THE COMMISSION RESUMES ON THE 10th FEBRUARY, 1977.

DAVID KUTUFELA: still under oath:

DR YUTAR: Apologises for the late start and informs the Commission that Adv. Van Graan will not proceed any further with the witness because the balance of his statement has already been covered adequately by previous witnesses and it would merely constitute a repetition of what has been placed on record already.

CHAIRMAN: I have no questions in any event to ask of him.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

(10)

DR YUTAR: I now call Mr Geluza Selby Thombeni.

GELUZA SELBY THOMBENI: sworn states:

DR YUTAR: You wrote some time ago to the Secretary of this Commission, offering to give evidence before His Lordship and you have prepared a short statement. -- Correct.

Before I ask you to read it, I would like to just put these few questions by way of preamble. You are a training officer with the Urban Training Project. -- Correct.

With office at Johannesburg and branches in Fretoria and elsewhere. -- Correct. (20)

And what is the purpose of this urban training project?

-- Our purpose is to train the workers, in fact to make them

aware concerning the industrial laws of the country.

In other words, you interpret the industrial laws of the country insofar as it affects the Black workers. -- Correct.

You act sort of - you give them as it were legal educational services. -- Correct.

Point out what their rights are. -- Yes.

As well as their duties. -- Correct.

What are their privileges and what are their obliga- (30) tions. -- Correct.

And you also indicated what are the rights and the powers of their employers. -- Correct.

So there should not be any dispute; neither Black man nor the White employer can say they acted in ignorance. -Correct.

How long have you been doing this? -- I have been doing this since last year.

And before that? -- Before then I was the president of the Textile Workers Union also based in Johannesburg.

Is that where you acquired your experience about (10) the industrial sector? -- Yes, and I obtained a diploma with the Institute for Industrial Education in Durban.

Have you a large staff helping you or are you on your own?
-- No, we are two.

And who pays your salaries? -- The very organisation pays my salary.

And do you know where they get their funds from? -- They get their funds from various charitable organisations, namely the Christian Trade Unions in German, etc., etc., and many others, the Trade Union Congress in England. (20)

So the funds come from overseas. -- That is right. And around of course here.

Is this the statement that you prepared? -- Correct.

Would you be so kind as to start reading it please? What is that green paper you have got there? Is that a copy? -This is a copy, yes, I just wanted to compare.

Is it the same thing, then I can keep it in front of me as well. -- Yes, it is the same thing, although here I sort of abridged it.

You abridged it. -- I sort of abridged the stuff here. (30)
Oh, I see. Now what do you want to read? Which do you want/...

want to read? -- I prefer reading this.

Could I just have a look at it quickly. A pity you did not show it to me this morning, it would have saved some more time. All right, you read from that and I will read from - I will keep the typed copy in front of me. -- O.K.

What you have now in front of you is a statement in your own handwriting. -- That is right.

Would you be so kind as to start. -- I, Geluza Selby
Thombeni hereby declare before the Cillié Commission that

(a) Banning: the banning orders that were made earlier (10)

in the mid 50's and 60's to various Blacks have contributed

tremendously to some of the causes of the June 15th, 1976,

unrest.

What in your view are the causes that led to the June 16th unrest? -- Could you repeat your question please?

What in your view are the causes that led to the unrest that broke out in Soweto on June the 16th? -- It is our procedure or our culture, we Black people, that we have what we call extended families. Now our people, I am related to my brother and my brother is related to a cousin and so on (20) and so on, now this relationship continues for quite a long stretch and then as a result now these children who are brought up, whilst each family is sitting at table having their lunch or supper and then the moment Dad sat now conversing about the various bannings and so on, arising from the questions raised by the children. How the children would like to know why -Num, why don't you allow me to pay Graham a visit. Ho, my girl or my son, your Daddy is banned. Now as such you cannot pay him a visit at the time you wish. And then the child would want to know gradually, but now in my opinion I haven't (30)seen this happening, but I believe because I am a Black man

and I live with these Black people and I have seen this thing happening and even as every family there is this family talk. Now people are worried about this thing and so on. Now we find that these children start inhaling this sort of hatred, this sort of ill-feeling concerning the people concerned who actually banned their beloved relatives.

