

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

AFTERNOON SESSION:

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THE COMMISSION RESUMES AT 2 P.M. ON THE 7th FEBRUARY, 1977.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, may I recall Dr Matlhare who wishes to add one further aspect which he omitted in his evidence.

AARON MONTOEDI MATLHARE: sworn states:

DR YUTAR: During the lunch interval you thought about the matter and one aspect of it has struck you which you would like to convey to His Lordship. -- Yes, in fact it was - I did mention this to the investigating officer, but apparently we did not understand each other. What I would like to add is this: during the afternoon of the 6th August, Colonel Visser of (10) Protea Police Station came to my surgery and that was the time I was still trying to fix up my surgery to get it done after it was burned on the 30th of the previous month. He left a message that I should urgently call at Protea, but then my nurses told him that I was at my other surgery at Zola. When I heard the message I went straight to Protea Police Station and I met Brigadier Le Roux, who told me what Colonel Visser was looking for. Apparently the day before they had been to the Morris Isaacson School and they had a fully loaded sub-machine gun. I remember he said it had 32 bullets inside it and it (20) had vanished. He said it had two magazines, something like that, and it had vanished and they know who has got it. They got information who has got it. Can I be of assistance to try and get it from this man; this man is Tsitsi Mashinini. Well, I told him that I was not at that level of communication with Tsitsi Mashinini if he has taken it, but I will inquire from other students I know. I did inquire from one student who stays not far from my surgery, who did tell me that they are armed - he just said they are armed and the same evening Colonel Visser came to my house and asked my wife if I know - I was not (30) there - the evening I was at a meeting at Dr Buthelezi's house/...

house - and asked my wife to tell me to try and find out and if I can find out, they will escort me to that place and get the machine-gun. Unfortunately this young man, I do not know whether he got detained or ran away or I do not know what happened to him, I did not see him after that, the man who told me the information that in fact Mashinini has got the machine-gun. That is all I wanted to say.

When did this take place? -- On the 6th August.

And this was a machine-gun and ammunition in the possession of and belonging to the police? -- Belonging to the police. (10) It was stolen from the police car. As the major says, he forgot - they forgot to lock the car and they went into the school yard.

Yes. -- And the machine-gun was taken by one student who gave it to another one and then the one who gave it finally to Tsitsi Mashinini and they know exactly that it is in his possession.

What is the name of the police station again? -- Protea.

Is there anything else you would like to add? -- That is all I wanted to add.

I have got no further questions, M'Lord. (20)

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, the next witness is Aubrey Mokoena.

AUBREY DUNDUBELE MOKOENA: sworn states:

ADV. VAN GRAAN: M'Lord, I want to apply for the same order in regard to Mr Mokoena's identity, as Dr Yutar did with the previous witness.

CHAIRMAN: The same order will be made that this witness's name should not be published, nor any facts which may indicate his identity.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: I want to refer you to page 7, paragraph (30) 28 of your statement that we discussed during consultation.

Can you read the title of that paragraph and then start with the first sentence? -- Escalation of the Afrikaans issue and events before and after the riots: At the beginning of March, 1976, Kenneth Rachidi, Tom Manthata, Thandisizwe Mazibuko, fetched me from church and asked me to accompany them to Mrs Mandela's place. It was on a Sunday afternoon. The object of that visit was to consult her on the issue of the appeal made by chief Kaizer Matanzima to the South African Government for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from Robben Island. BPC wanted to issue a press statement on this issue. When we got (10) there, I introduced these gentlemen to her as officials of BPC, that is the Black People's Convention. Kenneth Rachidi consulted her opinion on this issue. She said that she was opposed to the appeal on the grounds that it was done by a homeland leader from a government-created platform. She said this was unacceptable to her because she contended that Mr Mandela was standing for national leadership. She was going to issue a press statement also. Tom Manthata expressed a desire that she should come and join BPC and could become president at the end of this year. The idea was to give BPC some (20) momentum and elderly membership and also because of her charisma and outspokenness. She said she was already a member of the South African Black Women's Federation that is preaching Black consciousness philosophy. As such she would not join BPC as she was concentrating on the said organisation. She said that BPC and SASO were effective organisations among Blacks in that they preached the philosophy that was acceptable to Blacks. One other point that she raised was the Afrikaans enforcement issue among schools. She threw a challenge to Black consciousness movements to pick this issue as a rallying point to (30) sensitise people. She challenged that SASM, that is the South African/...

African Students Movement, was morally obliged to tackle this matter as it is an ... (intervenes)

Just a moment. Were you present when Mrs Mandela made that remark? -- Yes, I was present.

Did you belong to any organisations? -- Yes, I belonged to both BPC and SASO.

And in what capacity do you serve on those organisations? -- I am the treasurer of the regional branch of SASO, it is called RESO.

Did you discuss this issue, this Afrikaans issue or (10) topic with members of the just mentioned organisations? -- Yes, this issue was discussed.

How many times and when? -- It was discussed in one of our monthly meetings which I are usually held at the Donaldson Hall in Orlando East.

What was the date of that meeting? -- Pardon?

When was that meeting held? -- It was somewhere in March, I forget the date.

Who attended th at meeting? -- I did not attend the meeting personally, but I got the information from our chairman, (20) George Wauchope, that this matter was raised by ..(inaudible) .. and it was discussed and the feeling was that BPC should go and approach the principal of the one school where Afrikaans - this Afrikaans controversy was brooding at Naledi, that is the Thomas Mfulu Junior Secondary School.

Can you spell that name of George? -- W-a-u-c-h-o-p-e.

Did you discuss the Afrikaans issue with scholars of the High schools or other schools of Soweto? -- Yes, I did.

On how many occasions and when? -- It was just on one occasion at the conference, that is the SASM conference (30) which was held at St. Angus Seminary in Roodepoort towards the

end/...

end of May.

Can you proceed from: I was at that stage already..? --
I was at that stage already .. (intervenes)

No: She challenged that SASM. -- She challenged that SASM was morally obliged to tackle this issue as it is a high school students organisation.

As it is an omen. -- No, I think it is a typing error.

Yes. -- I was at that stage already promoting and involved in SASM, so she challenged me to sensitise SASM. As this language issue was already topical. She said finally (10) that she was going to pick this matter up with the SPA - that is the Soweto Parents Association. This is how I went about to help SASM to be established, following the SASM general students council decision at St Ansgar's near Roodepoort from the 28th to the 30th May, 1976. GSC had resolved that SASM must have regional branches.

What does GSC stand for? -- That is the general students council. I helped Zweli Sizani who is the national organising secretary of SASM and Tebello Motapanyane, who is the SASM secretary general, to organise a meeting where the (20) Transvaal regional branch would be formed. They worked with Morobe, Kutumela and Mashinini to organise and invite students in Soweto schools to come to the meeting which was held at DOCC on Sunday, 13th June.

Did you have many discussions with Mashinini? -- No, I did not have discussions with Mashinini as a person.

Were you present when there were gatherings of which Mashinini was a member? -- I was present in meetings specially after the Black Parents Association was formed, we formed the 16th, but before that time I was not involved with (30) Mashinini, in a meeting situation, except that I just met him outside/...

outside.

