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BLACK SOUTH AFRICA EXPLODES



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Camera Press

BLACK SOUTH AFRICA EXPLODES

The South African regime is based on violence and repression, but the level of violence currently being practiced by the police is unprecedented. In 1960 at Sharpeville 69 Blacks were killed in ten minutes, but since June 1976, officially the death figures are 386. Despite the so called abolition of petty apartheid, and Vorster's policy of detente, the black urban areas in South Africa are now treated by the white police as enemy territory.

And the official figures are a gross cover up of the truth. The policy of instant violent repression, with peaceful demonstrations being met with tear gas and bullets, means that the toll of dead and injured is actually incalculable.

Rumours are rife of morgues filled to overflowing, refrigerated lorries stuffed with the dead. However despite massive censorship the truth as revealed by newspapers and eyewitnesses is shocking enough. Yet the attempts by the police and South African government to suppress the reality of what is happening in the townships is aided by the media's acceptance of the regime's racist analysis. Any demonstration is a riot, any protester is a hooligan or tsotsi.

The crimes of the police and the brutality

of the regime are not the only aspects of the situation obscured by this collaboration with the official propaganda.

The larger distortion is a denial that the black explosion in South Africa which has rocked the white apartheid regime to its very foundations is an explosion of consciousness. Liberal optimists in and out of South Africa have long embraced the dream that, given the great wealth and resources of South Africa, the government might in the course of time be persuaded to divert a slightly larger cut of the profits in the direction of the Blacks — that the pain and frustration of black existence might be gradually lessened. That particular myth has crashed in flames at the same time as the South African economy. As black unemployment rockets towards 2 million, and white unemployment begins to appear in the statistics the lesson is driven home that sitting on a goldmine is no longer the key to all economic problems.

It is no longer possible to buy time. The crisis has increased the pressures on blacks to an unbearable degree — and it has coincided with the emergence of a new generation of young Africans who are not content with the submissive

attitudes and low-key demands of their parents. They have seen the success of black liberation movements against white minority regimes in Angola and Mozambique. In Angola they have also seen the physical defeat of white South African troops. In Rhodesia majority rule seems inevitable.

The struggle against apartheid and white supremacy has been firmly established both inside and outside South Africa. But the history of confrontation and repression since June has enormously boosted the growth of black consciousness. Apart from anything else the original demands, for the removal of Afrikaans as a teaching medium, have borne fruit, despite furious denials from the administration that the concession would be made. Perhaps the greatest blow to apartheid has been the solidarity demonstrated between black and coloured (mixed race) workers. It has always been a major plank of apartheid policy that the coloureds should be treated preferentially, with officially recognised trade unions, and skilled technical jobs in industry. The coloured demonstrations in Cape Town and elsewhere effectively destroyed the myth that by dividing the racial groupings the white government could divide the loyalties of black workers.

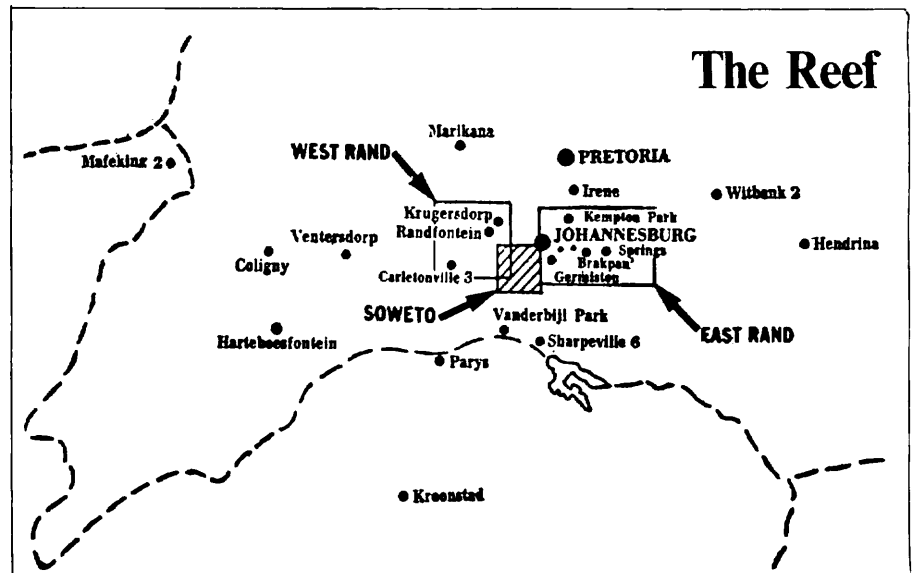
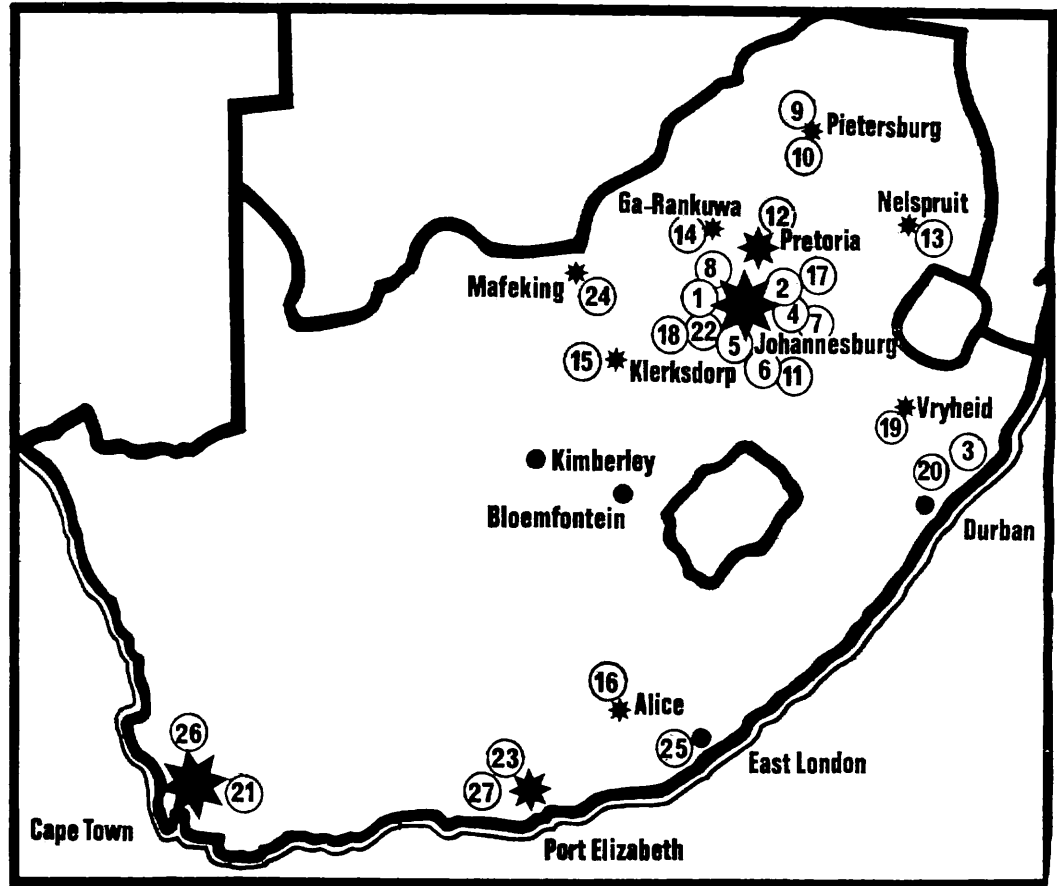


THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN UPRISING

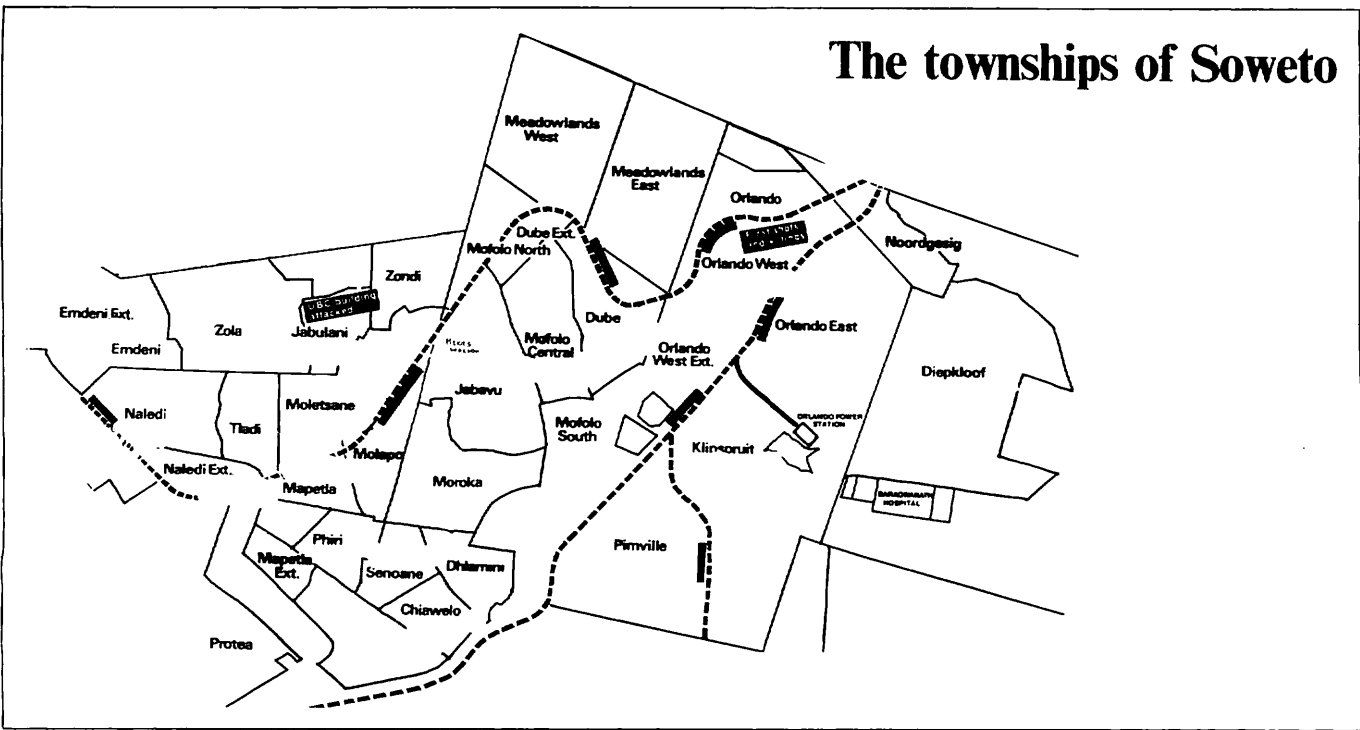
1976

This map shows the nation-wide areas of unrest which started in Soweto, on June 16.

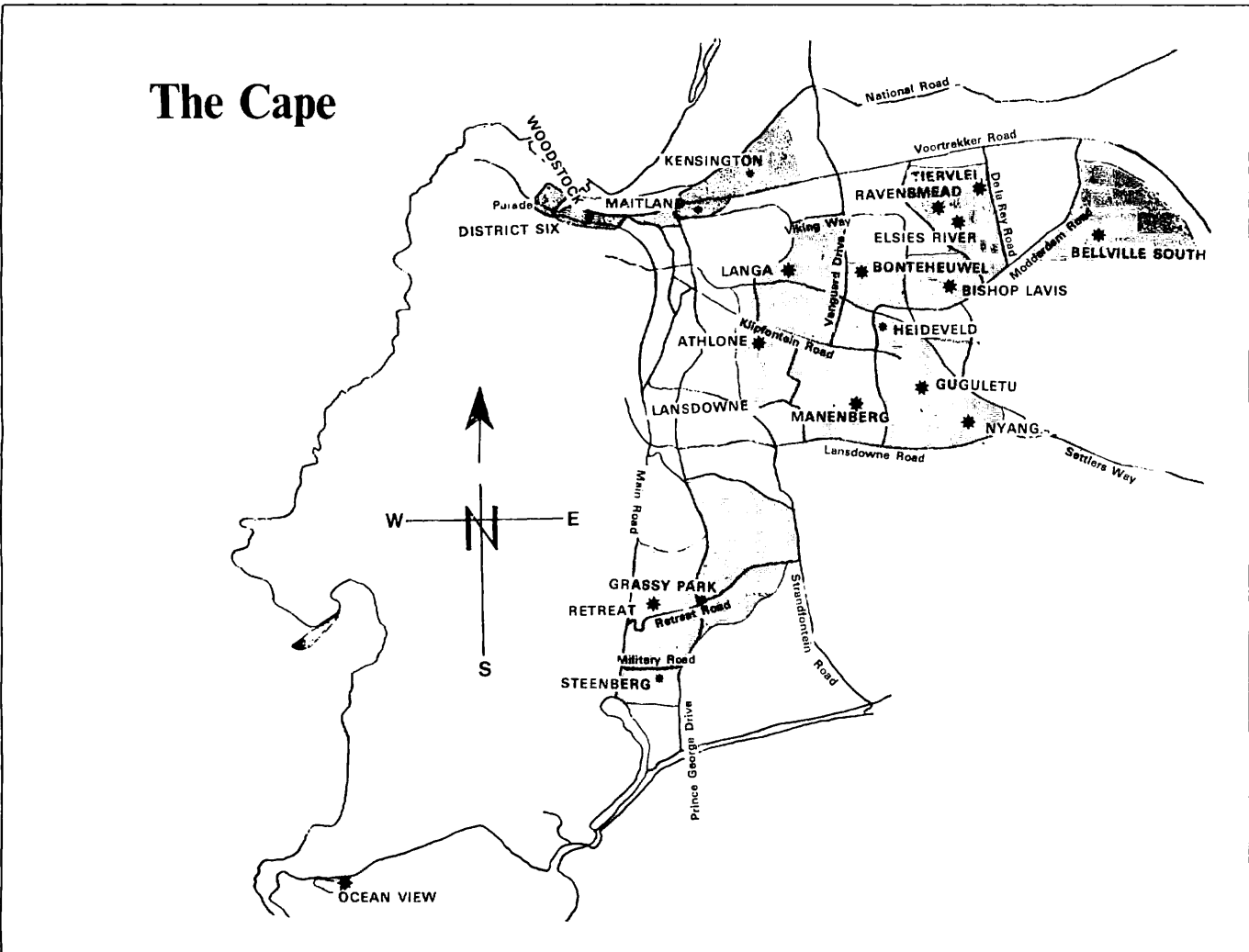
1. June 16: Soweto.
2. June 18: Alexandra township, north-east of Johannesburg.
3. June 18: University of Zululand at Ngoye, near Empangeni.
4. June 18: Tokosa and Daveytown, near Benoni.
5. June 18: Natalspruit and Kathlehong, Germiston.
6. June 18: Vosloorus at Boksburg.
7. June 18: Tembisa, near Kempton Park.
8. June 18: Kagiso at Krugersdorp, West Rand.
9. June 18: University of the North, Turfloop, near Pietersburg.
10. June 20: Seshego township, Pietersburg.
11. June 21: Duduza township, Nigel.
12. June 21: Townships surrounding Pretoria: Mamelodi, Mabopane, Atteridgeville, Hammanskraal.
13. June 22: Lowveld; Lekozi township near Nelspruit.
14. June 22: Ga-Rankuwa in Bophuthatswana homeland.
15. June 23: Jouberton township, near Klerksdorp, Western Transvaal.
16. July 18: University of Fort Hare.
17. July 20: Witbank, Middleburg and Carletonville.
18. July 22: Boipatong township, Vanderbijlpark (Vereeniging).
19. July 25: Zulu Training School, Vryheid.
20. July 26: Ndwedwe, Natal.
21. August 2: UWC boycott at Bellville South.
22. August 4: Soweto violence flares again.
23. August 7: New Brighton, Port Elizabeth (boxing match).
24. August 8: Montshiwa township, near Mafeking.
25. August 9: Mdantsane township, near East London.
26. August 11: Cape Town's three townships; Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu.
27. August 18: New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.



The townships of Soweto



The Cape





Hector Petersen was the first to die in Soweto on 16 June 1976.



JUNE 16

When Hector Peterson, a thirteen year old school boy, was shot in the back at point blank range outside Orlando West High School, the bullet came from the pistol of a white policeman. It was a spark that was to set South Africa alight, leaving hundreds dead and thousands crippled and maimed.

The tide of South African history had turned. As the full story unfolds, it is clear that the official version underestimates the extent of the uprising and conceals the severity of the killings.

Afrikaans

The immediate issue was the Afrikaans language. Until two years ago, Blacks in secondary school were taught in English. Now the authorities, despite resistance from teachers, school boards, headmasters and students, were trying to enforce a rule that half of all subjects would be taught in Afrikaans, the language of the most hated and reactionary section of Whites.

All year, opposition to the change built up...

Monday 17 May Pupils at Orlando West Junior Secondary walk out. The 1600 pupils say that they have had enough and will not go back until Afrikaans is withdrawn. The following day, two higher primary schools, Belle and Thulasizwe also strike. Newspapers report 'children milling around the grounds, some dancing and skipping unconcernedly while teachers waited patiently for them to change their minds'.

The Inspector of the West Rand Education Council is puzzled: 'Have you ever heard of 13 year old children striking? The public does not realise that there are many who want to spread unrest in South Africa. I don't know who is behind the strike - but it is not the children'.

The strike spreads. Pimville Higher Primary pupils walk out. First reports of striking pupils stoning police cars emerge. Some pupils drift back to school.

Saturday 5 June Talks between Vorster and Kissinger are announced for next month.

Sunday 6 June Pupils set up pickets and try to prevent a return to school. Some schools are stoned.

Tuesday 8 June A police car in the grounds of Naledi High school is set alight, and the police stoned. Tear gas is used to disperse demonstrating students.

The Parents Association in Soweto responds immediately: 'This is not the way to put an end to Afrikaans in the schools. Go back to school and leave it to us to deal with the matter'.

Thursday 10 June Pupils throughout Soweto refuse to take a Social Studies paper in Afrikaans. The following day Morris Isaacson School comes out on strike. More trouble at Naledi High where police are investigating the burnt car. Windows are broken and telephone lines cut.

A warning that the situation is getting serious is sent to the government by the Institute for Race Relations, but they are accused of 'over-reacting' by the Ministry for Bantu Education.

Sunday 13 June The Parents Association calls a meeting on the language question for 4 July in an attempt to cool the growing tension.

Tuesday 15 June Pupils of the secondary schools in Soweto plan a walk out and a meeting for the next day at the stadium in Orlando West.

Day One

Wednesday 16 June Exactly what triggered off the uprising will probably remain a mystery. Certainly there was enough tension and excitement around Soweto that day to have sparked trouble in a dozen different places. Before 7.00 am 15,000 schoolchildren had massed. Their intention was to march on Orlando Stadium, the huge open space at the centre of Soweto.

The demonstration had been carefully planned for two days by a committee of senior pupils from several Soweto schools. Although these students were not yet having to learn subjects in Afrikaans, the rumours that they would shortly be forced to were persistent.

From all directions, students leaving home met up with others from their schools. They were to converge at the Orlando West Junior Secondary; chosen not only because it was central to the march on the Orlando Stadium, but more because

this was the first school to take up the strike.

Singing and cheering, the students made their way through the tail end of the morning rush hour towards the stadium. Boys and girls aged between 12 and 20. Students from Orlando North, Naledi High and the Morris Isaacson School, where many of the leaders came from. Alongside them, thousands of primary school children, many from Soweto's best known school, Orlando High.

The pupils carried placards made out of exercise-book covers and old cardboard boxes: "Down with Afrikaans"; "Afrikaans is a tribal language"; "Blacks are not dustbins"; "Afrikaans is oppressors language".

As they passed schools they called to students to come and join them. As the different groups merged, the entire hill and the surrounding area were covered in youngsters. 'As I drove into their midst, they made way for me and stood on both sides of the road with their fists raised and shouting "power" at the tops of their voices. They were in an extremely jovial mood. The whole atmosphere was quite a happy one.' (eyewitness)

One of the principals of a school emptied by the marching students called for the police. 'A student told the others: "Brothers and sisters, we have just received a report that the police are coming. I appeal to you to keep calm and cool. Don't taunt them, don't do anything to them. We are not fighting." (*Weekend World*)

The police arrived. Both white and black, they came in vanloads armed with semi-automatic rifles, sub-machine guns, tear gas and batons. The police had loud hailers, but no attempt was made to talk to the pupils. Outside Orlando West Junior School, where the strike had started six weeks earlier, the police formed a line in front of the pupils. 'We thought they were going to disperse us with loud hailers or a loud speaker, or maybe talk to us. But they talked to themselves.' (Barney)

The students were waving placards and singing 'God save our nation' in Sotho, and they shouted 'we don't want police here'. 'Then a white policeman threw

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a canister, and we saw this smoking thing coming and we thought it was some kind of bomb, so we ran back, but afterwards we saw it was only smoke so we came back again.' (Barney)

Then other policemen started throwing tear gas. The students held their ground. In the front ranks students rubbed shoulders with ten year olds.

'A white policeman in uniform then pulled out a revolver and aimed it at the pupils standing just in front of him. A colleague of mine said "look at him, he's going to shoot the kid".'

The policeman fired and more shots followed. The students then attacked the police. The schoolboy killed was 13 year old Hector Petersen. The pathologist's report suggested that when the bullet entered he had his back to the officer and was bending forwards.

Photographer Samuel Nzima of *The World* said later: 'The first shot was fired before the children started throwing stones. Then absolute chaos broke out. The children ran all over the place and stoned the police.'

10.00 am News of the shooting raced round Soweto. There were 15,000 students absent from school that day, and what had started as a peaceful and united march turned into an uprising. Pupils, many of them in school uniform, surged through the town, screaming their anger and frustration. A number of children lay dead on the road outside Orlando Junior School, others ran bleeding through the streets.

Barricades were set up and vehicles set alight. As more police arrived students ran out of side streets, attacked them fiercely with stones, and ran away again. Government buildings and government property took the brunt of their anger. One white official was pulled out of his marked car and held hostage.

Nearly all the administrative offices of the Bantu administration were attacked, and burned or smashed up. Post offices, beer halls and bottle stores are the property of the Bantu administration and its major source of income. Slogans



Black police load bodies as Whites look on.

appeared on walls and the students shouted 'less liquor, better education' and 'we want more schools and less beer halls'.

12 noon The destruction of buildings representing government oppression was accompanied by the outright use of FN rifles and sub-machine guns by the police. Many reporters told of indiscriminate shooting at Blacks.

Children killed

"I saw a young boy of six or seven fall with a bullet wound. He had a bloody froth on his lips . . . I took him to the Phefeni clinic but he was dead when we arrived." (*World* reporter)

"The children began stoning the police. Some surrounded the police and stoned them from all directions. Shots were fired. I remember looking at the children in their school uniforms and wondering how long they would stand up to the police. Suddenly a small boy dropped to the ground next to me. What frightened me more than anything was the attitude of the children. Many seemed to be oblivious to the danger. They continued running towards the police — dodging and ducking. I began to take pictures of the boy who was dying next to me. Blood poured from his mouth and some children knelt next to him and tried to stop

the flow of blood." (Alf Kumalo, *South African Sunday Times*)

Police reinforcements poured into Soweto. By midday the whole township was out of control. At this point the South African police's new para-military anti-urban terrorism unit was called in. It was the first time the unit, using hand-picked men from stations all over the Reef, had been used against Blacks.

3.30 pm One unit of 55 men and three officers led by Colonel Theunis Swanepoel entered Soweto. A crowd of four to five thousand had gathered at Orlando West. Vehicles had been overturned and set alight and the crowd were throwing stones.

'It was a chaotic situation. Four vehicles were burnt. It was the most *waansinnig* (demented) scene I have come across in my life.' (Swanepoel) He said he realised that he would have to fight through the crowd to break them up. They used only high velocity rifles.

'Tear gas would have had no effect and a baton charge would have been suicide.' Swanepoel claimed to recognise the leader of the crowd 'from the movement he made with his hands'. He fired a single shot at him, but he disappeared into the crowd. Then he fired a further eight shots at the 'lieutenants of the leader on either side of him' and the crowd dispersed. (Colonel Swanepoel was formerly chief



A.P.

Some reports suggested that Hector Petersen was shot by black policemen. Eyewitness accounts, however, stress that on June 16th black police were posed for photographs pointing their pistols. They were then ordered back *without firing* and white marksmen took over. Later newspaper reports that confidence in the South African economy had not been shaken on the New York Stock Exchange attributed this fact to the pictures which had appeared in the American press, showing 'black policemen shooting at rioters'. American investors felt that this was not 'another Sharpeville'.

interrogator for the security police and has been denounced by name by the United Nations General Assembly.)