CHAIRMAN: What do you mean by banned? -- Now we have people who are confined to a certain area.

How many people could that be? Have you any idea? -- Well, I have no idea on record, but well I know quite a few, (10) although I do not even know their names.

What I am trying to find out is in how many families that could happen, this sort of thing. -- As I have said earlier that this extended family thing, quite a number of families are involved in it.

How many? -- Quite a lot.

DR YUTAR: 10, 20, 50, 100? -- Supposing now a Mr Thombeni is banned for an example and Thombeni is related to a Masilela and Masilela who is related to a Tshabangu, a Tshabalala and so on, by marriage, by virtue of lobola and all that. Now (20) all that links quite a number of families. I cannot just say exactly how many families.

All right, just carry on reading. -- Clarification:
The Bantu people have beloved relatives - that is exactly what
I was just trying to explain now - the Bantu people have
beloved relatives who so wish to communicate with them but
because of the conditions of the banning, communication
unfortunately breaks. Now because of this move by the Department of Justice: (1) Africans originally believe in extended
family relationship. Now this ill-feeling towards the (30)
government spreads like wild fire right from a discussion at

every mealtime. These children breathe this sort of impurity day in and day out.

Your next heading. -- (e) Relationships in Industry: Every day the head of the family is confronted with uncalled for humility at his work place. This also becomes a talk at table in the presence of children. They unfortunately have inhaled this impure discussion which will brew into hatred and later develop into violence. (3) Well, I do not think this item is included there, but I can read it.

Would you please? -- The language issue. (10)

Yes, it is here. -- Efforts have been made to communicate with the Department of Bantu Education concerning the Afrikaans language issue. I for one know from experience that we have even - by the way, I for one, I mean I being a school committee member for nearly 14 years serving in one school.

What school is that? -- That is the Enthokozeni Lower Primary School at Ewa-Thema and of course I am serving in another one now, both of them. I for one know from experience that we even went to an extent of saying that if language issue is like an Afrikaner child forced to do certain subjects (20) in Zulu or Sotho. All this was in vain. From previous reports we were made to understand that 'after riots were on, the Minister concerned was not aware of our plea'. This again in itself creates ill-feeling to the Whites of the country.

Yes. -- Now I am getting to police officers and prison officers. What is making matters worse right now is the aggressive attitude of the police officers at police stations and of course the Bantu Iffairs commissioners and the Bantu Administration Boards. When these young Blacks are convicted - now here I am particularly concerned with the police (30) station - are convicted for pass offences or some other minor

offences, they are forced to address their officers, the police officer with the word 'baas' and if these boys or rather these young people would address them as 'meneer', they always say 'ek is nie jou meneer nie, die meneer is die kaffer se predikant'. And this is common in our police station. How personally I take it, when I get to a police station, that is where I am going to expect I am going to see - meet a police officer, a person who will treat me nicely and so on. Let me proceed. Here again they are unaware that they are breaking the christian communication. Now this (10)breaking of christian communication again brings gradually what we may call in the South 'frican interpretation, I do not know what communism is, but in the definition of the South African set-up is it builds into communism because once a child is sort of dragged away from christianity, this child is forced to hate what we call worshiping and all and things like that.

And he falls into what you call a communistic trap. -That is right.

Right. -- Now here again it is not only on communism, but atheism. This child will - most of these young people (20) have turned into becoming atheists because this kaffer predikant is the person who preaches the word of God to the Black people in the township. Now the attitude by the police officer towards these young people, you know, is exactly what they are preaching day in and day out.

Right, go on. -- The church today is gradually losing youth to atheism which, of course, in my opinion, it is dangerous for young people to become atheists. Here again atheism begets communism. Then I think the government should devise some other means of punishment other than banning. (30) Now that is my summary now.

Right. -- I repeat the Whites may never be affected,
but will be - but with the Black people the culture of extended
family communication is part of all Blacks irrespective of their
ethnic backgrounds. I am emphasising this, the urgent need
for a dialogue with Black and White.

Anything else you want to say? -- No, I am continuing. At least the government should consult with our leaders, that is now our leaders from various spheres, before law is brought before - before the law is being drafted and it is brought before the parliament. That is now in order that (10) the Black people should have sort of a share in the formation of this particular law which is going to affect them directly.