Weren't you present the night before the riots started? --

Yes, I was present.

At Mrs Mandela's house. -- Mrs Mandela's place.

Wasn't Mashinini there? -- He was there.

Were you then present at other informal meetings where Mashinini was also present? -- Yes, I was present I remember on the 3rd June where I gave some pamphlets to distribute, advertising the meeting of the - the inaugural meeting of the Soweto Parents Association. (10)

What else except in regard to the pamphlets did you discuss at that meeting? -- At what meeting?

Where you received the pamphlets? -- I gave them the pamphlets.

Or where you handed them out. -- I handed them out.

What else did you discuss there? -- Well, at that particular occasion, they were waiting for me at Mrs Mandela's house and I had printed the pamphlets in town and I just came and gave them to them to help advertise that particular meeting of the 6th June. (20)

Proceed. It was at this meeting. -- It was at this meeting that the action committee was formed which planned the demonstration of the 16th June. Tsitsi Mashinini was elected chairman of SASM regional branch, as well as chairman of the action committee. The abovementioned students, with the exception of Zwelli, also became members of the action committee together with the others who came from other schools. The action committee was an .. (intervenes)

Just a moment. What was the function of the action committee? -- The function of the action committee was to (30) plan and organise the demonstration.

Were/...

Were you present on the 13th? -- No, I was not present on the 13th.

Proceed. -- The action committee was an all embracing cell of students or representative organ. Zweli and I were not present at this meeting because we had gone to King William's Town to attend the meeting of Limele Trust.

What is the purpose of this Limele Trust? -- Limele Trust is an organisation that looks after the material needs of ex-detainees and political prisoners.

Where do they receive the money from? -- They receive (10) the money from the South African Council of Churches, but the idea was that Limele could be nationalised so that it can stand as an independent body and raise its own funds overseas.

Now you have said that you did not attend the meeting on the 13th June, but do you - can you perhaps give the Chairman information in regard to the intention of the people who were present there? Was it to start a riot or was it to hold a demonstration? -- On the 13th June?

Yes. -- The intention of that particular meeting was to conduct elections for the SASM regional branch so that (20) SASM should have a well constituted branch here. This followed a resolution by the conference which I indicated earlier on.

Yes, but you did say they also planned on that day to hold a demonstration on the 16th June. -- Quite so.

But what was the intention? -- The intention was to bring pressure on the authorities of Bantu Education to demonstrate against Afrikaans so that the authorities should hear the students' grievances regarding the enforcement of Afrikaans and also to inform other schools so that there could be a bigger impact when more schools are involved in the demonstration. (30)

Paragraph 30. -- At this stage I want to clarify my

involvement/...

involvement in SASM. My involvement comes a long way. I provided SASM with several facilities such as making available my office in White City to them to hold meetings, availing my motor car as well as the R1 700 that BCP - that is the Black Community Programmes - was keeping in trust for SASM. I must say that in this way I had a lot of contact with SASM members. SASM is a high school student union and it operates on a political basis, the same as SASO, to bring high school students together and to conscientise them politically or political wise. At the SASM meeting of the National Executive which was (10) held on the 19th February, 1976, in my office, a programme for the SASM GSC was dealt with. I was chosen to deliver a speech on Black consciousness. I suggested Tom Mantsata for the role of .. (intervenes)

May I interrupt you? What is your concept of Black consciousness? -- My concept of Black consciousness is that Black consciousness is a philosophy that attempts to rid Black people of physical as well as psychological oppression.

Is this Black consciousness directed against Whites? Is it anti-Whitism? -- Black consciousness is not an anti- (20) White philosophy, but it is a philosophy that I can say is aimed at bringing the Black people together and a philosophy which is opposed to the act of racism practised by the Whites but it is not in essence anti-white.

Proceed. -- I was chosen to deliver a speech on Black consciousness. I suggested Tom Mantsata for the role of the youth in the Black community as well as Mrs Winnie Mandela to speak on the history of the struggle in South Africa. The purpose of these topics is evidently to conscientize the students on the way of the struggle. (30)

What do you mean by struggle? -- The struggle means a

determined/...

determined effort to bring about change, political change in the country.

Does this word 'struggle' contain the facet of revolution? -- It contains the facet of revolution, but then revolution also has many connotations. The one that I think of is change. I want to qualify revolution by using the word 'political change' - phrase 'political change', that is in keeping with the philosophy of Black consciousness.

Read the following sentence. -- That is the way my contribution went to instil revolutionary ideas into the (10) students.

Now what do you mean by the word 'revolutionary ideas'? -- Revolutionary ideas I mean ideas regarding political change.

Proceed. Paragraph 34. -- Mrs Mandela was not able to deliver her speech at the SASM conference, as she was going to Robben Island to visit her husband. She instead contacted Mr W. Ngakane to speak on her behalf. Ngakane prepared the speech, but he could not read it himself due to ill-health. Zweli read it for him. It traced the history of the struggle from the inception of the ANC right up to its banning with PAC (20) and the resultant emergence of Black consciousness movements, SASO and BPC. Mr Ngakane challenged SASM to build unity amongst Black high school students with the view to preparing them for a political change in the country. This is the text of my speech at the SASM conference held at St Angsgars at Roodepoort from the 28th to the 30th May, 1976. I said that Black consciousness is a philosophy that attempts to rid Black people of psychological as well as physical oppression. Psychological oppression refers to the de-humanisation of the Black man and the erosion of his values. Physical oppression refers to the depriva- (30) tion of land and allocation of only 13% thereof. Black consciousness/...

consciousness defines Black people as those who are politically, socially, economically and otherwise discriminated against. We believe that South Africa is a country in which Blacks and Whites live and will continue to live. One is either part of the problem or part of the solution and that the Whites by privileges accorded to them are part of the problem and that in all matters pertaining to the Black man's struggle, the Whites must be excluded. The Black people must close their ranks and build solidarity among themselves. Black consciousness is not anti-Whitism, that after realising Black solidarity, the (10) Black people will bargain collectively with the White racist regime to bring about change. The ultimate goal is Black majority rule. We reject integration as preached by multi-racial organisations and other liberal institutions, because their conception of integration is the assimilation of a few sophisticated Blacks into the White society with its already existing values and norms. We want to create an open society, an egalitarian one, in which man will not be judged by the colour of his skin, but by merit. I also raised the issue of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and urged that the students' (20) efforts was necessary so as to coordinate resources. On the 15th June when I was in my office, Tebello Motapanyane came and .. (intervenes)

When you say that the students' efforts was necessary so as to coordinate resources, when you use the word 'efforts', do you include demonstrations, riots, or what do you include in the word 'efforts'? -- By efforts here I do not mean demonstrations, riots, I mean that they should formulate one opinion or way of solving this particular deadlock because this Afrikaans issue was brewing in almost all the schools and the (30) situation was almost becoming helpless and the students were not/...

not united to do anything about it and what I envisaged here was for instance if they could elect a representative body which was going to put their point of view to the authority, the relevant authority, because deputations had been sent, but there was not one deputation from the students, there was always a deputation either by the UBC or by the teachers, but not the students who are directly affected by this language thing to put clearly the point of view to the relevant authority.

