

REPORT
of
THE FORT HARE COMMISSION
JULY 1955

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UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF FORT HARE
Fort Hare.

STATEMENT FROM CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL

On May 4th last the Executive Committee of the Governing Council of the University College of Fort Hare was informed that the College Senate had resolved that 330 students of the College out of a total of 367 should be suspended for an indefinite period from the College. In view of this and of a review of the situation by the Principal, the Executive Committee resolved to suspend the activities of the College so that the position could be examined in a calmer atmosphere. On May 11th the Governing Council confirmed the action of its Executive Committee and resolved to appoint a Commission of Enquiry into the life and work of the College. The document here published by order of the Governing Council is the Report of that Commission.

(Sgd) T. ALTY

Chairman of the Governing Council of
the University College of Fort Hare.

30.8.55.

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TO THE COUNCIL OF THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF FORT HARE

COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION

1. TERMS OF REFERENCE

This Commission, appointed by you in July, 1955, consisted of Professor J. P. Duminy (Chairman), Professor M. C. Botha and Dr. Edgar Brookes, and was instructed

“ To investigate the conditions of life and work in the College and to make recommendations for their improvement.”

These terms of reference, wide as they are, were interpreted as liberally as possible, even to the extent of including a study of the incidents leading to the closing of the College in May, and of the events that followed. The Commission felt that only with such an interpretation of its terms of reference could it hope to arrive at a proper appraisal of the situation and to perform the task it had been called upon to undertake.

2. RECORD OF THE COMMISSION'S ACTIVITIES

Your Commission spent two weeks at Fort Hare and took all the available evidence it thought necessary to provide it with a picture of the situation which would be as complete as possible.

An invitation was placed in the Press to all persons and bodies interested in our investigation to submit their views, either verbally or by means of memoranda, and members of staff and students were cordially invited at assemblies especially arranged for the purpose to meet the Commission and give evidence before it. We wish to express our deep gratitude to the Principal and the administrative staff for the way in which the arrangements for the taking of the evidence were made, and for making available to us the services of a most efficient stenographer in the person of Miss Dold of the Administrative Staff of Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Virtually all members of the staff accepted our invitation. These included representatives of the Administrative, as well as the Tutorial staff, the Librarian, the Wardens of the four hostels, the Honorary Physician and the Boarding Master. We were also privileged to receive

the views of the Rev. Dr. R. H. W. Shepherd, Principal of Lovedale and a former Chairman of the Council.

The Principal gave us very generously of his time and placed all the relevant information at our disposal. The members of his staff were most cooperative in providing us with their personal views and such items of detail as they thought might be of value to us. We were conscious of a very sincere desire on the part of the Principal and all his staff to make our task as easy as possible, and we are extremely grateful to them for providing us with an excellent picture of many aspects of the situation we were called upon to examine.

The attitude of the students at the Assembly at which we met them did not give us reason to hope that we would receive any cooperation from them, but we were extremely gratified when in the end this initial atmosphere of suspicion was dispelled gradually by a truly cooperative attitude. Several came to give evidence individually, and we met the hostel groups in their own "houses" at meetings specially arranged by the Wardens for the purpose. By these means we were able to arrive at a very full appreciation of the views of the students, and of the factors that were causing dissatisfaction, resentment and hostility on their part, in spite of the fact that there was no Students' Representative Council in operation to present student views and attitudes in a more formal manner. We made a tour of the students' amenities on the campus as well as in the hostels, and partook of meals with them in the Men's Dining Hall and at Elukhanyisweni.

On the tutorial side, the College buildings were all visited and particular note was taken of the amount of lecture-room and laboratory space available, their furniture and equipment, and the facilities provided in the Library.

The documents submitted to us included the following :

- (i) The Principal's statement to Council on the situation at the time of the closing.
- (ii) The circular of 24th May, 1955, to all students.
- (iii) The circular of 25th May, 1955, to all parents.
- (iv) The circular of 17th June, 1955, to re-admitted students.
- (v) The circular of 24th June, 1955, to all parents.
- (vi) The circular of June 1955, to re-admitted students.
- (vii) Menus of meals and statement of conditions at Elukhanyisweni.
- (viii) Menus at the Dining Hall.
- (ix) Correspondence between the Senate and the S.R.C., 1952-55.
- (x) Copies of the "Fortharian."

3. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE COLLEGE

When Fort Hare opened in 1916 with an enrolment of twenty students, it was natural that it should have had a warm, intimate family atmosphere, and that in many respects it should have resembled the Missionary High Schools from which it sprang. This tendency was strengthened by the fact that right up to 1937 Classes for the Matriculation Certificate were still conducted by the College. A kindly paternalism, a concentration of powers in the hands of the Principal, an interpretation of discipline on High School rather than University lines, were features of this period of Fort Hare's life. Part of the present difficulties arise from the fact that the College has outgrown the system so admirably suited to those earlier years, so unsuited to the present day.

“ The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.”

Perhaps, too, the financial stringency of earlier years and the traditions of several generations of missionaries accustomed to make bricks without straw, has had its effect on parts of the material side of the College's life, as the traditional compulsory Church services of Missionary High Schools have influenced religious practices in what is now a modern and growing University institution.

Essentially the main thesis of this Report is that the time is overripe for a bold transition from the spirit, methods and atmosphere of the Missionary High School to those of a University.

4. THE SYMBOLIC VALUE OF FORT HARE TO ITS OLD STUDENTS AND TO AFRICAN OPINION GENERALLY

We wonder whether the symbolic value of Fort Hare to the African and other sections of the community has been adequately appreciated. The closing of the College in May, whatever may be said for it, produced very strong reactions among former students of the College and non-European leaders generally. Many of them follow its fortunes with intense interest. Fort Hare is a symbol of the status attained by the Africans, a pledge of the hope of future equality. Its place in non-European thought is unique for its failure means the extinguishing of many hopes and its success points the way to success in the wider spheres of South African life. The participation of non-Europeans in the life of the Universities of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand and Natal, while most valuable and while

better in principle than the building up of a "segregated" institution, has somehow not the same symbolic value. The old students, who occupy a very distinguished place in non-European society and do much to mould its opinion, are peculiarly sensitive to anything which makes Fort Hare appear less in status than a true university should. Recent events, whether justified or not, have deeply wounded this sensitivity.

All concerned with Fort Hare should be aware of these very important facts. African opinion outside must be reckoned with. The tendency to compare Fort Hare with other African educational institutions in the Union—and that must be mainly with Missionary High Schools—evokes strong reactions. Thus it is not enough to say (what is perfectly true) that the Hostels at Fort Hare are superior to those in the Missionary High Schools. African opinion wants to be assured that they will be brought up as rapidly as possible to the status of the Rhodes residences. Undoubtedly another comparison which will have to be faced in the near future by those responsible for Fort Hare concerns the accommodation and food provided for the African students of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. So it is with matters of discipline, religious services and College life generally. It is not with Lovedale or Healdtown or Adams, but with Rhodes or Cape Town or Natal that the non-European public are comparing Fort Hare.

5. GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE COLLEGE, ESPECIALLY OF THE STUDENT BODY

We were shocked on arriving at the College to realise how bad the atmosphere really was; and though the student attitude to ourselves changed so markedly for the better as to give us hope for the future, we should not be doing our duty if we did not set down simply and clearly our impression of the faults on the side of the students. In our opinion there have been faults and errors on the part of the College authorities, but it is not these alone which must be amended if a healthy atmosphere is to be attained.

We were informed that an unhappy frame of mind has existed among the students for some considerable time. A subversive element has been present for years but up to recently it has been manageable.

