MORNING SESSION:

28th JANUARY, 1977.

<u>VOLUME 95</u> (Pages 4 589 - 4 623) DIE KOMMISSIE HERVAT OP 28 JANUARIE 1977.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, the first witness today is the Reverend Battaliou.

GORDON NAVARRE BATTALIOU: sworn states:

I am the pastor of the Stirling Baptist Church here in East London As a minister of the Gospel I am very concerned about the reconciliation of one person with another and with one group of people with another and it is for this reason that I appear before you today. Since being ordained as a minister in 1960, I have lived here in the Border area. For (10)six years, between 1960 and 1965, I worked as a missionary at Debe Nek, Cape Province, between King William's Town and Alice. Since 1966 I have resided in East London and taught for two years at the W.T. Welsh High School for African pupils in Duncan Village. Over these 16 years I have been in close contact with the Whoza people of this area and have watched with interest the many factors affecting their lives. Some of the significant developments I have noticed which consider have contributed to the maintenance of good racial relationships, have been the following: 1. The vastly (20)improved educational, social and health services provided for the Xhoza people of this area.

DR YUTAR: Can we just stop there for a moment? You speak about the educational services. Would you say there has been an improvement in the services provided? -- Yes, according to the statistics put out from time to time by the Department of Bantu Education, it would seem that approximately one new school per day is opened throughout the Republic and the homeland areas and a large number of these of course are also in our area. Within our own area here too we not only have (30) primary schools and high schools, but we also have teacher

training colleges, something which the White people of this area do not have. There is also the University at Fort Hare, with the extensions which continue to grow and another thing of interest is in the educational services that are provided, there is an in-service training centre for the Bantu teachers, a service of which they may make use. It helps those who are in teaching service to improve their qualifications. Again something, a service which is not provided by the Cape Provincial Administration for White teachers of this area.

So I think all these factors would show that there has (10) been a great improvement and we know from recent statements that these will continue to improve.

As far as the syllabus is concerned, would you say it has likewise improved? -- The syllabus for matric - and I taught matric pupils, is the same as the National Senior Certificate written by pupils, say of the technical college of our town, so it is on a par with them.

We have from time to time heard objections to what has been termed Bantu Education. They felt that it sort of introduces in its connotation a difference in the (20) standard of education. Do you go along with that? -- No, I do not. As one who has taught in both White schools and in Black schools, I do not go along with that. I would say that often the facilities provided in the Black schools have not been equal and up to those provided in White schools, but essentially the syllabus has been the same and within the syllabus there is such a great deal along which one can work, that it rather depends on the teacher and the opportunities that are provided, not the syllabus itself.

Because the suggestion has been made if the syllabus (30) and the standard of education is the same, there is no need to/...

to refer to it as Bantu Education or White Education, it should simply be referred to as Education, National or just Education. -- Yes, I would be very happy with that and I think those within Bantu Education now would also like to see this dropped and as you say, there could be a more uniform system; everybody would feel more secure and not discriminated against.

Right. No. 2. -- 2. The much improved housing from the overcrowded dwellings where water and sewerage were dangerously primitive, to a modern, well planned township at Mdantsane, which forms part of the traditional homeland of the Xhoza. (10) Here again I would stop to say that this has been a very significant development. Many of us will remember the shanties in which hundreds or thousands of them lived here in Duncan Village. Shanties which had to be erected at a time when there was influx into the city area and when no control was exercised over them. Many of these were hovels, rat-infested, diseaseriddled and as I have said here, the sewerage and water was at a premium. The advantage of course was that it was geographically very close to their place of work within the city, but the advantages of moving the people out to Mdantsane and (20) since moving, transport has greatly improved and providing them with adequate housing, well planned, where each one has his own unit, not the high-rise type of dwelling units that one finds in many of the overcrowded cities overseas, which produce social problems. Rather at Mdantsane each one has his own home, his own bit of ground and where a family unit can remain intact. Where people have the opportunity of sports facilities, where . their clubs, whether they be musical or cultural, can flourish. To my mind this has contributed largely to the stability of the African people of this area. I would grant that very often when a change is made from one residential area to another, there (31) is a a settling-in period, but when looked at it from the long-term point of view, this has been most significant that the people have been able to move to an area where they also form part of the African homeland because that part of Mdantsane links up with the whole of the rest of the Ciskei. And so the movement from the rural area into the town and from the town into the city, is a very easy one. There are no traumatic experiences as it might happen if a rural person had to move down to Langa or to Soweto. I feel our Duncan Village here is an in between stage and enables people to adapt (10) more easily to the changing circumstances that there are.

In the light of what you said, may that be contributing reasons of why here you haven't got to the same extent as elsewhere the tsotsi element, -- I largely believe that that is the case, that you do not have a loose group of people who do not feel attached to their community, people who have become cultivated to their new area and I believe that would be a large contributing factor to that.

And thirdly? -- 3. The greatly improved remuneration for labourers (here I refer to the improved economic (20) situation of the Black people of our area). Again from statistics published from time to time we have seen how these have improved and we have known even from our own wages that have been paid to people within East London, we have known that this has gone up. There is still great room for improvement we feel here. Very often the Government sets the example in the payment that can be made, but private enterprise does not always come up to this. I would like to give an example of this. I am a member of the School Committee at the Selbourne Primary School and we have certain Africans who work for us there (30) as labourers and they are paid approximately R70 to R80 for

their services a month. We employ additional cleaners but we find that our school funds are not able to come up to what the Government pays although we said this is an ideal to which we will ultimately work. But this shows that there is room for further improvement, but we must note also the greater spending power which has come to the people of this area over the last 10 years or more.

No. 4. -- 4. The bright optimism created by the possibility of political independence. I have noticed since, I think it was 1963 when the Transkei was first promised independence, (10) this was held out also as a possibility for other areas like the Ciskei, that the African people have felt that they have now been able to work within their own social units and find fulfillment for their political and social aspirations within the units and perhaps many have realised that there is more that one man can do in his lifetime within his own group than he can possibly cope with. But this, to my mind, has brought great optimism and great opportunities for people who have been able to hold positions which were formerly reserved only for Whites.

I interviewed a witness I am going to call today, (20) later this morning, and he is of the opinion that with regard to the homelands, Transkei, that about plus-minus 80% of the youth are against it, are against the independence given to the Transkei. — We have heard reports like this from time to time, but we have seen on the other hand that when the elections were held, that Chief Matanzima and his Party have come in over-whelmingly over the Opposition and which would seem to refute any opinion that 80% are against it.

80% of the youth, -- Of the youth. Well, I do not know what survey has been taken, whether it has been a scien- (30) tific and objective survey or whether this is merely an opinion.

I can only comment on the facts as they present themselves.

CHAIRMAN: Do you meet many of the younger people of the area?

-- I meet them in that I do keep touch with the African ministers the Baptist ministers of our area. I have taught in the past, as I have said, at an African high school, where I have been in close touch with them and I do meet past pupils from time to time. I will also in the near future be in close touch with them.

Is your impression, in the light of all your experience, that the percentage against this particular policy is so (10) high amongst the youth? - No, that is not my impression at all. As to what percentage it is, I would get the impression that there is a higher percentage of the young people who are not in favour of it, but I also feel in time that as this has become a <u>fait accompli</u>, that they will accept it. I feel that even amongst the young people there is going to be a far greater acceptance. I feel this is logical.

DR YUTAR: Of course one does not know at this stage what has prompted these young people, if they are against that homeland policy, to adopt that attitude. One never knows what (20) influences have been brought to bear. -- That is right. my dealings with the Xhoza people I have found them to be dignified, friendly, wise, peace-loving and loyal. Christian faith has long been established among them and there is a keen desire for education. Where given the opportunity, they have adapted themselves well to the technological age. The earliest contacts that many Xhozas had with White people was through the missionary and the trader. Both these were well disposed towards the Xhoza and thus laid a good foundation for The trader in particular has future human relationships. (30) played a very valuable role through his helpfulness and

understanding/...

understanding of the Xhoza people. I would like to stop here to say that very often the trader has been misunderstood as one who is a shylock who would try to exact as much as he possibly can from his African customers, but this is not the case. personally have known many and have known that the trader has been the first one to whom they would come in a time of trouble. If their crops have failed, they would come to him for credit, if there has been a death in the family, they would come to him for advice; any other medical trouble or whatever it is, he has been their post office, he has been their adviser in (10) many respects and I think credit must be given to them. Many other Whites have considered it their calling to devote their lives to the orderly development of the Xhoza - doctors, nurses, teachers, social workers and others. This close contact has led to mutual respect, understanding and appreciation generally here in our area of the Border. The good relationships which exist can be further developed and anything which causes hostility between the races must be rooted out because of the enormous and tragic consequences of such hostility. The removal of the old apartheid or the petty apartheid signs from (20) the post offices and the lifting of other restrictions which. allow people the choice to mix freely, for example in sport and hotels is long overdue. Our local newspaper, the Daily Despatch, is to be congratulated for the part it has played in bringing points of friction to the notice of the authorities. Ironically it is the same newspaper, to my mind, which is responsible for a great deal of ill-feeling between Black and White in our area. Through the prominent publicity it gives to inflammatory and irresponsible statements of Black politicians, hostility is fomented between the races. By reporting speeches which contain blatant lies about the motives and policies of the Whites

suspicion/...

= 4 398 = BATTALTOO.

suspicion and mistrust is sown in the minds of the Blacks.

This leads to hatred and to violence. As an example of such reporting I want to refer you to a report in the Daily Despatch of the 26th January, 1977.

I want to hand that in now as <u>EXHIBIT 263</u>. Incidentally, I notice you spell 'Despatch' in your memorandum 'D-e-' and the paper is 'D-i-'. -- Sorry, this was done in haste.

Oh, I thought possibly that might be right. -- It is D-i-s-.

You want to refer to that, -- Yes, I want to refer to that. On page 3 under the heading "Blacks told to stand together", (10) reporting on a speech made by Mr H. Mpunzi, Whites are portrayed as enemies, oppressors and murderers of Blacks. It is stated that Whites have designed ways and means of making Blacks perpetual slaves to Whites, through the introduction of Bantu Education. This report is typical of many others that have appeared in the Daily Dispatch. It has a negative contribution to race relations and must be seen as an important part of the background to the recent student unrest in our area. If freedom of the press means the freedom to print inflammatory remarks about one racial group; if it means the freedom to incite (20) racial hatred or if it means the freedom to print hateful lies about one population group over against anither, then I consider that the time has arrived for us to forego even this cherished privilege. The sooner this type of reporting is stopped, the better it will be for race relations in our country. If I may refer particularly to their reference to the "Afrikaner wickedly designing the Bantu Education programme to keep the Blacks in perpetual enslavement." I have been engaged in Bantu Education and I take strong excaption to statements like that. I do not see how my colleagues can continue to do their (30)work effectively if they have to stand before their classrooms, before/...

before their pupils and students and if their pupils look upon them as the perpetrators of such a tyrannical system. It undermines their authority, it creates ill-feeling and as I say, it is a blatant lie, for the Afrikaners never designed a system to make perpetual slaves of Blacks through that. But this is the kind of reporting that we have to face up to. This is the reporting that the young students, college students read and is it any wonder that they react to this in violent means? Any person of honour would do so.

I want to make it perfectly clear, you came forward (10) quite voluntarily to give this evidence. -- Indeed, I felt it my duty to do so.

And I am going to ask of you a favour. In the light of the fourth witness I am going to lead this morning, I would like you to be present. I might ask that you be recalled to give your views on the views stated by this reporter from a newspaper. But let me put to you what has been said so often here and elsewhere and see whether you agree with it or not, that the press, by reason of the manner of reporting, has created a (20) political climate which has been proved a haven for instigators and people who have incited others; it has produced .. (inaudible). -- I must say I have been surprised that so many, especially the English speaking newspapers, have been prepared to give such prominent publicity to what I consider inflammatory speeches by people like Chief Buthelezi and a report such as I have just referred to, which you have before you, that the choice has always seemed to come down on these statements that are made. There are so many other good things that one can report on, but these seem to have been taken. It reminds me of the man who walks through the beautiful (30) botanical park with his dog and while he is appreciating the

beautiful/...

beautiful flowers, his dog is smelling out where others have been before and so often the newspapers are like that. They are not objective in their reporting, they would seek out those things which can easily be taken and become inflammatory in the minds of those who feed on these things.

Now yesterday, we had a witness, an official of the Ciskei Government who said that ever since the riots broke out in Soweto, which was reported in the local press, he found that the children, the Black youth, even scholars at school would avidly get hold of these newspapers and read them and be (10) encouraged thereby to riot. Do you go along with that, -- Well, I would say generally the sympathy has been with the rioters rather than with the authorities and the teachers and those who have the difficult task of seeking to stem the riots. The impression I have that the sympathy has been rather with those.

M'Lord, I have no further questions. I may want to recall the Reverend later.

CHAIRMAN: Have you come across this particular point of view before forgetting as to who was wicked enough to do it, but that Bantu Education was designed to make the Blacks perpetual (20) slaves to Whites? It appeared in a letter by a scholar which came before the Commission yesterday, but in these particular terms - I have forgotten when it was written, but it was in any event before the 26th January. But that idea that Bantu Education was designed to make the Blacks perpetual slaves to the Whites, have you come across that idea being expressed? I have in a broad sense over the years heard from time to timethat people have expressed it, but not quite so strongly, but it had the opinion that it was designed - Black Education is designed to serve the interests of the White population. (30) I did not find this myself though when I taught at the Welsh

High School. There the pupils appreciated what was done, they recognised the standard of their work that they were being prepared to go on to universities for professions and they did not share this view and I doubt whether students themselves who are in high school or at university would agree with this. I think they would rather be keen to show that they are equal in their ability, as I believe they are, to the White people being given the same opportunities.

The striking similarity in the ... -- Yes, it seems that this is a more recent slogan which is being passed (10) around.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, may I, arising out of Your Lordship's question, then put what the reporter is going to say. In fact I was going to call him as No. 4, but I am going to call him immedaitely after you. He tells me that there is an objection amongst the students of Fort Hare University to White lecturers who emanate from Stellenbosch and Potchefstroom Universities. They are regarded as people who are there to indoctrinate them. Have you any views to express on that, -- I have spoken to African students in the past about this and the impression (20) I have got is that they have appreciated generally these men for their academic ability and a man is judged on his friendliness and the contact that he makes plus his ability to be able to communicate his subject and that this really is the sole criterion; the other is just peripheral. It has been mentioned to me that sometimes lecturers coming from a more conservative background have in contact with the students at Fort Hare become to appreciate more the work that has been done and can be done at an African university and I have always thought that this is a very good idea that people from more conservative (30) backgrounds be brought to these universities to see the

capabilities of the Africans and their possibilities and what is being done. I think it is a two-way advantage.

Would you go along with the view which is going to be expressed that the students of Fort Hare regard it as a Bush university? -- As a Bush university?

Yes. -- No, not at all. I think this is an insult to the university and to the students especially.

All right, I am going to call this gentleman right now.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, I call Wellington Sangotsha. (10)

WELLINGTON SANGOTSHA: sworn states:

DR YUTAR: I hope I haven't misquoted you in these few questions
I put to the last witness. -- No.

You are a journalist by profession. -- That is correct.

Having served in that profession for the last 16 years. -That is correct.

You were attached to The World newspaper, Johannesburg, for 9 years. -- That is right.

Before being transferred to the Eastern Province where you serve as a reporter for the Evening Post and other (20) newspapers. -- And other newspapers.

You also do a certain amount of freelancing. -- Yes, I did.

I freelanced for English daily newspapers and also Afrikaans
newspapers.

And you are presently attached for the last year or two with the newspaper known as The Imbo, which is a weekly newspaper printed predominantly in the Xhoza language but also using the English medium. -- That is correct.

You have come forward quite voluntarily to testify as to what you consider are the factors which have led to the (30) unrest. -- That is correct. There are certain factors which have

led to this unrest, especially in the Ciskei, I mean the in the Border area.

We can get one factor quite out of the way according to your view and that is that at no time did the question of Afrikaans play any role in the unrest which erupted. -- Not at all, as far as my knowledge is concerned. I have been a correspondent for other newspapers, specially the World and crime reporter as well. I have discovered that in fact with the recent unrest and specially in schools in the Ciskei, it was not a question of Afrikaans at all. There were other (10) certain factors which in fact - social problems which in fact triggered the unrest in the whole of the Ciskeian schools. I might mention first of all, one might think that Fort Hare was the cause of this strike through the Ciskei.

CHAIRMAN: What was the cause, -- Fort Hare, one may think that Fort Hare students caused the strikes in most of the schools in Ciskei. At Fort Hare students there be not happy to my surveillance which I conducted some time back and even during the riots and after the riots. They regard, some of the students, specially most of the students at Fort Hare they (20) regard it as a university where it gives them an inferior education. My informant also says that - alleges that at Fort Hare whenever they see a White man on the campus is a product of Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom, who are in fact injecting Broederbond ideology to them, which is similar, as they have put it .. (intervenes)

DR YUTAR: Proederbond ideology, -- Ideology, which they say, they claim is as good as Bantu Education. It gives an inferior international standard of education. This was evident in 1973 when there was a strike at Fort Hare. Then thereafter things (30) were normalised by the authorities and the authorities started

now to bring more qualified Black lecturers. But this reason helped because the students regarded those lecturers as 'Ja Baas' people who just 'Ja Baas - Yes Sir', whereas the better qualified academic lecturers could feel close(?) to Fort Hare.

CHAIRMAN: Where did these people come from, these Blacks? -- Most of the Blacks they come from the Transkei.

Where should they have come from to satisfy the students?

-- Well, what they say - they maintain is that in fact if

Bantu Education would re-employ some of the teachers who had

left the teaching profession because of the objection to (10)

Bantu Education, things would have been normal before the unrest.

But you were telling me that they thought that all the Whites at Fort Hare were from the Universities of Potchefstroom or Stellenbosch, injecting Broederbond ideology. -- That is right.

Your next statement was that after 1973 more qualified Black lecturers were brought in. -- That is right.

The students were not happy with these lecturers because they thought that they were all under the influence of Whites.

-- That is right. (20)

Now my question to you is where did they come from and where should they have come from to satisfy the students? -Well, apparently what, in fact according to my survey, the students think that if in fact there were more lecturers from a White university like English at Rhodes, Witwatersrand and other universities which are predominantly English, things would have been better.

In other words, they do not want Black lecturers, because the Black lecturers have already been indoctrinated. -- That is correct. (30)

They want White lecturers, but from other universities.

-- That is right.

Now is it possible to obtain a yearbook of the University of Fort Hare in which one could see where all the lecturers came from? Could you obtain that, because you know most universities do publish yearly a book. -- Well, as far as I am concerned I have not in fact made that attempt to find out where most of the White lecturers came from from Fort Hare, but this was at a glance(?) survey I did with certain students.

Of a? -- With certain students.

With 30 students? -- With certain students. (10)

But did you go to the - with certain students. -- Students.

Did you go to the university itself? -- Yes, but I did not speak to the authorities.

You did not? -- Yes. No, I did not speak to the authorities.

Well, didn't you think that in speaking to the authorities you might have found out where they come from? I do not doubt for one minute that this may be correct that they all come from two universities, but is that so? Have you checked on that? -- No, I did not check that.

Well, isn't it a journalist's duty to check on a thing (20) like that? -- It is, but you know if in fact we journalists, we just make a survey, I do agree with you it is important to check facts, but on this particular one it was just a mere personal interest to find out why in fact there were these unrests especially at Fort Hare. It was therefore not for publication, because I knew in fact if in fact I publicise, I send any of the - I file this story, I may be later on questioned where did you get this information.

You do not know whether there is any document from which
you can find out this information? -- I think there may (30)
be one at Fort Hare, where in fact it could be explained, in

fact it could illustrate from where some of these lecturers come from.

Which shows where they had obtained their degrees. -- Their degrees, yes.

DR YUTAR: If you are going to give evidence of a survey you conducted, one would expect you to have checked facts. By the way, have you got a copy of that survey which you did? -- Yes, I have got it.

That is just what you wrote down. -- Yes.

But have you got a copy of your discussions, who you (10) discussed it with, what they said? Have you got the original notes? -- No, in fact I haven't got my original notes at the present moment.

You haven't got that. -- No.

You see, on this question that His Lordship put to you, fortunately we have the Rector of Fort Hare and I am told that there are 67 Afrikaans speaking lecturers, but 66 English speaking lecturers and they come not only from Potchefstroom and from Stellenbosch, but they come from other universities as well, including Cape Town and Rhodes and Wits. So on that (20) point straight away your information that you got from certain students cannot be correct. — But at the same time this information may not be correct, but I think it is correct, because they say even those lecturers who have got Afrikaans or from other English universities, the students claim that these lecturers are in fact indoctrinating separate development, this is Bantu Education.

What about the 66 English speaking lecturers who come from Wits, Rhodes and Cape Town university? Universities that have played a role in the politics of this country? Are you (30) suggesting that those lecturers are also Broederbonders who try

and indoctrinate their ideology into the students? -- I would not say, but according to my informant the mere fact that they come from these universities you have mentioned, Wits and Rhodes, they come and work at Fort Hare, automatically they are promoting the type of education which they dislike.

Then I must ask you the question that His Lordship asked you. Where do you want these lecturers to come from? -- Well, what in fact the students say, they say it is not necessary that in fact the lecturers should come from Rhodes or Afrikaans and so on, but there must also be a flow of lecturers from (10) overseas and other countries.

Is there anything to stop these men from overseas universities applying? -- Well, according to them they claim that
there must be a reason why some of these highly qualified
lecturers do not come to Fort Hare, apply for posts to teach at
Fort Hare.

Are you not satisfied with the lecturers that come from

Fort Hare or the University of the North? Are you not satisfied

with the lecturers who come from Witwatersrand University,

Cape Town University and Rhodes University? -- No. (20)

You are not satisfied. Did you listen to the evidence - or let us complete your evidence. You also referred to the Fort Hare University in consultation with me, as a bush university. -- That is right.

Why do you say that? -- Because at Fort Hare, these students at Fort Hare they claim that in fact the standard of education they get there is not of high quality. Well, this in fact, after I did this survey, recently the Honourable Minister and the Ciskei Cabinet referred to another graduate who qualified at Fort Hare, that in fact he has got an empty (30) Fort Hare degree.

CHAIRMAN: He has got a what? -- An empty Fort Hare degree.

Now did you then also conduct a survey to find out what happened to the students at Fort Hare? -- Yes, I did.

Find out where they are employed, whether any of them are employed, I do not know, by other universities perhaps? -- Well, there are some employed, but most of them are employed in industry - some of them are employed - most of them are employed in industry.

In industry? -- That is right.

Well, industry is a hard taskmaster. Do you think (10) industry would employ a product of a bush university? -- Well, that is impossible.

Pardon? -- It is impossible to employ a man who is not highly qualified.

That is right. Now do you think industry would employ such a man if he came from a useless university? -- Well, I would say today I say some of the - for instance I will make an example of teachers, who are teachers, who have obtained their degrees at Fort Hare, they left teaching and joined industry, where they work, some of them as clerks, laboratory assistants, (20)... (inaudible).

You see, I ask you these questions because by the nature of things I do not think that one attacks an educational institution such as a university without making quite sure of your facts and unless you make sure of your facts and you know that what you are going to say is true, it is wrong to attack an educational institution, whether you are a journalist, whether you are a witness. It is not correct. However, I shall leave it at that.

DR YUTAR: You heard the Reverend give evidence and I put (30) to him your description of Fort Hare University as a bush university/...

university. Do you know what he said in reply? That it is a
gross insult. -- Yes, I remember.

Do you agree with that? -- I remember.

Do you agree that it is a gross insult to say that of the university? -- Well, according - I have not been at school at Fort Hare, but according to the majority of students who are in fact associated with certain political activities on the campus, who are associated with political activities at Fort Hare, they regard it as a bush university.

And you are referring to those, you told me, who are (10) associated with the South African Students Organisations, SASO.

-- Yes, SASO and other political organisations.

You hold no degree, as you told me. -- Yes.

Where did you go to school? -- I was at Healdtown.

Did you go to university yourself? -- No, I did not go to university.

Where did you train as a journalist? -- I trained as a journalist in Johannesburg.

Under? When you were with The World? -- When I was with The World and in fact I was with the Eletu Mera(?), it is (20) a defunct paper, then I joined The World.

By the way, to come back to this question of lecturers,

I am told by the Rector of the university that their posts for

lecturers and professorships are advertised overseas as well

and what is more, they have got some of them on their staff, but

you did not know that. -- Well, I did not check on that.

You did not check on that. Great pity. In fact you know, if you conducted a survey you must have the notes of people you spoke to, who they are, what they are and what they said. Have you got any of those notes? -- Well, I think I may have some (30) of them, not at the present moment.

You haven't. A pity. You see, I would like to see how many students you spoke to, who they are, what they are and you might even have given me their names and some of them I might even have called in as witnesses. You haven't got any of that? -- No.

And you say you spoke to those students who were politically minded; you might have got a completely one-sided picture from them. -- Yes, I may not, I may, but the conversation was in fact, the survey was to have been general. It was not a pinpoint I wanted, because I knew they may tell me (10) otherwise.

Well, it is obvious from what you have said already you took no trouble to speak to any of the officials of Fort Hare University. -- Yes, as I did before.

Nor did you examine any of their booklets to find out who is on their staff, how they are qualified, where they come from, you did not do anything of that. -- No, no.

That of course is very elementary. You heard the evidence of the Reverend that a lot of trouble is caused by people publishing information which is either not correct or is (20) only half true.

<u>CHAIRMAN</u>: I think he was more concerned about publishing information which might be inflammatory.

DR YUTAE: Might be inflammatory. And don't you think possibly that any expression to these views might inflame some of the students to believe that it is a bush university, when in fact you have not done a proper survey? — In fact that is one of the reasons why in fact I did this survey for my personal use to find out in fact, and not for the publication, because I knew that in fact it may be true that some of the informa— (30) tion I have got it was not correct, because some of the students

they might satisfy their needs.

How many students did you speak to? -- I spoke to about, say about 10 students.

10 students? -- 10 students.

And what is the total student population of the university?

-- I think about 1 000 and some odds.

And you spoke to 10? -- Yes.

They were also 10 who were politically orientated and most probably all members of SASO. -- That is in fact one of the reasons why I had to speak to a couple of them because (10) I knew if I were to speak to a number of more than 10, then they will suspect me.

So you conducted your survey by speaking to 10 students and now you brandish the views of those students as being a correct survey of the whole university. I am told there are 1 650 students and you spoke to 10. -- That is correct.

Do you think that is a full survey? -- No, it is not a full survey.

Do you think it is an accurate survey? -- But 2 of the students I spoke to, the first few students I spoke to, (20) I know in fact some of them they were involved in political activities.

They were involved. -- Yes.

Allright now, I do not need to pursue this any further, the facts speak for themselves. Now what in your view are the factors which led to the unrest? -- Well, as far as Mdantsane and some of the schools in the Ciskei, one of the reasons which in fact triggered this unrest in schools, was in fact the termination of services of certain teachers who were teaching important subjects at the beginning of the second (30) school term, that was in June, there somewhere, and this in

they might satisfy their needs.

How many students did you speak to? -- I spoke to about, say about 10 students.

10 students? -- 10 students.

And what is the total student population of the university?

-- I think about 1 000 and some odds.

And you spoke to 10? -- Yes.

They were also 10 who were politically orientated and most probably all members of SASO. -- That is in fact one of the reasons why I had to speak to a couple of them because (10) I knew if I were to speak to a number of more than 10, then they will suspect me.

So you conducted your survey by speaking to 10 students and now you brandish the views of those students as being a correct survey of the whole university. I am told there are 1 650 students and you spoke to 10. -- That is correct.

Do you think that is a full survey? -- No, it is not a full survey.

Do you think it is an accurate survey? -- But 2 of the students I spoke to, the first few students I spoke to, (20) I know in fact some of them they were involved in political activities.

They were involved. -- Yes.

Allright now, I do not need to pursue this any further, the facts speak for themselves. Now what in your view are the factors which led to the unrest? -- Well, as far as Mdantsane and some of the schools in the Ciskei, one of the reasons which in fact triggered this unrest in schools, was in fact the termination of services of certain teachers who were teaching important subjects at the beginning of the second (30) school term, that was in June, there somewhere, and this in

fact .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Their services were terminated when? -- During - at the beginning of the second school term. Well, of course this termination happens through the Ciskei Department of Education, because education falls under the Ciskei Education Department, and then also the shuffling of teachers during the second term. The second term is an important one because it is just before the examination. This in fact should not have happened and this caused resentment to the students as they were puzzled what to do and what is happening now because they could (10) not get the teachers, they say now these teachers who were teaching were not suitable to teach those subjects.

DR YUTAR: How many students did you speak to on this score? --

Did you perhaps go to the principal of the school to find out why the teachers' services were terminated? -- I did to some of the principals go. The only comment, they referred me to headquarters in King William's Town.

Well, on this score I spoke to more than 200 students.

Did you go to headquarters in King William's Town? -- No reasons to be given for publication for the termination of (20) this particular teacher.

Did you try and find out why teachers were shuffled about?

CHAIRMAN: He says their services were terminated.

DR YUTAR: And then he says also they were shuffled. -- They were shuffled, yes.

Did you find out why? -- Yes, I did find out why, but I could not get - because the Department officials, especially to the press, they are only tight-lipped, they do not want to comment. They will only say this is not for the press's publication. (30)

So you just went on what the students told you. -- Yes. What/...

What other reasons did you have for the unrest? -- Well,
the other reasons for the unrest was the promotion of inefficient
teachers and to be substituted by inexperienced teachers.

This is also information you got from those students you interviewed? -- Yes. I know in fact of a teacher, I think one student told of a teacher in his school at Mdantsane where in fact he has been teaching there, he is an experienced teacher, then all of a sudden he was demoted and then the other teacher had his services terminated without reason and then in his place a teacher who failed for plus-minus 3 years took (10) over and this caused resentment.

You know, even in the White schools White teachers have had their services terminated, White teachers are also moved about and I take it some White teachers are also inexperienced. So it happens in White schools as well. — Well, in this case I would say here in the Ciskei I would imagine in fact that it is because some of the students they claim that teachers, those promoted teachers are teachers who are in fact pro the ruling party.

You also told me in consultation that the youth in (20) the homelands, about 80% of them are against the homeland policy? -- That is true.

How many of the youth did you interview? -- Well, as a whole really the students who are the pupils who have got an above average, I.Q. of above average, they do not in fact support the homeland policy.

How many students did you interview on this question? -
This in fact it was just a glance because those students in

fact ever even made mention of I am going to the ruly party's

rally or I am going to opposition party rally. (30)

What do you mean when you say at a glance? Do you mean