Security Net

Many of the students believed that these units were the army. 'They were wearing camouflage overalls and carrying rifles. Most of them on 16 June were really young boys, who looked as though they were still being trained. They used automatic rifles; there is not one shot, you just hear drrrrr . . .' (eyewitness)

Far from controlling the situation, paramilitary units only added fuel to the confrontation. A black plain clothes policeman and a white official of the Bantu Affairs administration were 'captured', beaten up and held hostage.

Police action was restricted to 'sorties' from the central police station and a security zone close by. Units of police would locate groups of pupils and students and then the confrontation followed, the pupils throwing stones and the police shooting down any students who stood their ground.

One large group of students, at the far end of town, stopped a huge trailer lorry full of beer. The cargo was smashed and the lorry set alight. Then the local administrative office of the Bantu Affairs administration was set alight and the records destroyed. The officials fled.

The demonstrators marched to White City No 1 Office and ransacked it before setting it alight. Police helicopters, which had been called in, tried to break up the crowd by dropping tear gas canisters. In an area stretching from Mzimhlope through Meadowlands up to the Zola-Naledi complex, at least ten Putco buses, nine administration offices, a post office, golf clubhouse, a bank and a library were gutted, and eight bottle stores and two bar lounges destroyed.

Reporters arriving on the scene were not allowed near any of the bodies that lay on the open ground. Police guards were placed on the bodies and reporters told 'it's none of your business'. The bodies were eventually taken away in police vans.

7.00 pm To the people returning from work in Johannesburg that evening, the events in Soweto came as a complete surprise. As thousands of men and women poured out of Inhlazane Station they were met by security police. No attempt was made to explain the situation. As a huge crowd gathered the police charged with batons. Tear gas was thrown but the crowd of commuters responded by throwing bricks and stones at the police, and before long older people had joined the students and youths on the streets of Soweto.

As night fell the township was ablaze. Buses that had brought back the wor-

kers from the cities were taken over and set alight. One was hijacked and driven through the front of an administration building. Under cover of darkness bands of people roamed the streets removing furniture from smashed buildings, and the liquor shops were emptied. There were many reports of 'looters' being shot, and the death toll rose.

Yet by nightfall police would only admit that three people had been killed, 'a young black, an old man and a black policeman'. Figures were relaxed later admitting 25 dead and 200 injured. The exact death toll on day one of the uprising will never be known.

As time goes on stories emerge of a concerted effort on the part of the authorities to obscure the number of deaths. Rumours persist of the police burning bodies, of heavily guarded mass graves, and the removal of large numbers of dead by truck out of the Johannesburg area.

That night the township was cut off by the police. Only troop reinforcements were allowed in. By the next morning a huge contingent of heavily armed policemen was on standby and planning to move into Soweto in armoured vehicles.

Day Two

Thursday 17 June 'Uncontrollable fury and the burning hostility of the people' was the mood of the township on day two. (eyewitness)

The newspapers tried to claim it was the *tsotsi* (hooligan) element taking over where the students left off. Shops were destroyed throughout the townships. Groups of pupils went to shopkeepers and demanded to see their trading licences. If the shops were owned or part-owned by Whites, they were burnt down immediately.

The police on Day Two used different tactics. They shot at random. Anyone who raised a clenched fist or shouted 'power' at the security forces was a 'ring-leader'. Children, bodies holed by bullets and arms still clenched in the power

salute, lay on the bloody ground. Eyewitnesses tell of police shooting their victims in the genitals. (Barney)

The unrest spread beyond the South Western Townships.

Small groups of students left Soweto to spread the news of the killings and to encourage other pupils and students to support them. Kagiso township, just to the north of Soweto, erupted. At Tembisa, on the other side of Johannesburg, the students organised a march in sympathy with the students of Soweto. At the same time, 400 white students of Witwatersrand University expressed their solidarity with a march in the centre of Johannesburg. The black pupils and white students in the front ranks were joined by black bystanders.

A crowd of Whites in shirt-sleeves carrying chains and crowbars, and later reported to be plain clothes police, tore into the march and attempted to break it up. Evening papers carrying pictures of Blacks and Whites heading the march said that the march later reformed and eventually dispersed peacefully.

Alexandra

News of Soweto had reached Alexandra township the day before, and the anger of the schoolchildren erupted as they made their way to school that Thursday. By 7.30 am the West Rand Administration Board offices were badly damaged. Dozens of vehicles had been set alight and two Putco buses were burning fiercely near the centre. A huge road block was set up in the centre of the township with the words 'why kill kids for Afrikaans' written in large letters across it. The police quickly set up headquarters in the damaged WRAB office block and hundreds of riot squad police moved about the township armed with automatic weapons. *Argus* reporters told how the township echoed to the sound of automatic fire and the screams of young children.

Soweto

Putco suspended the bus services, leaving many stranded workers to swell the



Blazing beerhall - Soweto



Riot squads and local police in operation in Soweto, June 1976.

numbers on the streets. The pall of smoke that hung over the township made it impossible for the police to co-ordinate their operations from the air. At various points students and residents had set up barricades and created 'no-go areas'. Newspapers described police activity as varying between 'indiscriminate killing' and 'inaction'. 'The police opened fire without warning, and I saw several people fall, I looked at them and three appeared to be dead.' (*Star*)

One reporter in a police patrol described how the patrol was 'ambushed' by youths hurling stones. 'Our driver trying to avoid the rocks ran into some barrels placed in

the road by the rioters, immobilising us. Police leapt from the armoured car firing. Both policemen in the car with me fired their pistols. The stone-throwers disappeared behind the store. Although the plain clothes men reckoned at least two of the youths had been hit, we did not dare to stop and check.'

At Zola, Ikwezi, Moletsane, Mofolo North and Naledi, the rebellion continued. Offices and shops were looted. Trucks were overturned and cars stopped and set alight by groups of young people. 'Passing police vehicles ignored them.' (*Star*)

Orlando Police Station, the centre of the

police operation against the rebellion, was surrounded on all sides by chanting schoolchildren. At intervals police armed with rifles and sub-machine guns would leave to investigate 'incidents' in the township. In most cases they fired shots, threw tear gas canisters and then retreated, making no attempts at arrest. On the rugby pitch opposite the police station air-force 'Alouette' helicopters would land, pick up loads of tear gas and fly off again. 'About 9.00 am, police brought in the blood-spattered body of an African. It lay on the grass outside

the station all morning.' (*Star*)

A 'Super Frelon' helicopter flew low overhead. Inside it was the Deputy Chief Commissioner of Police, conducting an on the spot investigation. As a result the Witwatersrand Command (army) was put on standby.

As well as sealing off Soweto, the police ordered people in Roodeport, Mondeor and other places bordering on Soweto not to leave their areas. All leave was cancelled. Anxious Whites were informed by officials of the municipal services in

Johannesburg that essential services would not be affected by the 'riots' as the black municipal labourers were housed in hostels 'elsewhere'.

9.00 am A clash was reported between police and pupils in Dobsonville. Several people were killed. In Naledi, described as the main trouble spot, angry youngsters created a 'no-go area'. In Klipstovwn the roads were made impassable by crowds throwing stones. In Dube, the 'middle class' area of Soweto, Barclays Bank was burned down and food delivery vehicles halted by students.



Alexandra, Friday 18 June. An armed policeman keeps angry bystanders at bay after a black driver and his passenger were shot dead as they drove through the township. The car overturned after the killings. Moment later the crowd seized sticks and dustbin lids and attacked the police surrounding the car shouting 'Why don't you kill us too?' A volley of shots was fired and as the crowd drew back a man lay dead on the verge. Alexandra's second day of violence had begun.

Popperfoto

Killings

Besides the bodies brought to Orlando Police Station, the hospital at Baragwanath on the outskirts of Soweto was filling up with the victims of the police shootings. A five year old girl, Tandi Plaatjies, was one of the first reported victims. She was brought in with a boy of about 14 who was never identified. The gates to the hospital were manned by police anti-riot squads, and at one point black nurses in the hospital, 'mostly women in starched white uniforms', attacked them for the way they were delaying the admission of badly wounded children. A young boy who had been shot three times by the police was kept waiting outside the hospital gate. He had been the victim of police action on the playing fields of Masekhene Primary School. Shortly afterwards another child was brought from the same place. At this point police cleared reporters from the hospital gate.

As night fell the police admitted that the death toll had risen to 58 (two Whites), with 788 (five Whites) injured. (*Sunday Times* 20.6.76). They could see no end to the violence and the trouble was spreading. Asked if he felt the situation was in danger of getting worse, Major General W.H. Kotze, in charge of the anti-riot squads, replied: 'Can it get worse? We have no contact with the rioters and they have no contact with us.' He refused to say how many police were being deployed or what type of units were in use, although journalists on the scene estimated that there were well over 1,000.

Although Soweto was quieter by midnight, the neighbouring township of Kagiso erupted. What had started as a demonstration by black pupils became increasingly violent towards nightfall as they were joined by older people back from work. Five people were killed by police. Soweto's hospital was full, so casualties of the evening's shootings in Soweto and Kagiso were taken to Leratong Hospital near Krugersdorp. Official figures for admission were 66 very badly injured.

In Johannesburg the evening newspapers were full of pictures of that day's street fighting



Preparing to move into the townships

Day Three

Friday 18 June News of the killings and brutality spread through the townships and reserves of South Africa. A thousand kilometres away in the Cape, police were taking 'all necessary precautions' around the black townships of Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga. The violence spread with the news, sometimes as a spontaneous outburst of anger, sometimes in direct response to the tightening grip of the authorities attempting to head off the uprising.

At 5.00 am workers waiting in Vosloorus township for buses to Johannesburg became angry because the buses were being delayed by road blocks and security checks. When the buses arrived at last, the waiting crowd stoned them and then set light to them. A police mortuary van that arrived on the scene was stopped at the same time, overturned and destroyed.

By first light a huge pall of smoke hung over Alexandra township to the northeast of Johannesburg. By early morning the whole of the business district was burning, and large areas of the town were turned into 'no-go areas' by the angry students and residents. Thick black smoke drifted across the prosperous suburbs of Lombardy East and West.

Traffic between Johannesburg and Pretoria, and out to Kempton Park and Jan Smuts airport was disrupted, and police used road blocks to divert traffic around Alexandra.

On the campus at the black University of Zululand near Durban, 500 kilometres from Soweto, nearly 2,000 students assembled to protest. By 7.00 am they had set light to the University buildings and had driven out all the white staff.

Three buildings, a church, the admin block and the library, were burned. Flames could be seen in Empangeni, 18 kilometres away. News that a similar protest planned at the (black) University of the North and directed at the Department of Afrikaans had been quashed by security forces only inflamed student anger. But by 11.00 am the Zululand campus was surrounded by para-military units and the protest had been quelled.

A heavy security ring had been thrown around Johannesburg's black townships to control the uprising and to prevent news leaking out of its extent. But by late morning it was apparent that nearly all the townships around Johannesburg and Pretoria were in uproar.

There were angry scenes in Tokosa and Daveyton in the Benoni district south of Soweto, in Natalspruit and Katlehong at Germiston, and in Vosloorus at Boksburg, just south of Johannesburg. And to the east of the city at Tembisa near Kempton Park there were reports of attacks on police and administration property.

Soweto

Meanwhile in Soweto the uneasy lull that had settled over the township during the night was broken by the outbreak of further violent protests. More buildings were burnt. The lack of detailed information reflects the restrictions placed on journalists. Reporters were told of fierce fighting between a task force and black youths in the Klipspruit neighbourhood of Soweto. The numbers killed and injured were never announced. But Colonel Gerber, the assistant police chief, said that the situation in Soweto was still

unchanged and 'very confused and ugly. At this stage it is impossible to say whether the army will be called in.' Just how haphazard the police shooting was is illustrated by the fact that a famous footballer Ariel 'Pro' Khougoane was shot through the head as he drove through the Rockville Shopping Centre in Soweto. News of his death spread like wildfire.

One reporter who slipped through the police road block reported: 'In Soweto now a white skin is a death warrant — unless under the protecting guns of the police. And the white police are edgy and angry. They are unable to understand what is going on and are none too gentle with black suspects. The black police, there are hundreds concentrated at Orlando Police Station, say little and do as they are told.' (*Star*)

The bodies of dead protesters, bundled into blankets, lay around the police station precinct. A large crowd lingered 'sullenly' not far away, and occasionally a tear gas canister would be lobbed and they would move back. The commanding officer of operations in Soweto admitted that he was 'perplexed by the black mind'.

Press men close to the police station were 'hustled away' when repeated screams of 'Baas, moenie my slaan nie' ('Boss, don't hit me') were heard coming from the cells. Police jostled round the door and window to see what was going on inside.

People returning from work to Soweto in the evening had to walk. What few buses and taxis did run stopped at the outskirts of the town and dropped their passengers. Many workers didn't want to use the buses anyway, and there were sporadic outbreaks of stone-throwing directed at the Putco buses.

The chairman of the West Rand Administration Board admitted that all Soweto's administration buildings had been destroyed, together with a substantial proportion of government property. All the beer halls and bottle stores had been looted and burnt and at least 120 vehicles burned out. 'Even a bank and a library have been burnt out. This was simply because it is white man's property.' (*Star*)

A reporter on the *Rand Daily Mail*, Mateu



Colonel Swanepoel once head of Security Police interrogation, led the riot police attacks in Soweto.

Nonyane sat outside the police station in Orlando throughout the night of the 17 June. He heard people screaming in the charge office.

'He saw a group of 20 students being tortured by black policemen outside the charge office in the middle of the night. The students were led into a courtyard and made to hop for twenty minutes while police hit them with batons and rubber hoses all over their bodies.

'Bodies of people killed in the rioting were laid outside the police station and the pile grew throughout the night. In the early hours of the morning the students were again brought out, forced to hop for another 20 minutes and then told by policemen to load corpses into the mortuary van. As they did so the van attendant kicked and assaulted them.' (Evidence given to the Cillie Commission RDM 25.9.76)

Day Four/Five

Saturday/Sunday 19/20 June An uneasy peace settled over the townships, although most areas were reported as being 'very tense' throughout the weekend. Many of the deliveries of basic foodstuffs to the townships were stopped. In Soweto dozens of shops were closed, but any vans trying to make deliveries were stopped by angry residents and either sent back or destroyed. The deputy fire chief of Johannesburg admitted that fire and ambulance services had not been operating in Soweto since Thursday.

'There is no danger of fires spreading in Soweto among the small individual houses' he added. (*Sunday Express*)

The Authorities Give Way on Afrikaans Mr M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Education, claimed that Afrikaans had not been compulsory anyway and schools could apply to deviate from the 50/50 principle of half of all school subjects being taught in Afrikaans. 'It was clear', he said, 'that the tragic circumstances in Soweto were caused by misunderstanding and confusion.'

No such mediation was offered by the Deputy Minister, A.P. Treurnicht, who asserted that 'it was in the Bantu's own good that he learned in Afrikaans. And where government builds schools and pays subsidies, is it not their right to determine in which language pupils must be taught' (*Weekend World*).

Casualties

The police admitted that at least 97 people had died and more than 1,000 were injured in the uprising. They did add that an unknown number had been shot during 'looting and troublemaking' over the weekend.

The Soweto Parents Association called a meeting to discuss the huge problem of burying all the victims.

Day Six

Monday 21 June Rebellion and violence spread to African townships around Pretoria, and there was renewed protest in other parts of the Transvaal. By the end of the day another ten people were dead. By midday there were towering columns of smoke over Mamelodi, Pretoria's 'showpiece' urban township — 'never before the scene of political rioting'. (*Cape Times*)

In Atteridgeville, within sight of Pretoria's skyscrapers, the shopping centre was set alight and crowds of blacks confronted the police throughout the day. Petrol bombs were thrown into many of the township's bottle stores and by mid-afternoon smoke filled the area.

Further north in Mabapone, the main targets were the buses belonging to the African Bus Service. More than a dozen red and white buses lay burning along the township road, and the company's main terminus was set on fire.

Trouble started outside the local high school when pupils refused to go to the classrooms after morning assembly. Again, the first victim of police bullets was a boy of 13.

In Mamelodi trouble spilled outside the townships and at one point threatened to spread into the white suburbs of Silverton and Jan Niemand Park.

The main road between Mabapone and Pretoria was blocked most of the day by large groups of young Blacks, and employers in Pretoria claimed that very few workers from the township turned up for work. Of those who did manage to get through, many were stopped at road blocks outside the city. Nervous security police seemed uncertain of the intentions of Blacks they let into the city. Many were turned back.

In the afternoon five Whites were attacked by a Black in John Vorster Square in the centre of Johannesburg, shouting 'black Africa' and 'Take revenge for the children of Soweto'. After a chase, a Black was wounded by police bullets and taken to the central police headquarters. Minutes later he plunged to his death from the fourth floor of the police building.

Day Seven

Tuesday 22 June The police figure for casualties the day before was ten killed, but the crowds milling around the Hillbrow Mortuary in Johannesburg suggested that the casualties were much higher. Many families left weeping, but others were told to 'come back later when more bodies had been received'. One family from Naledi in Soweto, identifying the body of their 18 year old daughter, said: 'There were lots of bullet holes in her body'. Many families reported having to pay as much as R200 (£140) to get the bodies of their children out of the mortuary.

While many of the townships round Pretoria were reported quiet, in Ga Rankuwa, north-west of the city, the pattern of unrest was repeated. What had started as pupil protest outside the High School in Zone 1 ended with the school being burned down and textbooks destroyed. Mamelodi was described by police as 'very tense', and although firing was heard during the day in the centre of the township, police prevented any press investigation. Later there were reports of six killed.

A similar pattern of rebellion erupted in Lowveld and Lekozi near Nelspruit, north-east of Pretoria and close to the Mozambique border.

Day Eight/Nine

Wednesday/Thursday 23/24 June Police tell the parents to get their children off the streets. 'Children will be injured because the police are forced to act harshly and we don't want to hurt children.'

This statement sparked off a discussion among young people in the townships. It is quite clear that the traditional leaders, the parent organisations, had no control over the situation. One student said: 'We cannot take it any longer. It is our parents who have let things go on far too long without doing anything. They have failed. We have been forced to fight to the bitter end.' (*The World*)

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, M.C. Botha, alleged that the riots had been deliberate and had been planned and prepared by Whites. Blacks had been incited. The government had to contend with 'reckless liberals' who were exploiting misunderstanding among black people.

The latest casualty figures released by the police claim that 176 have been killed and thousands injured.

The townships appeared quiet apart from isolated incidents in Lynville/Witbank, and Daveyton near Benoni. The movements of security forces to the Platteland suggested that they anticipated the trouble spreading.

By 25 June the two State mortuaries at Hillbrow and Fordsburg were filled to capacity, despite the fact that a constant stream of parents and relatives were taking bodies away. The police ordered the surplus of bodies to be held at the hospital mortuaries.

At the weekend a highly ominous government plan emerged, to make the Makgotla - tribally-based vigilante groups in the townships - legal.

Meanwhile the parents of the scores of pupils killed in Soweto plan a mass funeral. Strong contingents of police patrol the townships, and in the streets of Soweto 'hippo' patrols rumble constantly through the streets.

Thursday 1 July Considerable anger was aroused in Soweto by the government decision to ban the mass funeral of victims. On Tuesday and Wednesday funerals took place all over the Reef without incident. Many unidentified victims of the uprising were given a pauper's funeral - buried in unmarked graves. The townships are quiet but tense.

The following Sunday, M.C. Botha permitted the principals of each school to choose the main medium of instruction.

At the beginning of the week, many charged with rioting are set free. But behind the lull and the widely reported releases, the police began rounding up leaders of the black organisations.

Thursday 8 July Reports emerged that many children, some as young as eight, were being held in police cells. Major General Kotze and Brigadier Roos of John Vorster Police Headquarters denied all knowledge of children still being in custody. But when told that reporters had seen them they said: 'What do you think would happen if we let them run around the streets? Do you think that we would ever find them again?' No precise charges were to be brought against the children.

The lull persisted until 19 July. There were constant rumours of further unrest, but nothing definite happened. The police stepped up security operations. But persistent press reports of further



Soweto children shout defiance and give 'power' salutes around burnt out delivery van.

rebellion continue. Fort Hare University was closed until further notice. There were scattered cases of arson reported in Soweto, Sharpeville, West Transvaal and Nelspruit.

Thursday 22 July After being closed since 16 June, the schools were officially reopened. The majority of the township schools remained empty. Civic leaders and teachers made it known that the pupils were not at school because they were too frightened of police violence.

Heavily armed police continued to patrol the streets of Soweto. The sight of an armoured patrol was enough to send people fleeing from the streets. In the face of criticism the head of Soweto CID, Colonel Visser, said he saw 'no reason for police being blamed when they are obviously there to protect the public in cases of intimidation'.

Tuesday 27 July The schools began to fill, but Mamelodi High and Irene Farm School were set alight and extensively damaged. These two cases of arson marked the beginning of the next stage

in the uprising of Soweto. Over the next ten days or so 50 or more schools went up in flames. On the evening of 27 July six schools and a youth club were destroyed in Soweto. The next day another five Soweto schools were damaged by fire; Zola High, Orlando West High, plus Eiselen High, Phiri High, Tladi Primary, and, in Diepkloof, Madibane High. The flames spread throughout the Transvaal,

Natal and the Orange Free State.

The police admitted that police security patrols were being continually hampered by bands of stone-throwing youths in the townships.

Sunday 1 August In the previous week, student leader Mashinini called for a return to school: 'We can only conquer

'Hippo' meets Soweto roadblock



when we have a strong standpoint and stand as one.' The Soweto Students Representative Council was formed to represent the interests of the pupils and students in Soweto. The burning of schools is condemned and a call made for a return to school.

Tuesday 3 August Searching for the leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement, police entered a number of schools to interrogate and arrest. Shots were fired as students took on the police. Students poured out of the schools in Soweto and Tembisa.

Wednesday 4 August A huge eruption of violence took place in the townships around the Reef. The press emphasised the spontaneous nature of the eruption, but it was quite clearly the result of an intensification of police activity directed against students, and particularly the new student leaders, returning to school. The action was centred on Alexandra and Soweto.

Police encircled Soweto with a "huge blockade". Demonstrating students in school uniform attempted to persuade workers not to go to work. A stretch of the main line to Johannesburg was torn up and all trains into Johannesburg were cancelled. Buses taking workers to the city were stoned and jeered by angry students.

The March to Johannesburg

During the morning the thousands of students who had attempted to persuade their elders not to go to work joined up and marched towards Johannesburg. They broke through one police road block but were halted by massive units of anti-riot police at the New Canada Railway Junction. Although students made no attempt to break through the cordon, and the front rank held up notices saying 'We are not fighting, don't shoot', 12 of them were shot down and three died immediately.

Two of the pupils were shot point blank by tear gas canisters and seriously injured.

Thursday 5 August Student marches on the second day of the new upsurge of student protest were confronted by security police implementing a hit and pursue procedure. There were shootings in Pimville and White City and reports of a massacre of pupils cornered in a yard deep in Soweto. The following day General Prinsloo, the South African Commissioner of Police, announced that the police were on standby throughout South Africa and large reinforcements had been sent to Soweto. He added: We are not happy with the situation in Soweto. The disturbances are showing no sign of coming to an end and it seems that responsible people in Soweto cannot, or will not, do anything about the situation . . . We cannot allow our system of justice to fall to pieces to meet the demands of a handful of students.'

In the last two days police sources admitted nine people shot dead and over 40 injured.

Sunday 8 August The marches, the stoning, the firing of schools, continued, reaching a climax with students marching through Montshiwa township near Mafeking on the afternoon of 8 August and burning down the Legislative Assembly building. The police admitted that more than 200 people had been arrested in the recent unrest including most of the alleged 'leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement' (*The Argus*). In Hammanskraal another 197 pupils, 97 of them women, were arrested by police after the burning of a school building.

Wednesday 11 August The schools were empty again and not even the teachers turned up for classes. Kruger announced that 'indefinite preventative detention' had been introduced to wipe out the 'Black Power Movement, which is the main cause of unrest in the townships. The ideology is completely negative and completely destructive, and it does not hold any possibility for discussion or anything like that at all, and it is a very

difficult thing to try and contain.' (*The World*)

Saturday/Sunday 14/15 August Winnie Mandela, symbol and leader of the Black Parents Association, was arrested. Twenty six black students were arrested during a peaceful protest in Mdantsane near East London, and following the arrest of Mrs Mandela, 38 other key members of the Black Parents Association were also picked up. No black organisation was spared, and by the end of the weekend more than 60 prominent Blacks were in detention. Appeals to Kruger to 'meet' black leaders to avert further conflict were met with the retort: 'There is no-one to see, they are all behind bars'.

Tuesday/Wednesday 17/18 August On Tuesday the main trouble spots were the townships around Port Elizabeth. Police admitted killing eight students on the first day.

Throughout Wednesday heavy firing was heard coming from the area as students massed to march on the White-owned industrial area. The fighting lasted all day. Brigadier Kriel of the riot police claimed: 'The violence is the final throes of the unrest that has disrupted South Africa for nearly two months'. The two-day struggle around Port Elizabeth left 33 dead.