A noticeable feature of student life is suspicion—suspicion of the College authorities, suspicion of many (not all) Europeans, suspicion of one another. (The last-named, a most distressing feature, would seem

to be partly due to unwise encouragement of tale-bearing as a means of control.) The attitude towards the white man, though harmful to the students themselves, is understandable in South African conditions, and is part of the obsession with the struggle for liberation and with politics generally which we discuss at a later stage in this Report. Mistrust and disrespect have been focussed recently on the Principal and on the College authorities, and it is difficult not to come to the conclusion that some at least of the student body are opposed to all authority as authority. We believe that this is partly due to the confusion of legitimate discipline with *baasskap*.

This can be understood in view of political and racial controversies outside the College, but it is none the less harmful and dangerous. Neither Fort Hare nor any other University can exist without discipline, but it may be desirable to modernise the rules of the College, provided that such as are still necessary in present-day conditions must be enforced. Booming, catcalls, and other hostile and uncouth noises when the Principal is speaking are quite intolerable in a university institution and indeed should not be tolerated. Even worse, if possible, are the disgusting anonymous letters and lampoons that are posted up on notice-boards. The easy recourse to boycotts and other forms of direct action are also to be deprecated. Much of this sort of thing may be explained though not excused by the failure at times of the College authorities to recognise legitimate requests or their slowness in implementing those which are acceptable ; and in recent weeks by errors of judgement such as the Circular asking students virtually to inform on one another—a Circular which on ethical grounds we cannot approve—yet the student attitude is none the less inherently bad, and makes happy university life impossible.

We feel that the students have some strange misconceptions of university freedom, demanding not that equality of treatment with European university students which we should desire to see them enjoy, but a licence far in excess of anything prevailing at the European universities. This comes out particularly in the relationship between the Students' Representative Council and the Senate. The humourless correspondence between these two bodies, which we have studied, reads like negotiations conducted between two "High Contracting Parties" of equal standing in an atmosphere of cold war. The exaggerated sense of self-importance of the students as indicated in this correspondence is perhaps due to the feeling that the College must be looked upon as being in the vanguard of the political and racial struggle ; but no university can run its ordinary day-by-day business on these lines, and it is very desirable

that the students should learn what a Students' Representative Council is and what it is not; and also that though nobody really likes taking "No" for an answer, all Students' Representative Councils, in Fort Hare or elsewhere, must sometimes do so, unless they are to replace Council and Senate as the governing body ultimately responsible for the management and prestige of the Institution. At the same time we would urge that those in authority should not lightly turn down student requests as unreasonable, and that the habitual attitude towards student requests should be "Why not?" rather than "Why?" We should like to suggest that the constitution of the Students' Representative Council of Fort Hare be compared with the constitutions of similar bodies in other university institutions in the Union so that it could be brought as closely as possible into conformity with them. All source of possible grievance on this score could accordingly be eliminated. The possibility of voting by ballot at S.R.C. and Mass Meetings might also be entertained as a means of avoiding intimidation of students by one another.

No point of university freedom was more stressed in student evidence than freedom of speech. It does seem to have happened on occasion that students have been reprimanded by the authorities for extreme or unwise statements made in student meetings, and that in circumstances where the only kind of evidence available was the testimony of fellow-students. We feel that no harm done by these statements can be so great as the bad feeling aroused by what seems like what unkind critics would call "snooping." It is an exaggerated paternalism, out of place with modern university conditions, which alone can explain this interference with an elementary right.

But this legitimate claim to freedom of speech must be recognised only subject to certain conditions. In the first place, those who demand it for themselves must concede it to others, and this they are not very ready to do. In student meetings those who take an unpopular line—and supporting the College authorities is often an unpopular line—tend to be shouted down; or, if they are given a hearing at the time, persecuted afterwards as "sell-outs," the most devastating term in the present-day vocabulary of Fort Hare. There is much intolerance among students, and unfortunately a considerable lack of moral courage on the part of the students generally; for many students come to Fort Hare quite ready to devote themselves to study and leave agitation alone, but they are easily swayed or intimidated by the ardent politicians who tend to lead the student body.