Is that all you have to say? -- Yes.

M'Lord, I have no further questions.

CHAIRMAN: One of your problems is the behaviour of Whites towards Blacks. Is that correct? -- Correct.

And you have spoken of this in connection with the police at police stations. -- That is right.

Now I know you are more concerned about the relationship between Black and White. I want to ask you on the (20) relationship between Black and the police. Now, do Black people find the same sort of treatment from Blacks at a police station or not? — It is quite true. The Blacks, according to my opinion, have inherited the Afrikaner way of treating — ill-treating the people, I mean the accused people in the very Black what you call police stations. This is common in our township.

Which one is that? -- The very ill-treatment, the very ill-treatment .. (intervenes)

No, I mean in which township is that? -- Mainly, I (30) would ..

All right, if you do not want to mention it, it is all right. No, it is because I have come across Black people in fairly high positions in the police, but I would imagine that it is the same or that you will give me the same answer, that it is not with those people who are higher up in the position of their organisation who treat other people in this manner. Is that correct? — That is correct. I would say to add more on that is that the person who is holding the highest position in the police force has no contact — has no frequent contact with the people, with the common people. Therefore he (10) does not see what is happening. I can prove that, a certain township, I may not quote the name of that township.

You may quote it. -- There is a station - what do you call him?

A station commander? -- A licutement, a certain somebody at Kwa Thema. This man would never, never, never just tolerate the behaviour of some of our people. I have heard him many a times fighting against a certain policemen who was ill-treating a convict. But it is not always the case with the people holding the highest positions to be in contact with his (20) people. It is not always. I saw that thing for the first time out at Kwa Thema.

A step further on, some of the other instances you have mentioned. You have spoken about the - you have mentioned the officials, those were the people you intended to bring to my notice, officials of the Administration Boards. -- Administration Boards, yes.

Now do you find the same treatment there? -- Fortunately I do, because in the year 1968 I was employed - I was an employee of a certain then municipal labour offices of (50) department, the Non-European Affairs Department in those days.

There I was confronted with this same problem of addressing my fellow worker, my fellow White worker, he is not my senior, but my fellow White worker, I was compelled to address him 'baas' and personally I was never taught like that at school. So we were at loggerheads to such an extent that I was transferred from one department to another where I had the access of the very people, I had the access of more people than the White officer. Then I worked harmoneously with the people and at the same time to elaborate on that, the very same White man had a chat during tea-time. Of course that had been (10)finalised. I do not wish this Commission to go deep into it, because that had been finalised because I went into this thing again, I queried it. During tea time discussion, as I was walking along where they were filing these record cards, I was looking for certain cards for people who had been in for X-rays and so on, so that I should record them. Now I heard these people. I overheard them through the window discuss me. Well, they were conversing in the Afrikaans language. said look, Fiet, if we want to work harmoneously here, in fact to enjoy, in order that we should enjoy this kind (20)of our work here, we should adopt other methods. Now shall I repeat, quote what he said in Afrikaans: Al hierdie kaffermeide en die kaffer seuntjies as hulle hierso inkom om die aansoek vir bewysboeke kom maak, ons moet hulle uitkak, hulle moet na die lokasie toe gaan om die confirmation of residence te gaan haal. Die volgende keer as hulle terugkom, ons moet hulle weer uitkak, hulle moet by 'n ander lokasic confirmation of residence, dit wil se as hulle nie miskien hulle was gebore by 'n ander lokasie. They should go there and get this confir-(30)mation of residence. Now it is just this up and down. A person has got to be sent away about 6 times and then on the

yth time he has got to be - hy most uitgekak word om die - sy ma of haar ma gaan roep. Now it is only then that they will be able to finalise that thing. We do come across such ill-treatment in some of the Bantu Administration Boards even today, although we at Springs, through that, because that was publicised in the press.

That incident? -- Yes, that incident and then it stopped then, it stopped. The relationship there, although it is not 100% all right, but there is still that ill-treatment.

Yes, thank you very much and thank you for coming (10) forward to give evidence.

## NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

ADV. VAH GRNAH: H'Lord, the second witness is Hr Lolwane.

REATILE KINGDOM LOLMANE: sworn states:

ADV. VAN GRAMM: M'Lord. I want to apply for the order that the witness's name should not be published or any details that may be used to identify him.

CHAIRMAN: The name may not be published, the name of this witness nor any facts which may lead to his identification.

ADV. VAN GRAAM: We have discussed your statement during (20) consultation. Can you now start with paragraph 1? -- I am an adult Bantoe male residing at the above given address. I am also a student of the Morris Isaacson High School, Form 5. I started school in 1965 at Hlamledi Lower Trimary School, Orlando East. In 1967 I enrolled at Laratong Higher Trimary School where I passed standard 6 in 1970. At the beginning of 1971 I enrolled at Bethel College in the Transkei. It is a Christian Institution.

Faragraph 8. -- On Honday, 7th June, 1976, I was told that Tsitsi Mashinini had assembled the students in the school (30) hall and informed them that an SSRC meeting was to be held on the ..

On a date which is not known to you. -- Ja.

Faragraph 9. -- Between 14h00 and 17h00 on the 7th June, 1976, Mashinini assembled all scholars in the school hall and informed us that an SSRC meeting had been held and it had been decided at the meeting that all students from high, secondary and primary schools were to sympathise with scholars of schools which were compelled to use Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. We were to demonstrate with placards.

Can you remember who made the suggestion to demonstrate(10) with placards? -- Who made the suggestion?

Yes, was it one of the pupils there? -- Mashinini. Was it Mashinini? -- That is correct.

Yes, and what did he point out to the pupils there in regard to the demonstration? — He said that we were to demonstrate against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and to have it removed from the syllabus completely. No. 2: He said the demonstration should be peaceful and there should be no acts of violence. No. 3: If we happened to be confronted by the police who may order us to disperse, we should do (20) so immediately. 4: Any person who absented himself from school the day of the protest would be beaten up. He made it clear that the register would be marked as usual on the day of the protest. 5: He said that the protest would be held on the 16th June.

But you were not present on the 13th June at the DOCC Hall? -- No, I was not present.

When Hashinini said - or the 14th or the 15th at Hrs

Mandela's house, when Hashinini said that stones must be used.

-- No, I was not present. (50)

Paragraph 10. -- Hashinini pointed out to us that the parents/...

parents of students who were compelled to learn in Afrikaans were paying a lot of money to educate their children, which would probably be wasted because they were having difficulties in studying Afrikaans. He said that all high school scholars should help their younger brothers and sisters to overcome the problem of Afrikaans. After this meeting on the 7th June, things returned to normal at our school and classes were attended regularly. On Monday, the 14th June .. (intervenes) CHAIRMAN: Can you remember that there was trouble at another school the next day, the day after the 7th June? Do you (10) know about it? -- No, I do not know about that.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Haven't you heard of the trouble at the Naledi High School on the 8th June? -- Well, I read it on paper.

Paragraph 12. -- On Honday, the 14th June, a student in my class reported to us that a meeting consisting of members of the BPA - meaning Black Parents Association - and the SSRC was held at the DOCC Hall which is in Orlando East on the 15th June, 1976. He said that at the meeting the demonstration planned for the 16th June was approved.

You did not attend that meeting? -- No, I did not. (20)

Faragraph 14. -- On Wednesday, the 16th June, at 7,30 we
assembled in our classrooms, where the class register was
marked by our monitor. At 7,50 all the scholars gathered at
the assembly square where Mashinini conducted a morning prayer.
No teachers were present at the assembly. After prayer,
Mashinini shouted 'Amandla'.

Sorry to interrupt you. The teachers, were they usually present at the prayers in the morning? -- That is right.

Now why were they not present that morning? -- I cannot say. (30)

Proceed. -- After prayer Mashinini shouted 'Amandla', which means/...

means 'Fower'. The students in return replied 'Ngawethu' meaning 'us'. Some students were wearing placards. The
following - some of the words which were written on the
placards: "Away with Afrikaans", "Weg is jy Vorster met jou
Afrikaans", "We are not ready for Afrikaans yet".