Did you foresee at that date that their opinions and/or efforts would manifest themselves in a demonstration? -- (10)
No, that was not envisaged.

Paragraph 36. -- On the 15th when I was in my office, Tebello Motapanyane came and informed me that there was going to be a demonstration the following day and that this demo was decided upon on Sunday, 13th June at the Diocesan Hall as protest against enforcement of Afrikaans in schools. He said that I should lend the action committee my car because they wanted to touch reporters who were going to publicise the demo. I said that I was using my car. He also said that they had contacted several press media and asked me to assist in (20) contacting the Mail. In the evening at about ..(intervenes)

The Mail? -- That is the Rand Daily Mail.

Which other papers were also contacted? -- The other papers that they had already contacted, the one specifically that I can think of was The Star, which published the demo, that is on the 15th in the afternoon, the afternoon edition, had the headlines that there would be a demonstration.

Proceed. -- In the evening at about 6 p.m. on my way to the church choir practice, I passed Mrs Mandela's place and enquired if she knew about the demo. She said that she (30) knew and that the action committee members, that is Mashinini,

Notapanyane/...

Motapanyane, David Kutumela and Murphy Morobe, had gone out in her car to go and round up reporters to cover the demonstration. I proceeded to church. After the choir practice, I asked Mandla Matimba to accompany me to Mrs Mandela's place. He pointed out that he was busy with school work and as such would not stay long there. We arrived at her place at about 9,15 p.m. and found her reading a sociology lecture. We were offered coffee. After a while Tsitsi Mashinini, Kutumela, Morobe and Motapanyane returned with the car. Tsitsi said that they had rounded up some reporters for press coverage. I raised the (10) question of what the students envisaged when police intercepted.

Did they know at that stage that a demonstration was illegal or would be illegal the following day? -- Well, I did not ask them specifically personally whether they knew about this, because this is what they decided upon.

Did they not discuss that subject? -- No, they did not discuss it. They had already decided to go on with the demo on Sunday and they had already informed the schools.

Did you know at that stage that a demonstration the next day would be illegal? -- Yes. (20)

Proceed. -- Present were: Mrs Mandela, myself, Mandla, Kutumela, Motapanyane, Mashinini and Morobe. To my question, Motapanyane said that the police may use teargas or rubber bullets to disperse the crowds. Mandla said that the police usually use dogs to disperse people, but they usually do not bite when people are gathered in large numbers. Mrs Mandela said that the students must resist and demand to be let alone to proceed. She said that the students must use stones to defend themselves. This was her instruction. Motapanyane further said that the police may not ... (intervenes) (30)

Just a moment. She said that the students must use stones to/...

to defend themselves? -- Yes.

Why did they foresee that they would be confronted by the police the following day? -- Well, that question was raised by me because I was not there when they planned this and I just merely asked out of curiosity what they envisaged and then they said that the demonstration was planned to be a peaceful one. This is what they said.

Proceed.

CHAIRMAN: You yourself, did you think that a procession of this size could remain a peaceful one without control? -- (10)
I do not know because I was not there the following day on the 16th to actually witness the event.

How many people did you think there would be in this procession? -- I thought there were going to be quite a lot of people although I cannot express it in form of numbers because I do not know how many schools they had rounded up and whether all the schools were going to respond to this.

Well, did you think that it could remain peaceful? -- I think it would have remained peaceful unless there was police intervention. (20)

Well, didn't you know that the police were likely to intervene because it was an unlawful demonstration? -- Yes, but as I say that they are the ones who had planned this and they said that it was going to be a peaceful demonstration.

Yes, go on.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Did Mashinini make any remarks about stones or placards? -- He made reference to the fact that they were going to prepare placards, they had prepared the placards and the press was going to be there to give this publicity.

Did he make any remarks how they should attack or handle (30)
motorists the following day? -- No, that was not mentioned in

my/...

my presence.

Proceed.

CHAIRMAN: Can you give any idea why the handling of the position of motor cars and motor drivers was the same all the way through in the whole of Soweto in all places that I have heard the evidence about? It was dealt in exactly the same way? -- Well, I do not know because I was not there, I did not observe, except that when I came back in the evening from Pretoria, I found that there was already ..(inaudible). I was not an eye-witness to have observed precisely how the cars were (10) handled and so on. So I cannot form any authentic opinion on that because I did not witness it.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Proceed from: This was her instruction. -- Motapanyane further said that the police may not tamper with them when they see that they are a big group. I endorsed the idea and pointed out that when the students are a determined column they may not be stopped. Tsitsi Mashinini went on to state that the ..(intervenes)

What did you mean by a determined column? That when they are confronted by the police, they should not listen to any (20) instruction by the police? -- When I say a determined column, I mean that when they are organised and they are forming one procession and you do not have many of them coming up and acting differently.

But surely the word 'determination' refers to the nature of the crowd and not to their formation. -- Yes.

What do you exactly mean by the word 'determined'? -- I mean concerted action in as far as their intention was concerned of marching, because they were determined, they had already planned that they were going to march and that their (30) destination was going to be Orlando Stadium.

Did/...

Did you mean by that that they should not let themselves be stopped by the police, that they must determine the procession?

-- No, I did not mean that they must not stop and not stopped by the police, because I did not know what was going to happen.

CHAIRMAN: You did not know what was going to happen? -- I did not know how they were going to behave when they were being stopped by the police.

Well, didn't you think it was necessary to tell them how to behave? -- Well, this group was not prepared to listen to anybody, I mean, they were firm on their purpose, they had (10) planned this among themselves on the 13th, the selection committee, and my question was just merely incidental, of asking them and they were not .. (intervences)

Didn't you say: but don't you realise that this would be - that it could not remain peaceful if the orders of the police were not obeyed? -- Yes.

Did you say that to them? -- Well, I could say that.

Did you? -- Pardon?

Did you say that to them? -- No, I did not say that to them.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: You say here: I endorsed the idea and (20) pointed out that when the students are a determined column they may not be stopped. Did you by that approve of the idea that they should not let them be stopped by the police? -- I did not quite approve of the idea, but it was already their intention, so they did not seek any approval, they did not consult me. If they consulted me then I would have given them my opinion, but they were firm on what they were going to do. And they had already informed all the schools, it was just on the eve of what was going to happen, it was just the eve. They had already informed the schools on Monday and on Tuesday. This was (30) just the night before when all was said and done.

Tsitsi/..

Tsitsi Mashinini went on to state? -- Tsitsi Mashinini went on to state that the march would start in Naledi for all those schools in that area and that Naledi High School would lead them from that point of departure. That column of the march would then come down to Morris Isaacson High School, collecting all the students on the way. The schools in the Meadowlands area would come along and join up with the other Morris Isaacson column at Orlando West High School. They would then proceed as a main column to Orlando Stadium which was going to be their destination. He said that schools in the Orlando East (10) complex would culminate with the others at Orlando Stadium. He said that the demonstration was going to be an effective one day boycott of classes to pledge solidarity with the other schools affected by the Afrikaans enforcement clause so as to bring pressure to bear on the authorities to listen to the students' grievances. He further said that even those schools that were indifferent to the language issue had to be involved and show sympathy and pledge solidarity with the others, so as to exert enough pressure. He announced that he had instructed the respective student leaders to prepare placards and (20) carry them during the procession. Press publicity would highlight the effect of the demonstration and that this would have tremendous impact on the public. Mrs Mandela said that the students' action would have a significant effect on the Black community in sensitising it. Parents would be aroused to support their children's efforts. She was emotional and described the language enforcement as an oppressive measure. She praised the students and said that they were brave and courageous. She was impressing them by projecting her image of being opposed to the political set-up in the country. At about 1 a.m. (30) I took these students to their homes, namely Morobe, Mashinini,

whom/...

whom I dropped at a street corner next to .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Could you just tell me, was it envisaged that this would be a thing that would last one day? -- This particular occasion?