The official figure for deaths since 16 June was given as 231 dead and 1,200 injured.

In a speech which greatly amused his Nationalist audience and which was widely reported in the press, Kruger said of the blacks: 'He knows his place, and if not I'll tell him. The Blacks always say "We shall overcome", but I say we shall overcome.' He also admitted that many of those arrested 'may never be charged but may be held indefinitely under the new "preventative detention" laws'. (21.8.76)

By the end of the month 800 people were officially detained, including 77 leaders of the Black Consciousness movements (*The Star* 30.8.76).

THE CAPE GOES UP

A thousand miles away in the black townships around Cape

Town, the tension built up.



Popperfoto

Police surrounded schools, in an attempt to ensure that there was no repetition of the events in Soweto. This meant that pupils could no longer use the schools for studying after hours.

Minor incidents involving riot police and students at the Universities of Cape Town and the Western Cape occurred. The sight of vanloads of heavily armed riot police roaming the area became commonplace.

Wednesday 11 August The black townships of the Cape witness the start

of a wave of protest that has not yet ended. Our source in South Africa describes how it happened.

'At 8.15 am Langa High school students congregated on the sports field, instead of assembling in front of their teachers to break up for their classes, which is the customary practice. A visibly apprehensive crowd of onlookers from all walks of life materialised gradually.

'Nobody asked what was the matter, or what the students were discussing. The meeting itself was well out of earshot,

but student after student could be seen gesticulating, obviously striving to hammer a point home. A distinct feature of the meeting was the fact that the discussion was neither confined to nor monopolised by the recognised clique.

'As the meeting dragged on, three vanloads of riot police sped past the school towards Langa police station. It was now 8.45 am. The crowd, which had been growing spasmodically, became restless. About ten students appeared from the direction of the railway station and greeted the crowds, who responded en-

thusiastically with Black Power salutes.

'Police entered the school, and spent about 30 minutes inside. They left again, without trying to address the students. When teachers tried to negotiate with the students they were booed until they had to retreat to the offices.

'About 45 minutes after the police had left, the students left the school and trickled into Washington Street in a peaceful demonstration in solidarity with the victims of Soweto.

'The students advanced towards the bachelors' quarters area of town, followed by a group of teachers determined to see that the demonstration remained orderly. They in turn were followed by a convoy of riot police vehicles.

'The entire procession was almost surrounded by the crowd, which began shouting at the police. As the demonstration approached a bottle store, stones were thrown by the crowd. The students turned back towards the centre of the township, and the stone throwing stopped.

'Eventually, after marching a little longer, the students returned to school, and at 2.00 pm they broke up formally.'

Exactly when violence broke out is unclear, but 'soon afterwards the police riot squad moved into Washington Street, which was crowded with thousands of people of all ages, and warned the mobs to disperse. Police then moved away from the spot, but stopped again a short distance from the Langa police station as another crowd formed in an open space beside a primary school.' (*Cape Times* 12.8.76)

A police officer gave the screaming crowd five minutes to disperse, and within minutes tear gas was fired straight at the massed crowds as stones and bottles began to rain down on police vehicles.

Riot squad dog handlers singled out people from the crowd and set the dogs on them. 'The man was brought down screaming by the snarling dog and arrested - his clothing tattered and blood spilling from his head and legs.' (*Cape Times*)



Chained by the neck a Black is led away by a plain clothes policeman.

A woman shouted 'You come to kill innocent black people and children. Why don't you get out of our township?' She was arrested.

By a quarter to six the bottle store was ablaze, a single quarters block was on fire, and the police were again using tear gas to disperse the crowd.

Arrests

In the adjacent townships of Guguletu and Nyanga, similar demonstrations took place in the morning, and were met with immediate violence by the police.

Students from Fezeka and I.D. Mkize schools, who tried to march to Langa to link up with the demonstration there, were dispersed by a volley of teargas canisters. They reformed and went to Nyanga, and marched from school to school bringing out more pupils.

Then they continued their march, moving towards the Walter Teka primary school. At the entrance to the school, the riot police were waiting. They gave them eight minutes to disperse, and when they didn't, police fired teargas into the marchers and managed to arrest 30 of them. Those who could retreated

to the bushes that separate Nyanga from Guguletu.

Within ten minutes they were on their way to Guguletu police station. The station was surrounded by the angry crowd, who were washing down their faces with bottles of water as a defence against the teargas thrown at them. Volunteers surfaced to put the demands for the release of the arrested students. Eventually all the students were released - except one. The anger of the crowd redoubled, police fired tear gas canisters repeatedly, vehicles were stoned. The last student emerged . . .

All the eyewitness reports of the demonstrations in Langa and Guguletu stress that they were peaceful until the police attacked.

Police action

'I am convinced that the situation could have been contained. The interference of the police aggravated a potentially explosive situation. . . It is a fallacy to attribute all violent incidents to the skollie (hooligan) element, the way the press did.' (Langa Shop owner)

'It was a peaceful demonstration till the police arrived. It is only a pity that the



police fired on the mobs because the people then adopted a militant stand. When your kids are shot you cannot keep your cool. I saw people fleeing in panic and shot as they were running away.' (A resident)

It is very unclear when the police started shooting to kill, or who the first victims were. All we can say definitely is that armed police killed sixteen unarmed Africans that day, and wounded at least 51 more.

6.00 pm As people came home from work in Cape Town, they joined in the demonstrations. The bottle stores, long resented by the black inhabitants of the townships, were set on fire.

Heavily armed

As night approached, police operations took on the character of a search and destroy mission into occupied territory. Henrie Geysler of *The Argus* describes such a mission into Guguletu. 'Clouds of smoke filled the air and flames lit up the night sky as several buildings and beer-halls burnt . . . We left the police station about 9.30 in convoy of six mesh protected police vehicles and accompanied by about 80 heavily armed policemen.

'The atmosphere was tense as the convoy cruised through the scarred township. Rocks and bottles smashed down on the police vehicles.

'From where we stood we could see the flashes of gunfire as the convoy used rifles and teargas to break up the crowd . . . other police carried the wounded to a large police vehicle . . . 20 minutes later we were back at the police station where dead and dying were transferred into waiting ambulances.'

From inside the police station, where reporters were then confined, the crackle of machine gun fire could be heard through the long night. Loud explosions echoed across the Cape Flats some time before midnight — probably gas cylinders exploding in the fires.

Thursday 12 August Early in the morning, Colonel Kotze, the officer in

LETTERS

MEDICAL ATTENTION HELD TO RANSOM?

The riot torn areas were cut off — people could only enter and leave the area under police supervision. The injured could only reach hospitals through them and those who didn't want to give themselves up were effectively cut off from medical attention.

Many victims who were brought to traumer units were seen peppered by buck-shot — an excruciating and very effective method of controlling "mobs".

Others had multiple broken bones and perforation wounds of 9 mm Paanalsellum bullets, others had slashed skin?

It is alleged that a black doctor who was treating his injured people, was discovered. When they came to arrest him, the people refused to let him go and the

police shot the doctor in the leg.

In traumer units 22 inch calibre bullets were excised — this they said, was proof that there is interfaction fighting and that many of the casualties weren't police caused at all, yet it is alleged that many South African Police carry their own weapons besides the standard 9 mm Paanalsellums.

These are but a few incidents alleged to have occurred — few of which were reported in the daily press, but from the above one could conclude that medical services are being held for ransom at the price of political gain.

If this is true, it is contrary to medical ethic and shouldn't be tolerated.

4TH YEAR MEDIC

Letter in University of Cape Town Student Magazine

charge of police operations in Guguletu, felt able to make a statement. The situation, which had been out of control at 10.00 pm the night before, was 'easing'. Police had resorted to the use of shot-guns, firing birdshot into crowds of 'looters'. The measures had proved 'effective'.

But it wasn't long before Langa police station was once again surrounded — this time by Langa High school students carrying placards saying 'We are not fighting'.

The police told them to disperse — and fired tear gas canisters at them. An eyewitness describes what happened next. 'During the hullabaloo several shots were fired and one student fell dead and two were injured. Frantic efforts were made by the students to pick up their dead colleague but they were thwarted as the guns were pointed at them.

'It was the most poignant moment of my life. It was like a revelation of what naked brutality is, the students weeping but still defying the teargas in a vain bid to pick up their fallen colleague.

'There we were, unable to do anything except to exclaim. The girl students' screams tore the air.' (Eyewitness interviewed by CIS informant)

The students retreated to the high school where, from a helicopter hovering overhead, teargas canisters were lobbed at them.

In Nyanga a crowd of schoolstudents and

others gathered at a roadblock on the Lansdowne Road, and confronted a line of policemen. Six riot vans of police reinforcements with dogs rushed to the scene. Teargas was thrown, and most of the crowd moved away when the gas reached them, but some began throwing stones at the police.

The police fired a short volley. When the crowd dispersed, three bodies lay on the ground.

2.00 pm Once again Langa students marched on the police station. One student, carrying a white flag, disappeared inside and stayed for three quarters of an hour. He reappeared flanked by six policemen asking for a list of names of those arrested. The pupils marched quietly back.

8.00 pm The townships were totally cut off from the outside world by the police. One hundred and thirty riot police had been airlifted in by Hercules transport from the Reef. With Brigadier Visser, they had gained their experience in Soweto.

'I have been sent down to put a stop to the rioting here and that is just what I am going to do' claimed the Brigadier. Journalists, though not allowed into the townships, reported that heavily armed police with dogs were combing the township, and that at intervals gunshots could be heard.

By that night, most of the social, business and administrative machinery of Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga was in ruins. Beerhalls, post offices and government buildings had all been destroyed.

'Anti-riot vehicles roamed ceaselessly along the sullen streets and past the fire gutted shells of public buildings. Late last night police officers reported the townships tense but quiet.' (RDM 13.8.76)

Friday 13 August The three townships are quiet, with only one stoning incident being reported. All deliveries of milk, bread and meat to the shops had been disrupted, and deliveries were only going to selected points on the outskirts of town.

Saturday 14 August For the moment an uneasy calm had returned to the Cape townships. On a blackboard in a school in Nyanga a crude map was drawn, writes one of our informants. On it were the words 'Cape Town comrades, Mdantsane comrades, Soweto comrades, Maputo comrades . . . all these comrades must unite. NO RACIALISM. NO COLONIALISM. EQUALITY.'

Sunday 22 August The student shot dead by police at the head of the demonstration on Thursday 12 August was an 18 year old pupil at Langa High school. His fellow students wished to mark his death with a mass funeral procession.

The chief magistrate at Wynberg ordered that the funeral be restricted to parents and close relatives. The students defied the ban. They were met with tear gas grenades and baton charges from the police at the grave side.

Monday 23 August Five hundred Blacks demonstrated in Guguletu, singing and chanting. They were dispersed with tear gas and a baton charge.

Langa High school students made a statement. 'We want our fellow students who have been detained to be released, and other detainees, regardless of colour. Equal job, equal pay. Free education. We will never attend classes unless these demands are fulfilled, and the South African government will experience daily rioting if the above mentioned demands are not fulfilled.'

STRIKE AND COUNTER STRIKE



Tuesday afternoon. A policeman and an interpreter on a police 'hippo' address a crowd of hostel dwellers outside Mzimhlope Hostel. As he finishes speaking the hostel dwellers singing war songs and brandishing assegais go on the rampage.



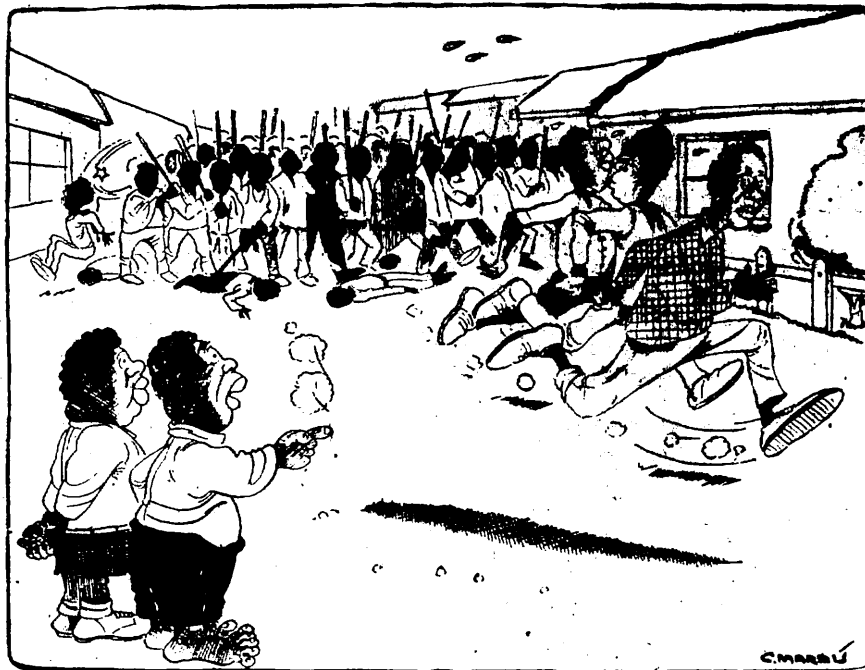
Weekend 21/22 August Over the weekend, A.N.C. leaflets calling for a three day general strike were put under the door of every house in Soweto. This operation was organised by the Soweto Students Representative Council and involved careful planning the week before. Black office workers had been approached and asked to make copies of leaflets calling for the stayaway. At the same time rumours of the strike spread among workers, and pickets were out at many stations the previous week of people who thought the strike ought to start immediately. 'We had realised we had gone as far as we could, and it was now important that we strike at the industrial structure of South Africa.' (Mashinini) Street corners in Soweto were covered in posters supporting the call.

Monday 23 August Before first light the streets were full of people standing around uneasily. Those who had decided not to support the strike had left the township the night before, and slept at work. But most waited to see how everybody else would react. Pupils set up pickets at the stations and it was soon clear that the strike would be fully supported.

The taxis were not operating, and no buses had been running within the townships for some weeks, so anyone trying to go to work would have been conspicuous. On the outskirts of town, Putco buses had police security escorts, and every bus carried a police marksman.

The trains ran virtually empty, despite the fact that the groups of students picketing the stations were far outnumbered by riot police in armoured 'hippos'. At the entrance to Soweto a huge contingent of police stood guard. A small group of hostel dwellers ignored the strike, refused to listen to the pleas of the pupils picketing the stations, and boarded the train for Johannesburg. At Phefeni station a larger band of hostel dwellers armed with kieres (wooden club-sticks) was confronted by pupils. Police used teargas to disperse the crowd. By 11.30 am, even the workers who had broken the strike were trickling back into the township.

The evening papers reported that the



"What would Gatsha Buthelezi say if he saw Zulu Inkatha putting Black Power in its place?"

DIE VOLKSBLAD (A - AUGUST 26)

A Nationalist cartoon applauds the police-inspired - but short-lived - Zulu 'backlash'.

absentee rate throughout Johannesburg was 80%, and added that employers were threatening the sack for anyone who stayed away in sympathy with the strikers. The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce reported that 'the stayaway hit industrialists, retailers and insurance companies. Either nobody turned up on the black staff, or considerable numbers stayed away.'

Pupils picketing Orlando station were fired at three times by police trying to disperse them. In one incident 'a bystander on his way to work' was shot dead, and at least six other people were wounded.

The strike did not spread to Pretoria, but in the Mamelodi township large groups of students attempted to stop people going to work. Buses were stoned and set alight. Police reinforcements were rushed to four schools after pupils had threatened to burn them down. Police in vans, armed with hand guns, semi-automatic rifles and clubs confronted groups of black students.

In the evening there was more violence in Soweto as the police carried out their threat to 'protect' anyone who went to work. Workers returning from the city, most of them hostel dwellers, were met by police at the station. Students picketing the stations were picked off by police sharp shooters, and on several

occasions whole groups of demonstrators were blasted by fine buckshot.

What happened in the next few days is confused. To the outside world it was presented as a spontaneous 'backlash' by Sowetans who wanted to go to work. The fact that the backlash was confined to the hostel dwellers and had been predicted by the police and employers throws some light on its nature. Evidence that emerged later, and a closer reading of events, indicates that the backlash was planned and fuelled by the security forces.

On Sunday 22 August, Major General M. Geldenhuys warned: 'Agitators who attempt to enforce a work stayaway in Soweto will experience a backlash from law abiding citizens in the townships. People in Soweto are getting sick of these people, and because of this the police are not worried.'

On Monday night, 23 August, a number of homes were set alight as a reprisal against those who broke the strike.

Tuesday 24 August The morning of the second day of the strike found most people in Soweto supporting it. *The World* carried a warning from Colonel Visser, head of C.I.D.: 'Go to work and disregard the groups of young intimidators telling people not to go to work. People must go to work and just thrash the children stopping them.'



Gatscha Buthelezi — Chief of the Zululand Bautustau.

Johannesburg: Zulu tribesmen armed with traditional weapons stand guard outside a hostel in black township of Soweto 9.8.76.



Again there was some confusion early in the morning as thousands of workers, men and women, lined the township roads seemingly uncertain as to whether to go to work or not. Early editions of the evening paper *The Star* carried a banner headline on its front page; 'Soweto Backlash Killings' and recounted an event of the previous night when two students picketing the station near the Mzimhlope hostel were beaten to death by hostel dwellers returning from work. The story implied there had been further killings, but no other paper carried the story.

But on Tuesday afternoon the long predicted and already reported 'backlash' actually happened. In a supposed reprisal for the burning of some rooms in the Mzimhlope hostel, 'a thousand Zulu impi went on the rampage'.

First reports told of hundreds of Zulu hostel dwellers, banded into a massive impi (tribal band), armed with sticks, assegais and pangas (long bladed knives), charging through the streets breaking into homes and attacking householders.

The centre of activity was the area by Mzimhlope hostel. 'Police are reported to have watched from their hippos without taking action as the warriors rampaged through the area of Orlando West, scouring streets and homes in search of "cheeky" children.' (RDM 25.8.76)

The propaganda continued: 'I have no knowledge of these rampaging Zulus, but if it is happening I am not surprised. If people want to organise themselves into resisting tsotsis we can't stop them. People are getting very fed up with the things that are happening in Soweto' (General Prinsloo).

In the outlying Meadowlands area of Soweto, rumours that 'the Zulus are coming' spread like wildfire, and many residents left their homes and fled. According to eyewitnesses, bands of hostel dwellers led by police 'hippos' roamed the streets, and when groups of youths tried to block their way, the police fired on them with shotguns. Hostel dwellers were then allowed a free hand to pursue them into their homes. Many houses were burned down.

The police version was that they had averted a number of potentially dangerous confrontations by firing buckshot. When hundreds of residents, particularly women, sought the protection of the police around Orlando police station, they were turned away and told 'you did not want protection to go to work, so why do you want it now?' (*Star*).

Backlash

'Men carrying butcher knives, pangas, tomahawks, kieries and stones started chasing people around. What amazed me was that as they assaulted people, heavily armed police stood by and did nothing to protect the residents. The hostel dwellers wildly swinging their weapons shouted 'we will kill these people' (*Star*). Another *Star* reporter confirmed the story, and pointed out that the main target seemed to be young men.

The 'backlash' dominated the news. There were reports of six to ten killed by Tuesday evening, and Baragwanath Hospital full of people with bullet and stab wounds. But elsewhere in Soweto, pupils were organising pickets on exit roads to prevent people going back to work. On one road, they set up a barricade, but police broke it up with rifles and shotguns.

A reporter who spent the night in Orlando West saw a different side of the 'backlash'. 'After witnessing neighbours fleeing the township to seek refuge in townships deeper in Soweto, after watching houses being stoned and raided by heavily armed Zulus, I chose a coal box to shelter in. At 2.15 in the morning a police loud hailer warned Zulus (in Zulu) to stop raiding houses; "We didn't order you to destroy West Rand (Administration Board) property. You were asked to fight people only, so you are asked to withdraw immediately." This restored peace to a terrified Orlando West after hours of violence.' (*RDM* 26.8.76) This reporter was later detained.

Wednesday 25 August On the day the students tagged 'D' day, the strike held firm. Employers admitted that absenteeism was high, in some sectors

better, in some worse, than in the previous two days. For the third day running, there were large pickets at the station. Workers who broke the strike were jeered, and some students shouted 'Give our regards to your masters. We'll catch up with you tonight'. There was no reported increase in the number of hostel dwellers going to work.

Asked how many victims the backlash had claimed, police said they were still 'collecting' bodies. Stories that women had been captured and raped in the township were rife.

In Pretoria, Mr Kruger, Minister of Police, told reporters 'People are allowed to protect themselves against physical intimidation. The situation will calm itself once people realise there is a strong backlash' (*Star* 25.8.76).

As Kruger spoke, a group of about a thousand Meadowlands residents raided the Mzimhlope hostel in an attempt to rescue the women they believed were being held hostage inside. Police in hippos outside the hostel fence fired FN rifles at the crowd. The crowd scattered.

Orders to kill

A journalist who managed to get inside witnessed further evidence of police involvement. 'There I saw a policeman dressed in camouflage suit armed with an FN rifle. Through an interpreter the policeman said "You are warned not to continue damaging the houses, because they belong to the West Rand Administration Board. If you damage houses you will force us to take action against you to prevent this. You have been ordered to kill only these troublemakers"'. Indeed, two hostel dwellers from Pholomong were shot by police that day.

Police said they had found 20 bodies in the riot area that day, and 13 of them had panga wounds. General Prinsloo appeared on TV and described reports that police were urging hostel inmates to attack trouble makers as 'utter nonsense'.

But under cover of darkness, heavily

armed groups of men moved out of the hostel. In front, and on each side, 'hippo' armoured cars moved with them. A *Star* reporter had heard, just a few minutes earlier, a black uniformed policeman telling them to eat and drink well so 'they could kill on full stomachs' (*Star* 26.8.76).

Residents of the area, grouped together to defend themselves against the expected onslaught, had to flee as the police opened fire. They left their belongings in the street as the 'Zulu impis' advanced. Eye witnesses saw three people shot by the police, and their bodies thrown into police vans. Two other bodies with bullet wounds were left lying in the street. (*World* 26.8.76)

Back to work

The 'backlash' sweep continued. In White City Javabu more than ten people were wounded when police opened fire on groups of people standing on the street and near shops. The mother of an eight month old baby was shot in the back.

Other areas suffered this police-led assault: Naledi; Tladi; Moletsane; Mapetla; Mofolo; Molape and Rockville. Baragwanath hospital was full. The overstretched ambulances were diverted to Leratong hospital in the West Rand. Taxis and cars passing by were pulled in to take the dead and wounded to hospital. (*World* 26.8.76)

Thursday 26 August The strike was over. From five in the morning the streets were full of people going to work. Buses and trains were running as usual, and employers in Johannesburg and the industrial area reported almost full attendance.

But the 'supervised rampage' of the night before had left many dead. Kriel of riot control told the press that 21 people had died so far, ten as a result of police action.

At dawn a large convoy of trucks full of heavily armed men was seen moving from the hostels on the outskirts of Soweto deep into the township. Wherever the convoy went trouble was reported, and the main targets seemed to be the schools.



Popperfoto

A Soweto worker dies in police orchestrated 'backlash'.

Despite a news blackout, a number of newspapers had residents phoning in and saying that children were being attacked at school, and whole schools had been evacuated. The worst affected neighbourhoods were Naledi, Mofolo, Dube, Fladi and Emdeni.

Selected targets

Despite police denials, newspapers were now giving evidence of overt police collaboration in the 'backlash'. 'Star' reporters saw one group of hostel dwellers moving into Zone 7, Meadowlands, alongside a police "hippo". They reported that the police appeared to be firing ahead. They did not interfere with the hostel dwellers . . . Star reporters also said that two black policemen in a police van (licence no. TJ 320 824) went through the affected area today urging people to arm themselves to fight "Black Power tsotsis". When a group had formed and was going towards Meadowlands High School, the reporters said they saw police in 'hippos' and vans open fire on approaching residents. They reported that they had seen several people hit by gunfire. The police refused to comment, and just said 'Soweto hostel dwellers stayed inside their compounds all day.' (General Prinsloo, *Star* 27.8.76)

Not that the police had it all their own way. Evidence that the 'backlash' was planned and stage-managed emerged more and more strongly. On 15 August Mrs Winnie Mandela had filed a deposition before Justice Coetzee giving evidence of a vigilante force being organised in Soweto in the name of members of the Urban Bantu Council. At a meeting of the

vigilante group in the house of the 'mayor' of Soweto, overseen by a plain clothes police sergeant, a decision had been taken 'that in future children who stopped any workers from going to work or who asked any workers returning why they had gone to work SHOULD BE KILLED.'

It was also said that they had received permission from the government to re-establish the Home Guard and 'remove all dirt'. Members of the Black Parents Association were listed by name and the group decided: 'when the next sign of trouble breaks out and any damage is caused to any house belonging to a committee or school board member or a policeman, then steps should be taken to attack the homes of the Black Parents Association' (Sworn testimony of witness).