Those who claim freedom of speech should, in the second place, learn not to obtrude political and racial speeches into any and every kind of

discussion. And, thirdly, the College authorities have the right to expect students to take advice and to exercise due discretion in speech and writing, when the expression of their thoughts may bring the College into disrepute locally or nationally. If Fort Hare is to discourage its friends and provide capital for its enemies by blazing indiscretions on the part of the students, the result can only be the drying-up of the sympathy, goodwill and practical help without which it cannot expand into a large university; and indeed there is a grave risk, if these indiscretions continue, of the Government stepping in and restricting the College in its activities or even closing it. Students must learn to take account of these things.

We realise that it is easier for us to record our opinions than to suggest how they can be got across to the student body. Too much "preaching" to students will defeat its own object, but if the dangers are fully understood, and Staff members are cooperative, we believe that much can be done across the years to alter student attitudes.

In passing it may be suggested that what often seem to be glaring student indiscretions may be partly due to an inability to express themselves clearly, an inability arising from an imperfect acquaintance with the nuances of the English language. "We demand" is sometimes used when "we earnestly request" would meet the case. In our own hearing a student said "We tolerate our Warden" when he obviously meant to say "We have no bad feeling towards our Warden."

One rather depressed witness told the Commission that "the chief interests of the students are politics, adultery and drink." While the Commission would not like to adopt his phrase in its Report, members feel that there is a disquieting amount of immorality and of drinking at Fort Hare. We do not think that this is wisely dealt with by what appear to us to be unreasonable and impracticable rules about contact between men and women which hinder the well-behaved and are easily evaded by the real criminals, or by expelling students merely for having tasted liquor; but on the other hand we do not feel that the existence of these great scourges should be a matter for equanimity. Similarly, the very strong wave of anti-Christian feeling which we were sad to encounter at the College is an evil which must be recognised and against which quiet and effective remedies must be devised, but it is pre-eminently not a subject for official cognisance or disciplinary action.

We were sad to feel how great a concentration there was among the students on "grievances," and how rare were their expressions of gratitude or appreciation. There is a real need for encouraging self-help and student initiative. Too often students fail to take responsibility, while

complaining that they cannot be trusted to manage their own affairs. This may well be a vicious circle, and more trust on the part of the authorities may gradually lead to a greater acceptance of responsibility, but there are responsibilities which students could and should have taken even in existing conditions.

On the purely educational side the picture is brighter. Relations in the class-room are, according to both staff and student evidence, happy and friendly, and in general the students work well. We notice, however, a very strong tendency on the part of the students to place the emphasis on examinations and degrees, and what these will bring in the way of material advancement, to the exclusion of the social and cultural side of education. This gives point to our later recommendations for academic expression, for the spirit of a true university demands real academic, as distinct from examination, interests; and the development of these will react beneficially on discipline and general behaviour.

Student relations with staff are dealt with elsewhere in this Report. It seems right at this stage to add a word as to the Staff itself. It is in the main a thoroughly loyal and capable staff, and very interested in the work of the students. Several have taken an active interest in sport and cultural activities. We feel that the need for interchange of visits between staff and students is great.

We are given to understand that while there are few if any animosities between African and European Staff members, coolness amounting almost to ostracism exists sometimes between African members supporting different political groups. This fact and the undue turnover of junior Staff constitute real problems. All that can be done to settle affairs at the College will naturally tend to diminish the sense of insecurity exercising the minds of some Staff members and make for greater stability generally.

It may seem as if we have dealt at undue length and with unseemly frankness on the faults of the students; but we feel that the present atmosphere is not merely unpleasant but dangerous in the extreme. It struck us at times as being a spirit of evil so strong as to be almost visible and tangible—a foe to all that is normal, sane and creative, like the evil possessions recorded in the New Testament. *It may well lead to the utter destruction of Fort Hare, and it is for this reason that we hope the Council will give full consideration to our somewhat drastic proposals for reform.* The fact that the present generation of Fort Hare students tends to have a bad reputation outside, even among the African people themselves, must make one think very seriously indeed about the grave situation at the College.