Yes. -- It was not envisaged they were bringing back the car that they had gone to ask for - they had asked for my car and I said I was busy because .. (intervenes)

No, no, at this meeting, did you get the impression that what they intended was that on the day of the 16th there would be a procession. -- Yes. (10)

That would demonstrate the opposition to the particular measures and that would be the end of the demonstration? -- Yes, that is the impression I gained.

There would be nothing on Thursday and Friday. -- Yes, that is the impression they gave that it was going to be a one day boycott of classes.

Did you think that was possible? -- It could be possible if they carried out that intention that it was just a one day thing and then they would go to school the following day. It would have been possible if, as I say, that they said (20) it was their intention that it was going to be a peaceful affair and then as a one day pledging of solidarity with the other schools that .. (inaudible) .. and then the following day go back to their schools. This is how they announced it in their respective schools to all the students, that just they want this thing and then the following day they would go back to school.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Paragraph 38. -- How the action committee members made contact with Mrs Mandela, it was on the 4th June, 1976, when I asked Lweli to contact me a few students, who (30) would help distribute the pamphlets that were advertising the

Soweto Parents' Association's inaugural meeting of the 6th June, 1976, which was held at Naledi Hall. Motapanyane, Kutumela, Morobe, Mashinini and some other students were waiting for me and Zweli and Dr Matlhare's place. There they had a clash with his housekeeper and she subsequently chased them. They went to Mrs Mandela's place which is just across the street, and waited there. When I came back from town with the pamphlets, I found these students waiting there. It was at about 6,30 p.m. and gave them the pamphlets for distribution. That is how I know she made contact with the students in my presence. (10)

On the 16th in the evening when I came back from Pretoria, I found a message at my office that Dr Matlhare wanted to see me. I rushed to him. He told me that he wanted to convene an emergency meeting of the Soweto Parents Association Executive in the light of the riot crisis that had developed during the day. He said that I could invite other SASM and BPC members. I agreed and got Kenneth Rakhidi and Tom Manthata as BPC members and Zweli, Motapanyane, Tsitsi, Morobe, Kutumela, as well as Mandla Matimba. The meeting started at about 9 p.m. and lasted for about an hour. After the meeting was opened, Dr Motlhare (20) introduced members of his committee. These were himself, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Maetane and the others I do not know. Thereafter I introduced the other people I had invited. Dr Matlhare stated that the purpose of that meeting was to get the support of other organisations and discuss what could be done in the crisis situation. Mrs Mandela .. (intervenes)

What was the intention then? To stop the riots? -- The intention was to stop the riots and to get the community to come and look into this situation of the riots.

CHAIRMAN: Who wanted to stop the riots then? Who was it (30) who wanted to stop the riots? -- The Soweto Parents Association.

Pardon? -- This organisation, the Soweto Parents Association wanted to act as an organisation that was going to invite to stop the riots, but then it could not do that on its own without the support of the community, so the idea was to get the parents to come to a public meeting so that the situation could be contained.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Was this Dr Matlhare's organisation? -- Yes, he was chairman of this organisation.

Do you - can you perhaps give any information why didn't you approach all these organisations before the demonstration(10) on the 16th June? -- Well, I did not know that there was going to be a demonstration on the 16th June. I only learned of this on the 15th when I came back from King William's Town.

Mrs Mandela criticised. -- Mrs Mandela criticised what she described as police brutality and suggested that a public meeting be called wherein the whole community could be involved to discuss and plan for the mass funeral. I suggested that Regina Mundi Catholic Church should be secured as a venue for the proposed public meeting of the 20th on Sunday. Tom and I were accordingly mandated to book that church. Dr Matlhare was (20) to contact the press to publicise the meeting. I was to print handbills that were going to be distributed .. (intervenes)

Just a moment. Did you at any time during the riots hear that some people referred to particular evidence as phase 2 or phase 3? -- As phase 2 or phase 3?

Yes, that this particular evidence is the result of phase 3 or is the manifestation of phase 3? Did you ever hear that word, phase 2 or phase 3 or phase 1? -- I heard that word, although I cannot remember the source, where it came from.

In what context did you hear it? -- I heard it in the (30) context that the demonstration of the 16th was phase 1 and later

on/...

on, on the 4th August when the next demonstration was planned, was embarked upon in the form of a marching boycott campaign against work as well as a march to John Vorster Square, to ask for the release of the students, as phase 2.

When did you hear the remark about phase 1? -- I heard the remark about phase 1 just after this second demonstration was planned.

On the 4th August? -- Yes.

In whose company were you then? -- I do not remember the context of the situation, but I just heard the question of (10) the phase, that the first one was phase and and then this one was phase 2. Then it became clear. But I do not quite remember the exact date when the press information(?) came, but I am familiar with that phrase of phase 1 and phase 2 and I am just forming my own opinion of how I conceptualise it to be the first one or the phase 1.

When did you yourself become aware of phase 2? -- I became aware of phase 2 after the demonstration of the 4th.

Did you also hear a remark about phase 2 or did you recognise it on placards or did you recognise it in the (20) pattern of the riots? -- I recognised it in the pattern of the riots. I do not remember placards which suggested it as phase 2.

And what was that particular characteristic of the riots that served or that helped you to form that conclusion that the riots had reached phase 2? -- Well, it was because the initial move where the students held a demonstration on the 16th against the enforcement of Afrikaans and the second one which they stated in the press that they were going to march to John Vorster Square to ask for - to demand the release of their colleagues. Now the second one was now demanding the release, which (30) is the second thing and the first one was the demonstration against/...

against Afrikaans per se. This is what made me form this conclusion. There were just two issues now. The first one was Afrikaans, the second one was the stated opinions that they were going to demand the release of the students who were arrested at John Vorster Square.

When was the first time that you have heard that sentence, the release of the detainees? -- I heard it on the 4th August at the BPA meeting, but then .. (intervenes)

What was the purpose of that BPA meeting? -- The BPA meeting usually met on Wednesdays and when the need arose (10) to collect a list of the people who had already died because we had the money that we were entrusted with of the community to give to the bereaved families and the students used to attend these meetings.