The police officer allegedly took note of the decision and promised to convey it to police headquarters, and he 'assured the meeting that no-one would be prosecuted for carrying weapons and police would co-operate with the people present' (Sworn testimony of witness 15.8.76).

Police plot

It was now widely felt within the townships that the whole backlash had been planned and orchestrated, and that the Zulu Inkatha Cultural Movement had been the vehicle for the operation. Michael Mzobe leader of the Dube hostel inmates made an impassioned plea to 'our brothers at Mzimhlope hostel' to stop fighting other Blacks.

By Thursday 26 August, the Zulu Bantustan, Chief Buthelezi was calling on the

hostel dwellers to stop the fighting. The police made every effort to isolate the hostel dwellers from these appeals. Kruger, Minister of Police refused to allow Buthelezi into the Mzimhlope hostel telling him to 'stay out of Soweto and not interfere in the situation there' (*The World*).

Mr Thula, head of the Inkatha movement, was also warned off by a senior Security Branch officer, and forbidden to speak to anybody.

Friday 27 August

In the afternoon, Buthelezi went into Soweto despite the ban. On Saturday Kruger warned that he would take a 'serious view' of any newspaper that printed allegations made by the chief. Only the *Sunday Tribune* dared publish his statement.

What Buthelezi heard convinced him of heavy security police involvement in the activity of the hostel dwellers. He accepted that the hostel dwellers had been intimidated when they went to work. That groups of hostel dwellers had gone to the station to protect those coming back from work. That they had been joined by 'heavily armed groups later and that what was noticed by some, was that their red boots looked similar to those worn by the police.' That people had been transported by the police to various parts of Soweto and encouraged to retaliate. That hostel dwellers had been given *dagga* (marijuana) and had been allowed to smoke it in the presence of police. That Whites in camouflage had urged the crowd to *Bulala zonke* - kill them all. 'To me therefore, there appears to have been some stage managing of the whole tragic mischief, which people allege was done by the police.' (Buthelezi, *Sunday Tribune* 29.8.76)

True to their word, employers carried out their threat not to pay those who had supported the strike. 'Most black workers who stayed away from work this week will find empty pay packets today' said the Director of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries. In a week in which the price of bread rose 25%, unions warned that 'starvation could aggravate the unrest. Empty stomachs know no laws'.

SOLID COLOUR

The apartheid system not only enforces the elite position of Whites, but also divides non-Whites into separate groups. The greatest division is between the 15 million African Blacks and the three million racially mixed Coloureds.

A.P.

Popperfoto



Police fire on coloured pupils and then . . .

Charge, trapping many against a fence.



Popperfoto

'When the dust and teargas had cleared, a 15-year-old pupil lay critically injured among the spent shotgun cartridges, stones, broken glass and gas canisters in the no-man's land between angry rioters and (hard-pressed) regular and riot police.

'The first victim, Christopher Truter, moaned, unconscious. Blood oozed from a hole in his head and ran down his face. His body was racked with involuntary spasms and jerks that twitched his arms and legs. He was taken to hospital in a critical condition', and died on September 1st. — (*Cape Herald* 31.8.76)

The Whites have allowed the Coloureds a status well above that of the Blacks, with better jobs and pay, better social facilities and permanent housing in designated areas.

Many Coloureds live within the traditionally 'liberal' English speaking Cape Province, and some 733,000 live in the Cape Town district alone.

The coloured school children in the Cape Peninsula around Cape Town demonstrated in support of the Blacks several times during July and August. These protests took place without major incident. In the forefront were the students of the Coloured University of the Western Cape, but later the protests spread to the high schools and teacher training colleges.

Bonteheuwel is a coloured township outside Cape Town, bordering the black townships of Langa and Nyanga, and the large coloured area of Athlone.

Monday 23 August This was the first day of the general strike in Soweto. Students at Bonteheuwel's three high schools held solidarity demonstrations. They passed off relatively peacefully, though the one at Modderdam High School was broken up by a riot squad.

A statement put out by the pupils of Athlone High School made it clear that their target was the apartheid state itself. They condemned the state of injustice in South Africa; police brutality; the suppression of protests; inferior education; segregation laws; and the plight of detainees.

The statement said 'We wish the people to know that we are prepared to sacrifice everything, our carefully planned careers and aspirations, for the ensurance of a better and more just future.'

Tuesday 24 August Police started the fatal escalation of violence that was to engulf the Peninsula. Bonteheuwel High school students refused to attend classes that morning. They decided to hold a peaceful demonstration in the school grounds.

'They carried placards expressing sympathy with fellow scholars in African



Black school children both African and coloured demonstrating together in Cape Town.



Whites and Blacks alike come under fire in the centre of Cape Town



areas. The atmosphere of the demonstration was jovial rather than aggressive.

'The riot squad arrived in mesh-protected vehicles; they were wearing camouflaged battle dress and were armed with shotguns, rifles and teargas guns. Immediately the Principal asked them to leave because their presence was unnecessary. They ordered him to stand aside.

'The commanding officer ordered his men to line up and without warning, teargas was fired at the children. They were then baton charged by the riot squad.

'The children fled across the school grounds until they were cornered against the 8ft high fence. Most of the boys managed to scale the fence. The girls were trapped and were severely beaten up.

'It was only because of this that an angry crowd of parents and children later gathered in Dissel Road outside the school. This prompted the return of the riot squad to "break up an illegal gathering".' (Teacher, writing in *The Guardian* 1.11.76)

A senior police officer commented 'The pupils are apparently unhappy that they were dispersed by teargas and rubber pipes. They object to being hit by the police' (*Argus* 24.8.76).

5.00 pm Outraged students gather in groups, stoning passing cars. As bus services were withdrawn and all police patrols replaced by the riot squad, the crowds grew.

They roamed the streets, tried to set fire to the showpiece municipal building, and broke down the doors of the Ned Geref Dutch Reformed Church. Riot squads came to the rescue of the church, temporarily scattering the demonstrators, but they regrouped and turned their attention to the township centre.

11.00 pm Two thousand coloured men women and children demonstrated in and around the centre, locked in a running battle with riot police.

Wednesday 25 August Once again the pupils of Bonteheuwel High refuse

to go to classes and gather outside the school.

The riot squad convoy arrives. As it moves past the school stones and rocks rain down. The squad stops – and fires a volley of teargas canisters at the pupils. An angry crowd of parents and bystanders collects, and begins shouting at the police and throwing stones at them.

The pattern was repeated at Modderdam and at Arcadia High. At Arcadia one van circled the school firing teargas, and was stoned in return.

'A crowd collected – mainly women and children. Police trucks moved behind the school and were met with jeers from the crowd.

'Pupils from the Modderdam High School then joined the crowd and the emotional tirade of cheers, jeers and boos was punctuated with blasts from single barrel shotguns.

Murder

'Then four plainclothed detectives arrived in a small blue car. One jumped out and was assisted by another policeman in grabbing a demonstrator and dragging him to the car.

'Women screamed and swore at the policemen as stones hailed down. One detective, baton in hand, gun in the other, opened fire.

'The detectives then got into their car – and fled while stones rained down on the vehicle and women screamed abuse.

'Then everyone turned towards the body of Christopher Truter.

'He was attended to by a member of the crowd while his sister cried and his brother ranted. Riot police still on the scene tried to quiet him, saying: "It's not a bullet wound, it's from a stone. Your own people did that."

'But he would not believe them and neither would the crowd. Minutes later the brother was pushed into a riot squad van.' Christopher Truter died on 1 September, shot in the head. (*Cape Herald* 31.8.76)

The swollen crowd surged angrily around the ambulance that came to get the boy, shouting and threatening the police escort, and throwing stones as it left.

12.00 pm The whole township had erupted, with the shopping centre the focus of attention. Everywhere large crowds assembled, chanting and jeering at the police. As police attacked and broke up one crowd, another collected somewhere else. Rocks were hurled at all passing vehicles.

Hospital arrests

5.00 pm A large group of coloured protesters burst out of Bonteheuwel onto a bridge over the N2 trunk road, and forced the rush hour traffic to run a gauntlet of stones and rocks.

While traffic police sealed off all roads into the suburb, riot squad reinforcements moved in, their vehicles sweeping through the township, hurling tear gas canisters at demonstrators and into backyards. Parents gathered up small children and ran for cover. Clouds of stinging tear gas filling the streets.

The rent office was set alight, and a supermarket blazed. The police started using guns as well as tear gas and batons. At least one man was shot dead, and many more wounded. Many of the injured hid in the townships following police arrests of those admitted to hospital with bullet wounds.

Police described Bonteheuwel as a 'slagveld' – a battlefield.

Thursday 26 August Sporadic confrontations continued during the day. Police tried out new tactics. A riot squad attacked a crowd with tear gas and batons. Then they withdrew, but they left several of their number concealed in a nearby house. The crowd reformed. A 'decoy' car drove past in the direction of the hidden police, drawing the stone-throwing crowd forward. As the crowd drew closer, the hidden police stepped out of the house, letting loose into the crowd with shotguns, and the rest of the riot police returned to mop up.



Athlone, Wednesday 1 September, Sandra Peters an 11-year old Coloured girl, was sent by her grandmother to the butcher to fetch some meat. Schoolchildren were demonstrating peacefully in Klipfontein Road at the time. A neighbour's child was watching from the balcony of a shop. She saw Sandra walk past, and then saw the police start shooting at the crowd. She ran back to Sandra's mother, Kathleen Peters. "When everyone ran off, Sandra was left lying on the pavement", she said.

Mrs Peters and Sandra's sister Josephine rushed to Athlone police station to find out what had happened to Sandra. They got no answer; instead, they were both arrested and thrown in jail. They were not released until 3.00 pm the next day.

Sandra had either been shot twice or the bullet had split in her head. She was critically wounded. She needed an urgent operation, but before they could operate the doctors needed the approval of a parent. Sandra's father is dead, and the doctors could not find Mrs Peters until the next day because she was in jail. Sandra died on Friday night, 3rd September.

Friday 27 August Though quieter the situation remained tense. That night, Prime Minister Vorster lashed out at the commentators. 'Those people who cry "Wolf, wolf" are doing South Africa an ill service. They are placing the whole future of South Africa into the hands of the enemy.'

'The enemy want to find us in a crisis and they want us to admit that we have a guilty conscience. But looking over the history of South Africa's achievements, I say we have no reason to feel guilty about anything. I want to make it clear that nowhere in the world have four million done so much for 18 million as in this despised South Africa.' His Afrikaner audience cheered loudly.

Weekend 28/29 August A women's hostel at the University of the Western Cape, and Belgravia secondary school in the coloured township of Athlone are burnt down. A church hall is set alight and a car is petrol-bombed in

Bonteheuwel.

Monday 30 August Students continued their boycott of classes. Singing and carrying placards saying 'We abhor police brutality and violence', and 'We want rights not riots' they marched round the school grounds in heavy drizzle.

At the coloured University of the Western Cape the rector threatened students who failed to attend classes with being barred from exams. Attendance was still well down.

Principals promised that schools would soon be back to normal. Police Minister Kruger said he wouldn't see any black or coloured leaders until he was sure the unrest had finally ended.

Police imposed an information blackout on casualties. No-one knew whether a person who disappeared was in the morgue, in jail or in hospital, if they were alive, dead or dying.

The weekend lull proved to be short-

lived, and tension mounted again as police carried out a wave of arrests and detentions. As well as students, the police detained the leaders of the Coloured Labour Party, and (the next day) Joe Thloloe, President of the Union of Black Journalists.

Wednesday 1 September The day before, the crowds had dispersed quickly when the riot squads attacked with tear gas. This time the police hoped to break the Athlone protest once and for all.

First they blocked off the roads. Then they rushed into the crowd of demonstrating children with dogs and batons, inflicting as much injury as possible.

The news of this attack spread rapidly, and parents, residents and pupils from other areas converged to support the protest. Rocks and bottles were used as missiles, and oil drums, lumps of concrete and metal fencing provided barricades. Labourers from a building site hurled bricks at passing police vehicles.

The police continued to 'trap and attack'. At one point they spread their vehicles around Klipfontein road and then moved in from the many side roads. They had already set up road blocks on either side of the demonstrators.

The vehicles drove the demonstrators into the centre of the trap - and then attacked with batons and shotguns. Despite this and many other punitive police attacks, the demonstrations continued for most of the day.

Into White areas

At the same time in Cape Town's city centre, African school children were demonstrating. Two hundred African students assembled at Cape Town station. Soon they were joined by students arriving in trains from the seven schools in the black townships of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga.

To the stunned amazement of Cape Town's Whites, they streamed through the city centre, with their placards denouncing job reservation and the pass laws. 'Away with Apartheid' . . . 'Equal

Education for All' . . . How Long Must We Suffer' . . . 'We Want our Robben Island Prisoners' they proclaimed.

By 5 pm the crowd was 2000 strong. After a final turn round the main square, they went back to the station. They poured through the white concourse, forcing white commuters out of the way, and filled the black station. Not a shot had been fired, not a baton swung, no tear gas canister thrown.

The African students of Cape Town had brought their protest to the Whites.

Athlone. Wednesday 1 September Sandra Peters, an 11 year old coloured girl, was sent by her grandmother to the butcher to fetch some meat. Schoolchildren were demonstrating peacefully in Klipfontein Road at the time. A neighbour's child was watching from the balcony of a shop. She saw Sandra walk past, and then saw the police start shooting at the crowd. She ran back to Sandra's mother, Kathleen Peters. 'When everyone ran off, Sandra was left lying on the pavement', she said.

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City centre protest

Thursday 2 September Coloured students decided it was time to force the Whites to listen to their demands too by entering the city centre.

'We carried a simple message - Down with apartheid, release all detainees, equal rights and freedom for all, and so on. All the pupils feel and experience the indignities of apartheid and know



Black hospitals, always overcrowded, have become crammed with victims of police action. Many patients have been arrested in their beds.

what it's all about . . .

'All this talk about instigators and leaders is only making us more determined to carry on with our protest because we don't want the people to think that those in detention are the leaders, and now that they've been arrested it will all fall flat', a girl from Alexander Sinton School explained.

A girl from Bridgetown High School continued 'The situation escalated at our school when we heard that two former pupils at our school, who were studying at the University of the Western Cape, had been detained. The pupils became determined to demonstrate that they felt with their former colleagues, and started boycotting classes. That's how it all started. Nobody planned the march to town; nobody told the pupils to do it. We all came together that morning and decided it was necessary and so we decided to go.' (*Sunday Tribune* 5.9.76)

Pupils travelled by train, bus and car to Cape Town's central business district. By 11 am they numbered over 1000, and more pupils were joining them all the time.

The police reaction was savage. The Blacks who had demonstrated the previous day were part of a comparatively small population in the Cape Town area. But the 733,000 coloureds who live there were different. The Whites had always assumed that the status granted to Coloureds under apartheid would guarantee their isolation from Black protest.

Now this assumption was falling apart.

Demonstrators shouted 'No violence' and 'Keep moving' to each other. But police launched a frontal attack. As the march moved down the street, riot police burst from parked vans with batons drawn and charged the marchers head on. The marchers tried to get out of the way, and a number were hurt, some by the police and some in the rush to get away.

The demonstrators were now disorganised and angry. Office workers and shoppers mixed with them, adding to the confusion. A police plainclothes photographer was stoned.

Whites shocked

1.00 pm A loud speaker van broadcast the warning that gatherings had been prohibited under the terms of the Riotous Assembly Act. With this 'legal justification' to placate white onlookers, the riot squads moved in a few minutes later with tear gas and batons.

Everyone, spectators, demonstrators and shoppers were caught up in the rush to evade the gas and the riot sticks. The clouds of gas seeped everywhere, into offices and shops, through doorways and air-conditioning systems, to cover the city centre.

Even Whites now found themselves on the receiving end. Those worst hit were the old and the very young. They were left gasping and vomiting, tears stream-

University of
Western Cape
pamphlet

UN SOWETO C I

We as students at the University of Western Cape who have been sent to this "institution of higher learning" in an effort to further our education, find that the type of education forced upon us does not satisfy our needs, the needs of our families and, above all, the needs of our people.

We find a type of education that forces us to believe that we are Coloureds and hereby making us believe that we do not have anything in common with the rest of the country and specifically those who are suffering with us. This would result in us feeling separated from the rest of the oppressed people. Being at this university we realise that we can never be separated from our mother, father, sister and brother who have to endure all the suffering which is being experienced by Black people in this country. We are experiencing with them the effects of starvation because of the high rate of unemployment. We endure with them the effects of a shortage of food, because of the low wages that can never provide for the basic needs of our

families, worsened by the continuous rise in prices, high rents, transport cost and so many others.

The position in our country is that we as Black people in our country have no influence in our life politically and no part in the decision-making concerning conditions of employment. The political machinery like the Coloured Representative Council, the South African Indian Council and the Homeland Governments have been designed not for the benefit of Black people but for the interest of those who keep us suffering and oppressed in this Country. We totally reject this machinery as a means to change the conditions which daily deprive our people of life.

We maintain that Black people all over the country suffer in the same manner and feel the pains of oppression in a common way. It is not only true but necessary, that the only effective way in bringing about a new society is for BLACK PEOPLE TO STAND TOGETHER

ing down their faces. Non-whites were beaten wherever the police found them.

The city centre was now sealed off, and as the pupils regrouped to return to the townships they were faced with continual harassment. Vans loaded with masked riot squads cruised the central business district, lobbing gas canisters and thunderflashes wherever groups reassembled. Most businesses closed their doors and sent their staff home as the gas made the centre uninhabitable. By mid-afternoon the district was deserted except for police.

Whilst the Peninsula's police were attacking the city centre crowds, a major protest took place in the Hanover Park section of Athlone. That day Minister of Justice and Police Kruger reimposed the nationwide ban on open air gatherings. This did not stop meetings, but did encourage police aggression.

A high school meeting in Hanover Park was broken up, and the protesters moved to the local civic centre. Despite police attempts to disperse them they wrecked the Hanover Lounge liquor store and bar, and went on to set fire to the rent offices.

The police opened up with shot guns to clear a path for the fire engines. Rashaat Ismail, an eleven year old boy, was left sprawled in a pool of blood, severely wounded in the side. His brother described how one side of his body was covered with 'little holes' from the lead shot. He had to have an emergency operation for a collapsed lung. (*Cape Times* 4.9.76)

Black and Coloured

While the coloured pupils were marching through Cape Town's centre that afternoon, black students were demonstrating at Langa station, under a barrage of tear gas. Throughout the black townships traffic was stoned and business and civic premises were attacked. In the white residential area of Sea Point coloured protesters poured petrol down a gutter and set light to it, damaging parked vehicles.

The attempt by Coloureds to repeat the forceful but peaceful city centre march of the Blacks had been brutally smashed by the riot squads.

Friday 3 September Coloured demonstrators from many townships star-

ted the day by making their way into the city, but at the first sign of organised protest the police moved in. The centre of Cape Town became the stage for a series of running battles.

It had been sealed off to all traffic except police vehicles, which drove up and down, lobbing gas canisters almost at random.

Waves of coloured demonstrators surged from one side of the centre to the other, constantly under attack from the squads. Every available policeman had been called out, and although most had guns and batons, some were armed with lengths of wood or iron piping.

No-one really knew what was happening. Huge crowds of Coloureds were being broken up in one place only to reform in another. Mixed into the general chaos were white office workers who had left their building for lunch, to see what was happening, or to escape the gas which had been drawn into the air conditioning systems.

'Not playing'

A loud-speaker van went through the streets broadcasting the message, 'We have finished playing and will take action . . . The Police Department will not be responsible if you are injured.'

The afternoon reached its bloody crescendo as riot police in camouflage uniforms, marching abreast down Adderley Street, levelled their guns at the huge, racially mixed crowd, and blasted away with birdshot.

As the crowds fled up sidestreets they were attacked by uniformed police with batons, who rained blows on anyone within reach, tossed them into vans, and carried them off to jail for further beatings.

For Cape Town's Whites, the level of police viciousness was a shock. The South African *Sunday Times* commented that 'City workers, shocked by what was for most their first close up view of riot control, phoned newspapers to complain about police methods . . . Standing often shoulder to shoulder with Coloureds and Africans, they showed no hostility to the

protesters or anyone else — and ignored police warnings to disperse' (5.9.76).

Though the protests continued in the city centre for another two hours, the crowds slowly dispersed. When they returned to the townships, as often as not they were met with gas and shot-gun fire, for the wave of protest had spread far beyond the city centre.

In Maitland several hundred pupils marching to the station were scattered by gas and batons. Some fled into houses, others into the Post Office. They were trapped, dragged out and beaten. Many were arrested. The riot squads raced from school to school.

'The Riot Squad attacked Trafalgar High School in District Six, close to central Cape Town, leaving many injured and a 15 year old boy, Shaheed Jacobs, shot dead. The children of Trafalgar were standing on the playground watching tear gas being fired in the city below.

'A police car stopped in the road outside and a policeman jumped out and baton-charged a boy of nine or ten. As the police pulled off the watching pupils booed. Immediately the car stopped and, without warning, policemen fired tear gas.

'The children fled into the school buildings. There was chaos inside as hundreds of children tried to find water, their faces streaming. Later some pupils went and tied posters to the playground fence stating: 'We want rights not riots' and 'Give us Justice'.

'Almost immediately two riot vehicles appeared and without warning police shot more tear gas, birdshot, and rifle shot at the fleeing children.

'A marksman picked pupils out from the top of one of the riot vehicles with his rifle. A bleeding boy fell to the ground. The principal ran forward to help him, but was ordered back.

'In the confusion and anger some children threw stones from vantage points inside the school. The police then jumped the fence and charged into the school via an open side entrance. In one classroom two policemen stood guard at the door with rifles while four others beat up one

teacher and three boys inside.

'On the same day, at Alexander Sinton High School in Athlone, many children were injured during a brutal attack on the school by the riot squad. Many children and bystanders were shot; a polio victim was beaten up and is now permanently crippled in hospital; others broke arms and legs when they jumped from upstairs windows to escape police who threw tear gas into classrooms and then entered the rooms, protected by masks, and beat up both children and teachers.' (Letter from two South African teachers to *The Guardian* 1.11.76)

After a bloody two days something over 400 people had been arrested, and an unknown number lay injured and dead.

Pupil Uprising

Weekend 4/5 September Over the weekend, while community and church spokesmen made speeches calling for reforms, more police were sent into Cape Town from the predominantly Afrikaner Transvaal.

Meanwhile Vorster was arriving in Zurich to meet Henry Kissinger, and passing off the protests as Communist attempts to harm the talks. The following week marked the 10th anniversary of his premiership.

Fires and stonings continued throughout the weekend on the Cape. Five schools were extensively damaged, and Athlone Library and Magistrates Court buildings were set alight.

Monday 6 September The week started quietly. Attendance was low at the schools, and on Monday night the education authorities decided to close all coloured schools for the rest of the week. The police were drawing up new tactics, including special measures for areas where Whites might be affected. According to a police spokesman, 'Minimal tear gas will be used, and greater use will be made of birdshot.'

Tuesday 7 September This was a day of protest all across the Cape, taking in District Six, Cape Flats, Crawford, Athlone and Guguletu, on to Stellenbosch,

Ravensmead, Parow and Tiervlei, and out as far as Hout Bay, Somerset West and Diep River.

The pupils started early. Some formed demonstration marches which were invariably broken up. Some, from the beginning, kept in small groups of around 20, stoning cars and converging on focal points such as Alexander Sinton High School.

Others slipped into the city in buses, trains and taxis, avoiding the police cordons. In the city centre the pupils now used hit and run tactics, breaking car windscreens, dodging police, forming up into larger groups, then dispersing rapidly as the police acted.

The new tactics had been learned quickly. At first the police tried to avoid using their guns, so that when they attacked, the protesters stood their ground and hit back, dodging, ducking the batons and throwing rocks in return. They often made fools of the police.

'A young uniformed policeman, chasing a student, tripped and fell insensible to the ground after his fleet-footed target dummy-ran him into a pole. He was taken away in an ambulance to loud jeers and whistles from construction workers and bystanders next to a nearby building site.'

The police soon put on the pressure. At one point four truckloads of riot police screamed up wearing gas masks, carrying shot guns, FN rifles and Uzi machine pistols, and with Alsatian dogs. The crowd fled for cover as the firing broke out, a barrage of shotguns, rifles, service revolvers and tear gas guns.

Bullets ricocheted off the facade of Barclays Bank as the crowd fled past. A black man lurched, walked round in a tight circle with a puzzled expression on his face, then collapsed dead on the pavement, shot in the chest.

In the street three girls were carried bleeding to a light truck, moaning and crying. Blood welled through the fingers of a girl in school uniform as she clutched her stomach. She was laid face down in the back of the van and shielded by students.

“Black Power was strictly for the Blacks. Coloured Power was something that people just thought of – a pipe dream, but not real, not something to die for. Now all that’s changed – and it’s the children who have brought about that change.”



