow. This is perhaps the last opportunity to seize the still-outstretched hands of Black churchmen, business and professional figures, academics and others who have remained reasonable and helpful in their attitude. But before long a new, more extreme generation — of which Soweto was a foretaste — could sweep the moderates away, destroying the channels of communication, so painstakingly built up and leaving the gap between White and Black strewn with half-bricks.

The amazing thing in this whole affair is the surprise with which the Minister of Justice and others in authority greeted the explosion in Soweto. Thinking people have been pleading, warning and cajoling the Government for weeks, months and years to soften its heart to urban Black aspirations. Only recently MPs have raised the issue of potential Afrikaans language unrest in Parliament and privately with Ministers; Black leaders of Soweto have also warned of the growing dangers. Now the worst fears have been eclipsed: there is large-scale death and destruction; the world has its attention focused on South Africa as never before; and there is fear in many hearts.

All reasonable people will wish the authorities cool heads and steady hands in bringing about calm once again; but the political change of heart that South Africa so desperately needs has now become imperative.

Buthelezical to end violence

DURBAN.—Chief Gatsha Buthelezi today appealed to rioters in Soweto and at the University of Zululand to calm down and not to weaken 'our common Black cause' with wanton destruction.

Rand violence again main news in Britain

The Argus Bureau

LONDON. — For the second day in succession the Soweto riots dominate the news and comment pages of Britain's major newspapers today

Most commentators see the riots and shootings as a second Sharpeville with the difference that this time there are motives and a drive toward permanent change which Sharpeville lacked.

The clashes between White students and police in Johannesburg receive secondary mention, although both Independent Television and the BBC last night featured filmed reports in colour of these incidents.

Radio programmes devoted major attention to Soweto and there were telephone interviews with South African personalities.

UNDERSTAND

Writing of Nationalist Government attitudes in the Daily Express under the headline 'The Beloved Country cries again,' Mr Alan Paton says: 'How can one move away from racial discrimination when one has regarded it as fundamental to one's security for so many years?'

'Will Soweto help the Prime Minister to understand what racial discrimination means to the Black people of South Africa?'

The Daily Express also publishes a long background feature on Soweto by James Davies, who was recently there.

FEROCIOUS

He quotes Mr Peter Legene, a former Mayor of Soweto, as telling him at the time of his visit: 'Anything can happen now. The situation is very tense.'

Nicholas Ashford, South African correspondent of The Times, says the Soweto riots have demonstrated the ferocious intent of the urban Black youth to change his environment.

The Guardian today prints a front-page cartoon in which Mr. B. J. Vorster, followed by the grim figure of death, tells Dr Henry Kissinger, that it is, 'Oh, just a passing shadow.'

ter, Mr Vorster, calls on him to convene a 'conference of leaders' to resolve the Soweto crisis, Sapa reports.

'As soon as the immediate crisis has passed, Mr Vorster has a duty to call a national convention so that we can face South Africa's problems together,' Chief Buthelezi said.

He criticised Dr A. P. Treurnicht, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, for his 'extremely irresponsible

In a telegram to the Prime Minister, Mr B. J. Vorster, he has called for a 'conference of leaders' to resolve the Soweto crisis.

The KwaZulu leader was called out of a conference and heard for the first time from a reporter of rioting at the University of Zululand and the burning of the university library by angry students.

CALM DOWN

'This is very serious and very tragic indeed,' he said. 'I understand Black grievances and the frustrations of my people only too well — but students at this level are not a mob and should act responsibly.'

'My appeal to the students is to act in our own interests — in the interests of our common struggle — and calm down now before more damage is done.'

Chief Buthelezi said it was in the interests of the common Black goal to stop the wanton destruction of property and human life.

Africans suffered many disabilities and many frustrations, but the best hope of resolving them was to calm down and see if it was not possible to talk them out round a conference table.

Chief Buthelezi's telegram to the Prime Minister.

insistence on the right of Whites to determine the instruction medium of Black schoolchildren.

TEXT

The text of Chief Buthelezi's telegram to the Prime Minister reads:

'Recalling our representation to you in January 1975 on the imposition of Afrikaans medium instruction, this whole sad business could have been avoided if what we said on behalf of urban Blacks had not been ignored.'

'Our hands are clean of the blood of those killed in Soweto, where our people exercised their democratic rights to resist this oppressive, unilateral imposition of Afrikaans in spite of our representations.'

'I suggest an urgent conference of leaders with you to resolve this impasse.'

Chief Buthelezi said last night he was prepared to go to Soweto if it would help to 'ease the situation.'

—Sapa.



Chief Buthelezi

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Relations with EEC may cool

The Argus Bureau

BRUSSELS. — Events in Soweto in the past few days will do nothing to improve South Africa's already cool relations with this capital of Europe.

Officials here say privately that the killings and maimings have heightened fears that worse may still be to come unless South Africa changes its policies.

They add that the incidents could not have happened at a worse time for South Africa in view of Mr Vorster's forthcoming meeting with Dr Kissinger.

But at official level, neither the Belgian Government nor the EEC Commission is expected to adopt a stance on the Soweto riots.

INTERNAL

Trouble in Soweto is seen as an internal South African matter which does not call for official comment. On the other hand, it will clearly evoke no desire to deepen Belgium's or Europe's stiffly correct relationship.

Sapa - Reuters reports from New York that the latest racial violence in Africa raises the question of whether the new U.S. interest in the continent has come too late, the New York Times said today.

The open question, as racial tensions erupt into violence, is whether or not this country's diplomatic interest has been expressed too late to be felt where it could count, the newspaper said in its leading editorial.

SPECTRE

The sudden deathly outbreaks in Soweto come scarcely a week before Dr Kissinger's scheduled meeting with Mr Vorster. Combined with escalating guerrilla attacks against the white-dominated regime of Rhodesia, they conjure up the spectre of unchecked racial violence, The Times said.

Education chief faces 'Who to blame?' storm

SUNDAY TIMES

20/6/76

WHEN the last echoes of gunfire die down over Soweto and the last school child has been buried, one man will find himself at the centre of the storm as to whether or not the bloodshed could have been averted.

He is Mr W. C. Ackermann, Regional Director of Bantu Education, and the man responsible for the Soweto area.

Mr Ackermann has the final say over the medium of instruction in Black schools. Community leaders say he has persistently refused to listen to the demands of the school boards and adopted a high-handed and arbitrary method of dealing with Black people.

In 1974, when the four Tswana School Boards in Soweto presented him with a memorandum highly critical of the new ruling that primary school children must learn half their subjects in Afrikaans, his reaction was to dismiss the four chairmen of the boards and to reply curtly that his department

would deal with the boards only if they came to him individually.

The schools' memorandum said that:

- Parents should have the right to choose the medium of instruction for their children.

- It was impossible to expect 11-year-old children to be trilingual, particularly when most teacher training institutions used English, and no extra teachers competent in Afrikaans had been appointed.

- The 50-50 ruling was contrary to the guide laid down for school principals by the department.

The guide states that a school has the right to decide for itself whether to teach in English or Afrikaans.

When the school boards approached Mr Ackermann individually, as he requested, members claim they were told their children would learn in Afrikaans whether they liked it or not.

"It was a take it or leave it

attitude," said one who did not wish to be identified. "When we questioned this, he said it was Government policy."

This year, at a meeting between the Meadowlands School Board and parents, it was decided that the medium of instruction should be English.

All nine members of the school board signed a circular to this effect which was sent to 14 schools in Soweto. Shortly afterwards Mr Ackermann sent letters of dismissal to the school board chairman, Mr Joseph Peele, and Mr Abner Letlape, an executive member.

The other seven members resigned in protest.

In March the board members were called to a meeting with Mr Ackermann and Mr J. E. Grobelaar, the circuit inspector.

Mr Peele said they were told they would all be reinstated — on condition that they undertook in writing not to interfere in any "professional matter", and that if in doubt they would consult Mr Ackermann.

The meeting ended in stalemate. Mr Ackermann eventually reinstated the seven who had resigned.

He told them that they made up a quorum of the board and should withdraw the circular instructing principals to teach in English.

The school board has so far refused to comply with this instruction.

Mr Gideon Rousseau, secretary of Bantu Education, said he was unaware of any animosity between Mr Ackermann and the school boards. He knew of only one incident, that concerning the Tswana School Boards.

The question which will now be asked is, could Mr Ackermann have adopted a more flexible attitude and thus alleviated a situation which was becoming increasingly tense.

Mr Ackermann himself says that any person who believes that Afrikaans has anything to do with the outbreak of rioting is a fool.

"I will only say this: that no school board discussed this matter with me. I have reported to my secretary and he is quite aware of what is going on.

"It should be clear that Afrikaans has nothing to do with these riots. Only one of the secondary schools concerned offers instruction through the medium of Afrikaans. The Black universities are all 100 per cent English.

"Our attitude has nothing to do with it and that's all I am prepared to say.

"You people allow Black people to publish anything they like, and so I have decided never to talk to the Sunday Times or the Star again.

"I'm putting the phone down now."

David Barritt

EVENTUALLY, when the dust has settled, we will talk about the week when Soweto went mad

It was a week that started much like any other. The people of Soweto knew there was a problem. And for almost seven weeks they had been trying to tell the White man about it. But the White man told the Black man that the problem was a figment of his imagination.

The man who should have seen the danger coming was the official who was the driving force behind the implementation of the 50-50 medium of instruction controversy.

As a good Afrikaner and representing all the symbols of Afrikaner authority, he was irked that the people of Soweto resented learning subjects in his language.

Diligence and patriotism

So he set out, with all the diligence and patriotism present in bureaucrats display, to break down the resistance. His methods ranged from gentle persuasion to blatant threats against teacher and child alike.

The teachers told him that it could not be done. To minimise the chances of incurring his anger, they said it was a matter of practicalities. Not enough Black teachers are proficient enough to tackle teaching social studies and mathematics in Afrikaans. But he would have

The danger was there

... right from the start

S. Tribune
20/6/77

By PERCY QOBOZA, Editor of World

none of those excuses. After all, didn't the teachers indicate in their contract forms that they could teach in both languages?

Resistance broke

The Black teachers' resistance broke down. After all, the White official had the power to throw out any school principal who did not do as he was told. The teachers knew this. White man could spell trouble for them so they co-operated. But the Black children would have none of it. They saw it as a conspiracy in which Afrikaans — which they identify with the indignity and denigration of their parents — was being pushed down their throats.

And so the first signs of restlessness began. Even the Soweto Urban Bantu Council — the most irrelevant body in terms of Black aspirations — for once stood up and went cap in hand to see the man at the top.

But the official obviously used to thinking for the Black man, told the UBC they were dabbling in professional matters for which they were ill-equipped.

And so, the Blacks retired back to their UBC chamber to engage in their usual ineffective chatter.

Then came the first real danger signs — a few schools went on strike. The White official's swift reaction — or that of his office, to be fair — then read the regulations to the principal. Any child remaining out of class for more than 10 days would be automatically expelled. Dutifully, the principals echoed the master's voice and warned the kids.

But some school principals panicked when students refused to go to the classroom and called the police. It was a reckless and stupid thing to do. It merely confirmed the suspicion of the kids

"Raffers" of the 1920s and "Bantus" of the 1950s did exactly what they were told.

They did not seem to understand — nor care about — the mentality of the new generation of Blacks.

Barrage of stones

Then last week trouble struck. Security policemen, with their usual lack of tact, walked to the Naledi High School to fetch a boy — as they say — for interrogation purposes. The students took one look at them and their blood pressure built up.

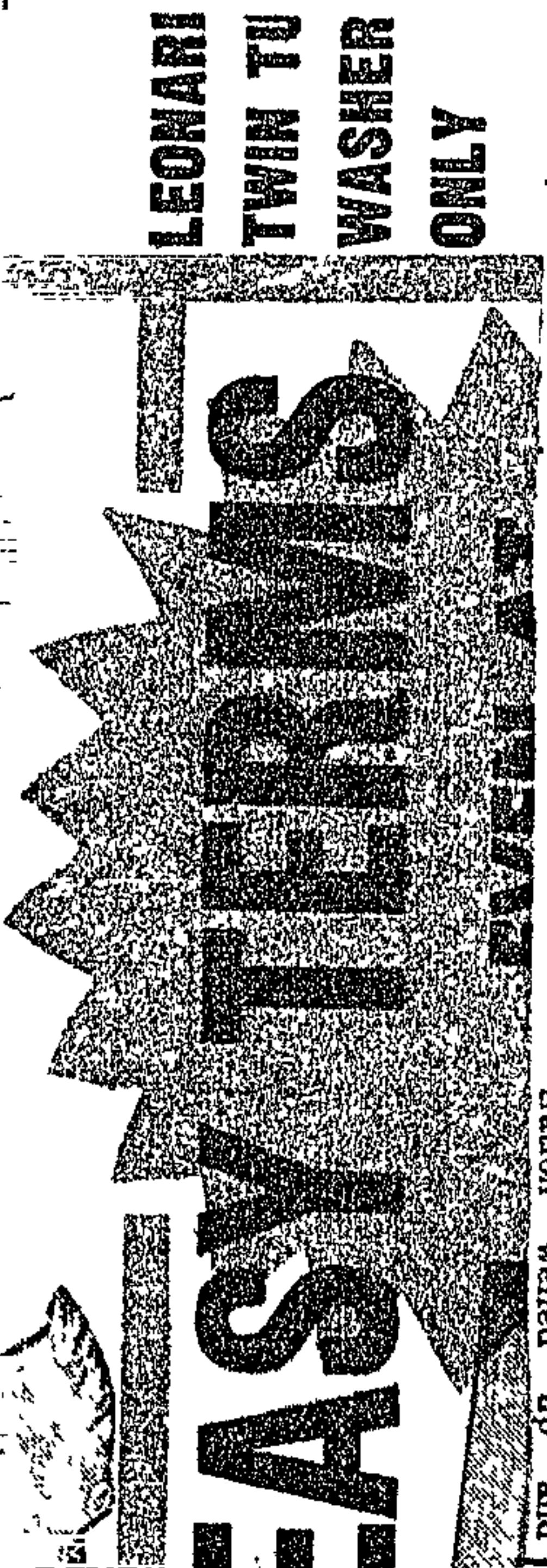
The students knew they would get enough support for the march from their colleagues but never expected it to attract more than 10 000.

South African police get excited when they see Black people assembled together and 10 000 was a bit too much. They asked them to disperse.

What followed in those crucial moments is a subject for the Commission of Inquiry to decipher. The students are adamant that they would have remained peaceful if the police had not thrown tear gas at them.

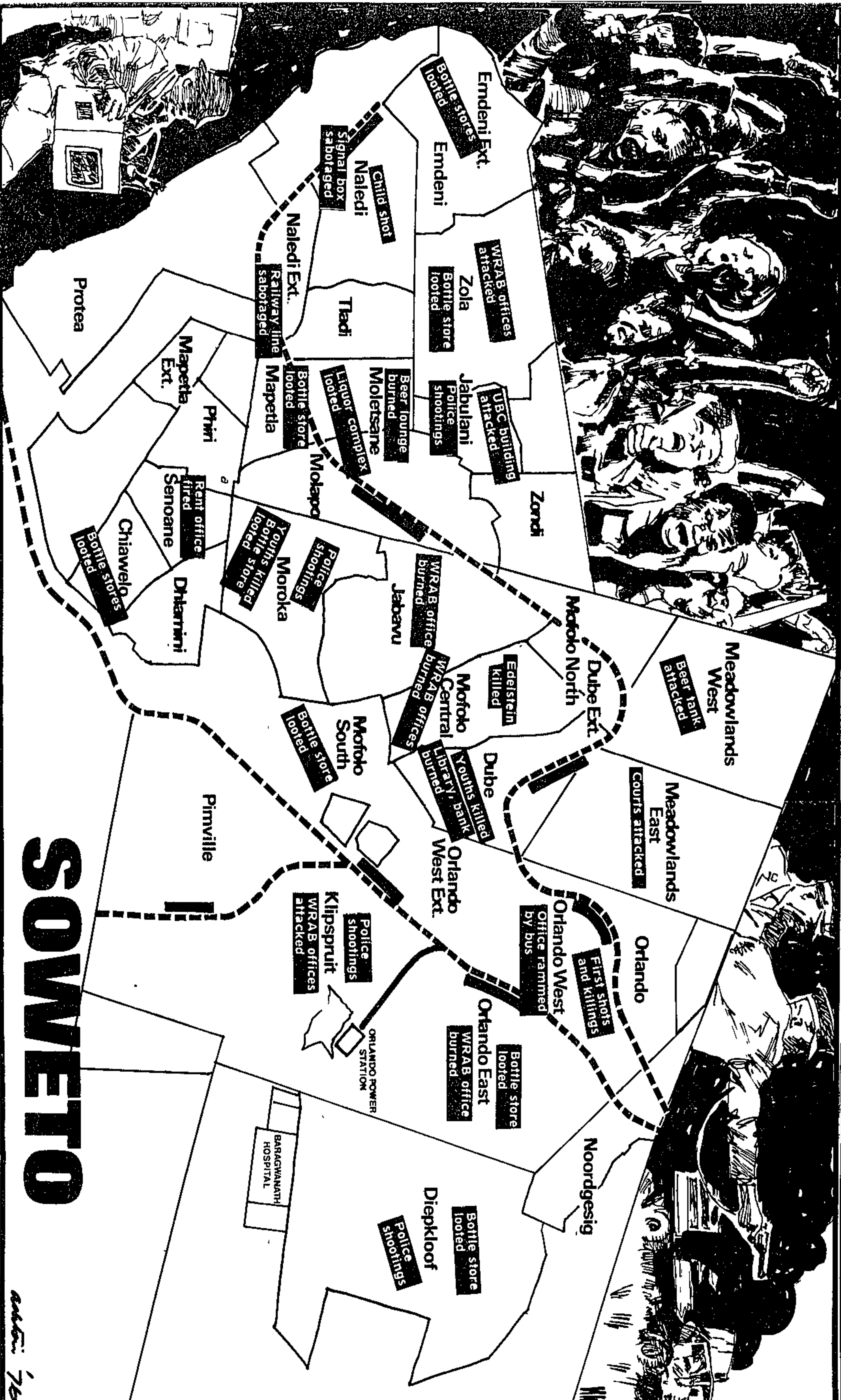
The police on the other hand insist that they would not have opened up with tear gas if the students had not pelted them with stones.

All the anger and frustration welled up and



THE RIOTS

SPECIAL REPORT

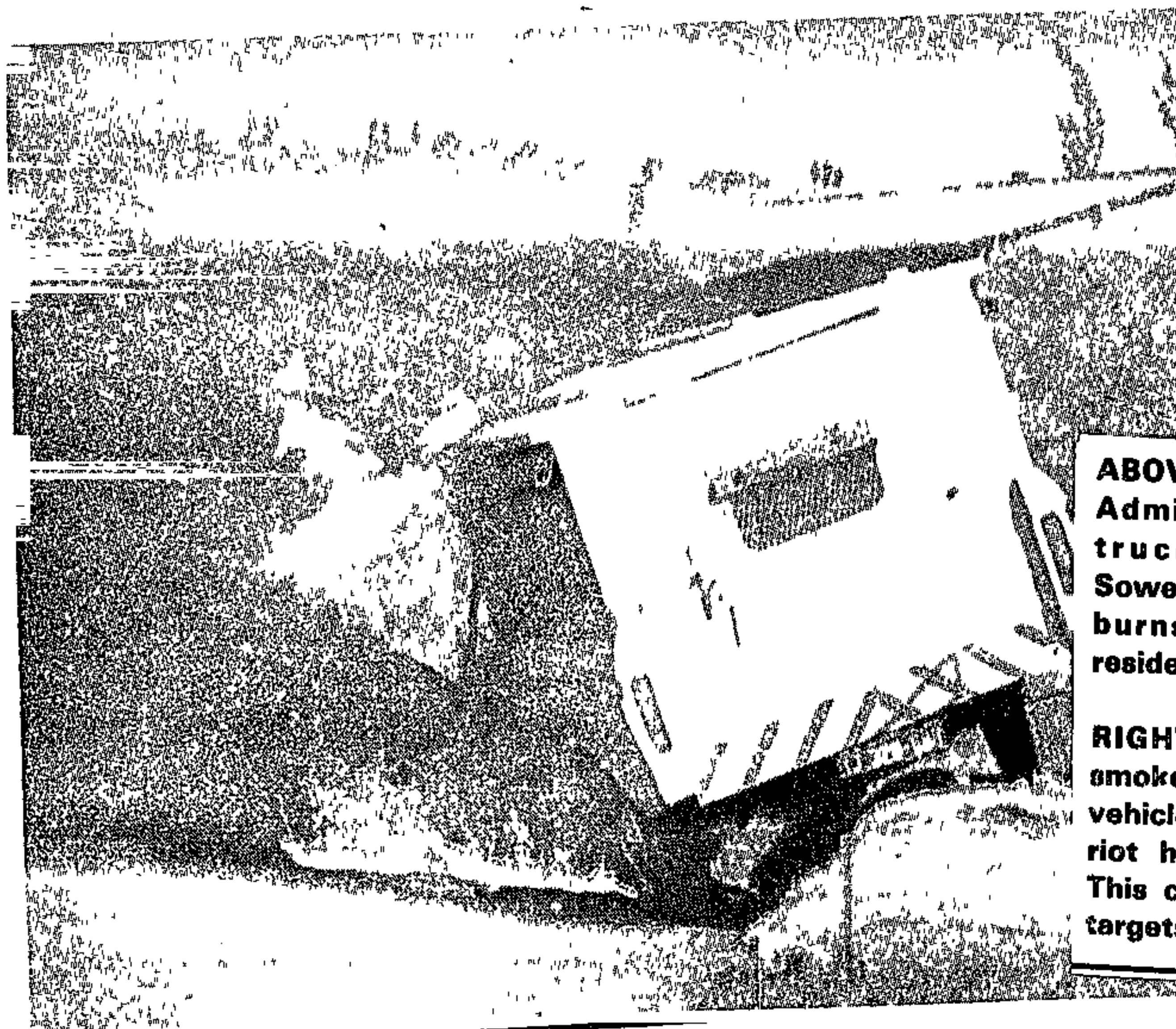


• This illustration shows the whole of Soweto and details the areas which were the main trouble spots during the rioting.