CHAIRMAN: So it was just before the 4th that you first heard about any demonstration to release the detainees? -- Yes, that is after the - to be specific now, it was after the meeting of the Soweto students executive council which was held on the 2nd August at Morris Isaacson High School where they had resolved that they were going to have the second demonstration, (20) wherein they were going to demand the release of the students and secondly, that they were going to present their memorandum of grievances to the Soweto Parents Association, which would in turn represent them to Mr Jimmy Kruger.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Was Mrs Mandela present at that meeting? -- No, she was not present at that meeting. It was a time when Motapanyane and Mashinini came to my office and notified me about the meeting, but then this meeting was announced at the public meeting of the BPA on Sunday the 1st, which was held at Regina Mundi, where Mashinini came and said that the (30) following day they were going to have a meeting of the Soweto students/...

students executive council, comprising two representatives from each school and wherein they were going to plan whatever line of action and they would inform the people accordingly.

Is she an official of BPA, Mrs Mandela? -- Yes, she is an executive member of the Black Parents Association.

But she was not present there? -- She was present at that public meeting where Mashinini made the announcement.

CHAIRMAN: Just to return to this question of release of detainees. You had not heard that that had become a cause for demonstration, protest in Soweto or any other part of (10) the country before that date? -- No, I had not heard about it before that date.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: Read from: Dr Matlhare was to contact the press. -- Dr Matlhare was to contact the press to publicise the meeting. I was to print handbills that were going to be distributed in Soweto to advertise the meeting. The chairman said that we should meet the following day at his surgery and that he was going to approach the government authorities in connection with the release of the corpses. The meeting ended and I gave a lift to some people home. I picked up Nxolisi (20) Mvovo at Mrs Khoza's place where I had left him and took him to Orlando East where he was accommodated. There he found a telegram to the effect that his father had passed away. Mvovo is our Black Community Programmes sales promotion manager. So I had to rush him to the airport Jan Smuts the following morning. This I did early on the 17th. I went back to work and during the course of the day went to book Regina Mundi. Unfortunately it was reserved for church business. I then booked the A.M.E church at Orlando West. In the evening at about 8,30 we had a meeting at Dr Matlhare's surgery. This was a progress (30) report back meeting. Dr Matlhare explained that he had not made

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any move to contact the government mortuary authorities. He would try again. I reported that I had secured the A.M.E. Church instead, and that I had arranged for the printing of the handbills for the Sunday meeting. We then drew a tentative list of speakers for the public meeting. Speakers were going to be: Dr Matlhare, the then Dean Tutu, Mrs Mandela, Kenneth Rachidi and Dr Manas Buthelezi. These names would be finalised on Saturday the 19th at another meeting of the SPA at Dr Matlhare's house. I prepared the pamphlets for publicity of the meeting at the South African Council of Churches, (10) and distributed them with the help of other members who were organising for this meeting. On the 19th we had a brief meeting for the purpose of the Sunday programme at Dr Matlhare's place. Present were: Dr Matlhare, Mrs Mandela, myself, Zweli, Motapanyane, Kenneth Rachidi, Tom Manthata and Tsitsi Mashinini. Earlier on prior to the meeting Mrs Mandela had an argument with Tom and Kenneth over the press statement that she had made wherein she said that the protest was not only having the enforcement of Afrikaans as the only grievance. She maintained that she was entitled to her own opinion. It was agreed (20) that the Sunday speakers stand finalised as drafted, namely Dr Matlhare, Dr Buthelezi, Dean Tutu, Mrs Mandela and Kenneth Rachidi. The Sunday the 20th meeting was, however, banned by the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg. The notice was served while the church service was on at about 1 p.m. A copy of it was handed to Dr Matlhare by Brigadier Le Roux. Dr Matlhare and I stopped at the gate of the church and turned people away as they came.

On what grounds did you stop the people and instruct them to turn away? -- On the grounds that the meeting was banned. (30)

Or unlawful. -- Not that it was unlawful, it was banned

and/...

and if we did not stop the people then it would have been unlawful to continue the meeting. So we had to assist in addition to the order banning this, we stopped at the gate and drew the attention of the people to the fact that the meeting was banned.

But if you drew the attention of the people to the fact that it was banned, why didn't you do the same on the night of the 15th when you knew that the demonstration would be unlawful? -- Well, it was not in my power to do so, because that meeting was just incidental and the students had (10) planned it already and they were not listening to anybody; they had their own minds and they had their own action committee which had already informed the schools about the demonstration.

But certainly it was more difficult during the riots to bring order to the circumstances there than before the 16th June. -- I would not say so, because the students, as I say, that at that stage they had already planned this and they had informed all the students and they were not seeking my opinion on that. If they had come to ask me then I would have told them. In fact if I was present when they planned the (20) demonstration, I would have stopped them.

Paragraph 42. -- Thereafter, Dr Matlhare convened an emergency executive meeting at Bishop Tutu's place, that very Sunday afternoon at 4. Present were: Dr Matlhare, myself, Dr Motlana, Mrs Mandela, Mandla, Motapanyane, Lweli and Mashinini. The chairman asked what should be done then that the public meeting was banned. Mrs Mandela suggested that representatives from other Black organisations should be invited to come and swell the ranks of the SPA. I offered my office to accommodate the meeting which would be the next day on the 21st. These (30) various organisations would work hand in hand with the SPA in

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the crisis to make arrangements for the mass funeral, Mrs Mandela added. We all agreed to this idea. Dr Motlana then produced a document which was a motion that he had prepared to read in the public meeting. This motion was condemning police action in the riots and denouncing government-created operating stooges and calling upon the people of Soweto to pledge their support to the SPA and further that the SPA was going to organise a mass funeral and finally that contribution to the riot victims be directed to the SPA. This motion was adopted and given to Harry Mashabela of The Star to publish it and (10) that he would bring it back to me for duplicating it into copies. One incident to note was a clash that took place between Dr Motlana and Motapanyane. The latter accused the former of having ignored a call by students to attend to one casualty on the 16th. Dr Motlana took strong exception and Motapanyane later withdrew the allegation. Mrs Mandela and Dr Matlhare and I comforted Dr Motlana and they reconciled. Thereafter we dispersed, each of us going to contact leaders of organisations to come the next day.

CHAIRMAN: What would the next day be? The 4th? -- The (20) next day would be the 21st, Monday, the 21st, after the public meeting of Sunday, the 20th, was banned. Still in June.

Yes. -- The next day, on the 21st, the scheduled meeting started at 8,30 p.m. at my office. There were introductions and Dr Matlhare welcomed everybody, and stated that the purpose of the meeting was to harness the support of the Black organisations. The following organisations were represented: Soweto Parents Association, South African Students Organisation, Black People's Convention, South African Students Movement, Black Community Programmes, Young Women's Christian Asso- (30) ciation, Young Men's Christian Association, South African Black Social/...