Yes. -- At Tseselele School there was confusion as to which route was to be taken. A man student stopped them from scattering in all directions. I do not know where Mashinini came from, but I saw he had climbed onto a wall of a nearby shop and started addressing the students. He said that (10) we should take the road to Orlando West. At this stage students of Tseselele School joined us.

What was the time now more or less? Just after 8? -- You mean the time there was confusion or the time we left the school?

At that stage when the students of Tseselele School joined you. -- About 10 I think.

But you have just said that at 7h50 all the scholars gathered at the assembly square. -- That is right.

Then you had the prayers. Then you started with the (20) procession. Now was it just after 8 o'clock? -- We assembled at our school at 7h50 as usual and then from there we had a prayer meeting and from there we started demonstrating.

But what was the time when the Tseselele School joined you? Just after 8? -- No, at about 10.

But we had evidence before the Commission that the confrontation with the police happened about 10 o'clock in front of the Orlando West School. So it could not be 10 o'clock. — It is not possible for us to leave our school and go to Tsesele and then from there to Orlando West and (30) make it in that space of time.

And did you then cross the crossroads? -- No, that is what I was just trying to explain. This is Horris Isaacson, this is the crossroad and this is Tseselele. In other words, Tseselele is west of Horris Isaacson, this side and the crossroad is here.

CHAIRMAN: East of you. -- That is right.

ADV. VAH GRAAH: How far is Tseselele School from Morris

Isaacson? -- I think still it is the distance from the crossroads to Morris - it is about 300 metres.

At what stage did they join you if it was only 300 (10) metres from Horris Isaacson School? -- At what time?

Yes, what time? -- Well, I cannot say. You know, I am not in the habit of worrying about time.

About how long does it take to cover 300 yards? -- Well, it depends how fast you walk.

How fast did you walk? -- We were not walking so fast, we were taking it very easily.

About a quarter of an hour? -- Ja.

So were you there at 8,15? -- No.

CHAIRMAN: No, they left at 8,15.

(20)

ADV. VAH GRMAH: Were you there at 8,30? -- Ja, somewhere there.

Froceed. -- We were marching past other schools such as F.A.G. and Tobogo. As we approached the crossroads at Mofolo

In that area near the crossroads. -- That is right.

.. (intervenes)

Now which crossroads is that? -- This is the one we are talking about.

The Roodepoort crossroads? -- That is right. Hear the Assemblies of God Church, a white Hillman car driven by a White man came from the Roodepoort road and turned westwards (30) towards Jabulani Police Station. The students started stoning

the car, smashing the rear window. The driver drove off at a high speed. I did not see who the students were who stoned the car.

Can you perhaps remember the registration number of that vehicle? -- No, I cannot.

Paragraph 17. -- We then marched on to schools such as Ngatuti and others. When we arrived at lower primary schools, a man student went inside the schools and ordered the teachers to release the children and allow them to go home and if they refused they will be beaten up. At this stage we were a (10) large crowd and were nearing Orlando West High School. We waited for students from Orlando West High School to join us. At this stage the police arrived and Hashinini disappeared.

What was the time at that stage? -- I cannot remember.

More or less. About 9,30 - 10 o'clock? -- No, about 11 - 12, somewhere there.

Was there any shooting before the police arrived and Mashinini disappeared? -- Before the police arrived?

Yes. -- Do you mean was there any shooting?

Yes, before that stage, did you hear any shooting? -- (20)

Did you observe any shooting? -- No, none at all.

But this was the first instance that you are aware of when the demonstration or the members of the demonstration were confronted by the police? -- That?

This one that you have just mentioned. -- That Mashinini disappeared?

Yes. -- No, I will tell you what, whenever we gathered, he used to climb onto any object that he happened to come across and address us. Now at that moment he did not. (30) That is why I say he just mysteriously disappeared.

Did you - proceed to paragraph 20. -- The police started dispersing us by waving their arms in the air. The students paid no attention to this and the police threw teargas into the crowd. The students scattered, but when they realised that it was teargas, they reassembled as the teargas was blown away by the wind. I saw a Bantu policeman holding a police dog tied to a long rope. The students started stoning the police and the police dog was let loose. It ran into the crowd and jumped up against a student. The students stoned the dog to death after one of them had grabbed hold of the rope. (10) Later I saw the dog being dragged to where the police were standing. Before reaching the police, say about 100 yards away, they started putting paper on the dead dog and I assumed that they were going to burn it.