Police immediately charged at the group round the van and clubbed them as they shouted 'No violence! No violence!'. Ignoring the injured girls the police motioned the driver to get on his way.

Away from the city centre the level of protest had risen significantly. As well as stoning vehicles and making road blocks the demonstrators were attacking all identifiable elements of the regime's infrastructure, from police vehicles to schools and liquor stores.

The inhabitants of Ravensmead, a ramshackle coloured township 12 miles north of Cape Town with a large squatter population, conducted a major battle against the police. What began as a march of children and adults quickly escalated as a road block was set up in one of the main streets and set alight.

As the police moved in they were confronted with a wall of flame as petrol-soaked tyres were ignited. Petrol bombs flew, as well as stones, setting buildings and police vehicles alight. The police responded with automatic weapons, but were unable to control the situation.

Many factories in the nearby Parow industrial area were forced to shut down, and as late as 10 pm more police reinforcements were being sent in.

Wednesday 8 September

In the early hours of Wednesday morning the police managed to clear most of the streets of Ravensmead, but the township was littered with the debris of the previous day. The streets were choked with burnt out cars, tyres, glass from

smashed windows and rocks and stones. This provided the ammunition for Wednesday's confrontations, and again the battle built up throughout the course of the day.

Once more the factories of Parow were forced to close down, and white staff had to be escorted out of the area under a hail of rocks. As the struggle in the Cape reached its climax the protest spilled for the first time into the white suburbs. Cape Town's Retreat district was worst hit, as demonstrators stoned vehicles, broke into shops and other buildings, making off with the goods and lighting fires. Petrol bombs were thrown at white houses in Fish Hoek from moving vehicles.

This was also the day on which Vorster broke his long silence, when he addressed a Nationalist Party meeting in Bloemfontein. To the delirious applause of 6,500 Party faithfuls he stated that, 'the government is always prepared to talk about anything which will improve conditions for Blacks in South Africa, but not on the question of one man one vote . . . There is no way of governing South Africa other than by the policy and principles of the National Party . . . The government will not be blackmailed by violence into giving one man one vote in South Africa . . . Law and order must be restored immediately and maintained . . . The police have contained the disorder under difficult circumstances and with a minimum of violence . . . If it does not stop, and stop immediately, other steps will have to be taken'. (*Rand Daily Mail* and others 9.9.76)

At the same meeting earlier in the day Kruger reiterated the official line that the government would not talk with anyone participating in the protests, and that the black people of South Africa could not get by without the white man.

He went on to incite all Whites to take up arms against the protesters. 'The day is past when people can sit at home thinking the police will protect their property. There are not enough police . . . The task of protecting business premises is primarily that of the owners.'

He went on to advise business men to form their own security forces, and to use force if necessary. He told the white audience that they were entitled to use violence to defend themselves against violence. If a person had to kill somebody to protect himself or his property, he was entitled to do so.

South Africa's gunshops had already sold out, as from the beginning of the protests Whites rushed out to arm themselves with everything from heavy calibre revolvers to semi-automatic rifles.

Deaths Concealed

Figures for dead and wounded are virtually impossible to come by, but at just two hospitals on the Cape - Victoria and Groote Schuur - doctors and sisters counted a total of 73 dead on the night of Wednesday, 8 September. No visitors were being admitted, nor was anyone being discharged. At Woodstock Hospital black staff were having to steal medical equipment in order to treat victims privately. All hospitals appear to have been under heavy armed guard. (University of Cape Town Riot Information Service 14.9.76)

'All the people we have spoken to state that the actual death toll is very much higher than official figures. These people include religious leaders, nurses, teachers, families who have lost relatives, and leaders in the Moslem community. One doctor claims that 70 babies died of tear gas poisoning at the Peninsula Maternity Hospital. Parents who have been to collect the bodies of their children from the

mortuary, and mortuary employees, have said it is full.

'The chief engineer who is to build the new Cape Town mortuary said he was refused entry even though he had written permission from the City Council to inspect the functioning of the mortuary. Bodies are not released for burial until relatives have signed a document stating that the dead person was "actively involved in rioting".' (*The Guardian* 1.11.76)

Vigilantes

Thursday 9 September *The Sunday Tribune* called this the 'worst day of unrest since the outbreak of Black/Coloured violence in the Cape just over a month ago.' Given the death-count of 73 at only two hospitals the previous night, the estimates of Thursday's deaths - under 20 - are hopelessly inadequate.

The police admitted to shooting 12 people dead in Manenberg alone, where the battles stretched late into the night. Many factories around Parow and Bellville closed down completely. There were attempts to fire two white schools, and a number of others either closed down or had round the clock vigilante patrols.

Further away from the city, at Paarl, the demonstrations were carried right into the Huguenot business district. In the same area the Helshoogte Pass between Stellenbosch and Banhoek remained partly closed following extensive attacks on cars and trucks. Vehicles were only allowed through in police-protected convoys.

At the Afrikaans University at Stellenbosch white students were arming themselves - and also, reportedly, being armed with FN rifles. As well as guarding their campus they were going into action alongside the riot squads against the 'rioters'. Meanwhile Kruger flew into Cape Town with Smit, the white Minister of Coloured Relations, to hold talks with coloured 'leaders'.

Friday 9 September The level of protest in the townships immediately surrounding Cape Town began to ease.

Elsewhere it continued unabated, spreading from Paarl as far afield as Mossel Bay, George, Oudtshoorn and Wellington.

In Port Elizabeth 550 pupils of two high schools were arrested and herded into the police station yard. 'Admission of guilt' fines of R30 were summarily handed out, and at least half were detained.

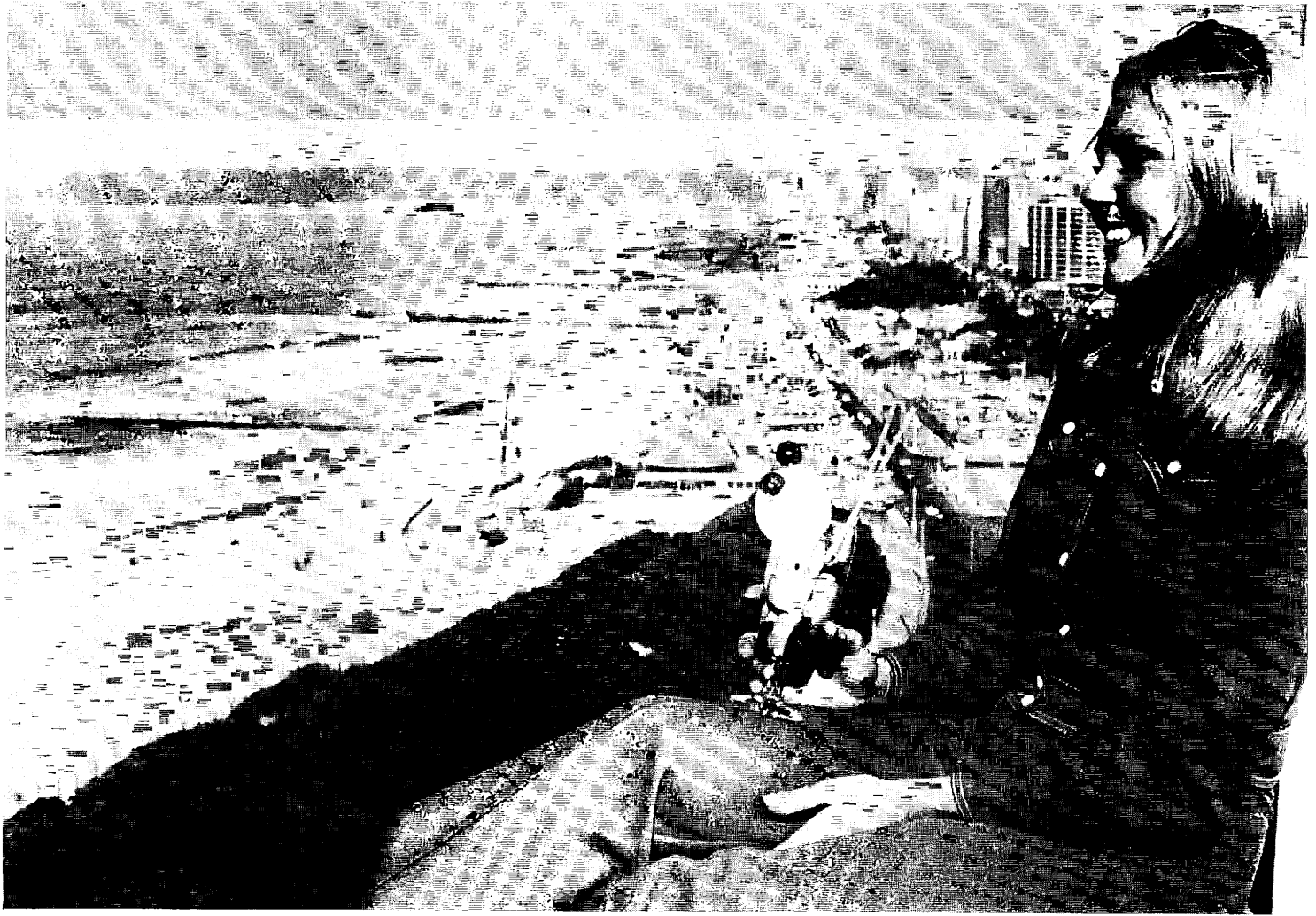
Friday also saw the opening of the Coloured Representative Council (or simply an advisory body). The president of the (white) senate announced a long list of 'concessions', which had been agreed between Vorster and the coloured representatives. These were mainly aimed at the coloured middle-class, consisting of various trading concessions for businessmen, plus a few improved facilities in public buildings.

Saturday 10 September The Peninsula was now comparatively quiet, but the weekend was marked by a series of shootings of Blacks and Coloureds by trigger-happy Whites seeking out victims. Four of the six known to have been killed were shot by Whites in civilian clothing.

Three major points emerge from this period of struggle in the Cape. The first is that it was the children who were at the core of the protests. The second is that an enormous cover up operation had masked the true extent of police violence.

The third is that the Coloureds have rooted their struggle firmly in the same ground as the Blacks, traumatising the Whites of the Cape in the process.

'If you'd told the parents a month ago that Manenberg and Athlone, Goodwood and Bonteheuwel, Paarl and Oudtshoorn would be burning and their children shot, wounded, or under arrest, they wouldn't have believed you . . . Black Power was strictly for the Blacks. Coloured Power was something that people just thought of - a pipe dream, but not real, not something to die for. Now all that's changed - and it's the children who have brought about that change.' (White teacher at coloured school, quoted in *Sunday Tribune* 12.9.76)



South Africa — the two faces of the apartheid state





Black 'Specials' armed with FN rifles.

Mr J. Kruger, Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, has encouraged white vigilantes to kill if necessary to protect their property.





GUNS! GUNS! JUST ARRIVED

A large shipment of
handguns, shotguns

AC

W ROAD, R

IN

Gunshops have never done such good business, as white civilians buy up new consignments as soon as they appear on the shelves.



In some cases white civilians have been equipped by the security forces.

will

Better deal ahead

WORKERS ON THE MOVE



The State's answer to workers' militancy.

Monday 13 September 'Azikwelwa' is Zulu for 'We do not work'. Over the weekend 'Azikwelwa' leaflets were distributed throughout Soweto by the Soweto Students' Representative Council, calling for a three day strike. Versions appeared in Zulu, English and Sesotho. Their grievances included: the killing of children by Kruger's police; detention without trial; the docking of wages of those who had gone on strike before; the attacks on demonstrators by some hostel workers.

There was a special message for the hostels - 'Hostel people do not fight'. For everyone the instructions were to keep off the streets.

Soweto was still asleep at 3am on Monday - 'A time when thousands are usually up and about preparing for work' (RDM 14.9.76) The usual morning rush-hour never began. Only nurses, exempted from the strike, and a few, mainly old people queued at the bus stops and taxi ranks to get to work.

That day half a million Blacks joined the strike on the Reef. The trains ran almost empty, and by 8am only nine of the Johannesburg Transport Department's bus drivers and conductors had turned up for work out of a workforce of 132. The cancellations that resulted made little difference, as there were hardly any

passengers.

Some sections of industry and commerce reported only 2% attendance by African staff, and none more than a third. Many employers who knew of the strike had tried to make up production in advance the previous weekend. The Chamber of Commerce reported that firms drawing their labour from townships 'like Alexandra' had less absenteeism.

News of a massive police operation in that township soon revealed why. Several hundred police had sealed it off completely. A house to house search had been made, but any adults or children not at work or school were either arrested or sent there. Over 800 Blacks were taken to jail from the township.

Police 'Protection'

Initially the police pretended that the operation was not connected with the strike, but was 'a crime preventative operation aimed at flushing out criminals and layabouts' (RDM 14.9.76). Later Brigadier Kriel admitted that it was 'a clean-up operation, aimed at protecting those who wished to work, and rounding up agitators' (*ibid*).

There were other police efforts to break the strike. In Diepkloof township for

instance, two policemen entered Mr Ben Motshabi's home and found him in the kitchen. When asked why he was at home he said that going to work was dangerous. The police forced him to go out into the road, where they flagged down a black motorist and despite his protests made him take Mr Motshabi into his car.

3.30 pm Soweto had taken on almost a holiday atmosphere with people wandering through the streets and boys playing games of soccer. But as those who had gone to work returned home, they were confronted by angry residents and hostel inmates. Police moved in with guns to protect them, shooting dead at least two people and injuring many others. In one hostel two inmates were killed by their fellows for strike breaking. This time there was no doubt about the unity of the workers of Soweto. On the previous Sunday 1000 residents and hostel inmates had met in a bid to patch up their differences. The main purpose was to ensure that the hostel dwellers knew about, understood, and would support the strike. This way police efforts to turn hostel inmates against the demonstrators—as they had done in the first strike—could be foiled. 'As one Soweto student excitedly pointed out: "The hostels are now on our side"'. (The World 15.9.76)

The day was comparatively quiet else-

where, but there were sporadic incidents at the Cape, and in the coloured township of Conville. There a farmer was hit on the head by a stone as he drove past demonstrators. He pulled out a gun and fired four shots at them. He was joined by other motorists and police, who also opened fire. A coloured girl aged 13 was killed and two men seriously injured. In Bonteheuwel, in a similar incident, three young coloured people were shot by a white motorist.

Tuesday 14 September The strike stayed firm but the police machine swung into action first thing in the morning in Soweto. Gunfire could be heard in the eastern area of the city. In the Phefeni, Phomolong and Mzimhlope townships they opened fire in the streets and at railway stations when the strikers attempted to picket. A number of people were reported injured.

Once the morning picketing was over Soweto became quiet. There were slightly more people at work that morning. Many who had worked the previous day slept over in their offices and factories. They were joined by the few who came in on Tuesday morning, either because of financial necessity or because of threats by employers. 'I have five children and no husband—what can I do?' said one restaurant counter assistant (Star 15.9.76).

All attempts at protest by pupils were met with mass arrests. In New Brighton outside Port Elizabeth, pupils from Cowan and Newell African schools were marching to the police station to protest at the arrest of Kwazakele High School pupils the day before. 'The march was brought to a quick end by prompt police action.' (RDM 15.9.76)

Summary Justice

They were dragged off to the jail and special courts were set up to mete out summary penalties. 271 were sentenced. Boys received eight cuts with a cane. Girls over 18 received a R50 fine—or 50 days in prison. Girls under 18 received suspended sentences.

As this was happening 250 students

arrested the previous Friday and as yet unsentenced were having their cases adjourned until the end of October in another Port Elizabeth court. Near Durban 285 pupils aged between 12 and 23 were also arrested when they attempted a protest march in sympathy with Soweto students.

It was generally quiet in the Cape Peninsula. One youth was shot dead and another badly injured in Guguletu. A group of youths had tried to stop a post office van passing through the township. Police inside the van had opened up on them with FN rifles.

Cape Town's students and workers had been planning a strike in the Cape ever since the first one in Soweto. It was due to begin the next day, and leaflets had been distributed throughout the townships:

Biggest Ever Strike

But the authorities were doing their utmost to disrupt the strike. The Cape Town Chamber of Commerce released a hard-line 'no work no pay' statement. The police promised protection to those who went to work.

At least three leaflets were circulated in the attempt to disrupt the strike. Two, printed in English and Sotho, opposed strikes outright. A third, widely circulated among passengers at railway stations and bus terminals read: 'WORKERS PLEASE NOTE', 'OUR BIG STRIKE FOR WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY IS NOW POSTPONED UNTIL NEXT WEEK. WE WILL CALL ON YOU AGAIN.' And thousands of anti-strike leaflets were dropped from a helicopter over the townships.

There were angry scenes in Soweto again that night as some of those who had gone to work returned. The police were out in force breaking up the pickets, at Mzimhlope, Nancefield, Dube and Diepkloof in particular. At least three people were shot dead. Whilst most newspapers took (at face value), police reports that only three people were shot dead in the three days, *The World* reported that at least 16 had been killed in the first two days alone.

STRIKE

THE RAUITS DO NOT SPARE THEIR BULLETS. THEIR
WINGS TRY TO CUT DOWN OUR MARCH FOR FREEDOM.
BUT THE MARCH TO FREEDOM MUST NOT END.
REJECT ALL CONCESSIONS THAT THE RAUITS WANT US.
CONCESSIONS ARE LUMES. WE WANT FREEDOM NOT
CRIMES.
REJECT THE CEC, INDIAN COUNCIL, THE HOMELANDS,
THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES.
ALL BLACK PEOPLE SUFFER ALIKE. GET RID OF
APARTHEID: BAN ALL APARTHEID PLACES SUCH AS
THEATRES, NIGHT CLUBS, STADIUMS ETC.

STRIKE! STRIKE!
WEDNESDAY 15TH THURSDAY 16TH

DO NOT GO TO WORK OR TO SCHOOL. WE
MUST BE IN THE STREETS. YOU WILL GO TO
WORK AT YOUR RISK.
IF YOU STRIKE YOU WILL HIT THE SYSTEM WHERE
IT HURTS. TAKE THIS HOME. SPREAD THE
WORD. FREEDOM COMES WITH SACRIFICE
WE SHALL OVERCOME!

STRIKE ??

THE PEST IN OUR MIDST
THE PEST THAT KEEPS US FROM OUR WORK
THE PEST THAT KEEPS THE FOOD FROM OUR MOUTHS
THE MARCH TO "FREEDOM" IS A MARCH TO HUNGER
AND TO A JOBLESS SOCIETY

ALL BLACK PEOPLE SUFFER UNDER THE BURDEN OF
JOBLESS HOOLIGANS

A STRIKE WILL NOT HELP US - IT WILL ONLY MAKE IT
HARDER TO FIND A JOB, AND FOOD, AND A HOME

A SACRIFICE NOW MAY BE A SACRIFICE OF THE
FREEDOM OF FUTURE GENERATIONS

**IF YOU STRIKE YOU
STRIKE A BLOW
AT YOURSELF AND
YOUR FAMILY**

Strike and anti-strike leaflets

7.00 pm A fire was started which gutted the big Con Chem-Products chemical factory at Kew, close to Alexandra.

Wednesday 15 September Half a million black people were on strike in the Reef, and this time they were joined by up to 80% of the quarter million Coloured workers 1,000 miles away in the Cape. It was, without doubt, the biggest strike in South Africa's history. Among the companies badly hit in the Reef were Metal Box, where only 15 of 250 workers turned up at its main Industria plant; Advance Laundries, where only 50% turned up; Premier Milling; OK Bazaars (50-70% away); Checkers (60-70% away).



A temporary lull in Black/White confrontations

In the Cape women workers led the strike. The clothing industry, 90% of whose 50,000 strong workforce are women, had to resign itself to two days lost production.

The Cape Stops

Most other industries and services were hit as well. At the docks 80% of the stevedores did not come to work. Milk and bread could not be delivered, and engineering, steel industries, garages and shops were affected. Many construction sites closed.

Although there were sporadic attempts to set civic offices and schools on fire, and occasional stonings, the Cape was relatively quiet.

In Port Elizabeth, however, protest flared again. Buses, trucks and cars were stoned, and by 11am all buses had been withdrawn from the New Brighton township. Another 150 pupils were arrested.

Rigid Control

At Thaba Nchu, Bloemfontein, police were pelted with stones when they removed students who had not handed in declarations signed by their parents, accepting financial responsibility for any 'riot' damage that might be caused at the school.

In Soweto that evening more Blacks were killed and injured as police again tried to break up pickets and impose rigid control on the city. At Merafe station they fired from the bridge over the railway into the

groups of pickets.

Thursday 16 September It was back to work day in Soweto, with tens of thousands of workers flocking to railway stations, taxi and bus ranks. Some students felt the strike should continue, and police attacked small groups of pickets attempting to stop people going to work. Groups of students gathered along the railway line between Naledi and Ikwezi. Police travelled along it in a two coach train, firing teargas and shots at them as they passed.

In Cape Town it was the second day of the planned strike, and more workers than ever responded, particularly in industrial areas. The strike was estimated at 70-80% complete in industry, and 40% in commerce.

Solidarity attacked

'Many employers tried to discourage workers from participating in the boycott. They warned them beforehand that they would not be paid for the days they stayed away. On Wednesday, some employers announced the dismissal of workers who had stayed away from work. But the workers were not intimidated. Even more workers stayed away from work on Thursday than on Wednesday. The workers were determined to take their stand alongside the other protesters.' (*Umanyano* September 1976 - this workers' paper was subsequently banned).

During the night the housing offices in Macassar, the coloured township near

Somerset West, had been fired and seriously damaged. In many white residential districts at the Cape, vigilantes were out all night patrolling the streets.

8.15pm A power failure plunged the area into inky blackness, and the protest flared up again. Throughout the Athlone district and in Manenberg, Grassie Park, Bishop Lavis and Kewtown, barricades were erected across streets, piles of tyres set alight at intersections, and drain covers pulled up to block roads. Bottle stores and shops were broken into and set alight. Any vehicle moving was stopped or stoned; police had to escort vehicles out of the area in convoys. Attempts were made to sabotage the main railway line to the black and coloured townships.

Young coloured detainees near Cape Town





Riot police attack coloured demonstrators in Cape Town

Three jeeploads of police reservists in camouflage uniform cleared burning tyres from Eastern Boulevard on the fringe of the white areas. A spokesman said: 'This is only the beginning. Soon we may be doing more than putting out fires' (RDM 17.9.76).

Police opened fire on the crowds, and described the toll of dead and injured as 'heavy'. Officially 12—one a 15 year old schoolgirl—were shot dead. More than 50 were admitted to hospital with serious bullet wounds.

Friday 17 September The strike in the Cape ended, and the coloured and black workers went back under threat of victimisation and sacking. The streets were littered with debris from the previous night: burnt mattresses, car seats, boxes and tyres; fragments of glass and large rocks.

Henry Kissinger was arriving in South

Africa at 3.30pm. That morning in Soweto pupils at Sekano-Ntoane High, Morris Isaacson High, Jabulani Junior Secondary, Tladi Junior Secondary and Thesele Junior Secondary Schools demonstrated against his visit.

The pupils had placards condemning Kissinger's visit. A huge one on a churchyard wall read 'Dr Kissinger, get out of Azania (South Africa)—don't bring your disguised American oppression into Azania'. Others simply referred to him as a murderer.

At Sekano-Ntoane High the main school gate had been locked while the pupils massed in the school grounds, singing freedom songs and waving placards.

The police blasted the gate open. Three vans drove in loaded with heavily armed policemen. They started shooting at the pupils, who scattered. There was a great deal of confusion. Pupils screamed in pain.

At Jabulani Junior Secondary the bodies of two pupils in school uniform lay dead after the police opened fire. A schoolgirl was shot dead outside Tladi Junior Secondary.

Altogether at least six students died and a further 35 were taken to hospital seriously injured. But the police succeeded in their main objective. They removed the placards. General Kriel explained afterwards that the police had opened fire 'in self defence'.

'They were damaging property with their stone-throwing and police were forced to open fire to protect themselves when stones were flung at them', he said (RDM 18.9.76).

3.30 pm 'The world's most important visitor to South Africa from the world's most powerful nation' arrived at Waterkloof Air Base outside Pretoria. Waiting to greet him as he stepped off the plane were Dr Hilgard Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs—and General Hendrik van den Bergh, head of BOSS and the secret police.

There were several petrol bombings and firings of buildings in Johannesburg, and the city was rife with rumours and bomb hoaxes. Scores of people had to be evacuated from one major fire in the city centre. The incidents had been timed to coincide with the visit.

'The two-day stay-away in Cape Town cost the city more than three million man hours. The clothing industry — with a 49,000 labour force and the largest single employers in the Peninsula — lost two full days of production. Only 15 per cent of workers showed up on these days. About 150,000 to 200,000 Cape workers forfeited more than a third of their weekly pay packets to obey the strike call.' (Sunday Express [S.A.] 19.9.76)

Minister of Defence Botha, in a major policy speech to the National Party Cape Congress the following Monday appealed 'to Whites, Coloureds and Indians to accept the fact that they needed each other and (gave) a warning to Coloureds that their future did not lie in a link up with Black power' (The Citizen 21.9.76).