Social Workers Association, Parents Vigilante Committee, The Institute of Black Studies and the South African Black Women's Federation. Mrs Mandela proposed that these organisations merge and constitute the Black Parents Association. She was seconded by Dr Motlana. The house accepted this proposal. The following matters were considered: (1) Mr Mathabathe reported that the Principals' Association had held a meeting that day and had applied to the Minister for permission for the students to report at school on the 24th for collection of money for the riot victims. He then suggested that BPA must (10) invite them to a meeting to discuss centralisation of funds. I must say that students expressed dislike at some of the principals like Mr Kambule and Mr Mzaidume, who prevented their students from joining the demonstration.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: At which schools are they principals? -- Mr Kambule is principal at Orlando High School and Mr Mzaidume at Orlando West High School. This was said by Tsitsi and Motapan-yane. The house ruled that they should still be met. Mr Mathabathe was to contact them. Another matter was considered. The following people were elected into the executive: (20) Zweli acted as electoral officer. Rev. Dr Nanas Buthelezi as the first chairman of the Black Parents Association; Dr Matlhare - second chairman; myself - first secretary; Mr Nteso - second secretary; Mr Mkhale - committee member; W. Ngakane - committee member; Mrs Mandela - committee member; Mr L.M. Mathabathe - committee member; Mr Kenneth Rachidi - committee member; Dr Motlana - co-trustee with Dr Matlhare and Dr Buthelezi. Another matter that was considered was that Mr W.B. Ngakane suggested that the South African Council of Churches should be approached concerning the centralisation (30) of funds because it had already launched an appeal for funds.

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The house agreed to this suggestion. Mrs Mandela announced that there would be money coming from London to the Black Parents Association. She received a phone call to that effect. She did not disclose the source. It was agreed that the date of the mass funeral should be set Saturday, 3rd July, which was already set tentatively by the principals' body. However, Mrs Mandela had wished that the mass funeral should take place on a week day so that all Black workers must not go to work on that particular day. This would be a sign of retaliation to the government and the white employers. She was backed (10) by Mashinini on this idea. The house rejected it as impractical. Mrs Mandela had also viewed the mass funeral as an occasion of arousing the feelings of the people in the crisis. In this meeting it was decided that Kenneth Rachidi and Mrs Mandela would serve on a sub-committee to contact the bereaved families and Funeral Undertakers Association, in preparation for the mass funeral. Mr Mkhale and Mr Ngakane were to serve on the programme committee for the mass funeral. Mr Mathabathe was to co-opt other helpers to contact Taxi Associations. Dr Motlana also suggested that Mr Lengene of the UBC, who had (20) launched a fund appeal should be approached regarding centralisation of contributions in the BPA. He was seen and agreed to cooperate. BPC and SASO made their contributions on that day. Other organisations promised to follow suit. Thereafter the meeting dispersed. On the 22nd, Dr Buthelezi, myself and Mr Ngakane met the secretary-general of the SACC, Mr John Rees, in Mr Ngakane's office. This was a brief interview. Buthelezi explained the formation of the BPA to Mr Rees and the intention to have riot victims relief funds centralised in the BPA. Mr Rees agreed and said that the chairman should inform him (30) of the banking account number. That was settled. On the 23rd

we/...

we had a BPA meeting at Dr Matlhare's place.

Did your organisation contact Mr Rees at any time between the 16th and the 22nd? -- Between the 16th and the 22nd?

Yes. -- Not in between that period, that is the Black Parents Association because the Black Parents Association was only formed on Monday, 21st June and it only contacted Mr Rees the following day because it was formed just the previous night. Before that its predecessor was the Soweto Parents Association.

When did you meet Mr Rees for the first time? -- As a person? (10)

Yes. -- Well, I met Mr Rees several times long before, because I had my office there. That is outside the context of the happenings.

And in the context of the happenings? -- I met him on this particular day on the 22nd in the morning.

Proceed. -- On the 23rd we had a BPA meeting at Dr Matlhare's place. Present were myself, Rachidi, Drs Matlhare and Motlane, Buthelezi and Mr Ngakane, Mrs Mandela, Lweli, Motapanyane and Mashinini. The chairman explained that the SACC had rescinded its decision to centralise funds in (20) the BPA. This led to the resignation of Mr Ngakane from the BPA, because he said he experienced split loyalty as an SACC employee and the BPA member. We compiled lists of the bereaved families. It was the duty of every BPA executive member to scout names of the victims so that cheques of R200 should be dispatched to each case. This used to take a lot of time until at a later stage when we resolved to employ a full-time social worker to do this. The principals committee did not come to this meeting, due to the fact that their application to have the students at school, was not granted. Our next BPA (30) meeting was on Saturday, 26th June at Dr Motlhare's place. The

chairman/...

chairman had invited Rev. E.L. Mahabane to help us with negotiations regarding the mass funeral. This clergyman promised to look into the matter. Dr Matlhare reported that he was advised by security police at John Vorster Square that the BPA will have to apply to the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg regarding the mass funeral. I subsequently wrote that application and at a later stage permission to hold the mass funeral was withheld. Dr Motlana suggested that in the event of permission .. (intervenes)

Did you receive a reply by post? -- No, we did not (10) receive a reply by post, it was just published in the press. Dr Motlana suggested that in the event of permission being not granted, we should hold a symbolic funeral. Mrs Mandela suggested Hector Peterson as the name believed to be the first shot victim. She, together with Rachidi, were to approach the Peterson family. Thereafter the routine of compiling names of victims was followed. Thereafter we dispersed. Permission to hold a mass funeral was refused. So we opted for the symbolic funeral. This was on Saturday, 3rd July, at the St Paul's Anglican Church. Dr Manas Buthelezi officiated there with (20) the consent of Rev. Nkwe, the family priest. Meanwhile a brief memorial service was held at Regina Mundi Catholic Church for those who would not be able to attend the symbolic funeral. The symbolic service was conducted by the resident priest, Father Kataka, assisted by his curates. Bishop Mokoena gave a brief talk in which he was denouncing the system of separate development, saying that it bred the hostile racial climate that was prevailing. Thereafter, I passed a vote of thanks on behalf of the BPA, paying words of condolence to the bereaved families and thanking all who had come. Then a national (30) anthem was chanted and those who had transport dashed to

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the cemetery for various burials there. There was supposed to be a BPA sponsored funeral at Klerksdorp, but could not materialise owing to the fact that they buried on the 3rd too, so we could not attend this pitso funeral. From the 4th July to the 9th July, I attended the SASO General Students Council at Hammanskraal. I gave a lift to Tsitsi Mashinini and Sibongile (surname unknown) who were going to be SASM observers at the GSC. The highlights of the GSC were three guest speakers in the persons of Prof. Mohammed of the University of the Western Cape, who spoke on the role of education and its relevance (10) to the Black community; Dr Asvat, who spoke on the role of the Black professional in the struggle. He laid stress on the fact that Black students can make a contribution to society by leading a modest life when they are professional men and women. Mrs Mandela spoke on the history of the Black women in the struggle. She sketched the involvement of women in the struggle from the time of the ANC. She said at that time White women were helping Black women in protesting against pass laws issued to Black women. She stated that Black women realised the need with the emergency of Black consciousness to go it (20) alone. This forming the present South African Black Women's Federation. She ended up by challenging Black men not to subjugate their wives. I did not spend much time at the GSC as I had my company work to attend to and BPA matters in between.

Who contacted Professor Mohammed? -- It is the SASO National Executive.

Did he fly up to the Rand? -- Did he?

Did he fly to Johannesburg? -- I do not know how he came - what means of transport he used to come up here.

Was he accompanied by students from the University of (30) the Western Cape? -- No, he was not accompanied by students.

Paragraph/...