20/6/76



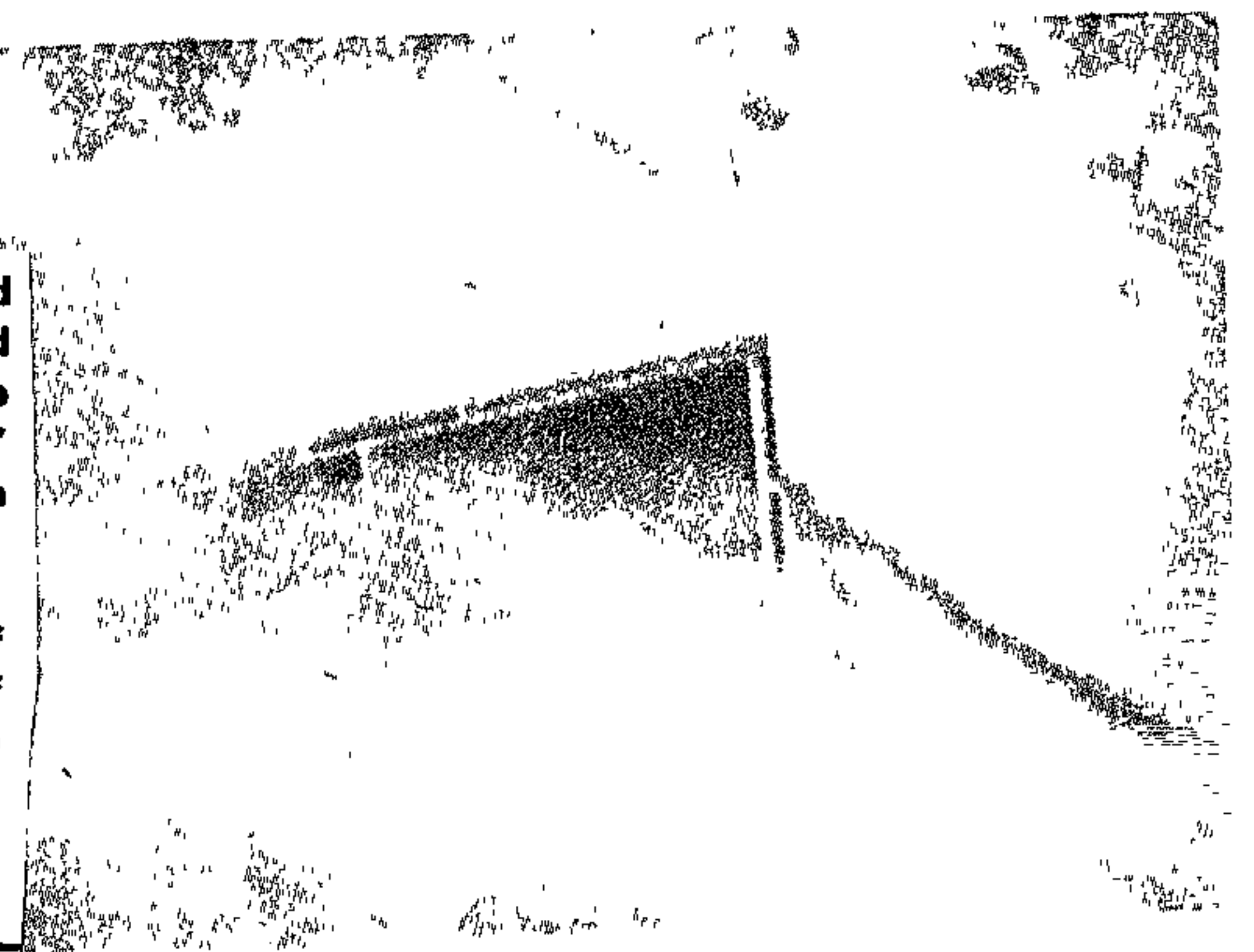
MOBS of defiant children moved through the townships, and were only dispersed by tear as dropped from low flying helicopters.



ABOVE: A West Rand Administrative Board truck, known to Sowetans as "a GG van" burns furiously in a residential street.

RIGHT: Dense palls of smoke from dozens of vehicles set alight in the riot hung over Soweto. This car was one of the targets.

Mobs rampage



Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

—In reply to a special question put to the Minister of Police here yesterday by Mr Radclyffe Cadman (UP), Mr Kruger filled in the background to the riots.

Mr Kruger said that at 7.50am on Wednesday Soweto police received reports that scholars of the Thomas Mofolo and Naledi High Schools were planning a protest demonstration to Orlando East.

Their ages ranged between 18 and 22.

A patrol had been sent to Jabulani and surrounding areas to assess the position, he said.

About 9am a White school inspector said at the Jabulani police station that scholars of schools in Jabuva had attacked him with stones and damaged his car.

"By this time reports had been received that about 2 000 scholars of the Thomas Mofolo and

How march led to fire

Naledi schools had already passed Jabulani and that scholars of other schools in Orlando West were running amok," Mr Kruger said.

A police unit had been sent to Orlando West, where they were immediately stoned by hundreds of pupils before the police had time to negotiate with them.

Tear gas was used in an attempt to control and disperse them but without success.

"At this stage it was clear that the lives of the police were seriously in danger as a result of heavier attacks which forced them to use their fire-arms," Mr Kruger said.

"This action enabled the members of the patrol to move to safety and call for help. Help arrived quickly and it was possible

to disperse the scholars to an extent.

"In the meantime scholars of various schools linked up near Phefeni Station and the rioting mob amounted to about 10 000."

The police had been forced to retreat and took up positions on open terrain between the Orlando police station and Orlando West.

The pupils had moved closer and barricaded the road with rocks, while they stopped all vehicles moving through them and assaulted the passengers.

Four White women who had been attending a meeting in Soweto were seriously assaulted. Various vehicles were set alight.

Tear gas was dropped among the demonstrators from helicopters, which dispersed them.

"Immediately after this they formed small groups and began to set fire to offices of the Bantu Ad-

ministration Board and to plunder liquor stores," Mr Kruger said.

Between 2.30pm and 3.00pm a report was received that two Whites, Dr Edelstein and Mr Hopkirk, were trapped in the youth centre and that their lives were in danger.

Two helicopters were used in an attempt to free them.

"On arrival, it was found that Dr Edelstein had been assaulted, first with sticks and stones and then dragged 50 metres away and assaulted again," Mr Kruger said.

The two men had been taken to safety and to hospital, where it was found that Dr Edelstein was dead. Mr Hopkirk was suffering from serious shock.

In a supplementary question Mr Cadman asked if there had been a "history of disaffection" before June 6 and what steps had been taken.

INADMISSIBLE

Mr Kruger replied that there had been boycotts of the schools in past weeks because of the curriculum. However, in all cases the police had been able to persuade the pupils to go back. The latest developments had not been expected.

Mr J J Loots, the Speaker, did not allow a further question by Dr Effie Fisher in which he recalled that he had put a question on June 11 to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha.

Dr Fisher said he had asked if there had been earlier protest demonstra-

DAY TWO

Rioting in Soweto

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LATEST OFFICIAL TOLL

29 dead,
224 injured

ON PAGE TWO

- Police baton charge Wits marchers
- Hundreds demonstrate at SA Embassy
- Riot victim warned Government

ON PAGE THREE

- Colour pictures
- How march led to fire
- Leading article, page 16

More police sent in

Cape Times
18/6/76 *323*

Soweto violence spreads

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Soweto death toll had risen to 29 yesterday evening as reinforcements arrived to back the 1 200 policemen already trying to contain the spreading orgy of burning, looting, stoning and chaos. The army had been asked to stand by.

21 buildings destroyed by fire—official



A beer hall in Pimville ablaze — one of the many buildings in Soweto set alight and destroyed as riots, looting and violence continued in the township for the second day.

Judicial inquiry

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Minister of Police and of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, announced in the Assembly last night that he had decided to appoint a one-man judicial commission to investigate the disturbances in Soweto.

Speaking in a special debate under the half-hour adjournment rule, the Minister said he had decided to approach the Judge-President of the Transvaal, Mr Justice Cillie, to undertake the investigation. — Sapa

The stock market is taking riots calmly

THE Johannesburg Stock Market, which has weathered Angola and the border situation, seems to be taking the Soweto riots in its stride with little selling pressure evident, although prices eased yesterday.

Stockbrokers' offices were quiet, with most investors adopting a wait and see attitude.

The market only dipped slightly yesterday when news of renewed rioting became known.

Many Cape Town brokers had more buying than selling orders on their

Kruger gives

riot details

in Parliament

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The official toll after the first day of rioting in Soweto was 23 dead, 219 injured and large numbers of buildings and cars gutted and damaged.

Details were released by the Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, in reply to a special question by Mr Radelyffe Cadman, the United Party's chief spokesman on race relations and justice.

After sketching how the riot started, Mr Kruger revealed the following details:

● Deaths — 23, of whom 21 were African and two white.

● Injured — 219. Of these 69 had bullet wounds, two were injured by tear gas containers and 148 were injured by the rioters.

● Buildings damaged — One hostel, nine liquor stores, two clinics, one bank, one library, one post office, two shopping centres, one community centre, two private houses.

● Buildings burnt down — 10 offices of the West Rand Bantu Administration Board, two hostels, one office of the Urban Bantu Council, six liquor stores and two schools.

● Vehicles damaged — 20 police vehicles, eight of the Bantu Administration Board and one private car. Four Pucco buses and a road scraper were set on fire.

● Police injured — 11, of whom three were ad-

mitted to hospital. Two police dogs were hacked to death with pangas and burnt.

Mr Kruger said the police had acted with great self-control and with a minimum of violence throughout, in the face of the greatest defiance and provocation.

"Where firearms were used it was with due consideration to the circumstances," said Mr Kruger.

He said that when it became obvious that tear gas was not having the desired effect and that the rioters continued with greater determination, warning shots were fired.

"Where, however, it became clear that the police would be overpowered and their lives were in danger, shots were fired in self defence," said Mr Kruger.

Cape 'normal'

PENINSULA townships were quiet last night, a police spokesman said.

No additional forces had been called in as a result of the rioting in Soweto. Reports indicated that "everything is perfectly normal" in Langa, Gugulethu and Nyanga. "As far as we can tell, the trouble in Soweto is isolated," the spokesman

The violence spread yesterday to neighbouring townships — and Johannesburg itself.

Police reinforcements and Army armoured cars were moved into Soweto last night after a day characterized by what Colonel J J Gerber, Divisional Inspector of Police in Soweto, called indiscriminate burning of buildings.

Colonel Gerber told Sapa that the police reinforcements included 300 men from the training centre at Groblersdal.

The trainees would help with patrol duties and so free their trained colleagues for operations to control the rioting in the township, he said.

The official death toll was put at 29 and the number of wounded at 224 by General H W Kotze, Witwatersrand Divisional Commissioner of Police.

If the pattern of events continued the toll could be higher.

Early yesterday, as dawn broke, police discovered 17 corpses, bringing the death toll at the start of the day to 23.

On the West Rand serious violence threatened to erupt at Kagiso, near Krugersdorp, when about 200 pupils and some adults went on the rampage.

The pupils had been milling around restlessly in the afternoon. At dusk they attacked and looted beer-halls and overturned about 40 cars. Police stood by while they awaited instructions and reinforcements.

On the East Rand, African pupils in Tembisa, near Kempton Park, staged a sympathy march with Soweto They carried placards, which read "Away with Afrikaans", and marched along the streets shouting, "Power" like their counterparts, they forced African motorists to give the Black Power salute.

Show of strength

But a show of strength by police kept the situation in control.

In Johannesburg itself, street-fighting erupted when students from the University of Witwatersrand staged a sympathy march with the people of Soweto. About 200 students were joined by some 400 Africans soon after the march started, only to be set upon by about 100 Whites armed with metal pipes and chains. Fighting broke out, with some of the Africans retreating with knives. Police restored order (See page 2).

In Soweto there were further ugly scenes, particularly at flashpoints like Rockville, Baragwanath and Diepkloof.

Police bullets killed a five-year-old girl, Tandhi Pliatjies, and an unidentified 14-year-old boy in Rockville. Baragwanath hospital came under attack from an enraged African mob. The attack was repulsed by police. Later in the day the plush Diepkloof Hotel was set alight.

The chairman of the West Rand Bantu Administration Board, Mr Manie Mulder, toured Soweto accompanied by officials of his board. Describing the youth of Soweto as out of control, he appealed to them and their elders to realize they would not resolve the problems through vandalism.

Later, he told a press conference that just about all board buildings had been destroyed, including 21 offices which were burnt out and 10 which were plundered.

Although there was evidence of African anger, of hatred for Whites, there was another side to it.

News of it came through yesterday like a glimmering dawn of hope.

An African family in Soweto sheltered a White pest control inspector, Mr J Beeby, for the night. Their friendship almost certainly saved his life.

Family smuggle man to safety

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr J. Beeby, a municipal pest control officer, got out of Soweto yesterday morning after being sheltered for 12 hours by a Black family after his car was stoned. The family kept him in a house during Wednesday night and smuggled him out yesterday.

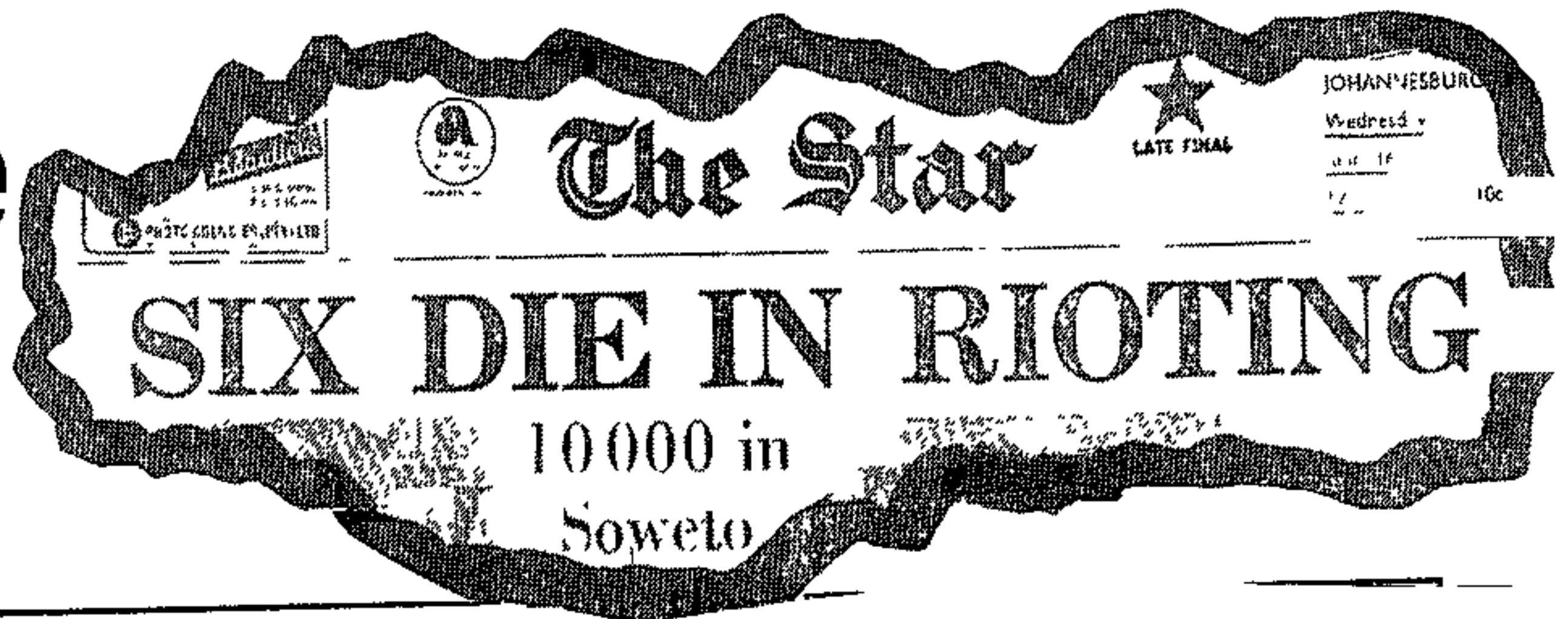
He was taken to the South Rand Hospital where he was treated for cuts and abrasions.

F.M. 18/6/76 (323)



Picture The Star

Reaping the whirlwind



Did it have to come to this? The gunfire and stones, the bloodshed in Soweto are a horrible testimony to the folly of officialdom forcing an unwanted language down the throats of Black children to the point that they took to the streets in protest.

Let there be no mistake. Whatever talk will come of "subversion" and "agitation", the roots of the chaos lie fully in the fateful decision of the Southern Transvaal branch of the Bantu Education Department in 1974 to enforce schooling in English and Afrikaans on a 50-50 basis *irrespective of the desires of the pupils, teachers and headmasters concerned and even of the schools' capability to make the change.*

Why the decision at all? Was it because of the near-rejection of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction by the schools? Secretary for Bantu Education Gideon Rousseau has stated that the choice of language is "not prescribed from head office. It is left to the inspectors, the regional director and the school principals concerned". But for some time there have been allegations of coercion, sackings and resignations over the issue. And BED has indicated in the latest wave of pupil unrest that it has no intention of bending.

Beyond the language issue is the fact that "Bantu education" is third-rate, an education whose philosophy goes back to Verwoerd's dogma that "there is no place

for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour".

So since inception "Bantu Education" has been a form of cultural colonisation unseen since the days of Lord Milner.

Now the consequences. For the Black man the truth is that all too often Afrikaans is the language of the policeman and the pass official, the language of *Waar's jou pas?*

The Black parent must pay bitterly for his child's education, including school-books and uniforms. On top of this there are the strains on often ill-educated staff who must cope with double sessions, giant classes, and the crippling knowledge that gifted children can receive only cursory encouragement. For some time the system has been coming apart at the seams.

As Dean Desmond Tutu put it: "We Black leaders have been warning the government about something like this happening for a long time if they do not stop and listen, and now both sides have resorted to violence."

Government must move at the highest level to defuse the situation. The only way to do that is to allow the children the basic human right to study in English if they wish.

(1) Education - Secondary
(2) 323

CAP Ticks 17/6/76

SACC 'deplores' action taken against students

JOHANNESBURG.— The South African Council of Churches (SACC) last night acknowledged the "Church's past failure to join in the struggle for justice." It expressed support for the protest by Soweto students against regulations enforcing Afrikaans-language instruction and offered to mediate on their behalf.

It "deplored" the "totally unwarranted action taken against the students in Soweto."