Yet how is this situation to be met? It cannot be met by wholesale expulsions or a discipline so military as to be incompatible with university ideas. It cannot be met by a vain attempt to keep out students who are likely to give trouble. Such an attempt is bound to fail, and if it succeeded it might well deprive the College of some of its best and most promising students. It cannot be met, on the other hand, by unreal optimism or by cherishing the hope that the present difficulties are temporary only. While South Africa is in a ferment of political and racial strife without, Fort Hare cannot escape difficulties within. A University, after all, must be a cross-section of the society from which the students are drawn.

The only remedy lies in getting to the hearts of the students, as very human persons full of potentialities for good, as for evil. They are in a difficult transition stage, tossed between two worlds

“ One dead,
The other waiting to be born.”

Real understanding, real caring, lives lived among them with true devotion, on the part of all those who have to deal with them, may lead them to reverence truth before partisan propaganda, to cherish beauty before self-indulgence, to find in love that ultimate freedom which conquers fear. We long for these things, for the honest and un sentimental love which sees and hates evil yet cares for the evildoer. No Report or other document can produce this spirit, but our belief is that the changes which we recommend will give it the best chance of flowering that there is. We recognise the immense power of the evil forces that have entered the life of Fort Hare, and that may conceivably ruin it; but we are not un hopeful, and we feel that those called to work at Fort Hare may well say with the poet :

“ Now God be thanked Who has matched us with His hour.”

6. REASONS FOR THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS

The atmosphere prevailing at the College, as described in the preceding paragraph, arises from many and varied causes. Fort Hare is a “ segregated ” institution in the sense that the right of admission is confined to non-European students. While present national policies prevail this state of affairs is unalterable. This factor, however, leads to tensions and antagonisms which we believe do not exist at universities in the Union where both Europeans and non-Europeans are admitted, and renders the situation at Fort Hare all the more difficult for the authorities to understand.

Fort Hare is also "isolated"—geographically, academically, culturally, socially and in the field of sporting activity and competition. Its geographical isolation is not altogether a bad thing, and we come back to this feature in section 8. But isolation in the other fields is a serious matter, and we indicate ways later on in which we think the situation can be improved in this regard.

And then we must realise that the College is subjected to tremendous political and racial influences from beyond its own confines. The students are bound to be affected by political developments and racial tensions in the Union; by the results of the adoption of different approaches to political and racial problems just across our borders; and not least by the changes that have taken place in these same fields further away, as, for example, in Nigeria, India and the East Indies.

It would be a most difficult thing to eliminate discussions about politics and race relations from a university. Nor do we think that it would be desirable. University students should enjoy the opportunity of discussions on these important topics such as only a university can offer. It would also, at the best of times, be a most difficult thing to ensure that such discussions are maintained on an academic and objective plane. Occasions are bound to occur when a university is liable to suffer when students become over-exuberant, to the annoyance of their own authorities and to the displeasure of outside opinion, including that of their own friends. But in our view, in spite of what might be tolerated in other university institutions, it is totally wrong that a university should come to be used as the vanguard in a party political struggle, or even to be regarded as an appropriate place in which to make propaganda for party political purposes.

We found that there was a distressing lack of contact between students and staff outside the classroom. We were struck by the fact that this circumstance was deplored by many students as well as by members of staff, and that both bodies would welcome the establishment of channels whereby contacts between them could be renewed and broadened and sustained. The suggestion was even put forward that members of staff might, in rotation, have meals with the students in the Dining Hall—and this appeared to us as an additional way in which grievances with regard to the quality of the food might be removed.

The complaint of the students that they are not consulted when new restrictions are placed on their "rights as University students," and that they are often not given a fair hearing when they are arraigned on charges of violating the regulations, may possibly be traced to this lack of contact,

They have a sense of justice and fairplay, and this sense would be more readily appreciated by the authorities if there were to be closer and more numerous bonds of association between them and the students, and would consequently be easier to satisfy without involving considerations of prestige.