IN THE TOWNSHIPS

The black workers whose labour has created the wealth of the South African state have been brought to the point where to die at the hands of the riot police is hardly worse than to survive life in the townships.

The demands for basic human rights now being voiced by those workers and their children have never been ideologically acceptable to the white regime, but while South Africa was affluent it could buy the time in which to manoeuvre its apartheid strategies. It could also buy the allies and suppliers to support its position. But now the South African boom is over. The economy is collapsing, and the Whites can no longer pretend to themselves or anyone else that black demands can be defused politically or met economically.

'South Africa is in serious economic trouble. Continued economic decline will mean political and military impotence followed by national collapse.' (Professor Tusenius at the National Party Conference, September 1976)

Recession

South African production has fallen sharply throughout 1976, after a real growth rate of only 2.5% in 1975. On an annual basis 1976 is showing below nil growth — i.e. a definite contraction. *The Star* has predicted that 1977 will be 'the worst year since 1945' (16.10.76). Investment in the vital metal and engineering industries has been slashed by a fifth this year, while car sales are down 38% on a year ago. As the motor industry slumps to its lowest level for 20 years, 4,000 workers have already been laid off, most of the rest are on short time, a price war rages, and dealers are going out of business. In the building industry — the third largest employer of African labour after mines and the domestic sector — contractors are running out of work, skilled workers are changing to other industries, and 12,750 unskilled and semi-skilled Africans have lost their jobs this year, bringing the total of those laid-off to 60,000. The Building Industries Federation expects 120,000 Africans in the industry to be jobless by the end of 1976. The Federation also expects 20,000 artisans — Whites, Coloureds and Asians — to be out of work by the end of 1976, double the current level. (*Rand Daily Mail*, 16.10.76) Black unemployment is projected to reach 2m (out of a total workforce of 8m) by 1977.

Why is the South African economy in such dire straits? Partly, the crisis is a result of the world recession pushing down demand for the raw materials that form a crucial part of the country's exports. The economy was cushioned from the full effects of the recession for a couple of years by a rise in the price of gold, increased public sector spending, and the setting up of a television industry.

'In the euphoria of the early 1970s some \$20 billion worth of capital-hungry projects were inaugurated, including uranium enrichment, the Sasol II coal gasification development, the Sishen-Saldhana iron ore project, and the Richards Bay Harbour project. It was assumed that the gold price would go on rising and help pay for such an ambitious infrastructure program.' (*Business Week* 15.11.76)

But in 1975 the rapid rise in imports caused a balance of payments crisis which forced the government to deflate the economy just as the world recession was really hitting export earnings. This balance of payments problem was greatly aggravated by the fall in the price of gold from a peak of \$200 an ounce at the end of 1974 to less than \$110 per ounce in August 1976.

In 1975 imports exceeded exports by a record R1,616m. By March 1976 the figures were heading for a deficit of R2,230m for the year. In July the government imposed a 20% deposit on imports — the cash to be frozen for six months with no interest — and put up bank rates. Despite the severity of these measures the 1976 balance of payments deficit will not be below R1,500m.

Arms Spending

Added to the balance of payments crisis is the very high level of government spending. In 1975 the government deficit reached R1,353m, up from R816m the year before. In the first three months of the 1976-77 financial year the government overspent by R700m. The main reason for the increasing deficit is the ever expanding military budget.

'Increased defence expenditure was almost entirely responsible for this higher level of expenditure' admitted the South

African Reserve Bank in its review for the financial year 1975-76. Again, in its quarterly review for September 1976 it pointed out that 'The further increase in real government consumption spending was caused mainly by a further substantial increase in defence spending'. The expansion of the military budget shows no sign of slowing. The original budget figure for military expenditure for 1976-77 was R1,350m, 17% of the total budget. That represents an increase in military spending of 42% on 1975-76, and is three times the 1973-74 figure. Even so Defence Minister P.W. Botha has already said that it will be a substantial underestimate.

In the first financial quarter of 1976-77 government expenditure rose by R264m. Of this increase, we would attribute at least R200m to 'defence', which would mean a figure of around R1,750m a year on military expenditure — an 80% increase on last year.

Blood Money

Faced with growing deficits the South African government is raising taxes and slashing subsidies. It has already borrowed up to the hilt abroad thanks to the massive state corporation schemes — capital commitments of R11,573m have been made by public corporations for the next five years — and has had to rely heavily on borrowing from the banking sector within South Africa. Internal bank lending to the government has trebled over the last two years to R3,000m. The two largest South African banks, Barclays and Standard, are both British controlled. Between them they are lending the South African government almost enough money for its entire defence budget.

The white regime used to claim 'Capital investment in South Africa yields one of the highest returns in the world' (*The Banker* 1973). Those days are over. The crisis of profitability now besetting the country is reflected in the economy's inability to finance new investment from its own resources. In 1973, 74% of all new investment came from internal funds. By 1974 this had fallen to 47%, and in 1975 reached a new low of 30%.

R1.44 in £1.
\$1.66 in £1.

phase three of the South African equivalent of the social contract if prices continue to soar while wages are controlled.

However it is the Blacks who are bearing the brunt of the economic crisis. We have already detailed the massive black unemployment, now growing at 20,000 a month, and losing your job, for a South African Black, means more than losing a weekly wage. Black workers who lose their jobs have seven days before they are 'endorsed out' of the urban areas. They have their passbooks stamped to show they must leave the area and return to the 'rural homeland', where unemployment and starvation await them.

The Unemployment Insurance Fund — 'the workers' great bulwark against joblessness' — is meaningless for the vast majority of Blacks. Those who contribute rarely receive any benefits — at best a few rands after weeks of waiting. Many employers do not bother to register their employees in the scheme. 'Influx control' — the official term for dispersing unemployed Blacks and reducing their numbers in the industrial areas — has shown 'an unusual increase' over the past few months. (*Sunday Tribune* 22.8.76)

The regime has also been tightening up its enforcement of the Physical Planning Act, which allows no more than 2 or 2½ Blacks to be employed for every White in white areas. Penalties for employers of illegal Black workers are to be increased, the workers themselves to be prosecuted, and 100,000 jobs are threatened.

The effects of high and increasing levels of unemployment before the recent strikes have been to increase the vulnerability of militants at work, who have been heavily victimised over the last two years. The result has been that strikes by black workers showed a marked decrease in the run up to the confrontations which began in June 1976. According to the Minister of Labour, 1.3m man-hours were lost through black strikes in 1973, 653,000 in 1974, and only 86,000 in the nine months to September 1975. (*The Star* 22.11.75)

Soweto

'Row upon row of tiny little eggbox



Flanked by rows of typical concrete houses, a long column of Soweto demonstrators is confronted by a police unit.

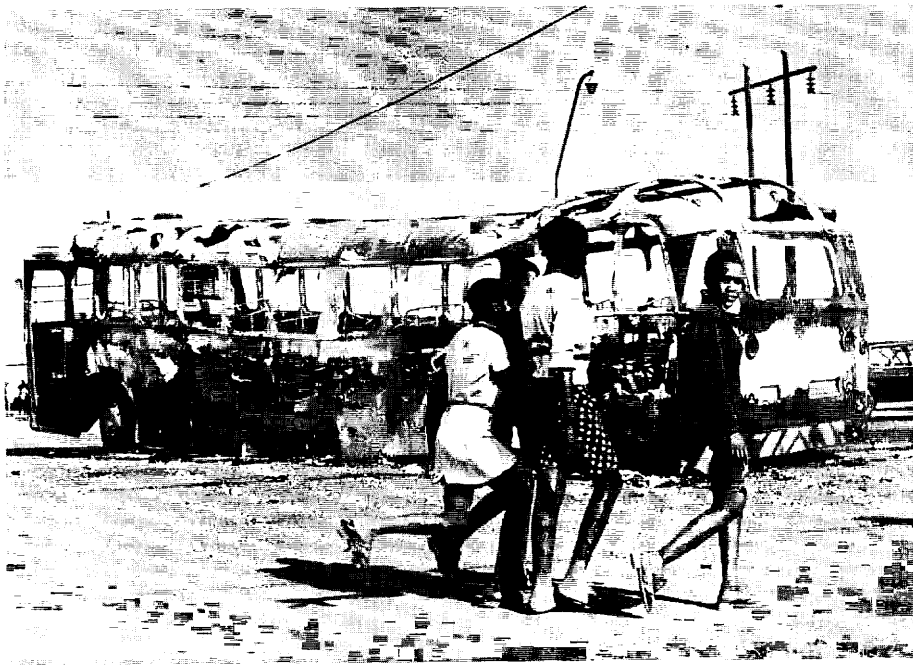
houses . . . Most of the roads unmade, street lighting often lacking, electricity often absent, many miles from the place of work, inadequate transport and no security of tenure.' (Bishop of Johannesburg June 1976)

Soweto is one of the more monstrous creations of the apartheid state. One of the largest towns in Africa, it consists of 87 square kilometres of single storey concrete and corrugated iron 'housing units' — 100,000 of them — close-planted in symmetrical rows with dirt roads in between. When it rains the streets, without storm water drainage, become rivers of mud. The air is often thick with smog. Most of the houses have no electricity, and a large proportion have no running water either. Poverty is the norm, as is violent crime, hunger and disease.

Soweto is served by only one hospital — Baragwanath Hospital just outside the

South East reaches of the township complex. It was built to serve a community of 600,000. No-one knows for sure how many Africans live in Soweto, but most current estimates are around the 1½ million mark. 'We are more than a hospital says one doctor. We're a creche for abandoned children, a home for cripples, a surgical factory for patching up wounds of Soweto violence and overcrowding.' (*The Star* 29.5.76)

Despite its rambling size Soweto is chronically overcrowded. Up until the mid 1950s there were black townships on three sides of Johannesburg in the west, the north and the east. In Sophiatown in the west, Blacks even had freehold property rights. However, after the Nationalist Party took power in 1948, the policy of keeping all urban Blacks in one area, except for single Blacks living in hostels within white areas was begun. Black freehold rights were eroded until all Blacks became 'sojour-



Burnt-out bus in Voslosroos township outside Johannesburg. June 1976. An every day sight in the townships during the unrest.

ners' in the 87% of South Africa officially designated white. Their 'citizenship', as entered in the passbooks, was confined to the 'ethnic homelands'. Soweto did not get its name — an abbreviation for South Western Townships — until 1963, when it was first applied to the 26 segregated townships under the control of the Johannesburg City Council.

Poverty is a basic fact of existence for the people of Soweto, as it is for most Blacks in South Africa. Yet the high level of inflation which has accompanied the country's economic decline over the last two years has hit the Blacks harder than any other group. In July 1976 *The Star*, in cooperation with the South African Institute for Race Relations and a group of workers, drew up a monthly budget outlining the basic essentials for a black family of two adults, two children and a toddler. It was assumed that both parents worked, the children went to school, the toddler was left in a creche during the day, and the family lived in a Soweto house without electricity.

The minimal budget arrived at was R145

per month. It was based on the barest food needs. Tobacco, liquor, newspapers and magazines, and personal toiletries were not included. Even so, R145 is higher than the average Soweto family income. Many families have only a single wage coming in. A man would be lucky to clear R120 a month, and a woman — a large proportion of whom are domestics — would be unlikely to exceed R70 a month. In addition, many African families are supporting more than three children. Many are also supporting other relatives who need the money to avoid starvation.

The result is that the average Soweto family cannot keep up with price increases on the most basic necessities of life. Without electricity they have to buy coal, firewood, candles and paraffin, all subject to recent price rises. As well as paying extra taxes not paid by Whites (poll taxes and tribal levies), Blacks have to pay for their children's schooling while white schooling is free. In Soweto it costs about R102 per year to send two children to school.

Food prices in Soweto are actually higher than in white areas, due to the government policy of allowing only small, single unit businesses to exist there. Most Blacks try to do their basic food shopping in their work areas as a result, but diet is suffering severely as food expenditure is cut back in order to meet other unavoidable living costs. Recently the government has reduced the subsidy on such staples of African diet as maize and wheat flour, as well as transport.

April 1976 price increases included 18% on maize products and cooking oil, 17% on coffee, 15% on margarine, and 8% on milk. On 1 September a new round of increases was announced, to add 17% to sugar prices, 15% on wheat (following a massive 50% bread-flour increase the previous week), and 16% on tea, as well as large increases in electricity, petrol, rail freight and cement prices.

While the official annual inflation figure, as applied to a white-expenditure-based consumer index, is around 13%, the inflation figure for Blacks, with their narrow range of high-increase expenditure, is several times higher. *Garment Worker*, a South African union newspaper, has estimated an inflation level for Blacks of almost 100% on an annual basis. (16.7.76)

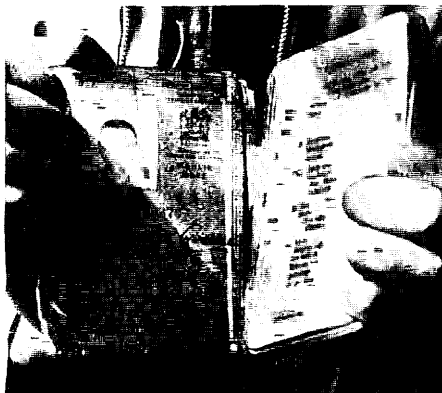
A recent survey by the South African Medical Institute in the Western Township, Johannesburg, a Coloured area, found that a third of the children were suffering from malnutrition — and this in an area where per capita income is 50% higher than in black areas. (*The Star* 22.7.76)

Nothing left to lose

The Star's 'Housewife of the Year' competition this year marvelled at a white family of four living on R500 per month. Subsequently, doctors recommended additions to the family's diet, as it was deficient. Shortly before, *The Star* had published a Poverty Datum Level of R129 per month for a black family of five living in Soweto. Soweto is not unique. The death rate among black infants in Cape Town has nearly doubled in the last year, largely due to malnutrition. (*Cape Herald* 10.8.76)

Out of work, poverty stricken, starving and overcrowded, the inhabitants of Soweto and other townships across South Africa have been brought to explosion point. There is nothing left to lose. In Soweto they live in misery in a nightmare town. Violent crime runs unchecked in the unlit streets and on the cram-packed trains and buses which ferry a quarter of a million black workers in and out of Johannesburg every day.

In 1974 Soweto had the highest murder



rate in the world, and the crime level has risen since then. The crime figures are inevitably swelled by the high number of school drop-outs without job prospects. Yet despite the high drop-out rate Soweto's schools are so crowded that the pupil-teacher ratio at some levels is 60 to 1, with teachers forced to do double daily shifts in order to cover all pupils.

Schooling in Soweto is not compulsory. There is an acute shortage of secondary and high schools. Teaching standards are minimal, and there is not a single teacher training school in the townships.

Job opportunities within Soweto are practically non-existent, as black industrialists have been forced by law to move to the homelands, and traders' operations are severely limited. Industrial job opportunities around Soweto are rapidly contracting, both because of the recession lay-offs, and also because new investment is being geared toward capital intensive rather than labour intensive production.

On 18 August 1976 Metal Box announced an investment in the Rand area around Johannesburg, of R1.6m, which will allow the company to double its South African output of tin-plate. This new investment will create just three jobs. This example, though extreme, is not isolated. 'There has undoubtedly been a shift from labour-intensive to capital-intensive investment in recent years', said the executive director of Assocom (the South African Chambers of Commerce organisation) in an interview in the government backed publication *To the Point*, October 1976.

Apartheid at Home

Housing provision is another disaster area in Soweto. Quite apart from the miserable size, quality and arrangement of the units, the townships' 100,000 houses are nowhere near sufficient to deal with the size and growth of the population. With an estimated 15,000 families on the waiting list, all fulfilling the rigorous and discriminatory terms of qualification, there is an increase each year of 2,000 married couples in need of accommodation. Most of these couples despair of the years-long waiting list and move in

with relatives. The same applies to widows, divorcees, deserted wives and unmarried mothers, none of whom can obtain — or retain — official registration.

As a result sub-tenancy is widespread, with as many as 25 people sharing a two-bedroom unit. The low level of new housing provision fails to make any impression on the problem. BAABs authorities in such dilapidated areas as Orlando West experience increasing difficulties in raising loans for house building, because the government's priority is towards single-persons' hostels. These prison-like buildings, each holding 2,500 inmates, are due to be doubled in number, from 12 to 24.

As if all this were not enough, the government has even tried to introduce 'ethnic grouping' into its housing policy, despite the fact that a large number of the inhabitants of Soweto no longer think of themselves in tribal groupings, and inter-tribal marriage is common.

Growing Resentment

With crushing social pressures such as these it is little wonder that divorce and separation in Soweto are increasingly common. The women and children are the most immediate victims, as in such cases the wife has to move out of the family house and does not herself qualify for independent registration.

The authorities have made no real attempt to control Soweto's crime. With 55% of the population under the age of 20, and with nothing to do outside of weekend football matches (there is one cinema), the streets belong to the gangs — or did until June 1976. Public telephones are few and far between, and there are only five police stations in the 26 townships. The gangs on public transport have added to the frustration with bus and train facilities which have made transport one of the focal points of black fight-back.

Both buses and trains have a very high accident rate — a combination of overcrowding and poor servicing of machinery, tracks and roads. Commuting to and from Johannesburg involves getting up hours

ahead of time in order to negotiate long queues at ticket offices and bus stops, and fighting your way onto the bus or train when it arrives. Station facilities, public address systems, bridges, stairs and toilets are all in a terrible, and often dangerous state of repair.

The only alternatives to this chaos are to walk — and many people work 20 kilometres from their homes — or to take expensive taxis. Many workers are forced to pay up to R30 per month in taxi fares. Bus fares have been increasing steadily over the last two years, firstly as a result of increased fuel costs, and more recently as a result of cuts in the government subsidy.

Putco, the largest bus company, reported riot damage of R279,938 in the year that ended on 30 June. Numerous and militant bus boycotts have been organised, and the police have made every effort to smash them. They have stopped taxis being used as alternative transport to work, ordering everyone out for pass-checks and driver's for permit checks. Road blocks are set up and cars with black occupants double checked, road-unworthiness being the easiest charge to make. If firms provide private transport for their workers they are charged prohibitive license fees.

This climate of continuous harassment and confrontation with the police can in some measure be seen as a training ground for events since 16 June. Pass-infringement arrests were stepped up. Of the daily prison population of 99,000, no less than a third are in jail under the pass laws. One in every four Blacks is arrested each year for technical infringements of laws that only apply to Blacks. In Soweto black arrestees lose their right to house registration.

Soweto demonstrates all the injustices suffered by black African township dwellers, though similar and sometimes worse conditions exist in all industrial areas of South Africa. The name Soweto is synonymous with apartheid, representing impermanence, oppression and exploitation, with no alternative but starvation in the homelands. It is fitting that the uprising which could spell the beginning of the end for the apartheid regime should have started there.

ARMING APARTHEID

'South Africa is a dynamic military society whose educational system must train people for war. South Africa devotes millions of rands to the development, manufacture and purchase of armaments. These armaments are necessary and the country is determined to obtain those it needs.' (Defence Minister Botha, 2.10.76)



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73232



Prime Minister Vorster gets together with Chancellor Schmidt of the FDR

In the past four years, the South African regime has quadrupled the number of its armed forces to 201,900. It has also organised and trained a Home Guard of 75,000 'Commandos', and set up paramilitary riot squads within the police force operating from 18 key cities.

The distinction between police and army is anyway blurred – their equipment and training are almost identical, and indeed the South African troops helping the Smith regime have always been described as 'police'. The police number 35,000 with a reserve of 17,500. Because of the rapid expansion of the armed forces and the limit to the number of Whites who could be recruited, the South African authorities have been reluctantly forced to draw on the black population.

As well as the 'official' bodies of armed men, white militias are actively encouraged, and the black vigilante groups run by the Urban Bantu Councils in the townships – the Makgotlas – have been given temporary legal status. The Soweto Makgotla was used in the Zulu 'backlash' in August.

Civilian Whites are very heavily armed, with almost half the adult white population owning a gun. About half of the guns now coming in are from Russia and Czechoslovakia via Hamburg. Others come from Brazil, France, West Germany, Italy, Spain and Finland, via England and Hong Kong. 'The demand for private firearms has never been bigger in South Africa than it is today. For weeks on end there hasn't been a handgun available in

any gun shop in Johannesburg.' (RDM 20.10.76) The 'favourites' are shotguns, preferably automatic, revolvers and automatic rifles. 'The little weapon is out, and the large calibre automatic and the magnum revolver are in.' (*Financial Mail* 22.10.76)

Both police and army are supplied with weapons by Armscor (The Armaments Development and Production Corporation). South Africa is now self sufficient in many areas of weaponry through Armscor, and the arms used by the police are almost all home produced. As well as rifles, tear gas, ammunition and so on, Armscor produces AMX tanks, Panhard armoured cars, Matra-Thompson Crotale surface to air missiles, field guns, bombs, napalm bombs and air to surface missiles. Its subsidiary Atlas Aircraft provides much of the South African Air Force's aircraft and parts, usually operating under licence from foreign companies.

Gun Running

In 1963, the United Nations passed its arms embargo, calling on all states 'to cease forthwith the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles to South Africa' and 'equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition in South Africa.' It left implementation and interpretation to its member states, and those with substantial trade relations with South Africa

have interpreted it so loosely as to make a mockery of it.

Any attempts, overwhelmingly supported by the UN General Assembly, to make the embargo mandatory have been blocked by Britain, France and the USA using their power of veto.

Some governments have openly ignored the embargo. In particular France, South Africa's principal source of military supplies, has delivered some \$160 million worth of arms between 1969 and 1973. Over the same period Italy delivered \$20 million and the UK \$15m. Both the US and Israel have made substantial arms deliveries too.

Like Britain, the US claims to support the embargo, but in fact supplies South Africa with a host of militarily useful equipment, particularly light aircraft. Similarly the West German government claims not to have made any arms sales to the regime, but is involved in the supply of the Transall aircraft and other weapons and ammunition.

Besides these open contraventions of the embargo, many companies have found other ways of supplying the tools of repression to this lucrative market. Licences are granted, manufacturing subsidiaries created, technicians seconded and consultants supplied. We detail some examples below, but this is only the tip of the iceberg.

Many other multinationals indirectly assist Armscor in its efforts to make the

regime self sufficient in terms of arms. An armaments industry as sophisticated as South Africa's depends on a well developed industrial base. It needs steel (British Steel), oil (BP, Mobil), chemicals (ICI, Shell, Hoechst) and many other materials and know-how. In this sense any company investing in South Africa is contributing to its arms capacity.

Foreign investment in South Africa is falling, partly because of the political impact of the uprising, and also because of the South African economic recession. But it is still an important and continuing factor in enabling the regime to maintain its arms spending, and protect apartheid and with it the profitability of foreign investment.

Arms to the South African government not only protect big business, they are, in themselves, big business. Western governments therefore have a dual role in aiding their sale. Every new investment, every new loan ties the bonds tighter between the South African state and Western capitals.

Britain and South Africa— The Arms Trade

'The racist regime has immense powers supplied to it by the imperialist world. We know of Landrovers which were used which are British equipment. We know of police equipment in South Africa which comes mainly from Britain. The most sophisticated equipment they have comes from Britain, France and America, and this sows a lot of bitterness inside the people with the realisation that their struggle is a long one and against very powerful enemies.' (Mashinini)

Britain is still South Africa's largest trading partner and investor. Almost a quarter of South Africa's exports come to Britain, and 4 per cent of British exports are destined for South Africa.

Investment in South Africa accounts for some 10 per cent of all British overseas investment — and, more importantly, forms no less than half of all foreign investment in South Africa. Six out of the top ten, and 28 out of the top 100 South African companies are either controlled by British companies or are substantially owned by British interests. The two largest banks are British registered, and control over half of all South African bank deposits.

Plessey

On August 9 1976, Defence Minister Botha opened a factory for the manufacture of integrated circuits. 'Integrated circuits form part of all sophisticated weapons using electronic systems. A local manufacturer of integrated circuits will be invaluable from the point of view of defence strategy' he said.

The money for the factory is coming from the South African Ministry of Defence and another government body, the Council for Industrial Research. But all the technical expertise has been provided by Plessey, the British electronics firm. The circuits are being made under licence from Plessey.

No wonder Botha was so pleased. Ever since the Arab-Israeli war of 1973, when the Egyptians destroyed large numbers of Israeli tanks and aircraft, weapons carrying their own target-finding systems have been in the forefront of warfare strategies.

This new factory will for the first time enable South Africa to produce such weapons itself. As Botha pointed out, the South African electronics industry could not undertake the manufacture on its own, owing to the technical complexity, and the fact that the sole market was military.

Racal Electronics

'South African forces had learnt through the years that they could rely on Racal for equipment and advice when no-one else could. Racal has come to our aid with radio sets and we are very grateful to them on this account. The company has also rendered invaluable service to the South African Defence Force in a consulting capacity.' (Bierman, Commandant General, 9.8.73)

Racal Electronics is hardly one of the best known British companies. Yet it is one of the most profitable groups, the leading world supplier of radio manpacks and tank radios, and has made vast profits out of arms. Profits have risen every year for 20 years, reaching £19m in 1975, and it has a thriving business in South Africa.

Well over half of Racal's South African production goes direct to the armed services. The most important part of its South African range are the transmitter/

receivers used in monitoring and surveillance, and in military situations.

News from Zimbabwe shows that Racial equipment was used in the raid on a Zimbabwean refugee camp in which at least 800 people were massacred by Rhodesian troops. The equipment was in a Ferret armoured car made in South Africa under British licence which was captured by Mozambique forces and put on display in Maputo.

Marconi

Marconi is building an £8m 'tropospheric scatter' system, the backbone of a computer controlled military communication network, for the South African Defence Department.

This strategic equipment was exported from Britain to the South African Defence Department for use in Namibia under loopholes in the regulations. Details of the deal came to light when Jock Hall, a Marconi Electronics engineer who had been working on civilian applications of the system, felt unable to work on a military project for South Africa and exposed the project.

Marconi have never denied that their equipment would be used in Namibia, and in 1973 had carried out a 'troposcatter' survey in Namibia.

A second Marconi contract for data link equipment to update the South African Air Defence system was signed last year, and despite questions in Parliament the Labour government has not prevented the export of this military hardware.

ICI

Most of the teargas used against the Blacks throughout the uprising is manufactured by African Explosives and Chemical Industries Ltd., which operates the two largest commercial explosive factories in the world. It is 40 per cent owned by ICI. In return for an annual fee, African Explosives also runs two munitions factories for the regime in the Transvaal; it built a third munitions plant for the government in the Cape in 1971.

African Explosives, besides producing teargas (at its factory in Modderfontein) makes nerve gas and chemicals usable as defoliants. In August, 1976 ICI provided R.40m for African Explosives to invest in further capital projects.

The British Connection

These cases illustrate two of the major ways in which British companies drive a massive wedge through the UN arms embargo — through granting licences and setting up subsidiaries. The government, whether Tory or Labour, has done nothing to stop this profitable trade, indeed the South African subsidiary of the government owned British Leyland is busy expanding its production of Land Rovers as part of a new investment of R.17m.

Despite pressure Leyland (South Africa) has consistently refused to recognise black unions. The Landrovers it produces go straight to the police and army.

The British Labour government is further implicated in supporting the apartheid regime. The Export Credit Guarantee Department, a government body, advanced R40 million in May to South African Railways, and in October, together with the British merchant bank Hill Samuel, announced a further R118 million at favourable rates of interest. This year a

record number of government subsidised trade delegations will visit South Africa.

The government's instrument with which it pays lip service to the UN arms embargo is the Export of Goods (Control) Order 1970. This prohibits the export of certain arms without a licence. The effect of this is minimal. Besides the fact that the Order does not inhibit delivery or sub-licencing built on British design, there are several other factors:

1. South Africa is granted a 'most favoured nation' status, which means there are several categories of goods that can be sent to South Africa without a licence, yet would on the other hand require one for most of the NATO states.
2. Whilst the order prohibits the sale of many basic items, like guns and ammunition, which South Africa in any case produces itself, it allows the sale of a good deal of sophisticated equipment of military usefulness. For example, you cannot export parachutes — but you can send air-borne radar.

3. The 'policing' of the order by customs is virtually non-existent. It is common knowledge that Finnish rifles reach South Africa via England.

4. When the embargo was introduced the government allowed all existing contracts to continue, including the supply of spares.

There are hundreds of British companies that contribute to the South African regime's armed strength; below we list some of the most important.

British Leyland
J. Brockhouse
Chloride Group
Dunlop
Thomas French
Hawker Siddeley
ICI
Lindustries
Rank Organisation
Thorn Electrical
Westland
British Electric Traction





SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY BUDGET FOR 1976/77

Command and Control	R.98,764,700
Landward Defence	R.644,091,400
Air Defence	R.71,742,600
Maritime Defence	R.162,184,800
General Training	R.71,073,800
Logistic Support	R.287,671,400
Personnel Support	R.10,901,000
General Support	R.3,570,300
Total	R.1,350,000,000
	(approx. £813 million)

David Brown Corporation
Decca
EMI
GEC (Marconi)
Hunting Associated Industries
Laird Group
Lucas
Plessey
Smiths Industries
Tube Investments
Martin Baker
Courtauld's
BOC (British Oxygen Co.)
Charterhouse Group
Dowty Group
Ferranti
GKN
International Compressed Air
Laurence Scott
Morgan Crucible
Racal Electronics
Taylor Woodrow
Vickers
Chubb & Son

France

France has been the main supplier of modern weaponry to South Africa for over a decade. The French government has repeatedly stated that they make a distinction between weapons used for

external defence and those for internal suppression. But equipment supplied by France such as the Frelon helicopters and the Transall aircraft have been used internally over the last months, as well as in Namibia and Zimbabwe.

The main strike force of the South African Air Force is made up of Mirage fighter bombers and interceptors. A new batch of 18 Mirages was delivered in 1974.

From 1977 the Mirage F-1 will be licence-produced within South Africa itself, greatly increasing the air force's strike capacity.

The four helicopter squadrons are also entirely French equipped. Puma helicopters, of joint Franco-British design have found their way to Pretoria since 1973, and the French-West German Transall transport plane has also been delivered. France paid the German companies involved in his project DM66m for the transaction.

Ground-to-air missiles, which are the foundation of any modern air defence system, have been provided by France through an ingenious arrangement; in 1964 construction of the Cactus ground-to-air missile system was begun in France according to South African specifications and with the participation of South African scientists. About 85% of the cost was paid by South Africa. The existence of the programme was only revealed in 1969 when Botha visited France to view a test launching of the missile. By 1973 three batteries had been deployed on the Transvaal border, pointing towards Mozambique.

According to the French producers France has retained the sales rights for the missile, so it cannot be re-exported from South Africa. But Cactus was included in Botha's 1972 list of possible items to be exported to 'friendly countries'. The question of who owns the sales rights will probably remain unsettled until South Africa actually delivers a Cactus system to another country.

France has signed the notorious Koeberg nuclear power plant construction contract. Credit Lyonnais led a consortium that financed no less than R850 million of the R1000 million project. Besides the nuclear power plant, recent deals include Saffaire's purchase of four French built container ships worth R240 million and South African Airways' purchase of four Airbuses worth R70 million, all heavily financed by French government export

credits. France is now the fifth largest supplier to South Africa, and French investment has doubled to around R800 million since 1970.

Germany (FDR)

Recent weeks have seen a redoubling of the South African effort to build up the West German connection. In October Connie Mulder, Minister of Information, was in Germany and in early November Owen Horwood, Minister of Finance, Jan Marais, chairman of the Trust Bank and a number of others were in Dusseldorf to preside at investment conferences and talks.

In recent years West Germany has rivalled the UK as South Africa's major supplier and is the fourth largest market for South African goods. Investment has been heavy, particularly in chemicals - Hoechst and BASF - and cars - Volkswagen and BMW.

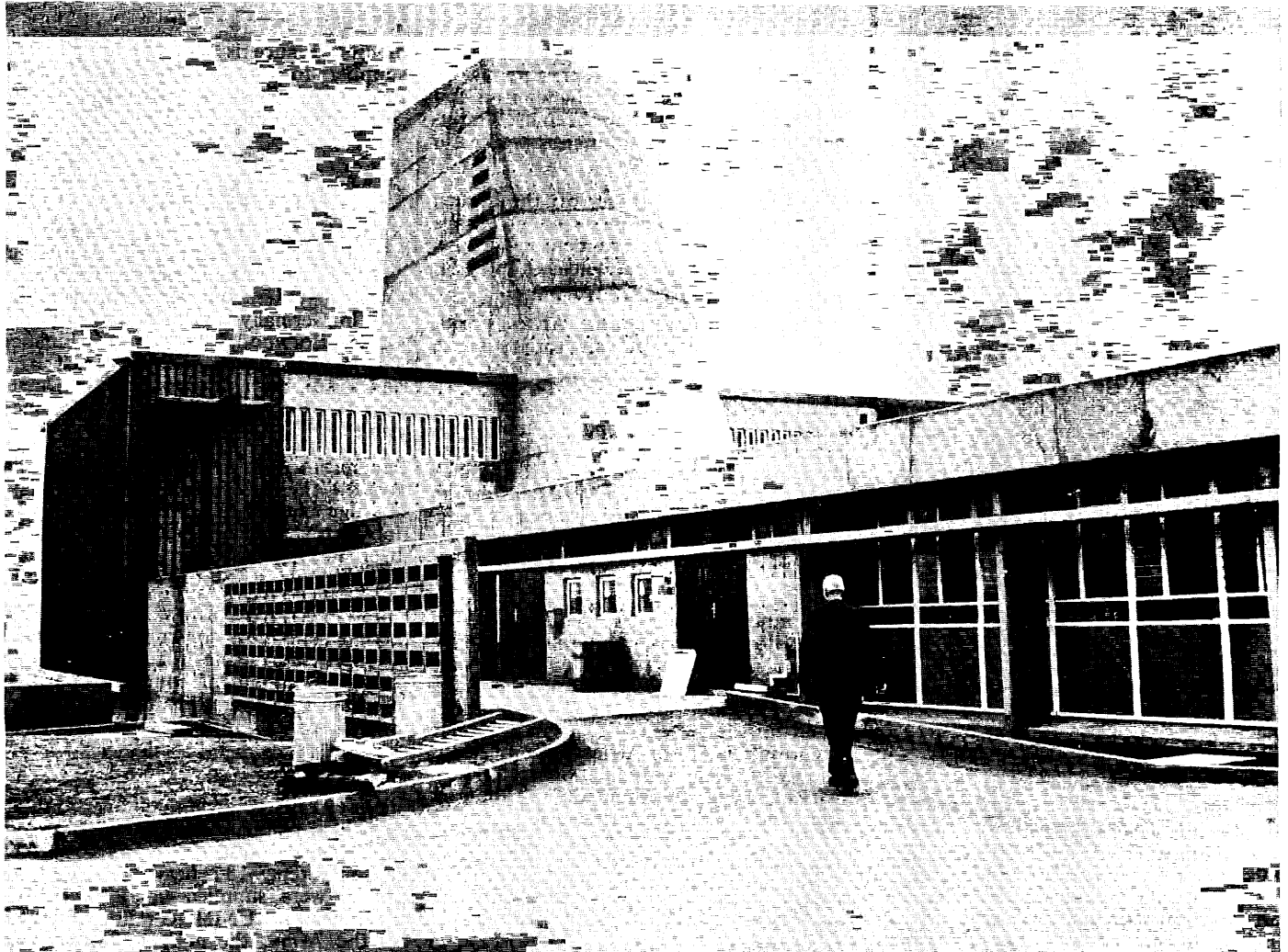
Perhaps the most controversial assistance given to the regime in terms of military aid is the supply of compressors for the uranium enrichment plant at Valindaba in South Africa. This uses the jet nozzle system - suitable for military production.

The West German government has always denied that it is giving military aid to the apartheid regime, but German companies have helped build the Advocaat surveillance system, 137 heavy duty military trucks were supplied in 1974, Daimler Benz has sent UNIMOG military vehicles to the Army, the military Airbus being built with France is currently being delivered and four German designed and engined patrol boats are being built in Haifa for the South African Navy.

A company in the Thyssen group has been building tanks for the South African Army, and the FDR has also supplied a complete plant for the construction of armoured vehicles. All these supplies are subject to government permission under the External Trade Act.

Israel

In the spring of 1976 Prime Minister Vorster visited Israel and was escorted by the Commander of the Israeli navy round a guided missile patrol boat built in Haifa. He also inspected the Israeli made Kfir fighter bomber and there are reports that South Africa is interested in a tank de-



Valindaba nuclear energy headquarters. Components supplied by Germany here could be used to produce nuclear weapons.

signed especially for desert conditions and in an anti-tank helicopter that Israel is developing.

Already, South Africa imports heavy mortars, some types of small arms and munitions from Israel, as well as electronic equipment and communications devices. The Uzi sub-machine gun designed by Israel is produced, under sub-licence from Belgium, within South Africa itself.

Nato

For some years now South Africa has been granted access to the NATO defence

equipment coding system, with the UK, US, France, Germany and Holland providing new computerised material. This has been used in the Advocaat surveillance system based at Silvermine in Cape Province, with a substation at Walvis Bay in Namibia. South African officers have been trained in the Federal Republic of Germany to operate the system.

There is considerable support for the South African regime within the upper echelons of the Western military machine. NATO high command has linked itself as closely as possible with the South African military, making riot control, anti-guerrilla

warfare, nuclear and missile technology readily available.

The South African regime has access to the entire technology of oppression through support from those in power within NATO's governments and military-economic institutions. Only the political constraints arising from the regime's brazen apartheid policies prevents that support exhibiting itself more openly.

Companies and governments throughout the world are supplying the white South African regime with the weapons and the know-how to murder black freedom fighters within its borders and beyond.

Wherever they go,

Saturday afternoon
and there's nothing
better to do when
friends drop in,
than sit around
and have a great time.
Fun, friends,
good music. It's the life
for the Ambi set.
And you've got to agree.
They look great.



For a great looking skin,
insist on Ambi.
Because Ambi is for
the good looking men
and beautiful women
of today.
For a lighter, clearer
complexion, use the
full range of fast
acting Ambi day
and night products.

Ambi people look great.

Use Ambi. You'll look great.

Malnutrition exposed on a Slater-Walker farm.



Camera Press

NATIONALIST IMPASSE

Apartheid is the achievement of the Nationalist Government. Today, just as the policy reaches its fruition with the first granting of 'independence' to a Black Homeland', the Nationalist Party is facing its severest crisis.

Despite its monolithic appearance, the Nationalist Party is in fact an alliance of two groups with very different economic interests, united by a common cultural heritage. The 'verkramptes' represent mainly farming interests, and the 'verligtes' represent industrial interests with links with international capital.

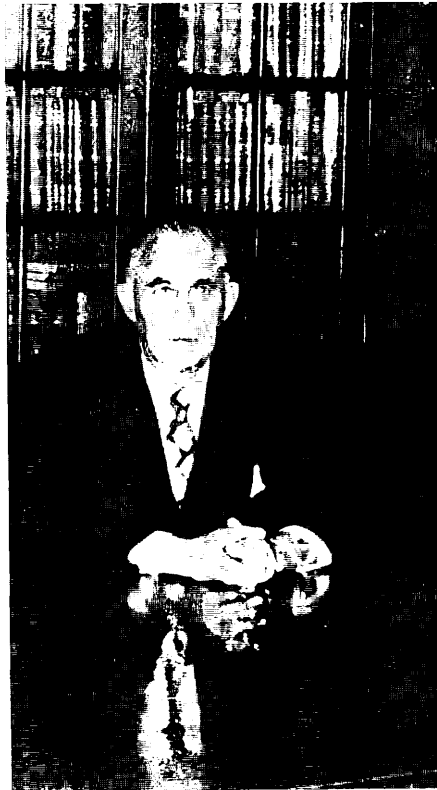
The interests of the verkramptes lie in keeping black wages as low as possible, reflected in the fact that black agricultural wages are about one fifth of those in the industrial sector. The verligtes, on the other hand, are more aware of the need to boost productivity and stabilise the black workforce by raising wages and granting concessions over job reservation and trade union rights. They also see the black worker as a means of limiting the power of the white trade unions and reducing overall costs by upgrading Blacks into Whites' jobs, while continuing to pay Blacks at their traditional lower rates.

The conflict of interests between verkramptes and verligtes is reflected in the contradictory policies that the Nationalist Government tries to follow. It has, for example, publicly committed itself a number of times to backing attempts by employers to reclassify jobs so that they are no longer reserved for Whites. Yet at the same time it is currently trying to enforce a law which makes it an offence for industrialists in most areas to employ more than 2 or 2.5 Blacks for every White.

Rigid

Already the contradictions in the Nationalist Party are becoming quite public. The concessions on the use of Afrikaans in schools, and the institution of limited-lease home ownership in black townships have led the verkramptes to fear 'the downfall of the volk'. Thirty-six of them, led by Jaap Marais and Albert Hertzog, recently demonstrated on Vorster's lawn and were arrested. They were freed after a night in jail, and no prosecutions were brought.

At the same time there have been several physical attacks directed at the verligtes rather than the Blacks. The offices of



M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Education, who imposed the Afrikaans ruling. He once led a strike in white schools against the use of English.

Beeld, a leading Nationalist daily, were attacked, and R150,000 of damage caused by a secret organisation, modelled on the war-time fascist group 'Ossewa Brandwag'. In common with other Nationalist newspapers, *Beeld* had been calling for greater concessions to Blacks.

A recent row between verkramppte Deputy Minister of the Bantu Administration Department, Dr. Treurnicht, and Afrikaans newspaper editors escalated and drew in many other Cabinet members. *The Guardian* commented, 'These fratricidal clashes in the Nationalist Party occur only at crisis periods in the party's history. Usually internal dissent is kept within the family, but this time there is so much dissatisfaction in Afrikaner ranks over Mr Vorster's refusal to liberalise race policies, following black unrest, that the row has burst out into the open' (29.11.76).

In short, the problem facing Vorster is that to go too far in granting concessions would both fuel Blacks' demands for political rights, and also cause a rebellion among the white trade unionists and employers who depend on apartheid in jobs for one of the highest standards of living in the world.

But the crisis in the Nationalist Party is only a reflection of the bigger crisis facing the white regime and the apartheid ideology. Vorster's predecessor, Verwoerd, summed up the regime's view of Blacks. 'There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?'

Black resistance to the language issue was dramatically and rapidly escalated into total opposition to white rule and apartheid. The slogans and the attempts to demonstrate in the centre of the white towns show that black resistance cannot be bought off with petty concessions.

Too wide

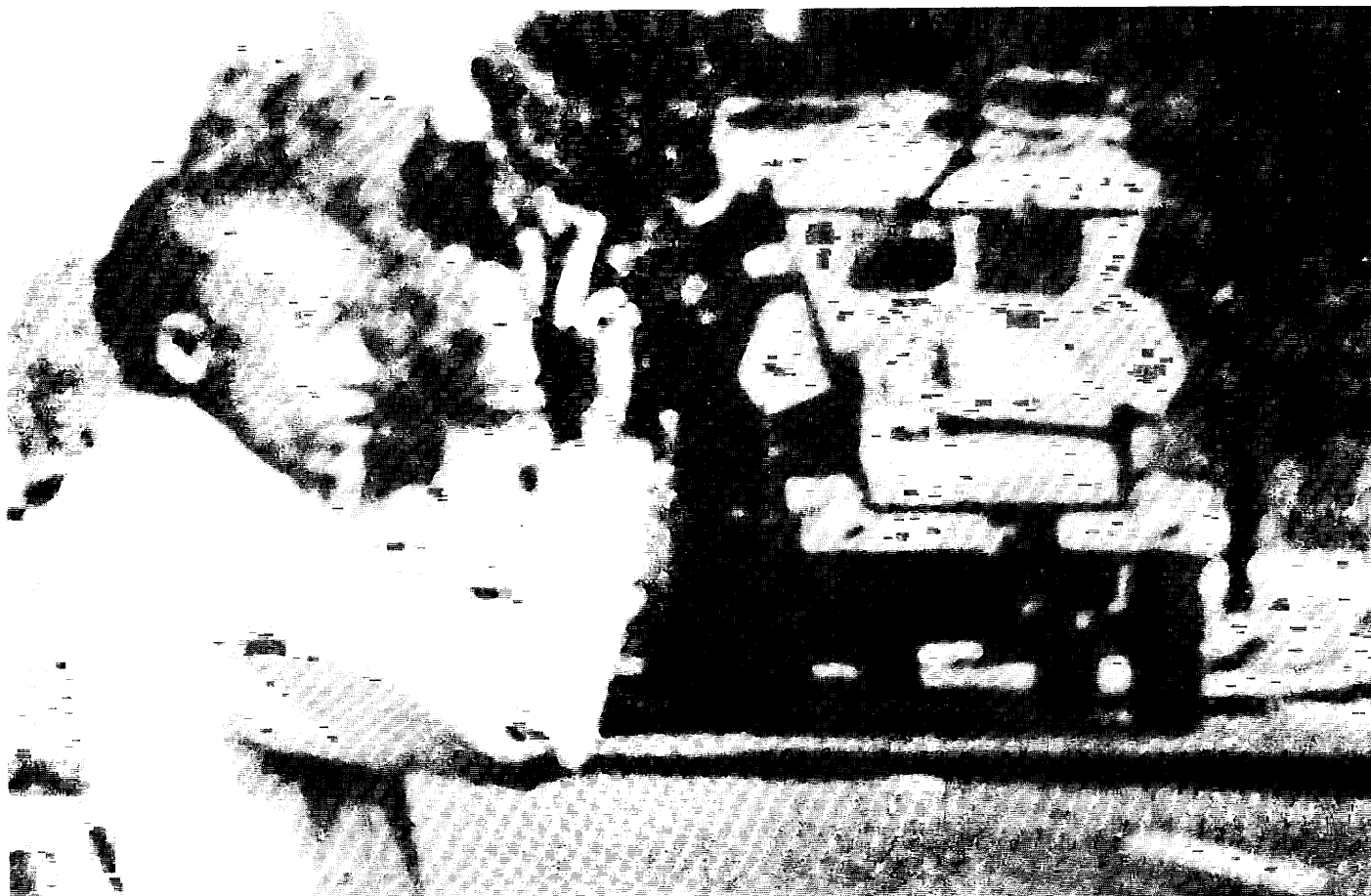
Vorster knows that the demands already being raised in the townships will, if met, spell the death of apartheid. At the Nationalist Party's Transvaal Congress in September 1976 he refused a multiracial convention on the grounds that it was designed to bring about one man one vote, and to destroy all the 'beneficial measures' that separate development had brought the country.

The gulf between white and black consciousness is too wide to bridge. We have had indications from sources close to the Cillie Commission that their 'findings' will attribute the unrest to white agitators outside the townships.

Apartheid, and the high white standard of living that goes with it, can only be preserved by crushing the Blacks' militancy. Black demands can only be achieved by destroying apartheid.

The future of South Africa lies between the ability of the security forces to destroy black resistance in the townships and trade unions, and the ability of that black resistance to survive.

THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE



Thursday 23 September In Johannesburg, the students decided to carry the protest into the white areas. The police knew of this, and all morning they stopped cars and searched trains coming out of Soweto.

Eugene Vilikazi was one of the thousands of workers travelling into Johannesburg that morning. He later made a sworn statement before a commissioner of oaths.

'The train was not running normally. It kept stopping . . . We decided to hitchhike along the highway to Mlamlankuzi . . . On our way we saw police in camouflage uniforms coming towards us. We heard the sound of bullets coming towards us. I neither saw nor heard loudspeakers warning us to disperse. One of the policemen shouted 'Skiet hom' (Shoot him).

'We were caught in the situation. We could not move forwards or backwards. The students stampeded off the road. Some women fell. I tried to assist them. The police stopped coming towards us in their vehicles, but they still kept shooting.

'I started running away. The bullets seemed to be concentrating on me. I then realised that a student I had met on the train was running with me. He was just in front of me. Almost immediately he fell. I went to him and saw that he had been shot through the back of the neck.

'The police had crossed the highway. I started running again. I was exhausted. They shot me in the leg. I fell into a river. I lay near a big rock. A bullet hit the rock. They came towards me. I lay quite still. I heard one of them say 'Hulle is

Klaar'; (They are finished). They went away.'

The Net

Vilikazi managed to struggle back onto a stationary train. But his troubles were not over. At New Canada station 'police boarded the train. They were looking for students. Some were arrested. The adults sat around me and gave me a newspaper. I pretended to read the paper and the police passed me by.'

Despite all these police precautions, some 1500 students managed to slip through their net and reach the centre of Johannesburg. In Jeppe and Eloff streets they unfurled their banners and chanted 'Kruger, release detainees'. Within minutes four police vehicles screeched to a halt, and launched a baton charge.

The march turned into a running battle between black demonstrators and police aided by gangs of white students. Windows were smashed and older people who could not get out of the way in time were trampled.

In Mzimhlope and Pholomong, uninhibited by the presence of Whites, the police used their guns at will. In the centre of Johannesburg, only batons were used. Four hundred Blacks were arrested according to the police – unofficial sources put the figure much higher. After they dispersed the crowd the police swept through the city picking up as many Blacks between the ages of 14 and 25 as they could.

At that very moment Mr Heunis was outlining his view of the problem to the Nationalist Party Conference in Port Elizabeth. Unemployment was the culprit, he argued and went on to say 'there could not be talk of constitutional or evolutionary development in group relations unless there was economic progress (*Star* 23.10.76)

That day the police sealed off Alexandra again, searching cars, arresting people and refusing entry to journalists. Heavy gunfire was reported from the township, both that day and the following two.

School Massacre

One police car drove to Mara Higher Primary school. The police emerged with their guns at the ready. Seeing this, the pupils, who were inside working quietly, panicked and fled towards the sports field. The police opened fire.

The school fence was trampled flat by the frantic school children, and the police drove straight over the fence in pursuit. They shot one child on the other side of the road from the school by a shop, and when other children tried to move his body, they opened fire again wounding many more.

'The police parked their car next to the stores, got out and looked at the corpse before buying soft drinks.' (*RDM* 1.10.76) One policeman, not satisfied with this, went 'patrolling' on foot. This involved

shooting several more students with his rifle, and wounding a 17 year old orphan standing in his back yard, who was not even at the school.

An ambulance collected some of the wounded, but many others refused to go in it, fearing further police victimisation.

Friday 24 September 'At present the police have only used a soft hand in dealing with the rioters' announces Connie Mulder, Minister of Information.

Late September and early October saw a comparative lull in the struggle, but increased police reprisals and detentions. Yet another layer of young Blacks identified as leaders of the consciousness movements were arrested, as well as black trade unionists and black journalists.

Drinks Ban

Most of the activity of the young Blacks in the townships was in the campaign against the 'shebeens' and beer halls. The beerhalls are owned and run by the white Bantu Affairs Administration. They provide a major source of its income, and a major drain on black wages. The shebeens are illegal beerhalls, tolerated by the police who get substantial rake-offs from them.

'There are more beer halls than schools and you find these beer halls are situated right in the terminals of the buses, stations and offices where you pay rent. So when your father comes home from work, he either goes to the beerhall or pays rent and when he goes home he is left with only 5 Rand . . . These beer halls are what is breaking them down and lowering the dignity of black people.' (Barney)

At the end of September a slogan campaign began – using both persuasion and threats. 'Less liquor, more education!', 'Away with boozers', 'No more liquor till next year, Please we need sympathy', were some of the many wall slogans. On October 11, the liquor ban began. Shebeen keepers were asked and warned to close down. In one case a shebeen's entire stock was emptied into the streets,

while in another students agreed to postpone the ban for a week.

The approach to the hostel dwellers was a particular problem. 'We were closing the shebeens on the first day among the residents, as distinct from the hostel dwellers. We needed a different approach for the hostels', recorded one student.

Plot Misfires

The police were once again trying to stir up trouble with the hostel dwellers. 'There have been rumours of a backlash although there is no such thing' said a group of Guguletu students.

"On Tuesday we went to Nyanga East where the hostels are": The students allege that the hostel dwellers were told by the police to arm themselves because they were going to be attacked by the students.

"As we were passing from Guguletu to Nyanga East we came across a barricade. The people were armed with kieres and so forth. There were two camps. Our force and their force. There was a police car behind their lines.

"One of our students stepped forward and brushed his hands to show that he was unarmed. He wanted one of the hostel dwellers to come and speak. At that point a teargas canister was fired at the student and the police charged us" (*Muslim News* 22.10.76)

Besides attempting to create another backlash, an attempt which failed this time, police were busy attacking the anti-shebeen squads. "I noticed a half lame boy leaving the NY3 Shopping Centre. Just then a riot truck arrived. The kids in front of the shop scattered with a coloured policeman on their heels. The lame boy was left standing dumbfounded.

'The coloured policeman with the green jersey over his uniform attacked the boy. The other riot policemen arrived and attacked the boy as well. He was attacked as he tried to free himself. When he tried to cross the road the police beat him up with their batons on the body, head and other parts until he collapsed.' (*Muslim News* 22.10.76)



General David Kriel — top killer?



Continuing oppression.



Below: A mourner is shot dead at Mashabane's funeral.

When the watching women protested the police answered 'Are we supposed to smell that he is a cripple' and later beat one of the women up. The crippled boy's right eye was closed, his right arm swollen, and he can no longer sleep at night.

Confident

The anti-liquor campaign was overwhelmingly successful. The police failed to use hostel workers to aggravate tribal divisions in the townships. It marked a significant change in the political situation, so that a group of Guguletu students could say 'We have gained the confidence of most of the community. People have realised what we are trying to achieve.'

A regular drinker said 'What the kids are doing is right. They had to force a ban on shebeens because we lacked the will power to do so.' The significance of the students' ability to initiate and carry through such a campaign was not lost. 'Our children have suddenly become politicised', said one Cape Town father. 'They feel the political stand their parents take is insincere. As parents we have achieved nothing. We have failed politically.' (*Weekend Argus* 16.10.76)

In the Cape, seven out of the eight bottle stores were burnt down, and the other closed down. In Soweto prohibition was total.

The very success of the shebeen actions contributed to the police decision to escalate the violence once more — to

prove who really controlled the townships.

Sunday 17 October Police were unable to control a furious crowd of nearly 700 Blacks in Soweto after a mass funeral for a schoolboy. Sixteen year old Dumisani Mbatha had been missing from home since September 16, the day of the march in central Johannesburg. He had 'become ill' in jail – and died in police custody. At least seven other people are known to have died in police hands – many many more are still missing. Several thousands attended Mbatha's funeral. The City Engineer's Department was stoned, and 27 vehicles burnt.

Saturday 23 October The police were taking no chances. As the cortege at the funeral of Annah Mkhwanazi left the house, police attacked. They attacked the mourners with rifle butts – and fired indiscriminately on them as they fled. At least one person died with a police bullet in his back, ten were wounded and over 100 arrested. Chasing mourners, police entered houses and smashed their contents, making arrests with maximum violence.

Sunday 24 October The funeral of Jacob Mashabane, who allegedly hanged himself whilst in police custody, was scheduled to take place at mid-afternoon at Doornkop on the outskirts of Soweto. Well in advance the police cars had taken up positions in the cemetery, armed with shotguns and sub machine guns. As the crowd of four or five thousand mourners entered the cemetery, the police opened fire.

'Scores of screaming people managed to scurry through the fence and run for safety in the veld, while others battled through a swamp just outside the cemetery' reported an eye witness. The result of this unprovoked attack on the graveside crowd was six deaths, and well over 50 seriously wounded.

'General Kriel said that through their prompt action yesterday, they had been able to prevent a recurrence of the damage caused last Sunday.' (*Natal Mercury* 25.10.76)

This funeral was one of six incidents of

unrest reported that weekend. They ranged from Soweto, where police opened fire at two funerals, to Alexandra township where buses were stoned, and to the eastern Transvaal.

Mass Arrests

In late October and early November the police stepped up the detentions. The townships were sealed off and raided by hundreds of police. They moved from house to house in an attempt, residents believe, to crush the Soweto Students Representative Council.

At Morris Isaacson high school 60 children and 12 teachers were arrested and taken away in police vans. There were numerous cases of children being arbitrarily picked up on the streets. 'One father said that as he stood in his garden watching his eleven year old daughter and eight year old niece at the gate, two policemen in camouflage outfits scooped them up and took them away in a van. They were released the next day.' (*Sunday Times* 14.11.76)

Major General Kriel, the police officer in charge of 'riot control' denied that children were picked up without explanation and said that the arrests must have been connected with arson.

As a result of the police action hundreds of children fled from their homes, going to friends and relatives, moving from house to house each day, and being sent by worried parents to the rural areas.

By the end of the first week in November Soweto's 250 black schools were virtually empty. Many students also sought refuge in neighbouring countries. A Botswana government spokesman confirmed that since June more than 500 children had crossed the border, and over 150 were known to have fled to Swaziland.

Monday 1 November The Soweto Student Representative Council called a five day stay-at-home, but this time it did not succeed. Both Railways and buses reported normal services, and although the atmosphere was tense no incidents were reported.

The strike, called in sympathy with those

in detention was ignored by the vast majority of workers. They agreed with the students' demands, but in conditions of starvation wages and chronic unemployment, the failure of the black consciousness movement to connect with the black trade unions meant that the breakdown of this tactic was inevitable. The fact that the better organised black workers, in the mines and in Natal, have not yet responded to the uprisings in the townships is also indicative of the gap between the young blacks and the trade unions.

Monday 8 November Figures compiled by the South African Institute of Race Relations show that 1,281 Blacks have been found guilty at trials arising out of the uprising. Of these 926 were under 18 years old. They were found guilty of public violence, riotous assembly, incitement, theft, housebreaking and arson.

Of those under 18, 528 were sentenced to receive between four and eight cuts with a cane. One hundred and thirty nine adults were also sentenced to caning. Typically, an eight year old child was sentenced to five cuts of the cane for 'attending an illegal gathering'.

At least another 2,915 Blacks are still awaiting trial. Those detained on 31 October included 25 office bearers of black consciousness organisations, 42 school children, 61 university students, 16 clergymen, 19 community programme workers, 21 teachers and lecturers and 13 juveniles.

The Christian Institute of South Africa, in its banned publication *South Africa – a 'Police State'?* claims that well over 2,600 people had been arrested between 16 June and 20 September.

'Swoop upon swoop was made, and among many others Mr Kenneth Rachidi was detained. He is the National President of the Black People's Convention (BPC) which is seen to be the political umbrella of the Black Consciousness Movement with more than 70 affiliated groupings ranging from scholar and student organisations to church and cultural movements. His arrest was followed by those of the remaining national leadership of BPC...



Beer hall owner (left) surveys his wrecked premises. The Government owned liquor business has been driven out of Soweto.

DEATH IN SOUTH AFRICA

Throughout the period covered by this report there were official admissions of 386 killed and 1500 injured as a result of police action. In nearly every incident it was quite clear to us that the official figure was a deliberate underestimate. In one night in Cape Town, for instance, doctors and staff at just two hospitals reported 70 deaths, while the official police figure for the whole city was nine deaths. The information used by CIS in the compilation of this report contains details of 456 deaths and 2,160 injured by police action. A *Rand Daily Mail* listing of named dead at the end of December 1976 gave a total of 499.

The true figure will never be known. Police officials say that the death toll is a matter of 'national security'. The fact is that thousands of Blacks are missing, and many have been given paupers' burials in unmarked graves. All our informants are convinced that well over a thousand have been killed by the security forces.

There is another side to the official statistics. Evidence given to the Cillie Commission by the senior state pathologist revealed that well over half of those shot by police around Johannesburg had been shot in the back.

'The formidable list of organisations and groupings which have had their leadership clapped into prison range from BPC, the South African Students Organisation (SASO), the South African Students Movement (SASM), the Black Community Programme (BCM), the Black Women's Federation, the Soweto based Black Parents Association, Black church organisations, to individual black students.'

Charges Changed

The Institute points out that many charges of public violence and arson are being changed to charges under the Sabotage Act of 1962, which carries a minimum sentence of five years. Members of the Institute have now been detained.

The third and fourth weeks of November were relatively quiet, though police searches for pupils continued in the townships. There were reports that the police were making checks using school registers. The exodus of fleeing pupils continued, and the South African police blocked the roads on the Swaziland and Lesotho borders, arresting many of those attempting to flee the country.

Monday 29 November In the Cape Town townships of Nyanga and Guguletu students mounted a new offensive against shebeens and informers, and also attempted to persuade contract workers living in hostels to join a strike due to start on 6 December. Fighting broke out between the contract workers and the students, giving the police an opportunity to cordon off the townships and conduct a house to house search for 'ringleaders'. Three hundred Africans were arrested.

Weekend December 4/5 The fighting between contract workers and demonstrators continued over the weekend. Two youths were killed and several houses burned down. Riot squads rushed in, firing on the crowds. At least five Africans were shot dead and 14 wounded. Dozens more were arrested.

Tuesday 7 December On this day official attempts were being made in Cape Town to end the four month

school boycott by 30,000 pupils in the city's three African townships. 'The boycott resulted in almost total absenteeism by high school pupils at the end-of-year examinations, not only in Cape Town but also in Johannesburg.' (*Guardian* 9.12.76) The Director of Bantu education for the Cape Province was offering a special six week intensive course, with exams in February, to enable pupils to catch up. Young black militants, however, were saying that there would be no return to school until the Bantu education system was abolished.

'The aim of Bantu education has been to arrest the Westernisation of the Africans, and withhold from them, particularly in white areas, positions or opportunities beyond the level of certain forms of menial labour.' (*ibid*)

Struggle Continues

December has seen the continuance of the government and police tactics against

students, journalists and trade unionists. Since June at least 30 journalists have been silenced in South Africa by indefinite detention orders, and the authorities are now directing their attention at editors. The editor of the *Daily Dispatch* has been prosecuted, and the editor of *The World* interrogated.

'Surprisingly although school children in Soweto and Cape Town's black locations have successfully organised several two- or three-day stay-aways from work, the country's factories themselves have remained quiet. The one or two industrial disputes were not related to the Soweto upheavals.

'So it is all the more astonishing – and ominous – that the Government should have started to suppress the black labour movement. In the past few weeks it has banned 27 trade unionists and members of the university wages commissions.' (*Financial Times* 8.12.76)

Kruger claimed that none of the 27 were banned for their trade union work,

but sceptical observers saw this as an attempt to mollify the international trade union movement, in view of the threat by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to organise a blacklisting of South African transport and goods in January 1977. Meanwhile the bannings have hit the Metal and Allied Workers Union particularly hard, with its three top officials taken out of operation. This union has been fighting for union recognition in Leyland South Africa, a subsidiary of British Leyland, for the last three years. 'All its efforts have met blunt refusal' (*Financial Times* 8.12.76).

Whereas the silencing of individual trade unionists and journalists is a relatively simple matter for the security forces, the students present a different problem altogether. They are numerous, fearless, and their political awareness, mirrored by their organisational ability and the level of their demands, grows daily. Although hundreds have been killed, and thousands wounded and arrested, their voice has not been suppressed. The struggle continues.



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S.I.P.R. – *Arms and the Third World*.

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Register 1. South Africa: major arms imports, 1950-75
 The first United Nations resolution calling for an arms embargo on South Africa was passed in August 1963.

Supplier	Delivery date	No.	Designation	Comment
UK				
<u>Aircraft</u>				
	1952-54	50	HS Vampire FB.5 fighter	Some remained in service in 1974 as trainers
		27	HS Vampire T.55 trainer	
	(1955)	(5)	Auster A.O.P. mono-plane	Not in service in 1974
	(1955)	9	HS 104 Devon C Mk 1 light transport	Not in service in 1974
	(1955)	2	HS 114 Heron transport	Not in service in 1974
	1957	8	HS Avro 696 Shackleton Mk 3 maritime recce / bomber	Seven in service in 1974 due for replacement
	(1959)	1	Vickers Viscount 781 transport	In service 1974
	1962	6	BAC Canberra B(I) Mk 12 bomber	All in service 1974
	1964	6	Westland Wasp HAS Mk 1 ASW helicopter	5 lost before 1971
	1965	3	BAC Canberra T Mk 4 trainer	Refurbished: all in service 1974
	1965	16	HS Buccaneer S. Mk 50 strike/bomber	Remaining 10 grounded 1973: to be replaced by Mirage
	1966	4	Westland Wasp HAS Mk 1 ASW helicopter	5 lost before 1971 of 10 supplied
	1969	4	HS 125 "Mercurius" transport	3 lost in accident 1970
	1971	3	HS 125 "Mercurius" transport	Replacement for 3 lost: 4 in service in 1974
	1973-74	6	Westland Wasp HAS Mk 1 ASW helicopter	Order 1971: delivery of 7th Wasp stopped by Labour Government 1974 total of 11 Wasps in service 1974
<u>Armoured Vehicle</u>				
	(1950)	(40)	Comet medium tank	20 in service in 1974
	1955-59	(168)	Centurion Mk 5 main battle tank	100 sold to Switzerland 1960-61
	(1956-60)	250	Saracen APC	All in service 1974
	(1963-64)	(60)	Ferret AC	50 in service 1974
<u>Warships</u>				
	1950	1	Destroyer "W"-class: "Jan van Riebeeck"	Displ: 2 105t: launched 1943: modernized 1964-66
	1952	1	Destroyer "W"-class: "Simon van der Stel"	Displ: 2 105t: launched 1943: modernized 1962-64
	1954	1	Seaward defence ship, "Ford"-class: "Gelderland"	Displ: 120t: ex-UK
	1955	1	Seaward defence ship, "Ford"-class: "Nautilus"	Displ: 120t: ex-Uk
	1955	1	Escort minesweeper,	Displ: 2 160t: new: armed with Bofors AA-guns
	1959-59	10	Coastal minesweeper "Tom" class	
	1956	1	ASW frigate type 15: "Vrystaat"	Displ: 2 160t: completed 1944: armed with Bofors AA-guns
	(1961-62)	3	Seaward defence ship, "Ford"-class	Displ: 120t: new
	1963	2	ASW frigate type 12, "President"-class: "President Kruger", "President Steyn"	Displ: 2 144t: launched 1960-61, refitted 1969 and 1971 to carry 1 Wasp helicopter: ex-"Whitby"-class: armed with Bofors AA-guns

1964	1	Frigate "President"-class: "President Pretorius"	Displ: 2 144t: launched 1962 ex-"Whitby"-class: armed with Bofors AA-guns
1972	1	Survey ship, "Hecla"-class: "Protea"	Displ: 1 930t: new: replacement for "Loch"-class frigate, "Natal", sunk in 1972: carries 1 helicopter

FRANCE Aircraft

1962	7	Aerospatiale Alouette II helicopter	6 in service in 1974
1964	16	Dassault Mirage III-C all-weather interceptor ground attack fighter	Arms: Matra R. 530 AAM; all in service 1974
1965-66	54	Aerospatiale Alouette III helicopter	62 in service in 1974
1965-66	20	Dassault Mirage III-E long-range fighter-bomber/intruder version	Arms: AS 20/30 ASM all in service in 1974
1966	4	Dassault Mirage III-R recce version of III-E	All in service 1974
1966-67	16	Aerospatiale Super Frelon multi-purpose helicopter	£30m: 15 in service 1974
1968	3	Dassault Mirage III-B trainer. 2 seater version of III-A pre-series aircraft	All in service 1974
1968	16	Aerospatiale Alouette III helicopter	62 in service 1974
1969-70	9	Transall C-160 (Fr/FRG) transport helicopter	£33m: all in service 1974
1970	3	Aerospatiale Alouette III helicopter	62 in service 1974
1970-71	20	SA 330 Puma (Fr/UK) transport helicopter	£27m: all in service 1974
1971	1	Dassault Mirage III version unknown	Replacement
1973	4	Dassault Mirage III-D trainer. 2 seater version of III-E	All in service 1974
1974	18	Dassault Mirage III-E fighter-bomber	Follow-up order mid-1972
1975	16	Dassault Mirage FI-C all-weather interceptor	First of 1971 licence prod. agreement for possible 100 units: all French-built delivery to start 1975
	32	Dassault Mirage FI-A ground-attack fighter	Second of 1971 licence prod. agreement: some components to be built by Atlas: first Atlas-produced FI. to be completed in 1977

Missiles

1963	(96)	Matra R. 530 AAM	£4m: to arm Mirage III-C
1965-66	(60)	Nord AS. 20 and AS. 30 ASM	To arm Mirage III-E
1966		Aerospatiale AS.II AT missile	To arm 6 Wasp helicopters
1966		Aerospatiale E AT missile	To arm Panhard APCs
1971-73	3 batt	Matra Thomson-CSF "Cactus" mobile SAM system	Pre-production types: deployed along border with Mozambique production in France to South African specifications: R&D financed to 85% by South Africa
1975		Matra R.550 Magic AAM	To arm Mirage FI
1975		Milan (FR/FRG) portable ATM	Ordered early 1974. South Africa one of the first customers
1977		Aerospatiale AM 39 Exocet air-launched AS missile	To arm Super Frelon helicopters: ordered 1974

Armoured Vehicle

1963		Panhard AML-60 and AML-90 AC	Prior to licence production
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1966-74	800	"Eland" AC Panhard AML (60/90)	In service 1974: current licence production possibly up to a total of 1,000 units: incl. second generation with locally-built engine
<u>Warships</u>			
1970-72	3	Submarine, "Daphne" type: "Emily Hobhouse" new "Johanna van der Merwe" "Maria van Riebeeck"	Displ. 850t: \$37.8m: new
	1	Submarine "Daphne" type	Under construction 1973: unconfirmed
1978	2	"Agosta"-class submarine	Displ: 1 200t: u.c. \$30.7m: order 1975
<u>Aircraft</u>			
(1950)	(5)	Lockheed P-2V Neptune maritime recce/bomber	Not in service 1974
1955	4	Sikorsky S-51 helicopter	Not in service 1974
(1955)	23	Douglas C-47 transport	Mil. version of DC-3: all in service 1974
(1956)	3	Sikorsky S-55 helicopter	Not in service 1974
(1958)	2	Sikorsky S-55 helicopter	Not in service 1974
1962	25	Cessna 185 Skywagon multi-purpose monoplane	Assigned to Army and Citizen Force: to be replaced by AM.3C from 1975
1963	7	Lockheed C-130B Hercules transport	All in service 1974
1965	1	Cessna 320 Skynight multi-purpose monoplane	Not in service 1974
1966	12	Cessna 185 Skywagon multi-purpose monoplane	Assigned to Army and Citizen Force: to be replaced by AM.3C from 1975
1966	5	Douglas C-54 transport	Mil. version of DC-4: all in service 1974
		Helicopters and recce aircraft	USA decided to sell in 1974. acc. to Rand Daily Mail 17 September 1974
<u>Missiles</u>			
(1956)	200	AIM-9 Sidewinder AAM	To arm Sabre fighters: not in service 1974
<u>Armoured Vehicle</u>			
(1957-58)	50	M-3 AC	All in service 1974
(1973-74)	100	V-150 Commando APC	Unconfirmed
<u>ITALY Aircraft</u>			
1967	12	AL.60F5 (USA/It) light-utility transport	Resold to Rhodesia same year
1967-73	234	Atlas "Impala I" (Aermacchi M.B. 326) trainer/light-attack	Licence production: 16 delivered complete and 40 in sub-assembly form 1967, replacing 100 Harvard trainers supplied by UK before 1950: all in service 1974
1969	9	Piaggio P. 166S "Albatross" search and surveillance version of P.166 light transport	All in service 1974
1974	50	Atlas "Impala I" (M.B. 326K) light-strike version of M.B. 326	First of licence production agreement: 6 delivered complete. 15 as knocked-down parts, rest as partly-finished components
1974	40	Aeritalia AM. 3C general purpose monoplane	U.C.= \$120,000, fully equipped: ordered 1972, delivery delayed, ex-factory: to replace Cessna 185
(1975)	11	Piaggio P.166S search and surveillance version of P.166 light-transport	Ordered 1972

(1975)		Atlas "Kudu" (AL.60C5) Licence production light-utility transport	
(1975)	40	Atlas "Bosbok" (Aeritalia AM. 3C) general purpose monoplane	Licence production: being supplied in component form for local assembly: order 1971
<u>ARGENTINA Aircraft</u>			
		FMA IA 58 Pucara COIN fighter	May order: first production model flew in 1974 and was inspected by a South African team
<u>CANADA Aircraft</u>			
1956-61	40	Canadair CL-13B Sabre Mk 6 (USA/Can) fighter-interceptor	36 delivered in 1956: no information on deployment in 1974: unconfirmed report of replacement by 36 new Mirage IIIs in 1973
<u>F R GERMANY Aircraft</u>			
(1958)	2	Dornier Do 27B general-purpose monoplane	Not in service 1974
1972		MBB BO 105 helicopter	
1976	4	'Airbus' Transport	To go into service with SAAF
		UNIMOG vehicles	South African Army In service 1976
<u>PORTUGAL Warships</u>			
	6	Corvette "Joao Couthino"-class	Displ: 1 250t: ordered 1970: known as Project "Taurus": to be built in Portugal on FRG licence: missile-equipped: may have been cancelled after April 1974 change of regime in Portugal
<u>DENMARK Warships</u>			
1965	1	Tanker "Tafelberg"	Displ. 12 500t: launched 1958 carries helicopters
<u>Trucks</u>			
1974	134	Heavy duty military vehicles	
<u>ISRAEL Missiles</u>			
1974		Gabriel SS missile	Order announced mid-1974: to equip 4 ships
<u>Armoured Vehicles</u>			
1962	(32)	Centurion Mk 5 main battle tank	Ex-UK: 100 in service 1974
<u>Warships</u>			
		"SAAR"-class fast missile boat	May order if UK turns down new request for ships
<u>JORDAN Missiles</u>			
1974	717	Tigercat SAM system	Delivery incl. 555 combat missiles. 162 practice missiles, launchers, maintenance equipment: resale to Rhodesia expected: ex-UK
<u>Armoured Vehicle</u>			
1974	14	Centurion main battle tank	Resale to Rhodesia expected: ex-UK, refurbished