Are you very sure that the police threw teargas before the students started stoning the police? -- Yes, I am positive.

Are you very sure about the order of the events here that you have just explained? -- That is right.

There is nothing wrong with it? -- No, there is nothing wrong with it. (20)

Are you very sure that the motor car was stoned before the demonstration was confronted by the police? -- The motor car was stoned, that is right.

Before the students were confronted by the police? -- That is right.

Paragraph 21. -- I noticed that the police were starting to encircle the crowd of students. I was afraid of being arrested and managed to get out of the crowd and away from the police.

What do you mean the police were starting to encircle (30 the crowd? -- The police now started to approach us from

all directions.

How many policemen were there? -- There were many.

How many? -- I just cannot estimate.

About 30? -- No, they were over 100.

About 100? -- Well, over 100.

More than 200? -- Well, somewhere there.

And how many pupils were there? -- Well, we were quite a lot.

How many? 2 000, 5 000, 20 000? -- 20 000.

Now is it possible for 200 policemen to encircle (10) 000 people? -- Being armed, yes, it is possible.

Where did you observe the policemen standing? In Vilakazi Street? -- I do not know the name of the street.

Well, where did you see the police?

CHAIRMAN: Do you know Vilakazi Street, which is Vilakazi Street:

Do you know it? Or perhaps let me ask you this question. Do

you know what the name of the street is that runs in front of

Orlando West High School? -- Well, I know that street, but I

do not remember its name.

That is Vilakazi Street, isn't it?

(20)

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

CHAIRMAN: Now that is Vilakazi Street. Now you will under-

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Did you see the policemen standing in Vilakazi Street, in the street in front of Orlando West School? -- That is right.

Were they all in the street? -- The police?

Yes. -- Well, ja, they were all in the street at first before they encircled us.

But did you see there are houses along Vilakazi Street? (30)

That is right.

Did the police go in between the houses? -- No, no, in the street.

But how is it then possible to encircle 20 000 people in the street? -- I think I said the the first time the police - before they started encircling us, there was a large crowd just there about, as I said, 100 yards away from us. That was before they started throwing teargas. So they started waving their hands. Perhaps that symbolised that we should disperse, and from there when students paid no attention to that, they started shooting teargas. Still nothing helped and so they (10) started encircling us.

How many people do you include in the word 'us'? -- All the students.

All 20 000? -- At that time some of them had not arrived yet.

- O.K. I was afraid of being arrested. -- What paragraph is that?
- 21. The second sentence. -- I was afraid of being arrested and managed to get out of the crowd and away from the police. I started towards White City, Jabavu, where I was to meet (20) my Mum at the Salvation Army creche. On my way there I met a large crowd of students who were marching towards Orlando West to where the trouble had started. I did not recognise or speak to any of the students. On my way I also saw non-students stoning police cars and looting any delivery van they happened to come across and had stopped.

Paragraph 28, page 5. -- On the 3rd August, while we were busy with classes, Tsitsi came into the class and told us to assemble in the school hall. As I was walking to the hall, I noticed the students of Tseselele Secondary School (30) arriving at our school. Because we were such a large crowd,

we did not assemble in the hall, but in front of it. When we assembled, Tsitsi told us that all the students were to hold a stay-away from work protest on the following day, that is the 4th August. We were to tell our parents not to go to work and we were to force the people who wanted to go to work, to stay home. Mashinini said the protest was to be held in sympathy of students who had been detained for their part in the Soweto riots. He said that we must place obstacles such as old cars and rocks on railway lines and roads leading to Johannesburg. He also said that the students should allow (10) delivery vans to enter the location and then loot them.

Do you know if students actually put old cars and rocks on the railway lines? -- No, I do not know of that. Mashining told us to stop all cars from leaving the location and said that scholars living near railway stations should go there and prevent people from boarding trains. Force was to be used if necessary.

of people who wished to go to work from doing so would help detainees. He replied that the economy of Johannesburg (20) would collapse. If and when this happened, the managers and directors of large firms and factories would put pressure on the authorities to release the detainees.