We do not wish to imply that the students should be pampered, and in this connection we wish to suggest that schemes might be evolved whereby they would be encouraged to exert personal effort for the amenities they enjoy ; whereby they would be provided with opportunities for earning money ; or of paying for their education by performing appropriate College tasks ; or of simply helping themselves. Such an innovation would probably be regarded as most revolutionary, and we realise that any response will be very gradual. However, we feel that, with a measure of imagination, considerable success might be achieved along these lines.

There is no doubt that discontent arising at any hostel soon spreads to the College and to the other hostels, and conditions in two of the hostels have certainly given rise to complaint. We deal at some length with hostel matters in a later paragraph, but we wish here to draw attention to discontent arising from regulations in general, and, in particular, from the recently amended regulation relating to visiting hours at Elukhanyisweni. We feel that some of these regulations are harsh, and are of the opinion that the refusal of the students' request for them to hold a mass meeting to discuss the amended regulation just mentioned was, as it appears to us from this distance, an error of judgement.

The students aver that they understand that old regulations have from time to time to be amended and that new regulations have to be introduced. Furthermore, they say that they are willing to accept new or amended regulations if only they could be allowed the privilege of prior consultation about them and of having their content and intention explained. They wish to be treated as adults, and they ask themselves the question that if, of all places in South Africa they cannot be treated as adults in Fort Hare, where *can* they be so treated ? Most of all they hated being called upon to answer the " questionnaire " circular of the 24th May which appeared to them as a measure designed, not only to force them to be " informers," but also to contain a threat of blackmail.

A great deal of the distressing atmosphere can also be put down to the difficult position in which they find themselves arising from the awkward stage they have reached in their cultural and spiritual evolution. They are only one or two generations removed from their traditional customs

and surroundings, and are still a long way from a full realisation and appreciation of the foreign civilisation into which they have been bundled. As a result they are tossed about in a sea of confusion between the disappearing land of their old tribal sanctions and the unexplored perplexities of Western institutions and concepts.

7. POLITICAL AND RACIAL FACTORS

The political and racial factors mentioned in the previous paragraph call for further examination. While in the nature of the case it is impossible to arrive at exact figures, we have formed the impression that many—probably the majority—of the students are not active members of any political organisation. Those who do belong as members to political groups are divided in their allegiance. Some belong to the Youth Movement of the African National Congress, some to the S.O.Y.A. (Sons of Young Africa), the junior branch of the All-African Convention. There is reason to believe that S.O.Y.A. has the upper hand at the moment and has exercised considerable influence on the student body. In so far as there is any inner circle stimulating students to an attitude of resistance to authority, it is almost certainly to be sought in these political groupings. It is not within our power to determine the relative merits and demerits of these two organisations, nor would it be seemly for us to try to do so. What follows may apply to the one and not to the other, or possibly to both. But we feel convinced that there are students who come to Fort Hare already inculcated with ideas and techniques which they have learned outside and which they feel they must apply at the College. They are in touch with the leaders of their organisations outside the campus, and are influenced by them. We find it hard to believe that responsible men could countenance actions and attitudes so foreign to the true university ideal and so calculated to lead Fort Hare to disaster. It may be that the unique position of the Institution in the Union and the great national and international interest in it has led these leaders into the unhappy policy of using it as the spear-head of a national political struggle. We wonder if it might not be possible for informal discussions to take place between the heads of these organisations and representatives of the College who might be *personae gratae* to them. One could not ask the organisations not to stand for their principles, but they could be asked to direct their members at Fort Hare not to confuse the political struggle outside the College with resistance to discipline and constituted authority inside it.

We can only ask Council to weigh carefully the pros and cons of such a course of action, the success of which would depend largely on informality of approach, and the selection of the right persons as channels of contact. But that this political influence exists and that it exercises a very harmful effect on the life of the College cannot be doubted. We have seen it ourselves and have realised to what great lengths intimidation of students who do not agree with it has gone. This intimidation, it is true, is in general psychological rather than physical, but it is none the less cruelly applied and very effective.