Paragraph 49. -- On Sunday, 1st August, we held a public BPA meeting at Regina Mundi, the purpose of which was to encourage students to go back to school. Dr Manas Buthelezi gave an account of the BPA activities since its inception. Mr Mehlaphe, principal of Diepkloof High School, gave an account of the principals' efforts to negotiate with the authorities to normalise the situation regarding the language issue. The sentiments of the meeting were crystalised in the following points: That the students should go back to schools; that the police should withdraw from patrolling the streets as this had a tendency of scaring students; that the authorities re-open all universities; that the examination enrolment date be postponed so as to enable late entrants; that people refrain from burning their schools and property; that detained students be released. Tsitsi Mashinini announced that students were going back to school. It was clear that this was not for study purposes, but organising. He further said that the following day, on the 2nd August, there was going to be a meeting of the Soweto Students Representative Council at Morris Isaacson High School, where two representatives from each school would attend. After this meeting the national anthem was sung and we dispersed. After the SSRC meeting was held, Mashinini and Motapanyane came to my office and informed me that they had resolved to hand their grievances to the BPA which would represent them to the Minister; that they were going to march to John Vorster Square on the 4th August and demand the release of their fellow students who were detained there; that they were going to call for a stay home campaign for workers. I had a clash with Mashinini on the wisdom of calling a demonstration. I made reference to the events of the 15th June. He was furious and dismissed me as

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an intellectual and further said that I was non-militant and criticised me for graduating in presentia under UNISA and contended that as a radical I should have not bowed to a White chancellor, but in absentia. That precipitated the quarrel and they left.

Why did he refer to you as a radical? Did he - what did he mean by that? -- Well, he said that I was not a radical, I was a non-radical in the sense that I did not seem to support him on this idea of the second demonstration.

No, but you have read: and contended that as a radical I should have not bowed to a White chancellor. Did he understand you to be a radical before this clash? -- No, he said that if I were a radical, this is what I ought to have done. (10)

Proceed. -- On the 4th I spent the morning attending to my UNISA assignments. At midday I went to check on the chairman. I was told that they had left, that is himself, Drs Motlana, Matlhare, Mrs Mandela and Mr Nteso, all in Dr Matlhare's car to follow the students and intervene in the event of possible confrontation with the police. I rushed to Dr Matlhare's place, but they were already gone. I went to our church and spent the afternoon there with Mother Pastor. I took a nap as I had a headache. I woke up in the evening and had a light meal after which I went to the BPA meeting at Dr Manas Buthelezi's place. Buthelezi reviewed the events of the day. How they went to Protea and asked Brigadier Le Roux to stop the police from shooting and how they, the BPA executive, undertook to persuade the students to return from New Canada where they were being blocked by the police. They were finally dispersed with teargas. Dr Motlana went out with some students to look for Tsitsi .. (intervenes) (20) (30)

CHAIRMAN/...

CHAIRMAN: I must ask you the same question. You met the police a second time, that is Brigadier Le Roux a second time at New Canada Junction. Is that correct? -- No, I met Brigadier Le Roux for the first time at the AME Church on the 20th.

No, we are now on the 4th August, are we? -- Yes.

Now you first of all met with the other people to his office. -- Yes. I was not there.

You were not there? -- Yes. It was in the evening when they reviewed the events of the day. (10)

Didn't you go to the place itself where they had collected at Canada Junction? -- No, I did not go there. I said that in the morning I spent the morning with my UNISA assignments and at midday then I sort of went to check on Dr Manas Buthelezi, our chairman and when I got there, I found that he had collected a few of the executive members who were available and that they had decided on the spot to follow the students and intervene in the event of possible confrontation.

You did not take any part in those actions to try and stop them? -- No, I did not know that - it was not planned that we should report the following day to follow the students. (21) It was just an idea that cropped up during the course of the day and as I was not accessible because I was busy, they did not know where I was, they collected those who were available.

But the previous night you were against this march, weren't you? -- Yes.

Why is it that they did not approach you or try and find you somewhere, because after all you were one who was against it and they were now all against it. -- No, they did not know where to find me and if it was decided that we should go there, then I could have driven myself. So it is a decision that (31)

just/...

just cropped up during the course of the day. I would have loved to have been there. But they could not get hold of me. And as I say, I tried to follow them, but I found that they had already left and I did not know in what direction they had left.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: They were finally dispersed with teargas. -- Yes. Dr Motlana went out with some students to look for Tsitsi and issue a statement calling off the demo. They could not find him, so Morobe prepared that statement and it was phoned through to the press media at Dr Matlhare's place. It (10) appeared the following day. While we were having supper at this place, we were immediately called by the girl who stays at Mrs Mandela's place that there was an attempt to burn her house. We rushed there and extinguished the fire in the garage. She believed that it was not the work of Black people; she suspected the police. On the 11th August was the last BPA meeting I attended.

Why did she suspect the police? -- Well, she did not offer any reason, she was just hysterical because we were busy extinguishing the fire and she was just saying that this (20) cannot be the Black people, it should be the work of the police.

Can you perhaps give us information on how the fire was started? -- I do not know how the fire was started because we were at Dr Matlhare's place, having dinner that his wife had prepared for us and we were suddenly called by a girl who stayed with Mrs Mandela, that the house was ablaze. So when we got there, we tried to put out the fire. It was mainly in the garage.

Paragraph 52. -- On the 11th August was the last BPA meeting I attended. It was at Dr Buthelezi's place. (30) Buthelezi had invited two parents from Krugersdorp who had started/...

started a BPA branch there. Tsitsi came to this meeting. The chairman explained to him and his mates that the Minister had refused to meet the BPA on the issue of students' grievances. Tsitsi thanked the BPA for the effort and asked for money. He said he wanted to counter a pamphlet which was circulating in Soweto and spreading bad propogande about them. The chairman replied that BPA funds were public funds and as such could not be used for that purpose. Mrs Mandela arrived late in this meeting. She was from consulting with her lawyer regarding a conspiracy that she was told by two UBC (10) - that is Urban Council - members that was brewing against her by a certain Mr Tshabangu, also of the UBC. It is in this meeting that she disclosed that the students ought to have come to her for money. She said they knew this. She told the meeting, as we were already going out, that she was going to apply for a court interdict and that it would be safe for the chairman to do so for the security of the committee regarding the alleged conspiracy. She and Dr Motlana were arrested on the 13th August and I on the following day at our church and was taken to John Vorster Police Station. Tsitsi Mashinini (20) and Motapanyane also told me that after their meeting of the SSRC they had consulted Mrs Mandela about the proposed demonstration with regard to its effectiveness, whereupon she advised that they must organise it for a specific period so that there should be no dissenters as a result of confusion. The effect of the Soweto Parents Association. The formation of the SPA provided a platform for Winnie Mandela to express her political views. I just want to add that Mrs Mandela has no children at school in Soweto. She utilised this forum adequately. I refer here to the public parents/students meeting (30) of the 6th June at Naledi Hall, when among other things, she agitated/...

agitated against Afrikaans. Dr Matlhare was also outspoken and highly critical about the system of separate development. I also contributed to the SPA by making available pamphlets for distribution amongst students and which resulted in their large attendance of this particular meeting. Most students of the Naledi High School demonstration was scheduled for the 4th August, 1976. Also that .. I think there has been a typing error.