M'Lord, I have no further questions.

## NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, the next witness is Lucas Zwelinzima Sizane.

LUCAS ZWELINZIMA SIZANE: sworn states:

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Are you a scholar? -- I am a private scholar.

Do you do your readings at home? -- Yes, I do my (30) readings at home.

struggle and then he was saying that it is because it is in connection with the youth towards adventure and then at the same time he was blaming SASM for not propagating Black consciousness properly to the high school students.

Did he ever mention the subject of demonstration? -- No, he never did.

What was discussed on the 29th May? Paragraph 13. Was it mainly speeches on education? It is not necessary to elaborate on the subject, but was the subject of discussion that day education? -- Pardon? (10)

Was the subject of discussion at the conference on the 29th May, education? -- Yes, it was.

And on the 30th May, what did you discuss then? -- Community development.

Paragraph 15. What happened on the 30th May when Aubrey Mokoena addressed you? Can you read that paragraph? -- Paragraph 15?

Yes. -- After that Aubrey Mokoena came and delivered his speech on Black consciousness. He said that it is often said by people who are against Black consciousness that Black (20) consciousness is imported by Blacks of this country from the Black Americans whereas that is not the case, for Black Americans are struggling for civil rights whilst we are struggling to liberate our country from Whites who have been oppressing us for more than 3 centuries and that Black consciousness is philosophy wherein people are not .. (inaudible) but reminded that they are Black and human, suffering from White oppression in the land of their birth which was given to them by God just as God gave Whites Europe to rule for themselves.

Read paragraph 16. -- Before the elections or the (30) (inaudible - witness speaks very indistinctly) .. mentioned

in paragraph 15, the following resolutions were adopted at SASM's General Students Council that was held on the 28th to the 30th May, 1976, at .. (inaudible). And then Afrikaans strike, that is one of the resolutions, that this .. (inaudible) noting the strikes that have been going on in Soweto against Afrikaans being used as a medium of instruction. Its national implications to Black people in this country. Then resolved to fully pledge on solidarity the schools will strike against Afrikaans being used as a medium of instruction. To actively sympathise with those schools on strike. (10)

What was meant by the words 'actively sympathise' or with the word 'actively'? -- It was that SASM was not participating in the strikes and then the mover wanted SASM to participate and the students should feel that SASM is with them.

Was there any suggestion of violence in regard to the word 'actively'? -- No.

Paragraph 18. -- On Wednesday, 9th June, I had a meeting with Bello Motapanyane, the general secretary of SASM, in preparation for a Soweto Regional Branch meeting of SASM that was to be held on the 13th June, 1976. The purpose of the (20) meeting was to have a Soweto Regional Executive Committee of SASM elected. The agenda was as follows: Open remarks first and then second, introduction of schools represented. Third: nominations for a committee that was to organise the winter vacation classes; fourth: the Afrikaans strikes.

Who mentioned that topic, Afrikaans strikes? Yourself or Motapanyane? -- It was Motapanyane.

Five. -- Five: It was the elections for the Soweto Regional Executive Committee of SASM.

Paragraph 19. -- Tiroro(?) and I drew up a leaflet (30) inviting students to attend the Sunday meeting. At the bottom

of the leaflet he suggested we write a message which said "we, that is SASM, believe that students are part of the community and should identify with the community." I was to print the leaflet at the SACC on Thursday and distribute them on Friday. All schools that were on strike against Afrikaans being used as a medium of instruction, I was to contact, so that they should be represented at the meeting. The purpose of them being there, was to have a committee formed that was to look at the line of action and solidify their stand, that is against Afrikaans. We agreed on .. (inaudible) .. (10) since I was going to King William's Town that weekend.

When did you come back from King William's Town? -- I came back on the 15th June.

Did you ever discuss the Afrikaans strikes with Aubrey Mokoena? -- Not to my knowledge. On the 15th?