A statement issued by an emergency meeting of the SACC's Executive Committee said:

"The horror of what has happened in Soweto today is the most dreadful evidence yet of the lateness of the hour in South Africa.

"What began as a legitimate and deeply-felt grievance, non-violently protested, has in a matter of hours exploded into a Black-White confrontation.

APPALLED

"We are appalled at the authorities' total lack of response and understanding of the aspirations of Black people.

"This has led to the total breakdown of communications

"The particular situation in education has been highlighted by the students in Soweto. Their rejection of parts of the educational system has not been heard in spite of the appeal to all levels of authority over a period of several weeks. The result was a series of non-violent demonstrations that were not heeded and answered

only with rejection, threats of expulsion and the calling in of the police.

"The fact that the confrontation involved school-children has the frightening implication that Black grievances are not only a matter of politics but have become a matter of intense and widespread agony felt even by children, which could escalate into a national catastrophe.

DEEP HURT

"The people of South Africa and the authorities in particular must heed the deep hurt, anger and frustration which the apartheid system has bred in the heart of all Black South Africans

"On the initial issue of language instruction in Black schools, which has been taken so lightly, we affirm our solidarity with the Soweto children. This is further evidence of the repressive measures which the Government has used consistently to suppress the aspirations of Black people, aspirations which are not only legitimate but universal

"We appeal to those who surely have a deep understanding of the pain of language discrimination to hear the cry of others who resent the forcing of a language upon them. The legitimacy of the students' cause makes it impossible to silence their protest by guns. We therefore:

1. Urge that the authorities repeal immediately the offending regulations;

2. Express our support of the protest of the students against the offending regulations and deplore the totally unwarranted actions taken against them;

3. Question whether the same action would have been taken had the protest come from White students;

4. Recognize the increasing dilemma of responsible Black leadership when legitimate and non-violent means of effecting change are totally disregarded.

"We acknowledge the Church's past failure to join in the struggle for justice. We therefore undertake:

1. To call an immediate meeting of Church leaders, including the leaders of the Churches not belonging to the SACC, to deal with the urgent implication of what is happening in Soweto and the responsibility of the Church, on Friday June 18, 1976, at Diakonia House, 80 Jorissen Street, Braamfontein;

2. To seek a meeting with the Honourable the Prime Minister, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and the Minister of Bantu Education;

3. To invite the student leaders to avail themselves of the services of the SACC for the purposes of mediation;

4. To appeal to all Churches to give guidance and support to a shocked and bereaved society and to those who by virtue of

their vote bear the restructure;

5. To call the Churches to observe Sunday, June 20, as a day of prayer, drawing to their attention Second Chronicles, Chapter 7, Verse 14:

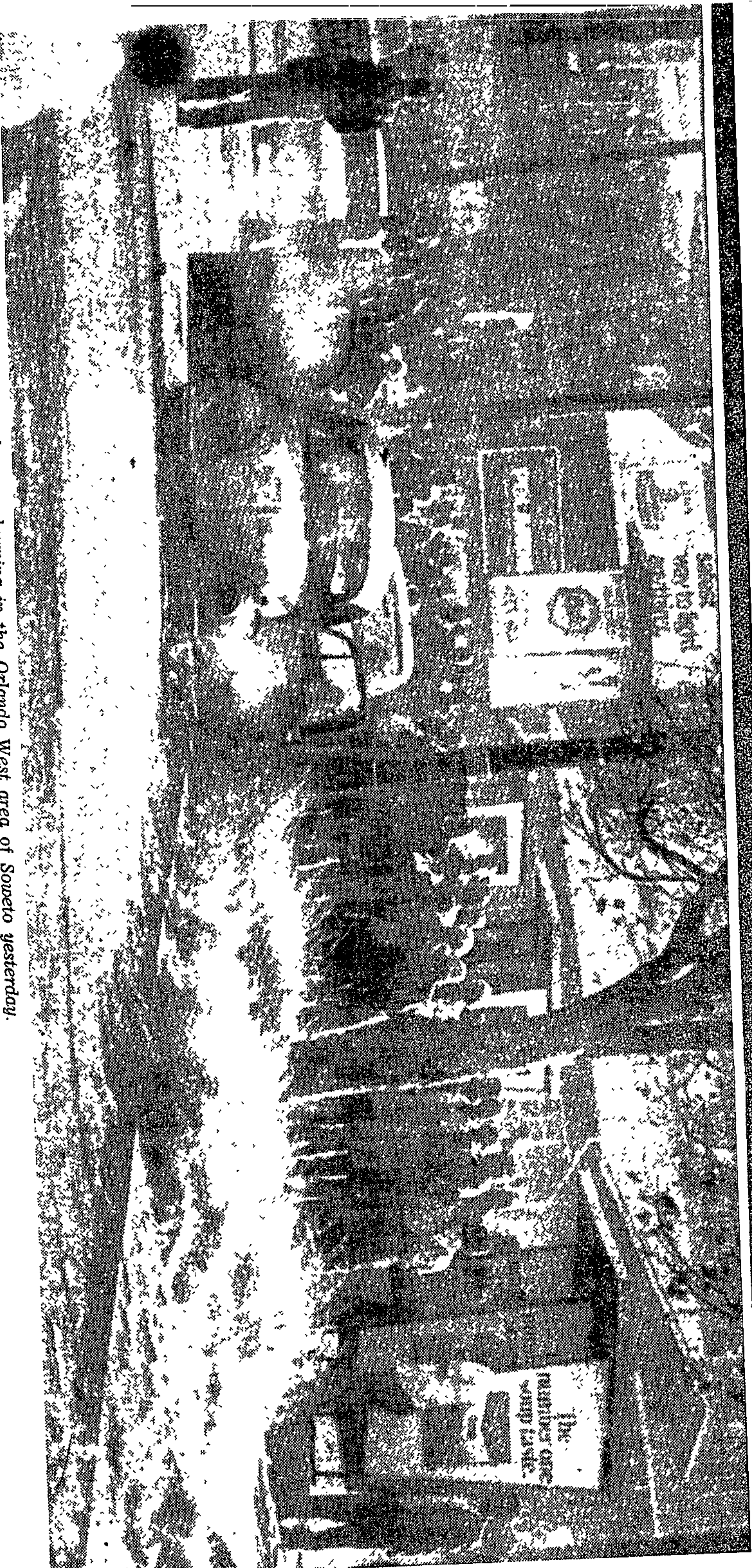
"If my people who are called by my name humble themselves, and pray and seek my face and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven and will forgive their sin and heal their land."

The statement added:

"The SACC expresses its deep sympathies with the families, both Black and White, of those who have been killed or injured.

"We call on the authorities and the people of South Africa to heed the voice of God and not to be like Pharaoh, who hardened his heart in spite of ten plagues." — Sapa

The face of Soweto



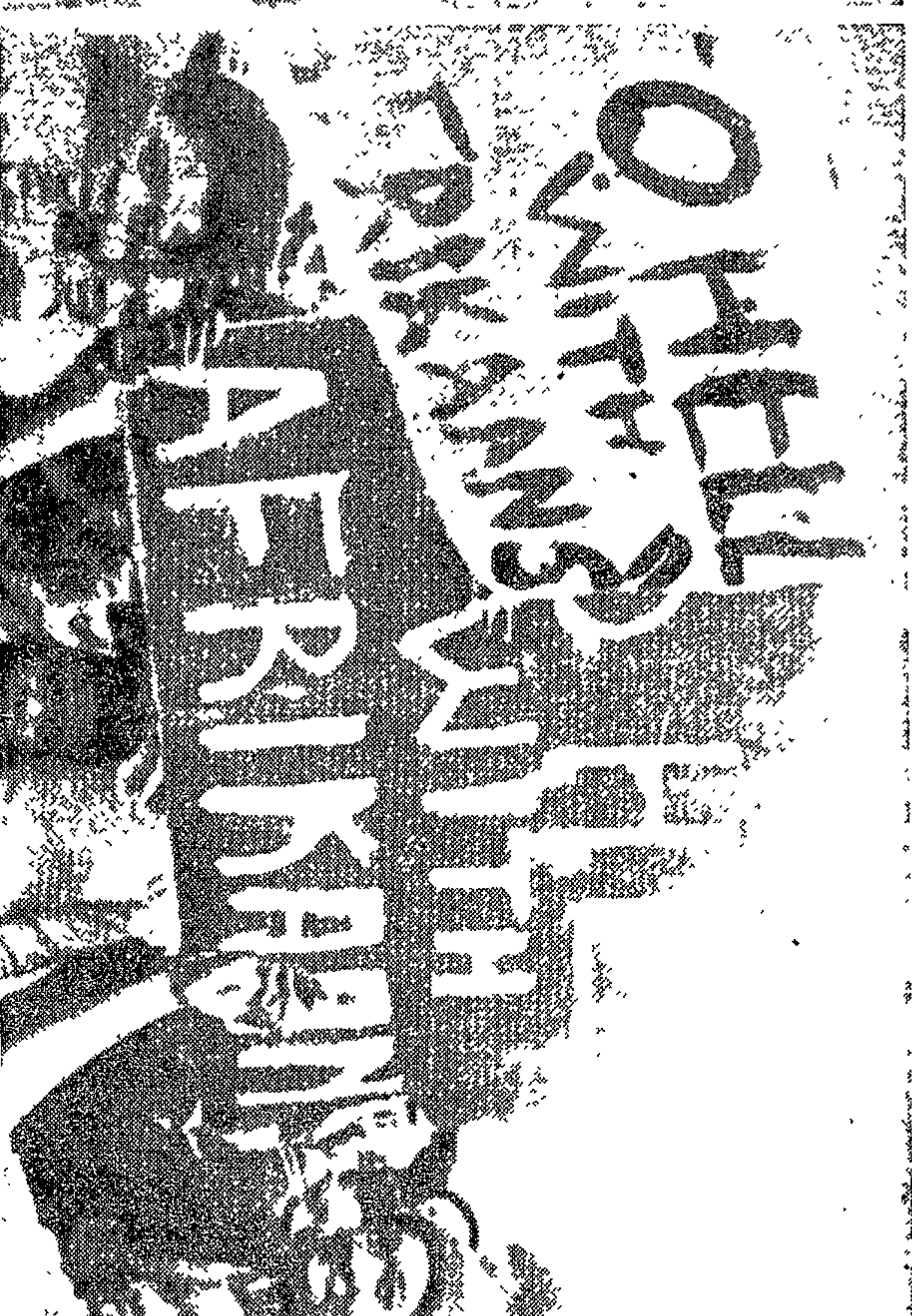
AFRICANS watch a car burning in the Orlando West area of Soweto yesterday.



A PLAINCLOTHES policeman after he was attacked by rioting pun who manacled him with his own handcuffs in Orlando West, Sow yesterday afternoon



MEMBERS of the South African Police in action against rioters yesterday



PUPILS hold up placards reading 'To Hell With Afrikaans.' About 10 000 pupils took part in the riots as a demonstration against the use of Afrikaans in school teaching.

Whites are evacuated from some areas near Sowe

POLICE GO IN WHITE ARMED OVER CARS

AK&US 17/6/76

JOHANNESBURG. — Police have moved into Soweto with armoured vehicles in a bid to control mobs of youths roaming the streets, looting and stoning.

Police officials said that the situation today had got worse because many workers were stranded in the township after Putco discontinued bus services early today and these people joined the gangs.

MORE pictures and stories — Pages 2, 3, 10 and 23.

U.P. calls on Botha to resign

The Argus Parliamentary Staff

THE chief United Party spokesman on justice, Mr R. M. Cadman, today called for the resignation of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Mr M. C. Botha, and his Deputy Minister, Dr A. P. Treurnicht, because of their 'poor' handling of the events which led to the rioting in Soweto.

In a statement released within an hour of the Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger, telling Parliament that 23 people had died in the rioting, Mr Cadman said Mr Kruger's replies to questions showed that a 'deplorable state of affairs' existed within the Bantu Administration and Education Departments.

'The state in the departments is so bad that it warrants a call for the resignation of the Minister and his deputy,' Mr Cadman said.

Mr Cadman said 'It is unbelievable that both the Minister and his deputy have been unaware, or if aware, had little regard for the obvious build-up of tension and ill-feeling over the past four to five weeks which culminated in yesterday's tragic explosion.'

'It is also significant that only six days ago Mr Botha told Parliament that he had no knowledge of the disturbances at a school which now appears to be one of the centres of trouble.'

INTRANSIGENCE

Mr Cadman sharply attacked Dr Treurnicht for his 'intransigence and verkramptheid.'

He said: 'It is now clear that during the last week there were disturbances by pupils at the Naledi High School which warranted police intervention. Yet when questioned on June 11 by Dr E. L. Fisher

(Continued on Page 3, col 4)

Student march ends in chaos

JOHANNESBURG. A march by Witwatersrand University students and hundreds of Africans turned to blood, batons and pain in Braamfontein today when men with batons charged from the rear, hitting marchers on the head and shoulders.

What had been up to then an orderly if boisterous demonstration against the police action in Soweto, became a rout.

Students were kicked on the ground and occasionally surrounded, only to break away and flee.

Within minutes the march, which by this time numbered over 1000 people, disintegrated.

The march began this morning at the university when about 200 students decided to protest against the police action.

YOUNG AFRICANS

They left the university to march on the city, gathering young Africans

White mine houses near Dobsonville, Soweto, were evacuated as rioting mobs moved westwards. The Roodepoort traffic department has set up road blocks with strict instructions not to let any Whites, including Press and TV representatives to enter the area.

All police, fire and ambulance crews on the Witwatersrand have had their leave cancelled. There are 1200 police officers deployed in the Soweto area.

Colonel J. J. Gerber, Divisional Inspector of Police, said a special police task force had been sent to Baragwanath Hospital, where angry mobs were stoning vehicles today.

Among other violent incidents reported, police and rioters clashed in Dobsonville and a Soweto police station commander said that several people were killed or injured.

In Naledi large crowds went on stoning and burning and similar reports were received from Klip-town.

TV men

An SABC-TV cameraman, Mr Chris Schutte, sustained a compound fracture of the skull when he and a TV-news reporter, Mr Freek Robinson, were attacked by a mob near the Orlando power station.

Mr Schutte was hit on the head by a stone and could not give a coherent account of the incident. He was rushed to hospital where he underwent immediate emergency surgery.

It is understood that the two men had to abandon their car which, with the TV equipment, was set alight. They fled on foot and were picked up by a passing motorist.

Police chief

Meanwhile the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Brigadier S. W. Venter, arrived by helicopter in the trouble-torn complex today on a fact-finding mission.

The chairman of the West Rand Bantu Administration Affairs Board, Mr Manie Mulder, who with several journalists was being escorted out of Soweto by a police convoy was stoned in his car as the convoy passed only 500 metres away from police headquarters.

(Continued on Page 3, col 5)



FLAMES and black smoke pour from the windows and doors of a building which was set alight in Soweto this morning.



At least two of the marchers were wielding knives openly, and at times violence threatened to flare up when motorists or passers by shouted their disapproval.

As the procession wound up Rissik Street into Braamfontein its front ranks were entirely Blacks.

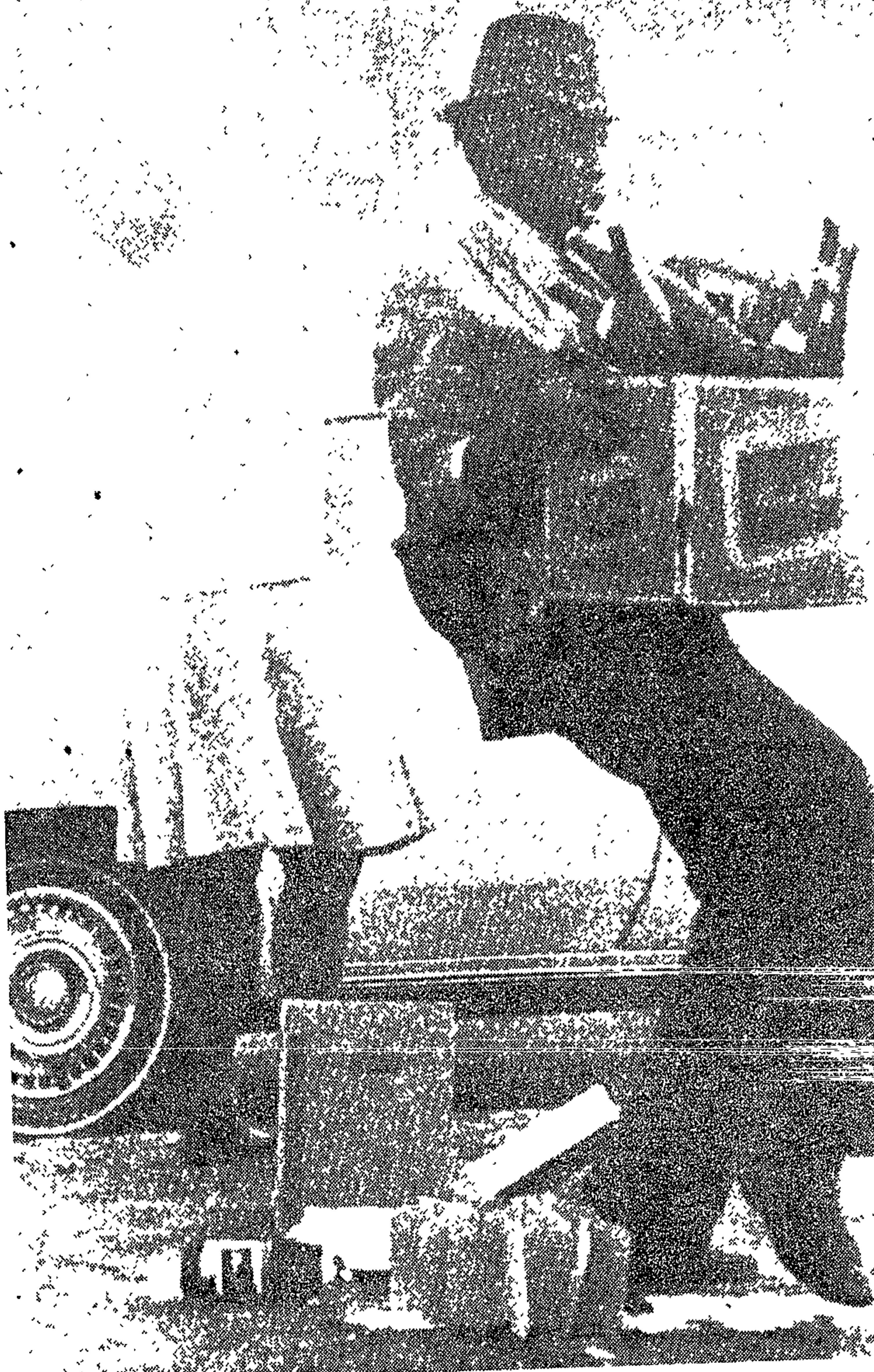
At this stage a group of young White men, who did not appear to be policemen, attacked the column.

Some students claimed they were attacked by about 50 leather-jacketed youths armed with chains and sticks near the Civic Theatre on their way to the university. — The Argus Correspondent and Sapa.

A SOWETO man holds up an iron bar which was thrown through the windshield of his truck

17, 1976

THE LOOTERS



A MAN makes off with a case of beers looted from a Soweto bottle store in the orgy of pillaging and arson which swept the city yesterday and last night. Official sources say a 'tsotsi' element joined rioting scholars late yesterday and issues became blurred as rampaging rioters ransacked and set fire to stores all over Soweto.



A MEMBER of the police anti-riot squad prepares to fire teargas at rioters looting a Soweto bottle store.

Caught between bullets, stones

By Langa Skosana
JOHANNESBURG.

Yesterday was the most terrifying day of my life as I lay caught between the crossfire of police bullets and stones from enraged pupils on the rampage.

A rock hit me on the shoulder as I ran behind police lines after they had opened fire on demonstrating pupils. More and more stones came crashing down.

Then I turned back to join the pupils and about the same time the police opened fire directly on us.

It is terrifying to watch a gun being aimed on you. If I lay on the ground the pupils would have trampled over me.

The students' anger was aroused about 10.15 am when police fired the first volley of shots into the air apparently to scare the demonstrating pupils.

This infuriated the more than 10 000 pupils gathered near Phefeni High School. They threw stones at the

police, smashing several windcreens.