Also that their reason should be acceptable and convincing to the masses and show support. -- Yes. This part should (10) have been the one above paragraph 53 but it was inserted out of context. My acquaintance with Mrs Mandela started at about October, 1975, after her banning order was lifted. I was introduced to her by Mr Sipho Mcunu of the West Rand Administration Board and the treasurer of our church. After the introduction and she heard that I am a member of SASO, she asked me to accompany her to visit the accused in the BPC and SASO trial in Pretoria. I agreed and we went to Pretoria with Ilona Kleinschmidt. On her way to Pretoria she told me about her experiences as a banned person and the sudden opportunity (20) when your banning orders are lifted and you want to meet everybody. She was also invited to attend one of our CORD meetings - that is Charge Or Release Detainees - (I have elaborated on this earlier on.) Thereafter my association with her continued while I sold Black Consciousness Programmes literature to her. In this way the acquaintance grew up until she joined the SPA which I later joined when I was invited by Dr Matlhare.

When was CORD founded? -- CORD was founded in September, 1975. (30)

Do you know was Mrs Mandela a member of CORD? -- No, she was/...

was not a member of CORD.

Mashinini? -- He was not.

Paragraph 55. -- Persons prominent in the scene of the riot crisis were Mrs Mandela, myself, Tsitsi Mashinini, Dr Matlhare, Dr Motlana, Thomas Manthata, Kenneth Rachidi, George Wauchope, W. Ngakane, Zweli Sizani, Murpheson Morobe, Tebello Motapanyane, Davie Kutumela, Michael Tsagae, Thandisizwe Mazibuko, Dr Manas Buthelezi. Among the abovementioned people some acted singly like Ngakane's speech on the history of the struggle in South Africa, at the SASM conference, while (10) others acted jointly like the SASM people who later formed the action committee. The adults acted in the capacity of organisations like BPC, SASO, SPA and BPA.

CHAIRMAN: Were there other people in the Black Parents Association who had no children in Soweto at school? -- Well, I suppose there were, but I cannot think of them. I cannot say that there are not.

How large was this organisation? -- The SPA or the BPA?

BPA. -- Well, the BPA was a representative kind of umbrella organisation to which several organisations had affiliated.(20) I think I have mentioned earlier on that the YMCA, the YWCA, SASO, BPC .. (intervenes)

Why was it called the BPA? -- It was called the BPA because it was supposed to be a parents association.

There was one parents association that was taken up in it and that was the SPA. -- Yes, the SPA felt that they needed more support and more membership to swell the ranks and that is why they invited these other organisations to come, because the public meeting at which BPA was supposed to be formed, was banned. So now it meant that in order that the SPA should (30) go on and make arrangements for the mass funeral, they would

need/...

need .. (inaudible) .. and resources and therefore they invited other organisations to send representatives so that smaller committees could work.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: These representatives of the other organisations, were they from regions outside Soweto who formed this umbrella organisation, the BPA. -- Most of them were national organisations like SASO, it was in a national capacity; BPC in a national capacity; YWCA in a national capacity; South African Black Women's Federation and the Social Workers Association they were more in a national capacity. (10)

But where did these representatives come from? -- Most of the national organisations have their offices in Johannesburg, so most of them live in Soweto, although they are office bearers of national organisations.

But what was the intention? Was the intention to get people outside Soweto involved in the purpose of the SPA? Or what was the intention? -- The intention of inviting these organisations was to help the Soweto Parents Association which had its origin in Soweto.

CHAIRMAN: To help them do what? -- To help them with manpower because they were just a few. (20)

To help them what? -- With manpower as there were few members in the committee. To handle the situation, No. 1; to look into the question of mass funeral; and No. 2, to look into the question of collecting money for the bereaved families for relief sake; and thirdly, to act as a mouthpiece for the students in this crisis.

A mouthpiece for the students? -- For the students, yes, to contain the crisis because the SPA felt it was not adequate enough on its own, it needed other organisations to help (30) it so that the crisis could be contained.

ADV. VAN GRAAN: What was the original purpose of the SPA?

-- The original idea of the SPA was that it was going to be the Soweto Parents Association to look into the interests of the students, the teachers and the parents.

So would you say when you invited people from outside Soweto, that the BPA, the former SPA, changed its policy? -- I would not say these people are outside Soweto, because most of them stayed in Soweto. As I pointed out, some of them are office bearers of national organisations, but they live in Soweto. (10)

Was there no change of policy? -- There was no actual change of policy because we had not formulated policy, we had not drawn up a constitution, it was still to be drawn.

But surely the purpose of the SPA was not to contain the Soweto riot crisis? -- Quite so.

So there must be a change of policy. -- Definitely the change was there because of the circumstances that arose in which the BPA was formed. I would say that the SPA midwived the formation of the BPA and therefore that whatever intentions the SPA had, had to be modified to fit the situation of (20) the riots which was going to put greater responsibility on the BPA than on the SPA for instance at a time of calm and quiet.

Proceed. -- The role played by the BPA in the riots and after. The BPA was formed on the 21st June, 1976. This body was given recognition by all Black organisations. It was named by Mrs Mandela and Dr Motlana. It gained support and respectability because it was an umbrella body and adult mouthpiece during the riots. What gave it prominence and advertisement was the mass funeral that it planned to hold on the 3rd July and the task it set itself to receive relief (30) funds for the riot victims. This gave it credibility. The students/...

students had a lot of respect and confidence in the BPA, particularly that their organisation, SASM, was a constituent body of the BPA, hence the SSRC submitted its memorandum of grievances to the BPA for representation to the Minister. The BPA also intervened on the 4th August to prevent confrontation between the students and the police. It held one public meeting, the purpose of which was to encourage the students to go back to school. This was on the 1st August at Regina Mundi. The subsequent banning of public meetings by the Minister rendered the BPA inactive on that line. This was coupled (10) with the detention of four of its members, namely Dr Motlana, Mrs Mandela, Kenneth Rachidi and myself. The role played by BPC and SASO in and after the riots. Ideologically, BPC played a significant role in conscientising.. (intervenes)

Was there a branch of the BPA formed in Cape Town? -- No, there was no branch of the BPA in Cape Town.

In any other parts of the country? -- Yes, in Pretoria.

When was that branch founded? -- It was not officially founded but attempts were made to found it. The idea was to centralise funds and we had one lady, Mrs Jane Fakhati, (20) who stays in Pretoria and where money was collected by local people there and the churches there and when she heard about the BPA she felt that they should not start another organisation there, because this was going to create duplication of work. She approached the BPA, the chairman, and she was invited to one of our meetings and we agreed that funds should be centralised and that we would co-opt her as our liaison officer in Pretoria. So in actual fact the branch was not de jure founded, it was not de facto because the situation was there and she was liaising and we asked her to co-opt (30) a few people to help her in that area. It was not finally inaugurated/...

inaugurated, formally inaugurated.

M'Lord, I think we have reached a sufficient stage in this statement. I think we may adjourn now.

CHAIRMAN: Will this witness be long still or not?

ADV. VAN GRAAN: We have to read another four pages and they are typed very closely.

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS.