No, at any time. -- No, we never, except that I discussed with him on the 15th when I told him that the students had planned from the meeting on the 13th to demonstrate and then I told him I was not - I felt I should stop the demonstration because I was aware that most of the students may get hurt(20) and then Aubrey Mokoena told me that I should not stop them because if I did so, the students might try to say I am a sell-out and then maybe beat me up or kill me or something like that.

Paragraph 25. -- At about 2 p.m. on the 15th June I went to Naledi Senior Secondary School where Tebello Motapanyane is schooling. He informed me of the meeting that was held on Sunday, 13th June at the YMCA. Tebello Motapanyane told me that an executive committee was elected and comprised of the following: the president Donald Tsitsi Mashinini; (30) vice-president: Seth Mazibuko; general secretary: Linswe Cornelius/...

Cornelius Tladi and then the organising secretary Spondiwe(?)

I do not know the surname.

- 26. Tstitsi Mashinini is schooling at Morris Isaacson Senior Secondary School. Seth Mazibuko is schooling at Phefeni Junior Secondary, Linswe Cornelius Tladi and Spondiwe are both at Naledi Senior Secondary. He, Tebello, told me that a student from Orlando High whom he said he did not know, had suggested to the meeting that other schools, in showing solidarity with the schools that were on strike against Afrikaans being used as a medium of instruction, all the (10) schools in Soweto should demonstrate on Wednesday, 16th June.
- 27. -- The form the demonstration was to take was to have all the students from different schools marching to Phefeni Junior Secondary School, then David Kutumela had suggested to the meeting that if the police came then they were to be stoned by the students.

That was still during the afternoon of the 15th? -- Sure.

Yes. -- All these suggestions were accepted by the meeting Tebello Motapanyane told me.

28. -- An action committee was then nominated to see to (20) it that the demonstrations were properly organised. The names nominated to the action committee were Seth Mazibuko from the Phefeni Junior Secondary, Donald Mashinini from Morris Isaacson, David Kutumela from Naledi Senior Secondary, Mafison Morobe from Morris Isaacson, Isiah Molefe from Bella Higher Primary School and Kethla schooling at Morris.

M'Lord, the rest of the statement has to do with the events on the 16th and with the meeting at Dr Matlhare's surgery. I think it will be a repetition of evidence if we present this to you now. (30)

CHAIRMAN: Is there anything that the witness wishes to say about/...

about it?

ADV. VAN GRAAN: No, M'Lord, during consultation nothing was mentioned about this part of the evidence.

CHAIRMAN: You took part in the procession on the 16th? -- I was in a car with some journalists.

And you attended - was it on the next day, the meeting?

ADV. VAN GRAAN: The same evening.

CHAIRMAN: That evening did you attend the meeting? -- Yes, I attended the meeting.

Where was that meeting held? -- It was held at Dr (10) Matlhare's surgery.

What was discussed there? -- First they wanted to know from us, that is the students, how did we plan the demonstration and so on and then Tsitsi told them how he planned the demonstration; that he went from school to school and talking to students and then telling them to disregard the teachers and then if any of them tried to ill-treat them then they should use force on them.

On the teachers? -- Yes, that is on the 16th and then on the 16th they should be at the Phefeni Junior Secondary at (20) o'clock because he was going to address the students.

Did he tell them what to do the next morning, whether they should go to school? -- No, he said they should go to school and then from the school they can all march from the school, the Phefeni Junior Secondary School.

Now this is on the 17th. Now you are on the night of the 16th you are at the meeting now at the surgery. This is what he told the students what to do the next day? Did he say what the students had to do the next day? -- On the 17th?

Ja. -- No. (30)

They did not tell them to go to school again? -- No, they did not/...

not because during the day I and Tsitsi had already told the students not to go to school and then in the afternoon there was some radio broadcast, some message broadcast by the Minister of Bantu Education who said that schools in Soweto have been closed indefinitely.

You were not told what to do on that night, the night of the 16th at the meeting, the students were not told what to do the next day? -- No, they were not. What was said is that I should go - we should go with Aubrey and help him to bring some .. (inaudible) .. inviting the parents of the community (10) of Soweto to attend a meeting which was to be held that Sunday, the coming Sunday. The meeting was that of the Soweto Parents Association.

And it does not speak of further incidents after that week.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: No, M'Lord, his statement ends at the 17th

June.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS.