

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

MORNING SESSION:

9th MARCH, 1977.

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THE COMMISSION RESUMES ON THE 9th MARCH, 1977.

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, I call Professor Helm.

BRUNHILDE HELM: sworn states:

DR YUTAR: We have made acquaintance with each other in Cape Town and we renew it today. -- Yes.

And for the purposes of the record let us just indicate once again, you are a Master of Sociology at the University of Cape Town, you are the head of the Department of Applied Sociology, you are the author of two books and many papers dealing with generally? -- With matters of social research (10) and so on, particularly concerning under-privileged communities in the general Cape area.

And you have done considerable research in that direction whilst connected with the University of Cape Town. -- Correct.

In fact you spoke in that capacity, you and members of your staff, when the Commission sat in Cape Town. -- Yes, I would like to explain that. When I was giving evidence before the Commission in Cape Town together with members of my staff, I was doing so in my capacity as head of a particular department in the university whose task it was to engage, (20) inter alia in social research within the communities surrounding Cape Town and where we do a great deal of work particularly in Coloured communities, but I am here today in a different capacity.

You are here today as president of the Association of Sociologists in Southern Africa. -- That is right.

It is a body which meets once a year and publishes the various findings following research in its own magazine published how often? -- Well, no, I am afraid you have got it a little wrong. The Association meets at least once a (30) year. It might meet more often as the occasion might demand.

It/...

It publishes its proceedings which usually consist of a selection of papers read at the conference. The purpose of the conference is to act as a forum for persons engaged in social research to come and read their papers and have their findings evaluated and discussed by their colleagues. In other words, it functions as a learned society for sociologists and indeed also some others, anthropologists; we have had some educationists, we have had some psychologists, we have had some economists, some urban geographers who feel that they are working in fields very closely associated with with the field of sociology, and (10) social scientists come together in this Association and act as a body of learned people who are bound together in the professional association.

Now in that capacity you have come forward today in order to present to His Lordship some further views as an expert sociologist. -- Correct.

Would you be so kind as to proceed? -- Yes, I would like to make it clear that my presence here today is not as a result of a specific mandate which my Association has given me. I want to make that quite clear. The Association met last (20) year in June in Swaziland and it will now not meet again until the end of June this year in Swaziland. There has not been an interim meeting of the Association as such and therefore I cannot claim to be speaking as a result of a mandate from the Association to come here today. But I did feel that I, as the president, would be expected to make use of the opportunity of coming to the Commission and laying before it points of view of professional sociologists about the subject which the Commission is engaged on and therefore I would like to confine myself to statements which I believe that every (30) sociologist would endorse. I want to make that quite clear.

I/...

I also would like to make clear that this Association of mine is of course in every respect entirely non-political because it is a learned association of scientifically trained people and it has no political objectives. Agreeing then that I am going to confine myself to statements which I believe every sociologist would endorse, I would like to make the first point which is that the causes of the riots and disturbances with which the Commission are concerned are knowable but that they are at present not known. It is perfectly possible to determine the causes of these riots, but they have not been (10) determined. The only way of determining them scientifically, would be by systematic research. The techniques for this kind of systematic research are known and have been and are being practised in South Africa, but they have not been applied to the causes of the riots. So that I submit that the Commission finds itself in the position today in which it, like everybody else in South Africa, is not able to say with scientific accuracy what the causes of the riots are, although these are knowable.

CHAIRMAN: You know, we have had evidence for almost six (20) months so far. -- Yes.

And by all sorts of people and by people who have done great research and by people who have done it on various and many ways; ways which perhaps a sociologist might not agree with, but with which they in their particular line and in their particular discipline know is the way in which you do this and therefore this Commission is there to decide. When the socialist comes with his viewpoint or her viewpoint and when the political person comes with his viewpoint, to deal with that and to decide whether the one is alone correct, (30) the other one alone correct or both are correct. -- With due respect/...

respect, would you be willing to listen to me just a little bit further while I come back to this point.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, that is what you are here for and that is what I am here for. -- Thank you. I must differ with you, but I do not think that fundamentally we are going to differ. I think that we are talking about slightly different things.

I do not know. I am talking about the causes. That is what I am here - I am not only here for causes, you know that. -- No, I know that.