Later the pupils held a White man hostage after someone shouted: 'Here's a White man. Let's get him.' Stones rained on his truck. The truck was assaulted with axes, crowbars, stones and any missile that came to hand.

Passing taxis were stopped and drivers were told to give the Black power salute. If they did not their vehicles were either rocked or stoned.

LOOTING

About midday at Orlando West, two delivery vans—one carrying milk, the other bread—were looted and stoned. The drivers were held up and robbed of their takings.

At the other end of Soweto, near Inhlazane station, a mechanical horse and trailer lorry were stopped. Much of its cargo of beer was taken before the vehicle was set alight.

An administrative office was set alight and records were destroyed. The of-

ficials fled when they saw the pupils approach.

The demonstrators then marched to White City No 1 office and ransacked it before setting it alight. Overhead, two helicopters were dropping teargas bombs.

Near Crossroads a man lay with a bullet wound in the head. When reporters tried to interview the police guarding the body, they were told: 'It's none of your business.'

People who had looted bottle stores ran up and down the road stopping cars.

WHITE MAN'S DEATH

A Black reporter of The Star, Fanyana Shiburi, witnessed what is believed to have been the first killing of a White man during the disturbances.

The demonstrating pupils were marching up the Phefeni station road chanting freedom slogans as the White official came driving down the same road, he reported.

No sooner had one of the pupils recognised him and shouted 'here is a White' than the crowd

In an effort to avoid knocking down any of the pupils, the official swerved to one side of the road.

A huge rock was thrown through the windscreen, apparently injuring the helpless official. Students dragged him out of the car by his hair. All available missiles, mainly stones, were used to beat the man to death, Shiburi reported.

Call for police pullout

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Council of Churches executive committee today urged that police be withdrawn from Soweto 'to prevent further bloodshed.'

'The only conceivable solution to the problem is to withdraw the police and allow the authentic Black leadership to take hold of the situation,' the committee said.

The committee is continuing to meet in Johannesburg to receive regular reports on what it describes as a 'rapidly deteriorating situation' in Soweto.

While there is procrastination in this area people will continue to die and the possibility of reaching a peaceful solution to the problem is decreasing by the hour.

LATEST OFFICIAL TOLL

5 dead,
40 injured

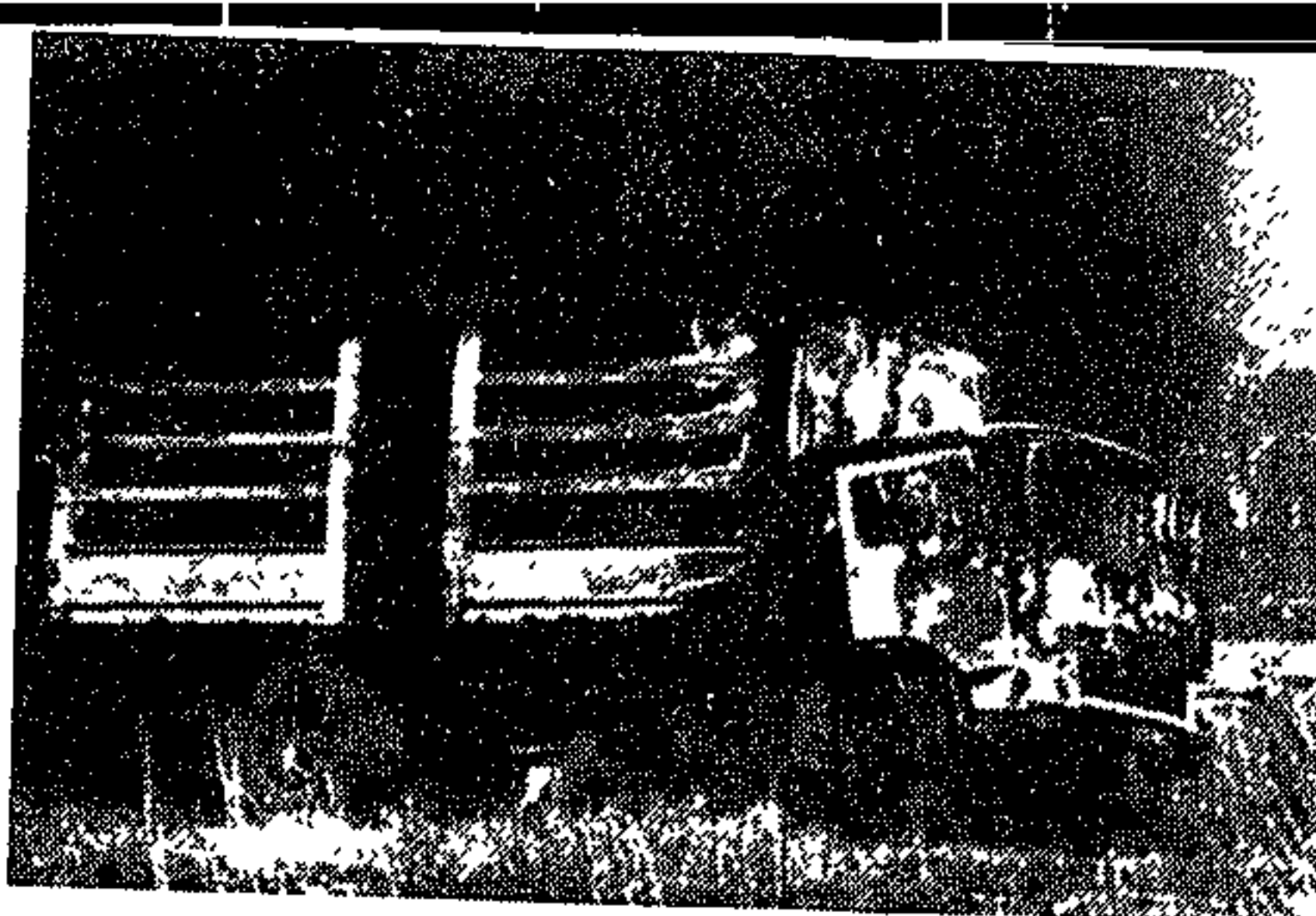


Cape Times (323)
17/06/76

Looting, burning as riots continue

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — About 1 000 policemen — armed with sten guns, FN rifles and machine pistols — were pinned down in Soweto last night as rioting mobs roved through the complex burning and looting



ON PAGE TWO:

- 2 000 boycotted Afrikaans classes
- Snap debate likely
- Sequence of day's events
- Leading article, page 12

ON PAGE 13:

- PRP, UP call to swop language rule
- Black teachers tell of warning
- Widow, children mourn

People stoned, offices attacked...and vehicles burnt



A van burns fiercely in riot-torn Soweto yesterday as groups of people look on. Late last night burning and looting continued in the townships. A senior police officer described the situation as "very serious" as army troops were put on standby.

**Pictures of Soweto
destruction page 11**

Army troops were put on standby outside the giant Black city which houses more than one million people. It was in chaos last night as vandal bands gutted government buildings, looted bottle stores and laid siege to some police stations.

Senior police officials last night persuaded Putco bus officials to rescind an earlier decision to cancel all their services in Soweto.

The buses will run today under police escort and a police spokesman said early this morning that protection would be given to Africans going to work today.

He was commenting on reports of a stay-at-home campaign which was being organized last night.

Drunkenness and hooliganism took over from the school pupils' protest earlier in the day which led to clashes with the police, leaving at least five people dead.

As fires broke out over Soweto, fire engines were only allowed to go in under escort and ambulance services were halted because of danger to men and vehicles.

Among the buildings set alight was the showpiece Urban Bantu Council chamber at Jabulani.

The rioting was triggered by a clash between police and pupils demonstrating against enforced instruction in Afrikaans.

During the clash a 13-year-old African schoolboy, Hector Peterson, was shot dead. Soon afterwards two White officials of the West Rand Bantu Administration Board (WRBAB) were pulled from their cars and hacked and stoned to death.

One of the officials was Dr Melville Edelstein, 56.

JOHANNESBURG. — Early this morning police reinforcements were still arriving in Soweto. Senior police officers reported the township to be reasonably quiet. A police officer said few townships had not lost official buildings in fires. Police were receiving reports of heavy casualties, our Johannesburg correspondent reported.

**3am
latest**

author of the book: "What Do Young Africans Think?" — a study of the attitudes of Soweto high school pupils.

At 1.45am the confirmed toll stood at five dead, two Whites and three Blacks, and 40 injured. The other dead are Mr Nols Esterhuizen, also of the WRBAB, and an unidentified Black WRBAB officer.

There were unconfirmed reports that there were more deaths during the rioting last night.

By early this morning, police were trying to mount patrols to restore law and order but about 1 000 heavily-armed policemen were pinned down at the Orlando police station which was surrounded by a cordon of rioters.

Among the equipment the police have called up were 14 anti-riot personnel carriers — called "hippos" — in their bid to restore order.

The Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said last night that the army was not being called to quell the riot.

"There is no question of the army being used in this operation or being needed in this operation. It is quite unnecessary," he said.

Several people had lucky escapes from racial anger

Continued on page 2

Men hacked to death, says Kruger

TWO MEN, one White and one Black, were hacked to death in the riots in Soweto yesterday after vehicles of the West Rand Administration Board were overturned, the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, said in a statement yesterday.

A number of policemen and four White women had been injured when vehicles were stoned in the disturbances following unrest over the past 10 days, he said.

Two police dogs were also hacked to death and burnt by the rioting pupils.

Mr Kruger said police

were trying to move the pupils from the residential area to an area of open ground and to control the situation but the position remained fluid.

FULL TEXT

Mr Kruger's statement said: "There has been brooding student unrest in Soweto for the past ten days over the curriculum. About 8.15am on June 16 about 10 000 pupils began riotous processions.

"They were aggressive, shouted inflammatory slogans, carried banners and attacked and stoned police present as well as private vehicles.

"Two vehicles from the West Rand Administration Board were overturned and one White and one Black man were hacked to death. Two police dogs were hacked to death and set on fire. Ten police vehicles were damaged and several policemen were injured.

"The vehicles of four White women working in the area were badly damaged. The women were injured and admitted to hospital. Several buildings and cars were set alight.

"The police did everything in their power to bring them under control and were eventually forced to fire warning shots over their heads.

"The police are trying to move the pupils from the residential area to an area of open ground and to control the situation.

"The position at the moment is still fluid and further reports will be issued as news comes to hand," he said. — Sapa.

STOCK MARKET REFLECTS UNEASE

By GORDON KLING

THE stock market drifted lower yesterday in reaction to the Soweto riots and some brokers believed that the worst was due to come today when the full impact of overseas reaction would be felt.

First reports of the disturbances knocked share prices lower and this was followed by a drop in the securities rand rate.

Any political upheaval of this nature was going to affect the market, said one broker, and since the British press was certain to play this up South Africa could expect investors there to chop the market. The extent of the overseas reaction, which could be severe, would not be known till later today.

WATCH KEPT

PENINSULA POLICE were last night taking "all necessary precautions" in the African townships of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu following the rioting in Soweto.

A senior police officer said a close watch was being kept on the situation. He would not say whether extra men had been called in but confirmed that police would patrol the townships "as usual."

So far everything had been quiet and there was no cause for concern.

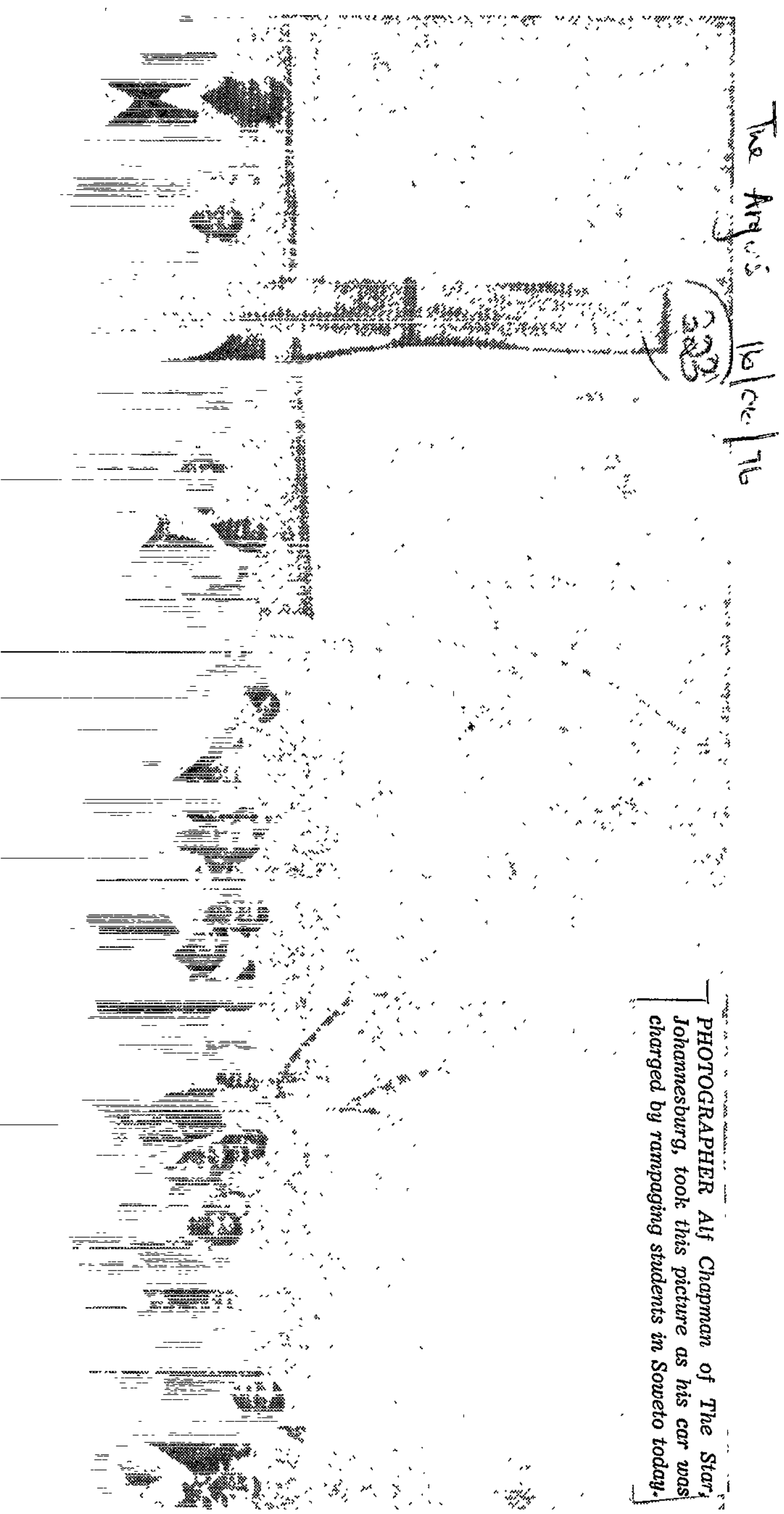
'Situation is very bad' says chief of police

SOWETO PUPILS RIOT — SIX — DEAD

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At least six people — including one White — are reported dead and at least 17 injured in a riot in Soweto today following a demonstration by more than 10 000 Soweto high school pupils against the use of Afrikaners in the schools.

About 300 armed police equipped with teargas fired into the air when the rampaging pupils congregated around the Phefeni Junior Secondary School in Orlando West, Soweto, early today.



PHOTOGRAPHER Alf Chapman of The Star, Johannesburg, took this picture as his car was charged by rampaging students in Soweto today.

Soweto riots

(Continued from Page 1)

A high police official said the situation was 'very bad'. The railways halted train services to Soweto this afternoon. The known dead are a young child, an old man, a Black policeman and, reportedly, a White employee of the West Rand administration board, who was dragged from his car.

According to reports, a White motorist was dragged from his car by rioting pupils and stabbed to death. Another White in a car was assaulted before escaping.

All available police in the Soweto area, and a large number of reinforcements from Johannesburg police, including the flying squad, have been sent to Soweto.

Very bad

Brigadier R. le Roux, who is directing operations in Soweto, said the situation was 'very bad. Everything is in such an upheaval here, I don't really know what is going on.'

He was unable to confirm reports of people killed; but said houses, cars and other property were being burnt and stoned.

The police are equipped with teargas and firearms, although Brigadier le Roux denied that they had machine guns, or similar weapons.

Injured

Several police have apparently been injured in the rioting, but the extent of injuries is not known.

A group of about 100 or more schoolchildren were standing on a rocky ridge overlooking Orlando High School at 12.15 pm and were reported to be refusing to give up the bodies of at least two dead killed earlier in the day.

Ambulances and fire brigades in Johannesburg have been put on standby, ready to be called to Soweto.

A spokesman for the Johannesburg ambulance department said their am-

bulances for Africans had already been sent out.

At least four cars belonging either to police or West Rand administration board officials are reported to have been burnt and many of the police vehicles in the area of the riot had broken wind-screens and windows.

Policeman held

Some of the students were reported to have captured a policeman who they were using as a hostage to bargain with the police, who, before mid-day withdrew from the immediate riot area.

The riot started early today when high school pupils began congregating at several points in Soweto to march on Pheleni Junior Secondary School focus of the protest by Soweto pupils against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in school.

The White motorist reported to have been dragged from his car by rioting pupils and stabbed to death was said to be an employee of the West Rand Administration Board. His body was still seen lying on the side of the road some time later.

Black smoke

Thick black smoke was blowing over Orlando from a van which was reportedly overturned and burnt by the angry crowd.

Facing Orlando high across the Klipspruit a detachment of police with riot sticks and basket work shields were marshalling to go into the troubled area.

About 2 km away at Orlando police station a platoon of men in army fatigue uniforms, carrying teargas canisters and stenguns, marched off down the hill to reinforce those at the Klipspruit.

Brigadier le Roux, Divisional Commissioner of Police ordered the Press to leave Orlando immediately and said he had 'no information'.

Road blocks

Meanwhile officials of the Johannesburg Traffic Department were setting up roadblocks all around the township after being instructed by the brigadier to stop all Whites entering Orlando.

Most of the 800 pupils at Pheleni Junior Secondary School are in the fifth week of their boycott of classes as a demonstration of their refusal to study through Afrikaans.

The march of several thousand pupils from Naledi on the west of Soweto started peacefully, although the mood of the marchers was very tense.

Police in several cars led this procession but did not interfere with the marching students who warned any motorists in their path to turn round and leave the road.

Many of the pupils carried banners with slogans depicting their rejection of Afrikaans. 'Away with Afrikaans.' 'We are not Boers' and 'Viva Azania' were some of the slogans being waved about.

(Azania is the name given to South Africa by militant Black groups.)

Johannesburg ambulances have been sent out to Soweto and have taken

two policemen and at least 17 Africans to hospital.

Mobs in Soweto have also apparently got hold of one of the Johannesburg fire engines. It is not yet known where it is.

The South African Railways police have sent reinforcements to the scene. They are heavily guarding railway property and assisting the SAP.

Two members of The Star's editorial had frightening experiences.

Photographer Alf Chapman saw a mass of pupils approaching his car. He got out of the vehicle to take photographs.

'Suddenly I realised they were in an ugly mood. As they ran towards me I grabbed a quick shot and drove off just in time.'

Reporter Harry Mashabela was telephoning the office from the house of Dr Aaron Mathlare, head of the Parents Action Committee set up to help to solve the language crisis.

House burning

As he was describing the scene he shouted into the telephone: 'They are burning the house down. I have to go.'

He left the receiver dangling, and shouts and cries could be heard at the other end. Later he reported back that a car belonging to The World parked outside had been set alight, and the flames had spread into the yard of the house. The car was damaged but not destroyed.

Trouble appeared to centre on an area of about 1 km square with the Orlando High School at the centre. This is overlooked by a rock ridge where a motionless crowd stood watching police reinforcements arriving across the valley.

The roadblock near the main road bridge crossing the Klipspruit was being manned by Black uniformed township police, and by Whites in military camouflage-type fatigue outfits.

According to eyewitnesses leaving the troubled area, the mood of the crowd who were ranging the streets was ugly.

● In Parliament today, news of the riots triggered urgent efforts to have the matter raised in debate. Questions seeking information on the riots were believed likely to be asked in the Assembly this afternoon and a call for a snap debate tomorrow was expected. Notice of intention to hold a snap debate was expected this afternoon.

Ministers were at a Cabinet meeting today and not immediately available when news of the riots came through.

The Minister of Police, Mr J. T. Kruger, said he could say nothing at this stage because he was waiting for information on the disturbance.

The leader of the Progressive Reform Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said the party had approached Mr Kruger to make a statement on the matter. The party had also asked its MP for Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, to fly immediately to Johannesburg to be in touch with the situation and to transmit information to the caucus.

No plans to alter language system

The Argus Political Staff

IT was too soon to say whether there was any question of the 50/50 medium of instruction in African schools being reconsidered after yesterday's disturbances in Soweto, the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr M C Botha, said today.

Interviewed briefly as he stepped from his car at his office this morning, the Minister was generally non-committal, saying that he first wanted to study the situation.

Asked to comment on a report that the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Dr Andries Treurnicht, would meet West Rand Administration Board officials in Soweto, Mr Botha said 'We have had many lengthy discussions on this question with them in the past and it is likely that we are willing to have further talks in the future'.

COMPULSORY

According to the Johannesburg newspaper Beeld today, Dr Treurnicht said that in the White part of South Africa, where the Government supplied buildings, gave subsidies and paid teachers, it surely had the right to determine what the language in schools ought to be.

The paper quotes him as saying that this applied to schools in areas where there was no compulsory education. The Argus Correspondent reports.

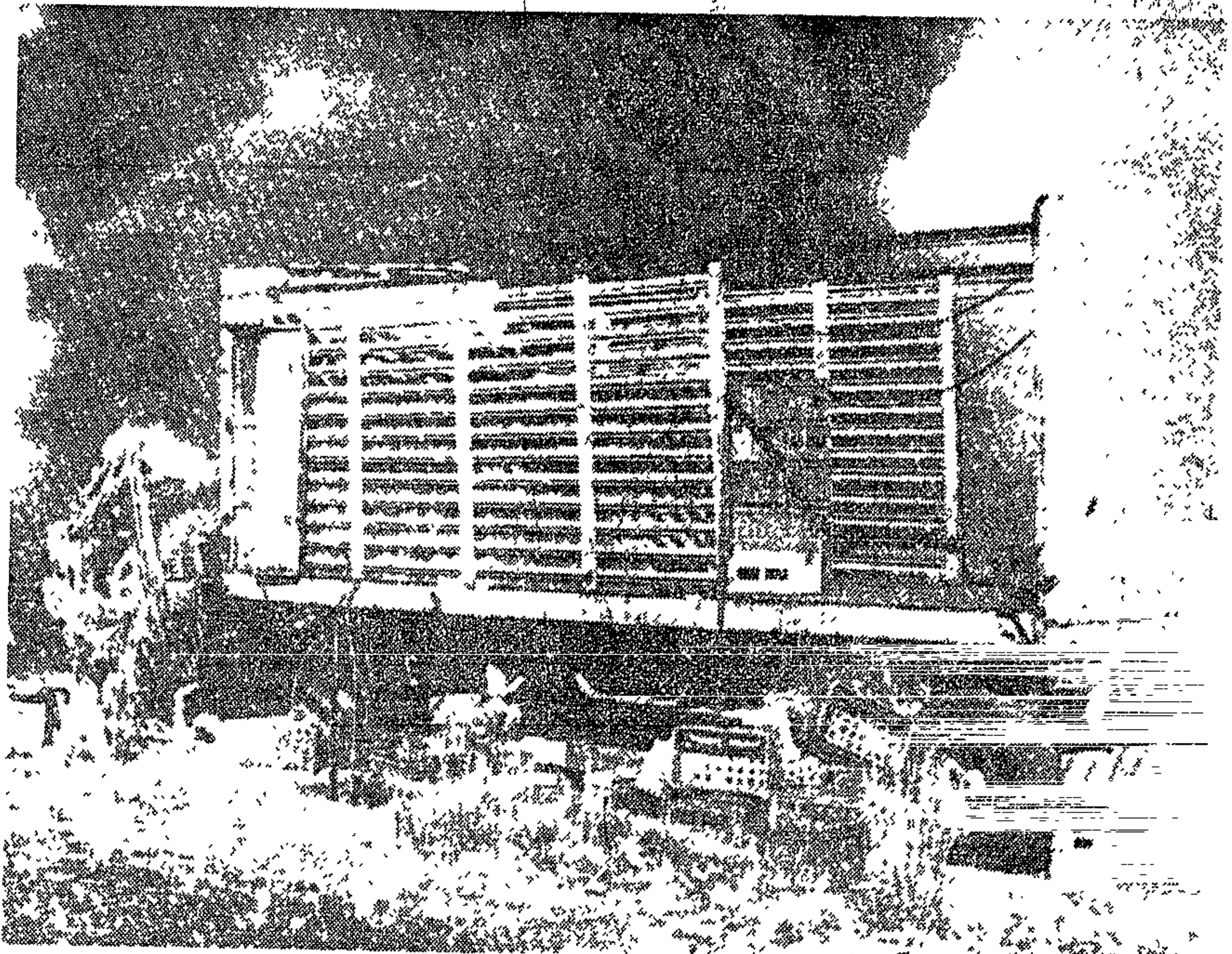
'Why are pupils sent to schools where they are not satisfied with the language endowment?' Dr Treurnicht is quoted as saying.

'TROOPERS'

He is reported to have said that pupils in home-lands may be educated in the language their governments preferred, but it was only logical that South Africa should decide what it should be in the White area.

According to Die Burger the Deputy Minister said it appeared very unlikely that the Government had to do only with a pupil protest in the riots. Possibly youthful 'storm troopers' were being used in another purpose.

Schools language



A LORRY and trailer carrying sorghum (Bantu) beer burns fiercely after being set alight by rioters.

'Minimum of force used'

— Kruger

The Argus Parliamentary Staff

THE police fired in self-defence and used the minimum of force to control the rioting in Soweto yesterday, the Minister of Justice and of Police, Mr J. T. Kruger, said in Parliament today.

Mr Kruger said the police maintained the 'greatest measure of self-control' throughout the rioting in the face of strong provocation.

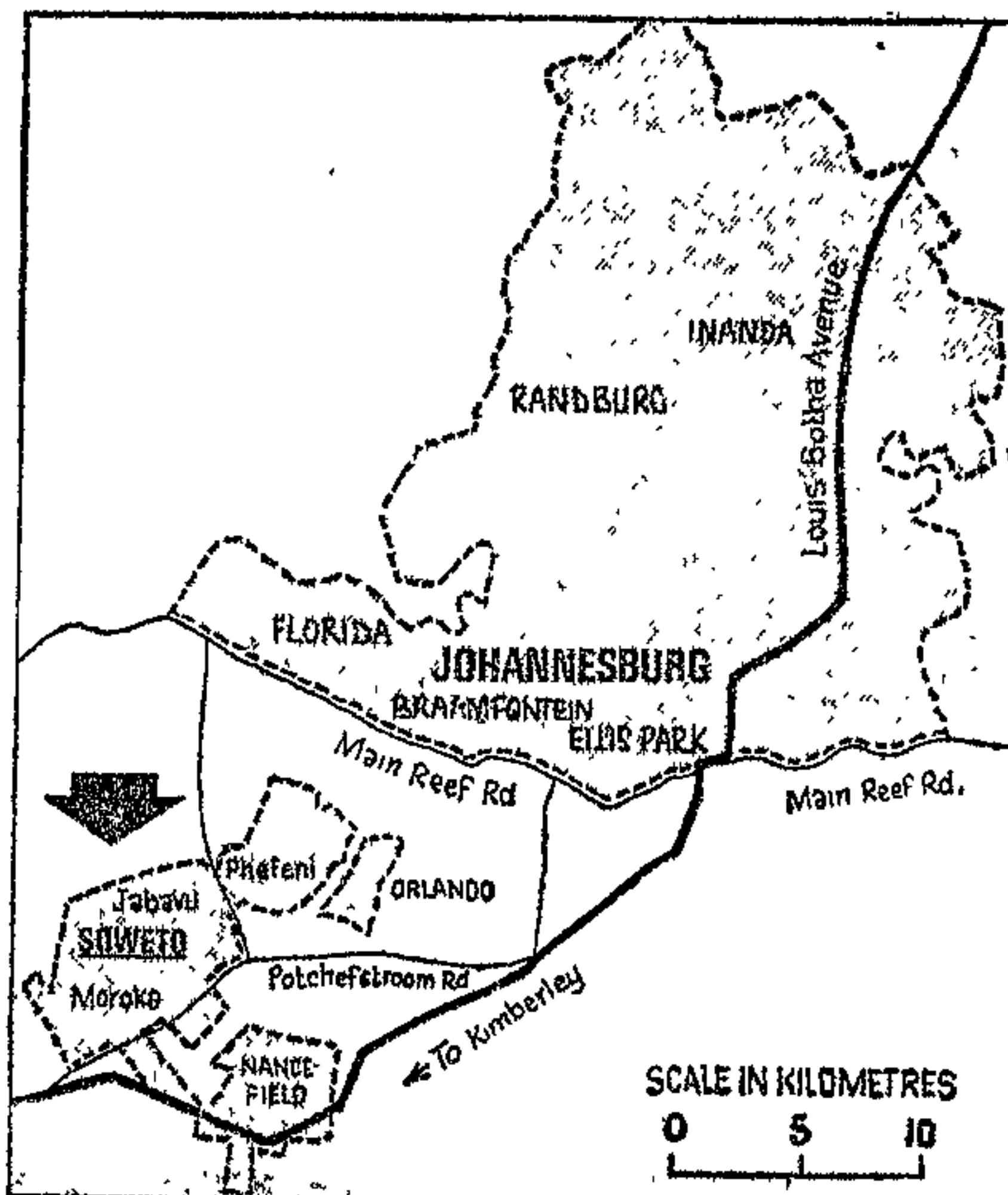
Warning shots were fired only when it became clear that tear-gas would not stop the rioters, he said in answer to a question by Mr R M Cadman (U.P. Umhlathuzana).

'However, where it became clear that the police would be overwhelmed and

MOBS ROAM STREETS

(Continued from Page 1)

Only a few minutes before on the same route, a White man had two large



MAP shows some of the African towns in the Soweto complex in relation to Johannesburg.

dispute began in 1974

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The origin of Soweto's costly disturbances can be traced back to late 1974 when the regional director of Bantu Education for the Southern Transvaal issued a directive that Afrikaans and English were to be used on a 50-50 basis in junior secondary schools.

This generated widespread protests from both teacher bodies and school boards inside and outside Soweto.

The educationists saw this directive as a contradiction of the statement made the year before by the then Secretary for Bantu Education, the late Dr. H. van Zyl.

He had made it clear that the medium of instruction in schools should be decided by the individual school boards in consultation with the secretary himself. He also stated that it was not in the interests of the pupils to have two media of instruction.

TURNED DOWN

● Following the 50-50 language directive from the regional director in late 1974, school boards and teacher bodies made representations to the Minister of Bantu Education for a change in this policy. This was turned down.

● In May last year the joint Northern and Southern Transvaal school boards elected a committee to take up the issue again with the Department of Bantu Education.

● The committee had at least one major meeting with the Secretary for Bantu Education but came away dissatisfied.

● During 1975 several school boards ordered their schools to ignore the language instruction and teach in English only.

SECRET

● At several secret meetings the school boards were read the riot act by the Bantu Education Department and told to toe the line. Most school boards capitulated but at



Dr. Edelstein

Victim warned of 'danger signals'

FOUR-AND-A-HALF years before Dr. Melville Edelstein's death yesterday at the hands of Soweto rioters, he warned of the 'danger signals' of young Africans' hostility to Afrikaners and to the image of an Afrikaner government.

Yesterday he was one of the Whites killed as riots spread through the townships.

The trouble began with high school pupils' dissatisfaction over Afrikaans as a medium of education.

In September 1971, Dr. Edelstein, then chief wel-

The Argus

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danger, the police fired in self-defence, he said.

REGRETTED

Mr Kruger said he regretted the incidents which led to the death and injury of so many people. He described it as a 'tragic event.'

The full toll in death, injury and damage in the Soweto riots so far was given by Mr Kruger in his statement as:

- 23 people killed, of whom 21 were Africans and two were Whites.

- 219 people injured. Of these 69 suffered bullet wounds, two were injured by tear-gas canisters and 148 were assaulted by the rioters.

- 11 policemen were injured, of which three were admitted to hospital. Two police patrol-dogs were chopped to death with pangas and set alight.

- 21 buildings burned down — including ten offices of the West Rand Bantu Administration Board, two hostels, an office of the Urban Bantu Administration Board, six bottle-stores and two schools.

- 20 buildings damaged, including one hostel, nine bottle stores, two clinics, a bank, library, post office, two shopping centres, a community hall and two private homes.

- 33 motor vehicles damaged, including 20 police vehicles, eight vehicles belonging to the Bantu Administration Board and private owners and four Putco buses and a road grader which were set alight.

windscreen of car. He arrived at the police station bleeding about the face and head.

No buses

The Putco bus services which resumed early this morning were withdrawn later.

Ambulance and fire engines are still barred from Soweto, while those already in the area have been told to remain at their stations and ignore the many calls they are receiving.

But all leave for fire department and ambulance officials in the Witwatersrand area had been cancelled.

Police convoys moving around Soweto fired several bursts of automatic fire at rioting mobs, apparently killing at least three.

Bursts of fire could be heard from Orlando police station on several occasions after 10 am, but the pall of smog over Soweto was too heavy to see any crowd movements.

Mr David Silumo, a Diepkloof resident, said he saw policemen fire into a mob of youths in his area.

A Star reporter Raymond Whitaker was in a police convoy which was attacked about 300 m from Orlando police station.

An armoured Hippo vehicle was in the lead, he said. 'I was behind in a car with two plain-clothes policemen, and we were being followed by a fire department official.'

Stones

Youths appeared from behind a store and began hurling stones. Our driver, trying to avoid the rocks, ran into a barrel placed in the road by the rioters.

Police leaped from the Hippo and began firing. Both policemen in the car with me fired their pistols. The stone throwers disappeared again behind the store.

Although the plain clothes men reckoned at least two of the youths must have been hit, we did not dare stop to check.

Orlando police station was an island in a sea of violence today. With chanting pupils only a few hundred metres away, exhausted policemen tried to snatch some rest in trucks or on the lawns — Argus Correspondent and Sapa.

least five dissident school boards chairmen lost their positions.

- The dispute broke into the open again in February when two dissident members of the Meadowlands Tswana School Board were sacked by the regional director of Bantu Education and the entire school board resigned in sympathy.

- The pupils then took up the issue on May 17 when the form ones and twos at Phefeni Junior Secondary in Orlando West, Soweto refused to go into class until their demands to have Afrikaans dropped as a medium of instruction were met.

REFUSED

- Within a week three schools had joined Phefeni in their class boycott and about 1,600 pupils were affected. At this stage the circuit inspector for Bantu Education responsible for these schools refused to get involved in the issue saying the policy had been laid down by the Government.

- Briefly at the end of May seven schools involving more than 2,000 pupils were on strike but most returned to school leaving the Phefeni pupils still sticking to their boycott.

Among the reasons given by the African Teachers' Association of South Africa for its preference for English are:

- English is an international language and the 'lingua franca' of many of the peoples of Africa;

- Publications in English contain a larger storehouse of ideas and knowledge than those in Afrikaans and

fare officer for the Johannesburg City Council's Non-European Affairs Department, produced a thesis based on a survey of attitudes among a sample of high school pupils in Soweto.

Dr Edelstein said at the time the political implications of some of the attitudes shown were clear — if the Government wanted to make a success of the policy of separate development, it would have to turn the prevailing attitude of hostility to one of trust and goodwill.

BOTHA

(Continued from Page 1)

(U.P. Rosettenville) Mr Botha replied that his department had no knowledge of the incident.

Furthermore, while I condemn the violence of the students, there is no doubt that it is Government policy in regard to the urban Black as interpreted by an intransigent and verkramp Deputy Minister, which is at the root cause of the disaffection in Soweto.

ULTIMATUM

Mr Cadman referred to a statement made by Dr Treurnicht in Die Burger today in which he gave Blacks a 'take it or leave it' ultimatum on Afrikaans being used as a teaching medium.

21/6/76 Cape Times

Afrikaans rule not rigid, Blacks told

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA.—The State is prepared to back down on its rigidly enforced so-called "50-50" Afrikaans language tuition principle at African schools—in a stopgap bid to restore law and order in the African areas.

This is the message which emerges clearly from talks in Pretoria on Saturday between a seven-

man team headed personally by the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha — who flew specially to Pretoria for the meeting—and 11 community leaders of riot-torn Soweto.

A joint statement issued after the talks started, among other things, that schools could "apply to deviate from this principle". It said the Minister had "reiterated that there is no departmental compulsion to the so-called 50-50 basis".

The statement added that the "tragic occurrences in Soweto were caused by misunderstanding and confusion" over application of the principle.

URGENCY

It was decided to hold two further meetings, the first as a matter of urgency: To thrash out objections and difficulties over the application of the principle at African schools and to discuss "other matters".

These meetings will be held at what is described as "just under ministerial level".

The first will be held next Friday between the Secretary for Bantu Education, Mr J Rossouw, top members of his Department and Education and other leaders of Soweto to "submit recommendations to the Minister so that he can come to a final decision before schools reopen after the winter holidays".

The second — and clearly wider-ranging — meeting will be held on the following Tuesday between a team headed by the Secretary for Bantu Administration, Mr T P an Onselen, and community leaders of Soweto.

RELUCTANT

A striking feature of Saturday's talks was the reluctance of the 11 Africans present to be identified.

One unnamed member

said they feared repercussions "at the hands of thugs".

Members of the White group at the talks, which lasted three hours, were the Minister, the two departmental secretaries, Mr Manie Mulder, chairman of the West Rand Bantu Administration Board, his deputy, Mr Carel Venter, his chief director, Mr Japie de Villiers, and the board's director of housing, Mr Thys Wilserach.

Among the African members were Mr T J Makhaya, chairman of the Urban Bantu Council of Soweto, and some of its members, representatives of the Soweto School Board, and of other educational and religious interests.

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Scrap Afrikaans call

Staff Reporter

THE newspaper Rapport has called on the Government to scrap regulations which enforce Afrikaans as a teaching medium for young urban Africans.

In an editorial the newspaper said: "This week's events are in many respects more tragic than those of Sharpeville — because they began with children and because the language of Afrikaners led to them."

There were indications, said the editorial, that as with Sharpeville, "we should have seen the fires burning from far off".

"It is now time to show that we are not so relentless as people think

and that we can see the other man's point of view.

"Scrap those language regulations in Bantu Education . . . What Afrikaner wants to fight with Blacks because they do not want to use his language? . . . We do not want blood on our language."

SOWETO LESSON

● The London Times said yesterday that the lesson of Soweto might yet be learnt by those who most need to learn it — the White South African electorate.

In an editorial on the riots in South Africa, the newspaper said: "Mr Vorster's favourite line on the dangers to the West of communism in Africa will invite the comment

that Soweto is Mr Vorster's own unique gift to communism."

● "South Africa on the brink", rang out the banner headline in yesterday's Daily Mail as Britain's nine national dailies devoted much of their space to news concerning the Republic.

After the third day of violence in the Black townships, five leading newspapers used the report of the disturbances as their main story.

● The Sunday Express said: "Nothing can diminish the revulsion over the shooting in South Africa of men, women and even children so young that they have barely left their mothers' arms, or the anger that the tragedy

should have had its origin in a petty, pointless policy.

"It was madness to force Black children to learn Afrikaans, a language that has no importance and no meaning except as a symbol of an arrogant, ruling minority.

"Yet no one should imagine that the rioting was spontaneous. It was clearly timed to sabotage Mr Vorster's meeting with the US Secretary of State, Dr Kissinger."

● The Sunday Times yesterday published on its editorial page an account of life in Soweto written by a Black reporter on the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Nat Diseko, who lives there with his family. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

SA condemned at UN

NEW YORK. — The Security Council on Saturday strongly condemned the South African Government for "massive violence against and killings of" Africans stemming from last week's wave of protest demonstrations.

The resolution was adopted by consensus, without a formal vote.

The draft also said that the policy of apartheid was a "crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and seriously disturbs international peace and security".

It recognized the "legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people" for the

elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination.

South Africa was called on "urgently to end violence against the African people, and take urgent steps to eliminate apartheid and racial discrimination".

In its first operative paragraph, the resolution strongly condemns the South African Government for its "resort to massive violence against and killings of the African people including school children and students and others opposing racial discrimination".

Adoption of the resolution climaxed an urgent session of the 15-nation council, summoned on Friday night.

The South African Ambassador, Mr Roelof "Pik"

Botha quickly dissociated his Government from the resolution and said that South Africa would not be "held hostage to the council or accept externally-imposed restrictions on its freedom of domestic administration".

He characterized the council debate as full of "far-fetched, emotional and unsubstantial allegations."

The United States representative, Mr Albert Sherer, said his delegation joined in the consensus "because of our strong conviction that apartheid is wrong and that tragedy can only follow if South Africa persists in its racial policies." — Sapa-Reuter

The Argus

JUNE 17 1976

Why were the warning signals ignored?

ONE of the tragedies of the Soweto riots is that responsible African leaders in the township have been desperately trying to warn the Government for some time that trouble would come unless certain action was taken. But the Government either took no notice, or not enough notice. Now there has been a sickening confrontation in which more than 20 people died and more than 250 were injured.

Even if the riot grew out of something the pupils considered was a legitimate demonstration, the consequences have already been outrageous, and there can be no excusing the pillage and arson of yesterday and last night, nor the continuing violence today, with gangsters apparently now taking an increasing part.

There were people who did know that danger was in the air. Just the day before in the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, Mr Leonard Mosala warned that 'very ugly scenes will come through our children, who are tired of being made to accept what they don't like. This House should know that we are fighting a very difficult battle with our children. They think we have neglected them. We have failed to help them in their struggle for change in schools. They are now angry and prepared to fight, and we are afraid the situation may become chaotic at any time.'

It was a prophetic warning but it was not the first indication of trouble. This has been brewing for a long time. It started in 1974 when the Government decreed that English and Afrikaans should be used

equally as mediums of instruction in the senior classes of African schools, a policy that was a contradiction apparently even of that stated by a previous Secretary of Bantu Education. The new policy was opposed by teachers and a string of school boards.

There were several meetings with Government officials, but the Education Department would not budge. Several school boards instructed their teachers to ignore the ruling. There were heated meetings. Some school board chairmen were sacked. Then the pupils at Phefeni Junior Secondary School went on strike in the middle of last month, and three more schools joined in within a few days. By the end of May, seven schools were on strike. A special committee from the Urban Bantu Council saw the Director of Bantu Education last week, but they came away dissatisfied. 'It was the most difficult and frustrating' meeting one of the councillors said he had ever had. Plans were in hand to take the matter up with the Minister himself when the riot exploded.

While renewed rioting is reported today, the first objective must be to stop it, the second to try to nurse back to health the wounds the trouble has caused physically and to the fabric of our society. But the country cannot allow this sort of thing to happen again. The causes must be thoroughly investigated, and this means the whole situation of the Black man in the urban areas. Proper bridges of communication must be built. There must be better safety devices.

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3. HARVARD NO. 20

1241

THURSDAY, 17 JUNE 1976

1242

THURSDAY, 17 JUNE 1976

[Indicates translated version]

For oral reply

Riots in Soweto

1241

Mr R M CADMAN, with the consent of Mr Speaker, asked the Minister of Police

(1) Whether riots have occurred in Soweto, if so,

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter

The MINISTER OF POLICE

(1) Yes

(2) Yes. On 16 June 1976 at 07h50, it was reported to the police at Soweto that pupils of the Thomas Mofolo and Naledi High Schools intended to undertake a protest march to Orlando East. The ages of these pupils vary between 18 and 22 years. In order to evaluate the extent and possible implications of such action, patrols were sent to Jabulani and adjacent areas.

At approximately 09h00 a White inspector of Bantu Education reported at Jabulani police station that pupils of schools in Jabavu had attacked him with stones and that his vehicle had been damaged. At this juncture information was also received that about 2000 pupils of the Thomas Mofolo and Naledi schools were already moving past Jabulani and that pupils of schools in Orlando West were also moving.

A police unit was sent to Orlando West where they were met by a large group of pupils. The pupils were then taken to a police station where they were detained. The pupils were then released and the police returned to their normal duties.

were obliged to make use of their fire-arms. This action enabled them to reach safety and to call for reinforcements which arrived shortly afterwards and with whose help the pupils were dispersed to a limited extent.

In the meanwhile, pupils of various schools joined forces near the Pfeni railway station and the number of the riotous mass swelled to approximately 10 000. The police were obliged to move backwards and took up positions on a vacant lot between the Orlando police station and Orlando West. The rioters moved closer and blocked the road with boulders. Vehicles moving through the crowd were stopped and the occupants assaulted. Four White women allegedly attending a meeting in Soweto were seriously assaulted, while a number of vehicles were set alight.

With the aid of helicopters, summoned in the meantime, tear smoke could effectively be thrown among the rioters forcing them to disperse. Immediately, however, many regrouped in smaller bands and started setting fire to offices of the Bantu Administration Board and other buildings and plundering and looting liquor stores.

Between 14h30 and 15h00 information was received that two Whites, a Dr Edelstein and a Mr Hopkirk, were trapped in a youth centre of the Bantu Administration Board and that their lives were feared for. In order to rescue them two helicopters were used. On their arrival it was found that Dr Edelstein had been attacked with stones and sticks and thereafter dragged for about 50 yards, where he was further assaulted. They were, however, rescued and immediately taken to hospital where it was found that Dr Edelstein had already died. Mr Hopkirk was suffering from serious shock.

The following is a summary of the injuries and damage to property which have been reported to the police:

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Write

your three main points down leaving a few lines in between each.

- 6) Go through your list of ideas again. Underline those points that support your three main points.
- 7) Write two sub points under each main point.
- 8) At this stage you should refer to books, interview specialists, check figures and statistics, find quotations, apt examples or demonstrations. Your talk should be an expression of your own ideas on the subject, backed by outside opinion.

Comp
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2. FLANK

2.1

Child's moment of agony

Cape Times
17/6/76



Mrs Rhona Edelstein, widow of Soweto riot victim Dr Melville Leonard Edelstein, tells daughter Shana: "Daddy is dead."

Widow, children mourn

JOHANNESBURG. — Schoolgirl Shana Edelstein, 11, yesterday cried out in anguish as her mother told her: "Daddy's dead."

Melville Leonard Edelstein, 56, chief welfare officer for the West Rand Administration Board, died in Soweto's bloody riot.

His widow, Rhona Edelstein, said through tears: "Melville understood Africans and loved them. He said there was no such thing as an impossible case. He was an incredible man, that's how I'll remember him."

"If ever there was a man who wanted to help Africans it was Melville," she said. "They were his life."

The Edelstein's have two daughters — Shana and Janet. Dr Edelstein also has two children, Michael, 28, and Vivian, 23, by a previous marriage.

The family maid, Mrs Sina Mabiletsa, 46, screamed when told of the doctor's death.

"He helped us, he understood us, he was one of us," she sobbed, adding: "The men who killed him must die."

Mr J C de Villiers chief

director of the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB), said: "It is tragic that Dr Edelstein should lose his life in the cause for which he had given his life. As a welfare officer he was a square peg in a square hole. He had a genuine feeling for Blacks."

"It was on his advice that WRAB handed out a quarter million rand in aid each year and always he was fighting for more."

Dr Edelstein did his Masters at the University of Pretoria. His subject was "The Attitude of Urban Africans to Whites."

African leaders tell of warnings

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — There has been swift reaction from African leaders in Soweto to yesterday's rioting there. Some of the views expressed are:

Mr Leonard Mosala, a member of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, said the authorities should announce the immediate suspension of dual-medium instruction at Soweto schools and withdraw all police from the area.

Mr Mosala, who warned in the council earlier this week that enforcing Afrikaans in schools might result in another "Sharpeville incident" if the matter was not dealt with immediately, said last night that the police should not have confronted the protesting students.

"The police should have realized that directly they moved against the students, the students would retaliate".

The police should have consulted with the parents and school officials about how best to handle the situation rather than trying to control it themselves

Mr Mosala said the dual-medium controversy had been allowed to build up over many months in spite of repeated pleas from Black teachers and politicians to the Department of Bantu Education.

The Very Rev Desmond Tutu, Dean of Johannesburg, said Black leaders had predicted that something like yesterday's Soweto riot would happen.

"We Black leaders have been warning the Government about something like this for a long time if they did not stop and listen."

He said: "I can only appeal to the people of Soweto to restrain themselves, however hollow that might sound, but they have restrained themselves for so long, trying to get someone to

PRP and UP calls to scrap language rule

Political Staff

CAPK TIMES
17/6/76

DR ALEX BORAINÉ, Progressive Reform Party MP, said last night that the Soweto tragedy "could have been averted if the Government had not stubbornly refused to scrap the regulations compelling Black children in secondary schools in urban areas to be taught on a 50-50 English-Afrikaans basis".

Police fired first —claim

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A witness to yesterday's shooting incident in Soweto in which a schoolboy was killed and a number injured said a policeman had fired before there had been any stones thrown.

Mr Victor Dladla, 20, who lives behind the Orlando West High School where the shooting took place, described it as follows:

"A large number of schoolchildren, many from the Morris Isaacson High School came down the road carrying placards at about 9.30am:

"The placards read 'Away with Afrikaans' and 'Kill Afrikaans'.

"Then a light-blue police car carrying five Black South African police drove up towards the column of schoolchildren.

"Twice the group of police tried to stop the procession."

Mr Dladla said one policeman then took out his gun and fired a shot. A boy fell down.

"At that moment the children spread and picked up stones. They started throwing stones at the police.

"The other policemen fired at the children with revolvers and seven more were hit by bullets."

Police spokesmen consistently through the day said the shooting on the school children had been provoked by the children stoning the police.

And the United Party's Mr Andrew Pyper, MP, said it appeared that "some form of confrontation was inevitable" after the Nationalist Government had decided to force the medium of instruction on Black pupils.

"Having tried to convince the Government on this issue, it is clear to me that they would not listen to reason."

"It is completely senseless from an educational point of view to try to force people to be taught through the medium of two foreign languages," Mr Pyper said.

Both Mr Pyper and Dr Borainé said their parties had tried to convince the Government for years that its language policy was causing conflict.

PARENTS' CHOICE

"Our basic attitude has always been that the decision should be left to the local boards to decide the medium, of instruction, and naturally to let parents have a choice," Mr Pyper said.

Dr Borainé chronicled a number of occasions when the PRP had brought "increasing bitterness and frustration" caused by the language policy to the attention of the Government.

The African Teachers' Association of South Africa 18 months ago had described the regulation as "cruel and short-sighted".

Dr Borainé said that only on June 4 he had asked the Minister, Mr M C Botha for information on the student strikes in Soweto. Mr Botha had replied that 2 000 pupils were involved and that they objected to the 50-50 medium rule.

Dr Borainé said that for years the PRP had warned the Government about the "deep resentment over the language issue, but they refused to listen, with disastrous consequences".

~~SECRET~~
336

STAR 16/6/76
At least four people — three Blacks and a White — have been killed and at least 17 injured in bloody rioting in Soweto today after a demonstration by more than 10 000 pupils against the use of Afrikaans in high schools.

The known dead are a young child, an old man, a Black policeman and, reportedly, a White employee of the West Rand Administration Board who was dragged from his car and stabbed.

About 300 police equipped with guns and tear gas fired into the air when the rampaging pupils congregated around Phefeni Junior Secondary School in Orlando West, Soweto, early today.

Two Blacks — an elderly man and a young child — died from injuries received after the police opened fire. At least 14 more people were taken to hospital with injuries.

Another White in a car was assaulted before managing to escape.

All available police in the Soweto area, and a large number of reinforcements from Johannesburg including the Flying Squad, were sent into Soweto.

Cars burnt

Brigadier R Le Roux, who is directing operations in Soweto, said the situation was "very bad. Everything is in such an upheaval here, I don't really know what is going on."

He said houses, cars and other property were being burnt and stoned.

A number of police were believed injured in the rioting, but the extent of their injuries is not known.

Ambulances and fire brigades in Johannesburg were put on standby and a spokesman for the Jo-

(1) 313
(2) 321

N.M. 12/6/76
Bus fare subsidies

THE ROAD Transportation Board's authorisation of a 13 percent increase in Putco fares on June 28 appears to be justified by the rapidly escalating prices of fuel, tyres, spare parts and buses themselves.

But, inevitable though the decision might have been, the commuter resistance that is now being demonstrated is understandable. Rumblings of resentment are already apparent, and employers would be well advised to heed the appeal made this week by Mr. Ernest Sand, president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, that they should consider absorbing fare increases.

The Durban Chamber of Commerce takes a different view. It believes that wage increases cannot and should not be related to specific increases, whether of bus fares or of any other living costs, and in taking this stand the president, Mr. Graham Gallow, shows a justifiable wariness about accepting the principle that businessmen should automatically subsidise transport costs.

Ideally, wages should be gradually raised to a level that will en-

able the worker to meet fare increases without aid from State or commerce. Employers should keep this constantly in mind, even though ticket prices in most cases are already being subsidised through the transport levy and by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. When workers take to their feet in protest they often arrive at work late and tired, with consequent production losses which make it more difficult for employers to incorporate fares in the wage structure.

And as Putco, a private company, is about to reap the benefit of the new fare rises, it should pay attention to the complaints being levelled against it, among them the poor interior condition of the buses and mechanical breakdowns, with the resultant failure to adhere to time tables.

The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for Natal, Mr. J. J. van der Watt, has heard these criticisms personally. He could use his influence to ensure that any future State subsidies for Putco will be subject to certain pre-conditions calculated to achieve the necessary improvements.

CHILDREN

Soweto strike

IN REVOLT

rs reject Afrikaans

323

13/6/76

Sunday Tribune

TENSION is high in Soweto after a week of clashes between schoolchildren and police and the spread of the strike that has virtually closed down seven schools.

Nearly 5 000 children are striking against being taught in Afrikaans. Pupils at Naledi High School rioted when police attempted to take one child for questioning.

The rioting children overturned the police car, set it ablaze and stoned detectives. The next day the children again stoned police at the school.

Parents are afraid the confrontation has escalated to the point where their children are in danger of going to jail.

One mother said she had given her son R5 in case he was put in prison and needed to buy food.

Symbol

The cause of the unrest is a new ruling that the children must be taught maths and social studies in Afrikaans. However, it has become clear that unrest are wider.

Mr Barney Ngakane,

By CAROLINE CLARK

an educationist, said: "This issue has become, in a way, a symbol of resistance among the youth to White oppression and White authority.

Hatred

"The children have learned that they can defy their principal, they can defy the school board, they can defy the inspectors — and they have in the process learned the lesson of solidarity, which is new to them.

"Their solidarity has succeeded in sharpening their hatred of the White man and White authority. It has been a political lesson to them."

Mr Ngakane, a former teacher and now director of university and technical bursaries at the South African Council of Churches said: "This trouble is a reflection of the feeling of the youth in the township. The children are in revolt and tempers are running high."

The unrest reflects new attitudes:

- Rejection of the schools system.
- Rejection of White authority.
- Rejection of the

passive attitudes of their parents.

"It symbolises a new movement of militancy among the youth," he said.

Pupils used to be taught in Afrikaans and English on a 50-50 basis. Now maths and social studies, it has been ruled, must be taught in Afrikaans.

In many cases the teachers are not qualified to teach in Afrikaans. And the children cannot understand it properly. In some schools subjects supposed to be taught in Afrikaans are in fact taught in English.

There are also emotional barriers against Afrikaans.

Mr Ngakane said: "The surest way to make Afrikaans distasteful and hated is to try to force it this way. There are emotional attitudes involved in this matter.

Oppression

"All the oppressive legislation in this country, for which the Afrikaners are blamed, rightly or wrongly, does not induce the youth to like the language. They see Afrikaners and Afrikaans language and culture as a symbol of their oppression.

"In Afrikaans literature there are often insulting references to Black people. Also an Afrikaner doesn't want you to call him meneer; he wants to be called boss. And in the townships, Afrikaans is the lingua franca of the tsotsis."

Explosive

The children showed no signs of breaking and there was a danger the strike would spread.

The children, aged between 13 and 18, had the sympathy of their parents and teachers, although not active encouragement.

"The pupils don't trust their parents on this. They think they'll send them back to school before they've won their point."

Mr Ngakane condemned the interference of police on the schools issue. Police had visited schools and children had been taken in for questioning.

"Order in the schools should be maintained without the interference of the police. They are just hardening attitudes. The situation is potentially explosive."

In a number of schools, he said, principals had not attempted to enforce the new ruling.

Soweto pupils stone police van

RDM
10/6/76
Staff Reporter

PUPILS at Soweto's Naledi High School yesterday turned back police investigating Tuesday's disturbance at the school.

The incident started when two police vehicles stopped outside the school.

Despite a warning from their headmaster, Mr N. Molohe earlier in the day, the students hurled stones at the police van which was then driven further away from the school gate.

The purpose of the police visit was to take pictures of the damage caused by Tuesday's demonstration when a police car was set on fire in the school yard, three others damaged outside by flying stones, the principal's office windows broken and telephone wires cut.

Colonel J. Visser, head of the Soweto CID, said yesterday the 15 boys picked up by police at Thulasizwe Higher Primary School on Tuesday, were questioned and released.

Meanwhile, a deputation from the Soweto Urban Bantu Council met the regional director of Bantu Education in the Southern Transvaal on the language issue yesterday.

① 323

(2) Education - Secondary

① 323

~~② 313~~

No more bus boycotts ^{RDM} 10/6/76 workers told

A MEETING of employers and Black workers was held in Boksburg this week when bus passengers were asked to avoid boycotts when Putco bus fare increases came into effect of June 14.

Only casual passengers travelling between Vosloorus and Boksburg will be affected.

Mr V. J. Silverston, president of Boksburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries, said that the meeting was called in an attempt to prevent a repetition of the bus boycott at Springs recently when Kwa-Thema residents decided to walk to and from work.

(1) 323

(2) Education - Secretary

Soweto school violence RDM

Staff Reporter

A POLICE car was set on fire by demonstrating students in Soweto yesterday. Three other cars belonging to the police were damaged.

Trouble started after two policemen, a White and a Black, arrived in a Volkswagen at the Naledi High School.

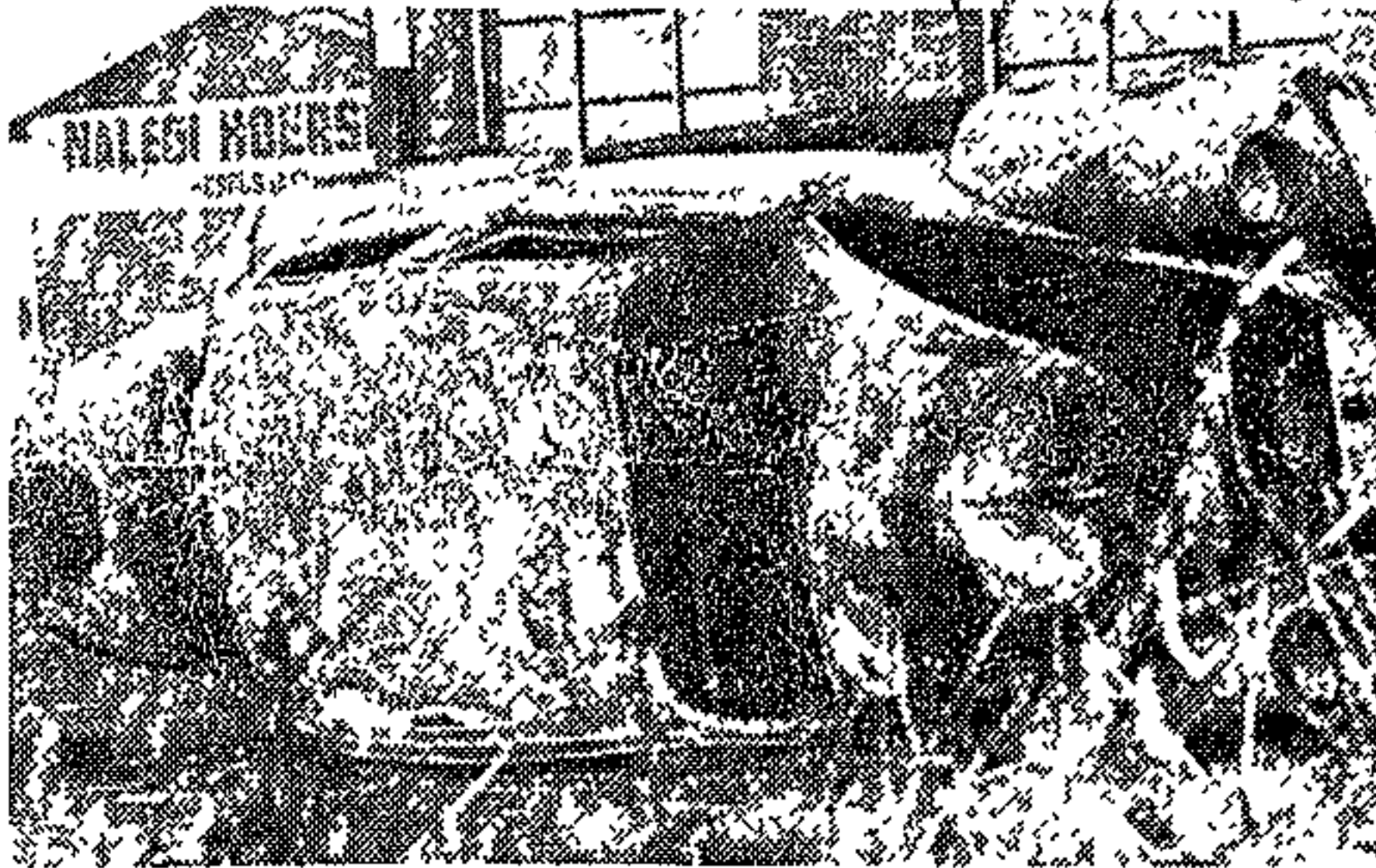
Major C. J. Viljoen, commander at Jabulani police Station, said they went to the school to "make some inquiries about some matter". There was some misunderstanding while they were there and their car was set alight.

About 30 Black and White policemen and five police dogs were rushed to the school.

They used tear gas to disperse the students after they were stoned.

The windows of the principal's office were broken and the telephone wires were cut.

One of the policemen was injured and taken to Baragwanath Hospital. Major Viljoen said a student



The burnt-out police car.

who was slightly injured was also taken to hospital in a state of shock.

The police left the school without making arrests. Major Viljoen said the students will regret their action when they go back today and see the damage they have done.

In another incident, 15 boys from Thulasizwe Higher Primary School, also in Soweto, were taken to Orlando Police Station yesterday for questioning

after allegedly disrupting classes at the school.

The boys were apparently unhappy when other pupils decided to end the strike over the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction for mathematics and social studies.

The headmaster, Mr L. Mbuli, said he was forced to call the police when some of the boys dragged pupils out of classes and caused "confusion and commotion".

(1) Educ. - Sec. - Jan.

~~2-2-77~~

(3) 312 - General

336

Tension at riot school

Tension ran high at Naledi High School, Soweto, today following a riot late yesterday when pupils set fire to a police car after two security policemen attempted to detain one pupil.

The police—a White and a Black—were warned not to arrest the pupil as there would be trouble and when they returned to their car they found the tyres had been deflated.

They returned to the principal's office and telephoned for help.

The principal, Mr N A K Molope, said a truck with eight policemen and a dog arrived and they joined the men in his office.

"Suddenly, we realised the entire student body had surrounded the office. They threw stones and broke all the windows."

The vehicles were stoned and one was burnt.

A call to subsidise bus fares

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Bus fares should be subsidised for economically depressed communities. This was part of the price of apartheid, said Mr. Rupert Lorimer (PRP, Orange Grove) yesterday when he referred to the Springs bus boycott.

"Bus boycotts become flashpoints of violence and civil unrest," said Mr. Lorimer in the transport vote debate.

The handling of the Kwa-Thema boycott, he said, by the Department of Transport was entirely unsatisfactory.

"I believe that it is necessary for the Government to go to the heart of the matter.

"It is a simple fact that the Government policy of separate development means that thousands of Black people must live considerable distances from their place of work, and that the cost of transport to and from the so-called White cities places an intolerable burden on people whose incomes are on or very close to the poverty datum line.

"It is completely unreasonable to expect these people to have to pay for Nationalist ideology and the Government must realise that, if necessary, it must be prepared to subsidise fare for economically depressed communities.

"This must be accepted as part of the price we must pay for apartheid," he said.

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2 323

(1) 2/3
(2) 323

Boycott buses are packed again

RCM 21/4/76

By CLIVE EMDON
Labour Correspondent

THE bus boycott by 25 000 commuters from Kwa Thema, Springs, has been broken. Late yesterday afternoon at the peak going-home time Putco ran 50 buses with full loads — accounting for 75 per cent of the pre-boycott service.

The passengers paid the new fare — an increase of 5 cents per trip on the 10 cent fare — and a large number of weekly 10 and 12 trip tickets, which have no fare increase, were sold during the day.

This was confirmed by Putco last night. The company is due to put 60 to 65 buses into its Kwa Thema service today which it expects will cope with the full demand. But it expects it will take some time before the 75 to 80 buses of the pre-boycott service are needed.

I established yesterday

that Putco decided to put 20 buses into its Kwa Thema service — at the start of the eight week of the boycott — on the advice of a senior police officer.

The police officer had attended a meeting of residents called by church leaders on Monday at which a vote was taken to use the buses again. It was reported that 2 000 people were present.

This decision was in contrast to a meeting of 3 000 residents the week before at which all but three people who addressed the meeting strongly endorsed continuing the boycott.

Yesterday morning Putco ran 20 buses on the 10 km run from Kwa Thema — supplying them on demand, thus providing buses up to a 25 per cent pre-boycott service. A police contingent was on standby.

In the afternoon it ran

its normal 12-bus service and in the late afternoon 50 buses were fully laden.

An estimated 4 000 to 6 000 boycotters continued to walk or cycle.

The only incident reported was a threat to a bus driver waiting outside a Springs factory, that "we will get you tonight".

In a brief statement yesterday, Dr H. H. Ngakane, a member of the Kwa Thema Advisory Board said "We have been forced to swallow the dignity of the stand we took."

The new fare structure at Springs still lags 10 per cent behind Putco fares elsewhere in the country. The new Springs fares are 1,15 cents a km, while elsewhere on the Reef, in Natal and in Pretoria the fares are 1,25 cents a km.

The difference is a result of Putco only having taken over the Springs service in September last year.

A Putco spokesman said yesterday that while application had been made for increased fares around the country, from 1,25 cents a km to 1,50 cents "this does not apply to Springs at present — we look at it as a separate exercise".

(1) 3/3
(2) 323

More bus fare rises on the way

Rand Daily Mail 20/4/76
Staff Reporter

THE African Bus Service (ABS) intends increasing weekly and monthly fares for buses operating between Pretoria and the nearby African townships from May 31, according to the service's assistant general manager, Mr J. B. Maund.

The increases will be 10 cents a week for a five-day ticket and 15 cents a week for a six or seven-day ticket. They were des-

cribed as "very small" by Mr Maund in a letter to the Mamelodi Advisory Board.

The reason advanced for the increases is that ABS has recently increased the salaries of its bus drivers by 21 per cent. The advisory board has been asked for their views on the increased fares before Thursday.

The date for the increases in cash fares is still unknown.

ABS operates between Pretoria and the nearby townships of Mamelodi, Garankuwa, Mabopane and the Winterveldt complex, carrying thousands of commuters to work daily.

The increases follow soon after Putco increased fares in the Pretoria African townships — despite protests by the local advisory boards.

Taxis operating between the city and the townships also intend increas-

ing their fares because of high costs, say some taxi drivers and owners.

During the Easter weekend, taxi passengers were charged 50c a single trip between the townships and the city.

Mr W. M. Aphane, secretary of the advisory board, said it was unfortunate that it was always the lowest paid people who are hit hard by increases, especially in transport costs.

(1313)
(2,323)

Bus boycott starts to collapse

5-TAR
20/4/76

Labour Reporter

The Putco bus boycott by the 25 000 commuters of the Kwa Thema township in Springs broke gradually today as boycotters boarded buses reintroduced after 50 days of disuse.

About 20 buses, about a third of the normal service, were running by 7 am and there were no incidents, reported a Putco spokesman, Mr Ian Archibald.

He said the service was reintroduced after a series of meetings at the weekend.

"As a result of co-opera-

tion between all parties — the people of Kwa Thema, the police and ourselves — we reintroduced a limited service this morning," Mr Archibald said.

"Walking boycotters were quick to join in as they saw others travelling in the buses. We just managed to cope.

"We shall try our best to have the service back to normal by tomorrow morning."

The Star's East Rand Bureau reports that police action, which started with a clamp down on pirate taxis last week, was expected to be intensified today after an accident on Saturday in which 25 people were injured.

ON THEIR WAY

They were on their way to work in a lorry belonging to the Irvin and Johnson factory in Springs.

Mrs Jane Mabena and Mrs Gertrude Twala are "satisfactory" in the Far East Rand Hospital. The other injured were discharged after treatment.

At a meeting of about 2 000 residents in the Anglican Church hall yesterday, the Rev Joe Msimango told the people they should allow those who wished to use the buses to do so. He pointed out that older people could not continue the long walk indefinitely.

Bus boycott deadlock

By CLIVE EMDON
Labour Correspondent

THE bus boycott by 25 000 workers living in Kwa-Thema, Springs, is well into its seventh week with every indication that it will end only if Putco drops its 5c increase on the 10c one-way fare.

Putco has so far made no concessions. A spokesman said yesterday that reversion to the old fare was unlikely, but "entirely in the hands of the authorities" — meaning the Government.

He confirmed that Putco was awaiting a reply from the Government on an application to put up all fares on its Reef, Pretoria and Durban services by 20 per cent this year — from 1,25c a km to 1,5c.

The spokesman said the present fares structure for the Springs area was lower than elsewhere in the country, standing at 1,15c. This suggests that the 5c increase at Springs is only the beginning.

A meeting at Kwa-Thema to discuss the boycott on Tuesday night ended in a near riot when a number of men jumped on the stage and tried to attack Mr Douglas Njenge, a member of the local advisory board, after accusing him of "selling out" to Putco.

Other speakers had called for an end to the boycott but were shouted down. "We will walk", the crowd of 3 000 shouted.

Mr Njenge was threatened when he said: "People want the boycott to

end." Sympathisers rushed to his aid to protect him as people in the audience made for the doors.

It was some minutes before order was restored.

The route from Kwa-Thema to the Springs industrial area and suburbs was again lined with thousands of boycotters yesterday.

CASE FILES

15/4/76

R. D. M.

(1) 313
(2) 323

Poor pay a cause of unrest

Sieg Hannig
(Labour Reporter)

The economic plight of the Black worker earning wages below poverty levels is a prime cause of the Springs bus boycott which became a complete stalemate last night.

A 54-year-old father of four schoolgoing children, plodding his weary way home yesterday illustrated the point.

Asked why he was walking, he said he earned R16 a week and could not afford 20c for a pirate taxi fare.

"I can't afford the new bus fare of 15c either," he added.

Later, people addressing the mass meeting in the township, cited an additional reason for their boycott.

They felt Putco was using Kwa Thema as a test case. If they yielded, similar fare increases would be imposed elsewhere, they said. The same kind of ar-

gument was employed when the Secretary for Transport, Mr J Driessen, said he feared a "chain reaction all over the country" if Putco gave way to the boycotters.

This is reminiscent of the show of strength during the notorious Alexandra bus boycott of 1957 which affected at least 60 000 commuters in Johannesburg's Alexandra township and about 150 000 bus users in Johannesburg at large.

Mr Ben Schoeman, then Minister of Transport, went on record as saying the Government would not be intimidated. The result was 14 000 arrests within about two months.

The Alexandra residents objected to a one-penny fare increase, compared with a 5c increase in Kwa Thema, and they walked 15 km to work compared with the 10 km in Kwa Thema. A roaring trade for pirate taxis and bicycle

stores is common to both boycotts.

But the differences between the boycotts in Alexandra and Kwa Thema are more noteworthy than their similarities:

● The Alexandra boycott led to the intervention of the African National Congress, since banned, and sympathy boycotts in other centres such as Port Elizabeth and East London.

● The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce put up a R50 000 "penny back" scheme which broke the boycott by subsidising the full extent of the fare increase for three months.

● The Government pushed a transport levy through Parliament in time to allow a reversion to the old fare before the three months' grace provided by the Chamber of Commerce.

Perhaps these are not differences but only stages which the Kwa

Thema boycott may yet reach. After all, this boycott is only six weeks old while the Alexandra one lasted three months.

On the positive side the Springs police must receive credit for the restraint displayed so far.

The police restraint may well be attributable to Brigadier J B Wiese, who became divisional commissioner on the East Rand after two years experience of Black labour unrest in Johannesburg.

The Kwa Thema boycott, it seems, has much in common with the question of Black labour unrest in general — poor wages and, more significantly, lack of communication.

The Star has been told by an authoritative source that "Putco and Kwa Thema leaders have been talking right past each other" in their many negotiations.

A Putco spokesman told The Star that the Kwa Thema fare increase had

been preceded by more negotiations than any other fare increase.

That did not prevent the boycott. But more recent negotiations seem to have been equally ineffective.

Mr Ngakane, who was shouted down at the mass meeting last night, told The Star earlier yesterday that one of the major shortcomings in the concessions made by Putco was the absence of 12-trip and 14-trip weekly tickets which would allow cheaper travel on Saturdays and Sundays.

The Star put this point to a Putco spokesman who replied that 12-trip tickets were already available and 14-trip tickets could be introduced if demand warranted it.

As it turned out, this question was of no relevance at last night's meeting because Mr Ngakane's audience rejected anything but a fare reduction. The situation can be

summed up in a statement which Mr Harry Oppenheimer made at the time of the Alexandra boycott as a Member of Parliament: "It is obvious also that if there are no recognised and legitimate channels through which the Natives can make their power felt, they will make it felt through undesirable or illegal channels."

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including a large signature that appears to be "Sieg Hannig".

STAR 14/4/76.

Voice of protest

Part of the crowd which packed the Kwa Thema Civic Centre last night when the "Bus Boycott Workers' Committee" addressed them.



Springs boycott stays, say 3 000

323
2 313

The Springs bus boycott took a turn for the worse last night when about 3 000 Kwa Thema Township residents rejected any form of compromise.

The angry crowd, packed inside the local community hall, made it clear the fare increase of 5c a trip was totally unacceptable.

Two prominent community leaders in the area — Mr A M Khumalo, chairman of the advisory board, and Mr H H Ngakane, former advisory board chairman who has been leading negotiations with Putco—suffered severe loss of face.

Star

323

14/4/76

Mr. Khumalo was accused of having "sold out" his people, while Mr. Ngakane was shouted down. The meeting ended in uproar.

OLD PEOPLE

The crowd became tense as Mr. Ngakane said it appeared some people had come to the meeting to cause trouble and that these might be people whose businesses depended on the boycott.

"Putco will not give in. You must, therefore, think of older people who cannot bear walking for ever. Remember, too, there will not be any private vehicles on the road to help you tomorrow," Mr. Ngakane asserted.

Earlier, several speakers had told the meeting — amid wild applause — they were interested only in fares being brought down to pre-boycott level. They claimed they boycotted buses because they could not afford increased fares.

Mrs. Martha Vululwandle, one of the two women who got on to the platform to address the meeting, was booed when she said "Putco must come back. We cannot walk forever."

"TEST CASE"

The other woman, who claimed the committee which had been negotiating with the bus company had failed, was also shouted off the platform when she said: "We cannot walk all the time. Let us end the boycott."

Some of the speakers interested in the boycott continuing claimed Putco was using Kwa Thema as a test case and would increase fares in Soweto and other townships if they gave in.

Outside, a White man and woman were surrounded by a hostile group until whisked away by an African photographer.

Asked why the residents were not told what concessions Putco had offered, Mr. Ngakane said most people were against the fare increase. They wanted to continue the boycott.

Bus boycotters smile — and keep on tramping

By JOHAN BUYS

THE BOYCOTT with a smile. This is what they call the Putco bus boycott at Springs.

After 37 days and 740 km of slogging to work and back, the residents of Kwa Thema are as determined not to get on a Putco bus as they were on the day the boycott started.

There are no hard feelings, just a smile as the more than 20 000 Black workers walk the round trip of 20 km from the township to Springs and back every day.

The boycott, sparked by a 5c increase in casual fares — the third increase since November last year — was marred by a fight between residents and taxi drivers last Thursday when a man was axed to death. Otherwise the vast majority are well behaved.

The streets from Kwa Thema to Springs are lined with thousands of marchers every day. Police keep a watching eye. Said Brig J. B. Wiese, Divisional Commissioner of Police for the East Rand: "We have no problems with the boycotters. They are friendly."

Asked if there was any possibility of an end to the

boycott soon, he said: "We are still where we started but hoping for the best. Perhaps the problem will be resolved eventually."

Boycotters are so determined to walk that they have begun to boycott taxis which they claim are responsible for Road Transportation Board action against pirate taxis and kombi owners who transport them to work and back.

This belief was responsible for the fight at Kwa Thema last week.

Brig Wiese said he did not believe that agitators were behind the boycott. Although commerce and industry were warned that it was illegal to transport staff without a special permit from the Road Transportation Board, police have not yet started concentrated action against them. Road Transportation Board inspectors stopped vehicles carrying workers last week.

Mr Dick Goss, manager of the Springs Chamber of Commerce and Industry said yesterday: "We have never stopped trying to find a solution. We will keep on trying. Other people may give up, but we won't."

① 313
② 323

CNIP attacked over rise in bus fares 1/4/76

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Opposition members have attacked the Ciskei Government for raising bus fares.

Dr H. H. Kakaza, secretary of the Ciskei National Party, said the actions taken by the government concerning the fare rise were surprising.

He said while the raise could be justified, people could not afford to pay the fare.

"It would be understandable if salaries had also been raised, but there is no indication of this. This is a burden on an already suffering society," Mr Kakaza said.

Mr I. Sangotsha said it was astonishing that the government found it necessary to raise fares while "it was the same rise in bus fares that led to their takeover of the bus company."

He deplored the intervention by the Minister of Justice with the threat of Proclamation R400 and said commuters should not be forced to use buses.

Bus fares go up from today and it is believed

many commuters will boycott the buses.

In the last fare rise, while the buses were still under Border Transport, the Ciskei Government had to intervene after a long boycott by commuters.

After the takeover by the Ciskei, fares remained the same, but now the Ciskei Government has said, because of inflation, they have to raise the fares. — DDR.

(1) 105
(2) 323
(3) 313

Police stop STAR 31/3/76 bus boycott vehicles

East Rand Bureau

The long awaited stopping of vehicles carrying bus boycotters to work in Springs started early today.

Rows of cars lined up in West Springs Road as drivers received tickets for carrying passengers without licences from the Road Transportation Board.

A senior police officer said these drivers had now had a month's warning that police would take action. He had hoped this would not be necessary but unfortunately people had persisted in breaking the law. He expected action would be intensified from tomorrow.

NOT COVERED

These drivers are not covered by insurance for their passengers if they do not have licences so stopping them is in their own interest, he said.

An enterprising man has bought a small bus and has obtained a permit to carry passengers. He plies to and from Kwa-Thema Township morning and evening but thousands of people still walk the 10 km, determined not to pay the five cent increase asked for by Putco on March 1.

● Three senior officials of the East Rand Administration Board are to meet Mr M C Botha, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, in another bid to end the five-week-old boycott.

The meeting takes place in Cape Town this week.

(1) 323
(2) 3/3

313
2 323

CAP RDM 27/3/76

R1 200 a month smile—thanks to bus boycott

By MIKE DUTFIELD

AT R1 200 a month, it's OK for Absalom Bongwe. He's got one of the best jobs in Springs at the moment — he's a Black taxi driver.

For the last four weeks, ever since 35 000 African commuters began boycotting the Putco bus service from Kwa Thema township to Springs because of fare increases, Mr Bongwe has been raking it in.

"I'm buying a new set of tyres today and next month I'm thinking of buying a new taxi," he said yesterday through his smiles.

Every day, from 4 am to 10 pm, Mr Bongwe's battered 1964 American saloon rattles the 10 km from Kwa Thema to Springs full of paying passengers.

"All we registered taxi drivers agreed to drop our prices when the boycott started," he said. "For a weekday trip we now charge 25c instead of 30c and at weekends 35c instead of 40c."

Mr Bongwe, 36, who is married with six children, said he earned about R480 a month before the boycott started.

"My petrol now costs me about R240 a month but I'm still very happy with the way business is going," he said.

But a spokesman for the Springs Non-European Taxi Owners Association was angry yesterday that Mr Bongwe had spoken to the Press.

"If he is earning that much, he must be running a minibus as well as his car," he said. "We have 72 other registered drivers in Springs and all of them, except Mr Bongwe, are running at a loss."

The trouble apparently is the "hundreds" of pirate taxis that now cruise along the old Putco bus route.

"These pirates can afford to charge less than



MR BONGWE
... big smiles

the taxi drivers because they do it only in their spare time, or get their wife to do it while they're at work," the spokesman said.

"We've pleaded with the police and the traffic department to stop the pirates but they don't do anything."

Meanwhile Putco's estimated loss from the boycott has risen to an estimated R120 000. But Blacks insist they won't use the buses until Putco drops the March 1 fare increases, which were introduced to boost fare revenue by seven per cent.

(1) 313
(2) 323

21/8/76

SUNDAY TRIBUNE

ANOTHER FARE RISE SHOCK IN SPRINGS

Tribune Reporter

THE Springs bus boycotters are in for yet another shock — Putco is planning further substantial fare increases on the "boycott" route.

And fare increases on other Putco bus routes can be expected soon, a corporation spokesman, Mr Ian Archibald, said yesterday.

Mr Harry Schwarz MP, chairman of the federal executive of the Progref Party, and Mr Hiaku Rashidi, president of the Black People's Convention, have warned that there could be an explosive situation if Black bus fares go up any more.

But Putco has adopted a hard line on the fare increases issue and is refusing to budge.

So are the workers as the Springs boycott enters its fourth week.

The 20c return fare from Kwa-Thema to Springs, raised to 30c three weeks ago, will be pushed up to 40c, Mr Archibald said.

"We are losing between R5 000 and R6 000 a day on the boycott but we will not budge. We cannot afford to charge less — it would cripple our operation," he said.

Mr Archibald said increased oil prices, maintenance costs and salaries had forced the companies to raise their fares.

All indications are that the boycotters will continue to resist efforts to raise fares.

"We will walk till we drop," an ageing boycotter said this week. "We never asked to be dumped in townships so far from our work. Inflation is crippling

Bus boycotts could 'hit economy hard'

By JEAN LE MAY

BLACK absenteeism will hit the national economy hard unless a "reasonable compromise" is reached over proposed bus fare increases.

This is the view of Soweto Urban Bantu councillor, Mr David Thebehali, who told the Sunday Express that feelings in the townships were running high because of the proposed increases.

"People will stay away from work, or walk and arrive hours late, sooner than pay the bigger fares," he said. "How long can South African industries hold out in the face of widespread absenteeism?"

Mr Thebehali, who represents four wards, said the example of Kwa Thema residents near Springs would be followed nation-wide as soon as the proposed increases came into force.

Kwa Thema residents have walked 10 km to work for the last two weeks rather than pay the 5c increase in bus fares. Many walkers are not affected by the increase since they buy weekly or

monthly tickets, but are refraining from using the buses out of sympathy with those who are affected.

Mr Thebehali, a former executive member of the old Progressive Party and national chairman of the Young Progs, said the Springs situation was being "carefully watched" by people in Soweto.

The bus crisis follows Putco's announced intention to raise bus fares nationwide by 20 per cent. It has already asked the Government for a 10 per cent increase in the subsidy it gets through the Bantu Transport Services Account.

More than R14-million has been paid to Putco in subsidies since 1969, Mr Louwrens Muller, Minister of Transport, said in Parliament last week.

"It is time for Putco to pull out of the townships," said Mr Thebehali. "There is a very strong feeling among Blacks that transport there should be run by private enterprise, preferably Black."

(4) 313
(2) 323

to indicate that Mr Winter is

How to stop the boycott...

By JOHAN BUYS ROM

IF domestic employers would do the same as commerce and industry — pay their labour a sufficient wage to allow them to live and travel to and from work — it would be a solution to the Springs bus boycott.

But if commerce and industry were to subsidise Black fares to end the Putco boycott, it would be subsidising the employers of domestic labour.

This is the reason given by the Springs Chamber of Commerce and Industry yesterday for not subsidising fares for Black workers who are boycotting Putco because of fare increases.

Thousands of Blacks were still boycotting the service yesterday and

walking the 10 km from Kwa Thema township to Springs.

Meanwhile pirate taxis are finding the boycott a golden opportunity to cash in and are converging on Springs from places as far away as Nigel and Johannesburg.

A spokesman for the Springs Owner Taxi Association accused the Springs Traffic Department of being inefficient for not clamping down hard enough on pirate taxis.

There are about 400 Kombis operating full-time as taxis and making a living "for their owners who are not operating as licensed or registered taxis," Mr Ismael Phorie, the association's chairman said.

Because of this legitimate taxi drivers are robbed of business and are finding it hard to make ends meet with higher overheads than unlicensed taxi operators, he claimed.

The association has nevertheless reduced fares from 30c to 25c per trip in sympathy with the boycotters.

A spokesman for the Springs Traffic Department countered with the claim that every car-owner in Kwa Thema was a pirate taxi, because they picked up friends on their way to work and charged them for the trip.

"A pirate taxi is cheaper than either a bus or a legitimate taxi. We have had raids on them in the past, but the practice continues."

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Springs buses taken off

STAR
8/3/76

East Rand Bureau

The Springs bus boycott — resulting in a daily loss of about R6 000 in fares and affecting about 25 000 people — entered its second week today with no relief in sight.

As the West Springs road was lined again with pedestrians and lorries sent by employers to save their workers the 10 km walk from Kwa Thema, there were several fresh developments.

● All buses appeared to have been withdrawn from the boycott route this morning after running empty last week.

● The Springs Chamber of Commerce and Industry called a meeting on the boycott for tonight.

● It was revealed that a meeting between the bus company, Putco, and Kwa Thema leaders ended in deadlock on Friday.

● The management committee of the township has offered to call off the boycott if fares are reduced to their former level, pending discussions about possible "reasonable" increases.

DENIAL

Mr J Kumalo, leader of the management committee, said today Putco had promised another meeting later on Friday after the first meeting ended in deadlock.

Kwa Thema leaders were still waiting for Putco to return to them as promised.

"We are prepared to talk but we are not prepared to tell our people to pay the higher fares — often at great hardship to themselves — unless we are convinced this is necessary," Mr Kumalo said.

He denied Putco's claim that only a few thousand people were affected by the increases of "casual" fares.

(1) 313
(2) 323

Get permits, bus boycott beaters told

ROM
9/8/76

By JOHAN BUYS
SPRINGS. — Police have warned employers transporting Black workers from townships during the Putco bus boycott to obtain permits from the local Transportation Board.

The boycott ended its seventh day in stalemate yesterday as more than 20 000 Black workers started the 10 km walk home from the factories and suburbs.

To make sure that their workers get to work on time, industrialists and other employers transport them to and from the townships in lorries.

Brigadier J. W. Wiese, Divisional Commissioner of Police for the East Rand, said yesterday that these people were breaking the law if they transported staff without spe-

cial permits from the Road Transportation Board.

"They are not covered if they are involved in accidents and are liable to prosecution," Brig Wiese said.

"We are not unsympathetic to employers and understand their predicament in this boycott, but we would like to advise them to get these permits, as many of them are not aware that they are breaking the law," he said.

Commuters said they would boycott Putco buses as long as the new increased fares remained. Buses have been withdrawn from the Kwa Thema route while the boycott lasts.

A meeting last Friday between the Kwa Thema leader, Mr J. Khumalo, and Putco officials ended

in deadlock. Mr Khumalo said he and other Kwa Thema leaders were prepared to negotiate.

Although the boycotters are slowly getting fed up with walking the 20 km to town and back every day, they are well behaved and the crisis has been unmarked by serious incidents. Police are standing by in the townships during peak hours to keep a watching eye.

Springs Town Council, which previously owned the Black bus service, has decided to stay out of the affair, saying it is purely a matter between Putco and the boycotters.

Industrialists in Springs are not in favour of subsidising the transport costs at this stage. Their attitude is that it would create a precedent.

① 313
② 323

(1) 313
(2) 323

I'll help end boycott, ROM 5/3/76 says transport chief

Staff Reporter

THE Secretary for Transport, Mr J. Driessen, yesterday telegraphed the Kwa-Thema Advisory Board chairman, Mr A. Khumalo, promising to help find a settlement to Springs - Kwa-Thema bus boycott.

His telegram was in response to an earlier telegram from Mr Khumalo, asking the Department of Transport to apply the Bantu Services Levy Act to Springs to release funds to subsidise African transport.

Mr Driessen's telegram read: "Your request is being considered and all possible steps will be

taken by my department to assist you."

The application of the Act to Springs would provide some R20 000 a month to subsidise African commuters.

Mr Ian Archibald of Putco yesterday cautioned against any hopes that application of the Transport Levy Act would provide an easy solution to the deadlock.

He doubted if R20 000 a month would enable Putco to lower its fares to the old level because even with the new cash fares the company was operating below its calculated minimum cost of 1,50c per km per passenger.

Putco fears bus boycott could spread

3/8/76 NH

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Putco fears the bus boycott in the Springs-Kwa-Thema area can spread like wildfire without larger subsidies, says Mr. Ian Archibald of Putco.

The Springs-Kwa-Thema boycott was sparked by an increase of 5c in fares on three main routes, although the price of weekly tickets remains unchanged.

But the 5c rise was approved last November—and an application for another increase of 20 percent is in the pipeline. The new increase, to

offset the sharp rise in transport costs which followed devaluation of the rand last September, would be applicable throughout the country and involve nearly all the 200-million passengers using Putco buses each year.

Unless the increase was substantially subsidised by the Department of Transport, passengers would have to meet it from their own pockets.

Putco officials were hopeful yesterday that the Department of Transport would subsidise at least half the proposed increase.

But in an interview the Secretary for Transport, Mr. J. Driessen, merely repeated that the application would go through the normal channels and be considered on its merits.

As the Springs-Kwa-Thema boycott entered its second day yesterday Mr. Driessen did confirm that Springs businessmen did not pay the transport services levy which Johannesburg businessmen must pay.

The Bantu Transport Services Act provides for a levy of R1 a month on

businessmen for every African labourer they employ, the money being used to subsidise transport for their African workers.

Explaining why the Act was not yet being applied to Springs, Mr. Driessen said the bus service there had been run by the Springs municipality at a "terrible loss."

One reason for this had been the low fares and, as a result, it was felt there was no need to apply the Act.

After Putco took over last September it was granted an increase of more than 30 percent.

Asked if the Act would now apply to Springs because of the raised fares and the boycott, Mr. Driessen said: "We will most likely make the Act applicable to Springs now."

But Mr. Archibald cautioned that application of the Act would make no difference to the cash fares because subsidies applied only to weekly tickets.

The publicly stated positions of Putco managing director Mr. Albino Carleo and a leading spokesman of the Kwa-Thema boycotters, Mr. H. H. Ngakane, point to a prolonged battle.

② 323
① 313

'Pirate' taxi drivers held

2/8/76. STAR

At least 10 "pirate" taxi drivers have been arrested in Kwa Thema, Springs, as the Putco bus boycott enters its second day.

About 1 000 walked to work today and many were picked up by private cars and taxis.

Road Transportation Board officials swooped on dozens of cars carrying people to work. Drivers had to prove that whoever they were carrying were not fee-paying passengers.

The boycott has also claimed its first tragedy. Mrs A Mayoyo, of Kwa Thema, was knocked down by a bus which ran into a crowd of people waiting at the township offices.

The bus then accelerated and disappeared in the direction of the town. It is believed that the bus was stopped by the police somewhere near the police station.

Mr I Archibald, public relations officer of Putco, confirmed that the boycott was still on. However, he mentioned that only casual passengers were affected because those who use season tickets had bought them at the weekend before the increased fares.

He warned that passengers who did not use their tickets were not

going to be refunded unless they produced genuine reasons why they did not use them.

Coloured taxi drivers on the East Rand are to ask the Coloured Development Corporation for money to form an autonomous Transvaal Coloured bus service because they are dissatisfied with the inefficient and inadequate service provided by Putco.

Hundreds of drivers will meet in Coronationville on March 20 to form an association whose first task will be to approach the corporation.

(1) 313
(2) 323

CAPE TIMES

Boycott 2/3/76 follows fare rise

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Increased fares yesterday sparked a total boycott of Putco buses by African commuters to and from Kwa-Thema township, near Springs.

Mr Ian Archibald of Putco said of the boycott: "It was obviously well organized. They started walking to work very early. There was no intimidation at the bus stops."

Putco is seeking a 20 percent increase in its fares to offset devaluation, but the increased fares introduced on the Springs-Kwa-Thema route yesterday were not the first instalment of the 20 percent. They were part of a pre-devaluation increase approved last year. The post-devaluation increase was still to be implemented.

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150

Long walk, ^{RDM} empty ^{2/8/76} buses ³

By PATRICK LAURENCE

INCREASED fares yesterday sparked a total boycott of Putco buses by thousands of African commuters from Kwa-Thema township, near Springs.

Mr Ian Archibald, of Putco, said of the boycott: "It was obviously well organised. They started walking to work very early. There was no intimidation at the bus stops."

However, on Sunday night a bus was stoned and a woman passenger was flogged by boycotters.

Putco is seeking a 20 per cent increase in its fares to offset devaluation, but the increased fares introduced on the Springs-Kwa-Thema route yesterday were not the first instalment of the 20 per cent.

It was part of a pre-devaluation increase which was approved last year. The post-devaluation increase has still to be implemented.

Weekly tickets were not affected by the increase yesterday, but cash tickets rose 5 cents on previous fares of 10c, 15c and 20c.

What is puzzling Putco officials is that weekly ticket holders, who were not affected by yesterday's increase, joined the boycott to make it totally effective. Workers either walked or took taxis and other transport.

Social scientists and trade unionists have warned that the proposed 20 per cent increase could provoke resistance in the form of boycotts from African commuters and have urged the Department of Transport to subsidise passengers for the full amount.

Putco officials are confident the Government will meet half of the proposed 20 per cent, but the Secretary for Transport, Mr J. Driessen, has not yet committed himself officially.

The mood of returning workers yesterday seemed to be cheerful rather than angry, but underneath the smiles was a hint of determination.

(1) 313
(2) 323

RIOTS & DISTURBANCE
MARCH - 76 — JULY 76

(1) 313
(2) 323

15c bus fare ^{1/3/76} *Star* brings boycott

East Rand Bureau

Thousands of Africans walked up to 10 km from their homes at Kwa Thema to work at Springs today rather than pay increased bus fares.

Others paid 40c for a taxi ride — but all were determined to hold out against a 15c fare. The fare has doubled over the past few months.

When Putco took over the Springs service last year the fare was 6c each way. This was raised at once to 8c and later to 10c.

Last week, commuters were told they must pay 15c from today.

A regular bus user, Mr M. Mtuli, said: "It would mean 30c a day for bus fares, and we have no assurance they will not go up again in a few weeks or months."

Nobody at Putco head office was willing to comment.

In Kwa Thema, hundreds of people lined the streets and police cars were seen cruising about, but the mood of the crowd was good humoured.

A taxi driver said he had been on the go non-stop since 5.30 am — far longer than usual on an ordinary working day. He was expecting a rush after work today.

A spokesman for Springs' largest factory said nearly all the complement of 400 African workers had turned up for work, but most had been late.

CAPE TIMES 24/6/76

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Ministers visit Soweto

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, and two Cabinet colleagues slipped into riot-torn Soweto on an unannounced visit yesterday.

Mr Botha was accompanied by Dr A P Treurnicht, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, and Mr Willem Cuywager, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. It is believed that Mr

Botha's party visited trouble spots in last week's rioting to survey the damage and to confer with senior police officers and West Rand Board officials.

Meanwhile, with a police helicopter hovering overhead and escorted by police-laden armoured troop carriers, top Bantu Administration Board

officials and pressmen yesterday toured Pretoria's two main riot trouble-spot townships, Atteridgeville and Mamelodi.

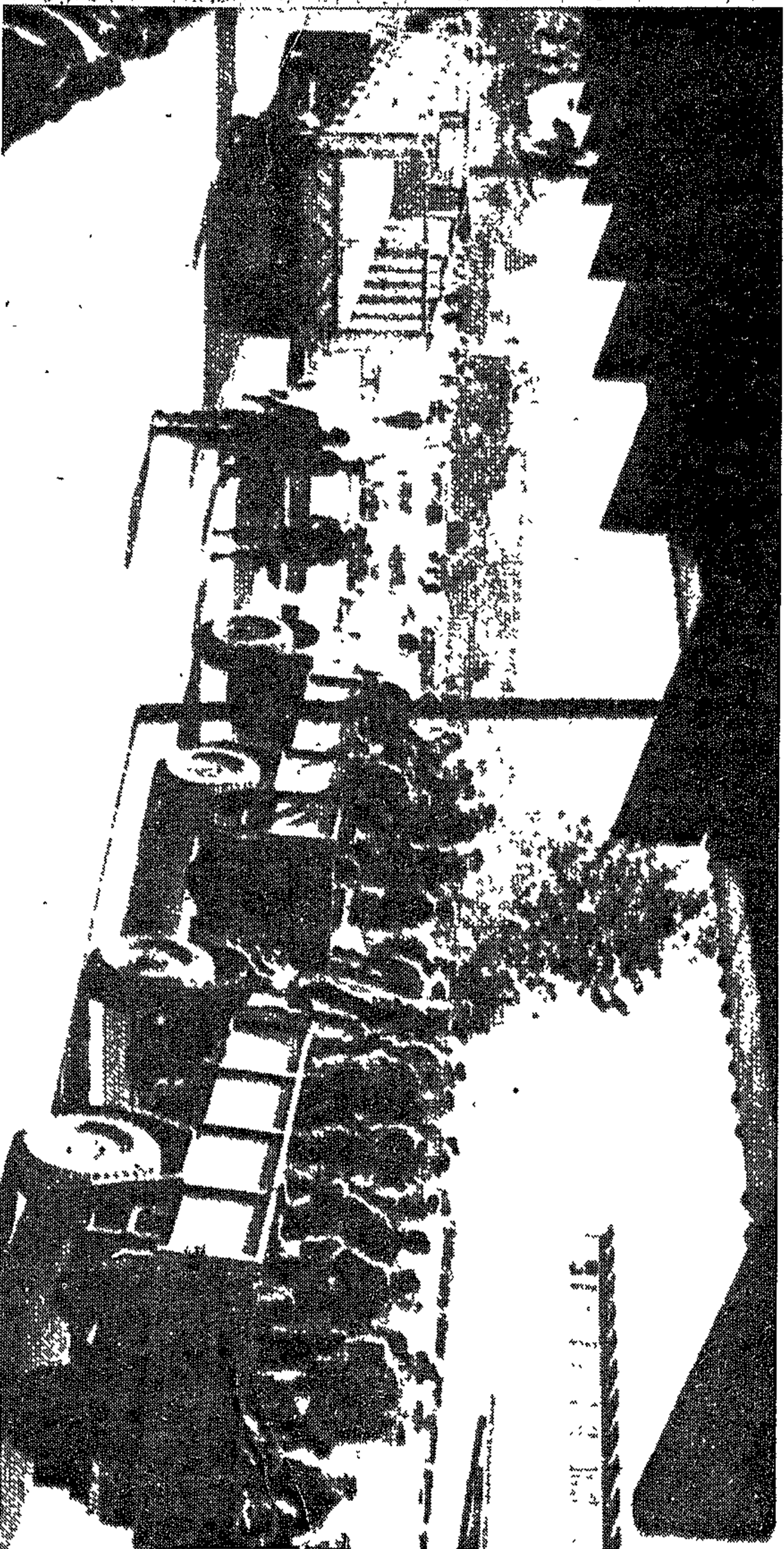
The procession through the Pretoria townships took place in front of thousands of sullen Africans, and the visit to Atteridgeville was kept short as police reported fresh trouble

brewing. Roads strewn with cricket ball-sized rocks told of the extensive stonings which took place.

Everywhere there were truckloads of police on patrol, with the helicopter darting overhead and nosing into potential trouble spots. Strategic points were under

the control of armed policemen, many of them taking a sleep dog-tired in blazing sunlight under heavy blankets while fellow police kept watch.

In an interview, the board's director, Mr C H Kotze, told the press: "It is impossible even to start to estimate the damage, except to say that I don't think it will be in the millions." — Own Correspondent and Sapa



Truckloads of armed police accompany Bantu Administration Board officials on a visit yesterday to two riot-damaged townships in the Pretoria area.