I am here for - to report on the events. -- I under- (10)  
stand perfectly well that the Commission is not here only for causes, but I want at the present moment to address myself only to the level of knowledge that the Commission has about causes. Now, I am of course fully aware of the ..(intervenes)

I hope you mean the level of knowledge by way of evidence. -- Could we just try and sort this one out?

Yes. -- We may be using words in a slightly different way. I would submit that this Commission is of course eminently indeed most eminently equipped to evaluate the evidence. It has received a great deal of evidence about specific (20)  
episodes and it has received a very great deal of evidence I know from persons who have come to give their opinions as to, inter alia the causes of the riots. I am thoroughly aware of that, I have myself indeed in my other capacity, when I testified before the Commission, done precisely that.

Well, wasn't that a scientific approach that you had in that particular case? -- Certainly a scientific approach, but it was not based upon scientific facts because these had not been gathered. There has been no systematic scientific attempt to gather them. (30)

If that is so, mustn't I then completely disregard the evidence/...

evidence you have given before? -- No, I would submit you should not, because an expert opinion is, after all, precisely that, an expert opinion.

No, but you say the expert opinion was made on facts which had not been sustained. -- May I venture an analogy. Suppose that three persons are brought into a hospital with an acute fever. It is possible by due process of research which might be lengthy and systematic, using known medical techniques, ultimately to find out what the causes are of this particular mysterious fever. But in the meantime it would be (10) perfectly possible to get three eminent physicians to give their expert opinion as to what they think the causes might be, but there would be no way of telling at the time that they were giving their expert opinion about what they thought the causes might be, how right or how wrong they ultimately would be proved once the scientific evidence has been gathered according to scientific methods. They might all be proved ... (intervenes)

The patient is dead before you know what he really died of. -- We hope not and that is precisely one of the reasons(20) why I am here today and I would hope that we do not have to wait until the patient is dead.

What happens now, you haven't given the whole picture. The whole picture is somebody else must now say what did this person suffer of, the one who is brought into hospital. -- You know, analogies are always dangerous and I realise I was entering a dangerous field, but I did want to try and make this fundamental point that there has been no scientific gathering of evidence about the causes of the riots and until such evidence has indeed been scientifically gathered, (30) I submit that some of us may be more in the dark than others because/...

because some of us are less expert than others in this general field, but none of us can say for sure what the facts are, because they are not known. That is my submission. Now if I can go further from there, granted that the causes, although knowable, are at present not known, there remain certain facts about them which a sociologist by virtue of his discipline and his training, could definitely state and if you will permit me another analogy. A physicist could for instance state definitely that water normally does not flow uphill, whether the water is drawn from the Vaal River or whether (10) it is drawn from the Thames and a physicist could definitely tell you that for instance in any space hot air will rise and cold air will sink, whether the air is in the Old Synagogue in Pretoria or whether the air is anywhere else, and it is this class of general statement which I wish as a professional sociologist to make now to you. In other words, fundamental statements about my science which anybody trained in it, would be able to endorse. Now the first point I would like to make very clearly to the Commission is that the causes of events such as these riots are multi-factorious. We (20) might not know what the factors are, but we can be quite certain that the causation is multi-factorious. Therefore the Commission, I submit - I humbly submit that the Commission should be on its guard against accepting a single cause or even 2 or 3 main causes or what appear to be the proximate causes as being the only causes or as representing the full picture. Sometimes the proximate causes, as research in other similar instances has shown, and I would like in parenthesis here to stress that there have been examples of this kind of riotous behaviour which is being very (30) carefully researched. I am referring particularly to the

United/...

United States of America and such research has shown that what appeared at the time to be the proximate causes upon fuller and careful and scientific analysis, turned out to be relatively unimportant. When you take the full picture of causation into account. Now, in submitting this point, I would like to go further and say that the Commission should therefore also be on its guard against in attaching perhaps - in perhaps falling into the, shall I say temptation to attach a great deal of weight to what appeared to be proximate causes, the Commission could also make the mistake of scapegoating (10) certain individuals who seem to be linked with what appear to be proximate causes and so perhaps attaching undue weight to certain mistakes that may have been made at a particular time. I think that the next point one oughtt to make clearly is that explanations, the kind of behaviour which the riots are a symptom of, explanations of this kind of behaviour must be sought in what is known about collective behaviour and cannot be explained in terms of individual motivation. So therefore too much concentration on what any particular individual and particular motivation might have been for (20) indulging in this kind of behaviour, would probably be misleading. The sociological effect of - the sociological study of collective behaviour translates the effect of complex empirical events into analytical terms and it tries to identify what factors are present in it. Now I do not want to give a complicated sociological analysis of this to you because it would be out of place at the present moment. I come forward with the general intent that I have already described, but I would like to conclude by making one final point and this point is on the same level as I have already described, (30) namely a statement about collective behaviour which every sociologist/...



sociologist would endorse, and that is that some structural strain must be present for one or more types of collective behaviour of this kind to appear. This kind of behaviour does not appear without strain within the social structure. It also cannot appear unless there is shared general belief; people must believe in certain causes for the strain that they are experiencing. Now one final point I would like to deal with is the general question of the role of organisation in this kind of collective behaviour. A sociologist could not otherwise than believe that this type of collective (10) behaviour is impossible without organisation. Therefore a sociologist would immediately accept that some form of organisation of this kind of behaviour must be present. If the behaviour manifests itself, organisation will be present. However, the organisation must not be seen as being the cause of the behaviour; rather that the behaviour - sorry, may I start that sentence again. Although the organisation is an important factor in the actual events which take place, that the organisation would have been impossible without structural strain. For instance in a democratic society we accept (20) that the results of an election portray the will of the people. Now in electioneering there is very considerable organisation, indeed very effective and highly skilful organisation. We do not assume that because the organisation is there, that the results are necessarily defective or that the results are distorted. We assume rather that the broad will of the people is more finely expressed and more accurately brought forward by good organisation. Now I would submit that an organisation would be impossible to take root, it could not have any effect at all unless there was already shared (30) general belief arising from structural strain and that is the

fundamental/...

fundamental point that I would like to put to you today.

DR YUTAR: I would like to continue with the conversation we started in my office. -- Yes.

Your suggestion is that there should be a team of research workers interviewing the inhabitants of Soweto and other locations. -- Yes, I did not necessarily say that there should be such a team. What I said was that one of the means by means of which scientific evidence about the causes of the riots and disturbances could have been reached, would be for instance by a systematic and representative study under- (10) taken by a team of trained social researchers within the communities where the disturbances had occurred.

And of course to undertake that now post the riots, after the riots, both the questionnaire - the questioner might be somewhat influenced by what had taken place and the inhabitant again might likewise be prejudiced by what had taken place. -- No, I do not think I would go along with that. I would say - I would state the matter a little differently. I would say that of course had it been the objective of the authorities to discover scientifically the causes of this behaviour, (20) then it would have been best to undertake such a scientific investigation as soon as possible after the events had taken place. It would therefore be unfortunate if that were our objective, it would be unfortunate that this lapse of time has occurred, but it would still not mean that if that research were undertaken now, its results would not be valid and would not be highly illuminating. There are ways in which trained social researchers would know quite well how to eliminate, identify and eliminate the effect upon the fundamental questions they were asking of events that had (30) taken place in the interim. This effect would be known and  
it/...

it could be dealt with.

The only reason why I asked that question and put it that way is to suggest to you that it would have been far more objective and impartial if such a body of researchers interviewed the residents before the riots broke out. -- I am sorry, I could not quite go along with that. Certainly investigation before the riots might have told you something, but if you had really wanted to know what the causes of that behaviour was, were, then I would have suggested that the best thing to do would be to find them out after the behaviour had (10) occurred, because I do not - sociologists are pretty marvelous people, but I do not think they have that degree of foresight as to be able to foretell before a riotous event takes place, precisely what those events are and where and when they are going to occur.

No, I am not suggesting that. You spoke about a climate that had been created which led to the riots. -- No, those are not my words, I .. (intervenes)

Words to that effect. -- I did not say anything about a climate. (20)

CHAIRMAN: Well, what do you say about the strains that there should be? -- Yes, I said there were strains within the social structure which people experienced.

DR YUTAR: I interpreted that .. (intervenes)

CHAIRMAN: Strains you can discover. -- You could discover them now, you could discover them now.

But you could have discovered them before. -- Yes, you could have.

That is apropos the question that had been asked.

DR YUTAR: It would be very useful then to have conducted (30) a research before the riots broke out in order to examine those/...

those stresses and strains that you speak about. -- Yes, and it would be useful to conduct that investigation now too.

Now too, yes. Well, have you any idea of the type of witnesses we have led so far? -- If you ask me - if the question is: have I any idea, the answer is yes.

Who do you think we have led? -- Of course I do not know which witnesses have given evidence.

Yes, but what type, what classes? -- I have read the newspapers and I think I would not claim to have read the testimony of every witness, that would be going far beyond (10) what I have read, but I certainly myself testified, I know the classes of people who testified when the Commission was hearing evidence in Cape Town and as far as possible, I have kept up with what the Commission has been doing subsequently, or had done before it came to Cape Town.

And of course you have no idea of the witnesses that we are still to lead. -- No.

Well, let me tell you first and foremost, tomorrow morning I am going to lead a witness who is the head of a body of researchers that did a very detailed and comprehensive (20) research in Soweto long before the riots broke out and completed their report before the riots broke out. This would be very useful, wouldn't it? -- It could indeed, but I do not know which research is being referred to.

CHAIRMAN: This is a research - you are now complaining about the type of research? -- No, I am saying I do not know what the type is, I am not complaining about it, I just say I do not know what it is. So I could not say whether it would be relevant to the causes of the riots or not, because the type of research I am advocating is into the causes of the (30) riots, specifically directed to discover the causes of the riots/...

riots.

Well, of course you know that is what the Commission is supposed to do. This is an investigation into the causes of the riots. I haven't got a degree in sociology, but therefore I rely on the statements of sociologists about the matter and I evaluate their evidence from the point of view of their approach to the causes. -- I am sorry, we are back again on our previous point.

I think so. -- Yes, I think we have to accept that the Commission is not a research organisation. (10)

How can you say that? The essence of an organisation because it is done out in the open where everybody can see and everybody can hear. -- May I amend that sentence? The Commission is a research organisation but it is not a scientific research organisation into the causes.

Do you think that the practice of law and the administration of justice is not a scientific investigation and approach? -- No, I have not said that.

Well, that is what is conducted here. -- With due respect, what I am talking about is a scientific field of (20) research based upon proper statistical methods, based upon ... (intervenes)

You have got that - when you have done all that, you come to me and you get into the witness-box and you tell me what your research is and I will listen to it and I will ask you questions and you will be asked questions and that evidence will be evaluated in the light of all the evidence on causes which have been placed before me. -- Of course, and there is no body of persons and no organisation more competent than this Commission to evaluate that type of evidence, (30) but my basic submission is that that type of evidence in my opinion/...

opinion and to my knowledge, has not been collected and therefore it could not have been led.

Well now, you have heard that there is going to be evidence tomorrow, I do not know what the evidence is about, of a research which was conducted before the riots started, into the strains. -- Well, not having any knowledge of the basis of that research, not having any knowledge of its comprehensiveness and not having any knowledge of the method by means of which it was collected, I am of course totally incapable of making - forming any opinion as to whether (10) it is relevant or not.

DR YUTAR: Of course if you heard that evidence, you might change your mind completely. -- I might, but I would submit that as a fairly accurate social scientist in South Africa, I think that I would have known of any systematic scientific effect into the causes of the riots if such an undertaking, a scientific undertaking had indeed been underway in South Africa since June of last year. I would submit that it is almost impossible that I in my particular professional position would not by now have known of it. (20)

Well, you know America had its quota of riots throughout the years. -- I beg your pardon?

I say America has had its quota or riots throughout the years. -- Yes.

They have had commissions over there, they have had researches done over there and they have come to a conclusion. -- Well, I think yes, certainly, but whether it was a conclusion, I am not sure. I think many conclusions were reached.

Here is a recognised body, the Backland, Barton, Durfine and Osborne American based company who have done tremendous (30) indepth research at the request of the Anglo-American

Corporation/...

Corporation. The B.B. Duo(?) is an international advertising agency based in New York, it is one of the world's major advertising agencies and they have conducted this research and let me just give you the headings under which they conducted their research. They dealt first with the problem detection system and stage 1 was the development of the problem list; stage 2, the focus group interviews. They interviewed people in groups up to 10. Then they did an in-depth interview with people separately and privately. They then did what they call an executive insight, executive interpretation. Then they (10) went on to the second stage and what they call quantifying the problems. They dealt with the rating technique, they dealt with the background information and they interviewed close on 1 000 people in Soweto. Do you think that is going to be of any help to this Commission? -- Well, I haven't seen this report. It may be extremely helpful to the Commission.

In fact it is so detailed, just look at the size of it. Now, apart from that, let me give you some idea of the evidence we have led, apart from policemen. We have led scholars, we have led sociologists. Let me mention some of them. (20) We led sociologists from the University of the North and you have just visited it. -- Yes, I was there yesterday.

They have got some very good men there, haven't they? -- They have good men there, yes.

We have led sociologists from the Institute of Race Relations. I think you will concede Dr Hellmann well known to you. -- Yes, and Professor Pollak equally well known to you.

Prof. Hansie Pollak testified here. You heard in Cape Town Professor Van der Merwe. -- Yes.

The Centre for Inter .. -- Group Studies, yes. (30)

Inter Group Studies. And then there was Dr Elsworth. --

Yes/...

Yes.

Remember her? -- Yes.

Now, a very knowledgeable person. -- Certainly.

One who has not only gone to visit the people after any riots broke out, but one who worked with them before, during and after. -- Correct.

We have led psychologists - and there is Professor Hare of course. -- Yes.

We led you. -- Yes.

A team of seven. -- Yes. (10)

Don't you think their combined contribution must have been of inestimable value to His Lordship? -- I have absolutely no doubt of that, but I do want to return to my original point that none of these people that you have mentioned, none of them has conducted a systematic scientific research into the causes of the riots. I want to say that again. None of these estimable people who have given invaluable testimony, I have no doubt, have dealt with - have based their evidence upon the results of a scientific inquiry into the causes of the riots. That is the only point I am trying to make. (20)

But they surely based their opinion on their personal experience over a number of years which certainly obviated the need to do any further scientific research. -- That I deny. We are all of us limited - our opinions are as good as - our judgment and our opinion are as good as the facts upon which they are based; they cannot be better than that. Now all of us have come forward to the Commission in good faith to testify upon the bases of the facts that are known to us, but every one of those persons that have been enumerated here, would agree that the facts known to them are imperfectly (30) known because there has been - I repeat again - no systematic scientific/...



scientific attempt to determine the causes of the riots according to known scientific sociological procedure; that has not been done, and nobody's judgment can be better - I repeat - than the facts upon which it is based.

Are you suggesting that these people that I have mentioned have expressed their opinions in vacuo? -- Certainly not. I came myself to testify before this Commission and what I - I must now speak for myself because I cannot speak for these others, I have no mandate to do that. But I came forward to the Commission in my personal capacity then as somebody (10) who had for instance spent something like 30 years in which I had been actively working in communities, inter alia those in which the riots had taken place and I came forward and to the best of my ability I put this - I put before the Commission my judgment based upon the facts that were known to me and I am quite certain that the other members of the public who have come forward to testify to the Commission in their professional capacities, as expert people, would have done the same. But I repeat again that my history of 30 years of working in Coloured townships in Cape Town may have given me (20) a certain professional opinion about the causes of the riots, but that opinion does not reflect the actual causes of the riots which were unknown. They could be known.

You of course exclude from your answer the evidence that I propose to lead tomorrow of these research workers. -- Well, I am in a difficulty here because I have not seen that evidence and I have had no chance of evaluating it. I do not know, for instance, how the 1 000 people to whom Dr Yutar referred as having been interviewed, I do not know how those 1 000 were chosen. Now if they were chosen according to (30) proper statistical procedures the evidence would be more valuable/...

valuable than if they had for instance been chosen by some other way and I do not know this report, I do not know this work, I must say that the mere bulk of the volume of evidence does - or a volume of findings, let us talk about findings and not evidence here in case we get our terminology confused, the mere bulk of findings does not necessarily suggest to me that they would necessarily be accurate.

I asked you in my office how long would this take for a team of sociologists to complete its investigation. You said about 6 weeks. -- No, I think what I said was that (10) if the size of the team was adequate and if the skills at the team's command were properly collated, that the field research, for instance if it were to be undertaken now, to try and determine what the actual causes of these riots were, the field research might be completed within 6 weeks. That was my judgment.

Now supposing you had your team .. -- I haven't a team, I must make it clear.

How could you set about that work? What would you do? Who would you interview? What would you say? How would (20) you go about it? Just give us some idea. -- Yes, I will certainly give you some idea. This is off the cuff and I had not prepared - I could - ordinarily one would hope that you had a little bit of time to think this out, because what you are really asking me now, is what is your research design. And if you are a social scientist then you pay a very great deal of attention to choosing your research design and indeed you choose your research design after you have already done some exploratory or preliminary research and I am not able to do that here now. So I am giving this off the cuff. (30)

Right. -- But I would say, for instance .. (intervenes)

Although/...

Although mind you I would have expected - and forgive me saying so - that if you are here to attack in a way the competency of this Commission, one would have thought you would have given it careful thought as to how one should go about it. -- I am sorry, there is a fundamental misapprehension here and could we please deal with this and let us get it out of the way. I am not here - I would really be an extraordinary fool to come here and attack the competence of the Commission. I have absolutely no intention of doing that. I am respectfully submitting to the Commission that the results in (10) the sense that i - at least the causes in the sense that I have described of these riots are not scientifically known. That is all I am trying to say.

Right, now let us get down to brass tacks. What would your field team do? -- Well, first of all I am assuming that we are talking about the causes of all the riots.

Right. -- So that one would have to have a team working here, and you would have to have a team working also in the other places. Now one of the approaches - and I stress this is only one approach - would be for instance to try to (20) identify participants in the riots and if they were identifiable I do not know whether that would be identifiable now, but I would think it would probably be possible, even at this stage, to identify some of the principal participants and I would then try to discover what they thought the reasons were for their actions, what their feelings were about the reasons for their actions.

Can we just stop there for a moment. -- Yes.

You know, we have done that, we have had some of the participants in the riots giving evidence. -- Yes, please (30) again, may I make it clear that that is not a scientific

way/...

way of selecting evidence.

No, but I am just saying we have had that evidence. --  
Yes, I am aware of that.

Right. -- And that is valuable evidence, but it is not scientifically based and it would not stand the test of scientific evaluation.

Right. Then what would you do? -- The other possible -- another possible approach to such data gathering, would be for instance to do a representative random sample of households within the community where the riots have actually (10) taken place. And to conduct then face to face interviews with the members, all the members of those selected households.

Right. You do that. -- Yes.

Well, let me tell you what the evidence is going to be tomorrow, how that was done. It went far deeper than what you have suggested now, far deeper. They interviewed - I will give you just some idea - they interviewed people of various groups. First of all they interviewed people of various income groups; they interviewed people of various (20) educational groups; they interviewed people in various fields of employment; they interviewed males and females; they even interviewed them in different age groups; they interviewed people and discussed with them also the African Children's Feeding Scheme, Family Planning Association, all sorts of associations. They had done a sub-division, an in-depth, and this is how they state it in their opening:

"To quantify and rank in order of importance  
the fullest of problems generated during:

Stage 1: To establish spontaneously the (30)  
biggest problem facing the Black people

in/...

in South Africa, the biggest problem facing the individual family; to ascertain the perceived happiness factors; to gain an understanding of the type of person most admired by the African community; to gain data on home ownership of consumer durables; to investigate leisure time activity; to gather data on the practice of home improvement; to establish the degree to which various newspapers are read; to establish the measure on spontaneous and prompted awareness of comprehensiveness of social welfare organisations (I will mention some to you now) - and to establish ..(inaudible) .. on these social welfare organisations." (10)

And then:

"To ascertain opinions on key government decisions; to establish educational levels; to gather data on employment and job training; to gather/diagnostic data on home expenditure patterns." (20)

And they interviewed close on 1 000 people and it was carried - done over a period of 2 months in 1976 and this was their method: face to face interviews were carried out in a home using a structured questionnaire. The questions were asked and the answers recorded in the home language of the respondents. The problems were also posed in the home language of the respondents. Now, is that not a very, very in-depth research? -- As I said before, I am in a difficulty here. I have/...

(30)

have not seen the material from which Dr Yutar is reading. It could be that the 1 000 interviewees may have presented the researchers with some extraordinarily accurate and reliable evidence. It could also be that exactly the same questionnaire could have been submitted to 1 000 interviewees and the results could be completely unrepresentative and indeed socially non-informative about the scientific truth of the whole matter. I do not know how that research was done, I do not know who did it, I do not know what the qualifications are and most particularly I do not know the objectives of that research.(10) Now, if the research was undertaken in order to ascertain the causes of the riots, a good deal of what Dr Yutar has just been reading out now, I would submit from my point of view, would be irrelevant and I would not have tried to discover the causes of the riots by going into some of the things which Dr Yutar has just been reading out now. Then again, let me just say that I am not familiar with the work and I think it is a little bit difficult for me to pronounce an opinion about something which I have not seen and have not studied.

CHAIRMAN: Well then I think perhaps we can conclude this (20) part of it, as to be concluded now. I can inform you that that evidence, if it is led tomorrow, will be put before the Commission, the Commission will evaluate that evidence in the light of all the evidence which has been put before this Commission and I shall most certainly keep in mind some of the points which you have raised and I can assure you that there are a great number of people who may not perhaps be scientific evaluators of causes, who have no doubt such a deep knowledge through their association with certain aspects of the riots, that their evidence cannot be rejected (30) merely because there has not been at the back of it

a/...

a scientific research such as that which you testified of. -- Thank you. I would not suggest that the Commission should reject the evidence to which we have referred .. (intervenes)

Oh, but there is going to be rejection of a lot of evidence. -- No, I mean the evidence we were speaking about in general. Of course the Commission's purpose is, after all, to reject certain evidence, I know that, but the fundamental point I was just trying to make is that in evaluating the evidence, the Commission might wish to bear in mind the basic point which I have been making which is that a systematic (10) research on scientific methodology of the causes of the riots - and may I naturally remind the Commission that the riots have not only occurred in Soweto, so even if the research to which Dr Yutar has been referring, is found to be entirely reliable and entirely relevant. It could then, however, not apply for instance, ipso facto, to what occurred in Cape Town. But what I am fundamentally saying is that if the Commission, in evaluating all the evidence, that it has before it, would bear in mind this one further point which I have humbly been trying to make before it this morning, that a systematic (20) research, based on scientific methods into the causes of the riots has not been undertaken.

A Commission must come to an end, but of course education goes on forever and this may very well be a most fruitful source for investigation by sociologists, but it may be far more important in the end than the findings of this Commission and you may perhaps do the country a very great - you may benefit the country to a very great extent by advising your students that this is a field which they could, with fruit, investigate. -- Thank you. (30)

DR YUTAR: M'Lord, may I just put three further questions to the/...

the witness before she leaves, if I may. Are you aware of the Council for Human Sciences Research? -- Yes.

An expert Council? -- Yes, I am a member of - or I was until the end of last year, I am not sure what my present status is because it has not been announced yet, but I was for the last 4 years a member of the Sociology Committee of precisely that Council.

Well, this Council is also going to testify. -- Yes.

And two other questions. Would you limit your research to the locations, to the townships? -- I would start (10) there.

But would you limit it there? -- That would be difficult for me to say. Probably not, but until one has some evidence, you do not know where you are going to - what I am trying to say is that one stage of one's research and the findings of that, leads one on to the next stage. I would certainly start with the areas in which the riots occurred.

Finally, would you limit your research to South Africa? -- Yes, if I were investigating the causes of South African riots, I would, I think, stay within South Africa, yes. (20)

You would not go further afield. -- Well, I would certainly start with South Africa.

But you would not go further afield. -- As to the causes of the riots?

What might have led to it. -- In my field investigations of the persons who were involved in the riots, certainly I would stay within South Africa, because there you can deal with the communities in which the events took place.

I have no further questions, M'Lord.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

(30)

THE COMMISSION ADJOURNS.