What is to be done about all this? We do not see any justifiable or practicable way of imposing a political test on students. It would be impossible to check the political affiliations of students on entry, and a series of political "purges" followed by expulsions year after year would surely bring Fort Hare into the gravest difficulties, perhaps to disaster. It seems to us that political agitation can never be eliminated from Fort Hare. It is part of the mental activity of a normal University. What Fort Hare can legitimately aim at is to reduce the intensity which makes it a dangerous obsession, and to deal promptly and effectively with all cases of disrespect or disobedience towards the College authorities on their own merits, not as parts of a political technique.

If political agitation cannot be eliminated from Fort Hare, can the College continue to exist? We have not evaded this issue. At an early stage in our deliberations we put to ourselves the radical question "Can Fort Hare go on?" and we answered it with an unhesitating "Yes." Fort Hare *must* go on, and it cannot in the nature of the case be exempt from all political troubles. Drastic measures are certainly needed to ensure its safe and happy continuance, and among these are changes of *personnel* and *methods* such as are discussed later in this Report. New ways of life more compatible with the status of a university institution are called for on the side of the authorities. With these must be associated not any inquisition into the political beliefs of the students, but prompt and effective action to deal with all disrespect, insubordination, and attacks on the legitimate authorities of the College. In certain circumstances gross or repeated intimidation should be dealt with as an offence. But the deepest remedy must be sought in the "expulsive power of new affections"—in the development of academic life, cultural interests, sport, personal friendships, and all else that goes to make up the fabric of a true university, in the life of which politics (of whatever brand) should be healthy cells in the body academic, not a malignant growth, threatening the health and the very life of everything else in that body.

8. SITE OF THE COLLEGE

In section 6 we mentioned the geographical isolation of Fort Hare. This is of course readily explicable in terms of the development of Alice and of the history of the College itself. We do not regard this geographical isolation as being in itself a matter of great concern or regret, because there is much to be gained in the pursuit of academic activities in the serene atmosphere of a quiet centre of unpretentious dimensions. Many famous universities have grown from such beginnings, and in South Africa we can point to three such in the shape of Rhodes, Potchefstroom and Stellenbosch. At present there is not the opportunity for social, cultural and athletic activity that a big centre will provide, but Alice and its amenities will develop. On the other hand, it will be realised that proximity to a big town will not be an unmixed blessing. Students will be thrown into a new complexity of cross currents, tensions and perplexities, which will entail new restrictions and regulations—and these in turn will lead to new discontents and grievances.

The suggestion was put forward that Fort Hare might be closed and the students distributed among the Universities that admit non-Europeans. This suggestion we feel we must reject for two reasons, quite apart from the repercussions it would have in the light of the Government's declared policy concerning apartheid in universities: in the first place, it would be most regrettable even to contemplate the closing of the College; and secondly, it is certain that virtually all the students will be debarred by financial considerations from going to the other universities, even should there be class-room and hostel accommodation available for them there. It would not only be extremely regrettable to close Fort Hare, but also extremely difficult to abandon what has been provided here in the material things of a university—its admirably designed tutorial buildings, its laboratories and hostel facilities.

A considerable amount of capital has been spent here, and any thought of abandoning what has been built up at such expense dare not be lightly entertained. In any case, should Fort Hare be abandoned, where can a new institution be built to replace it? In addition to the disadvantages already mentioned of building it near a large town like East London, Kimberley or Port Elizabeth, the provisions of the Group Areas Act, which have already caused difficulties in the case of the Durban Medical School, must be borne in mind; and to place it in or near a centre like Umtata would not improve the situation. In fact the situation would be made worse in *this* respect that in the course of time the institution would

be faced with the possibility of being isolated from European influence and atmosphere altogether.

So we have no hesitation whatsoever in saying that the College should remain where it is. We foresee a future for it in which it will continue to provide extremely worthwhile and highly satisfying spheres of activity for academically trained men who have the particular inspiration to work here, and in which it will continue to produce men and women well trained and eminently suited to serve South Africa.

9. OTHER ASPECTS OF ISOLATION

In section 8 we dealt with the geographical isolation of Fort Hare, and in section 19 we put forward suggestions concerning ways in which its interests in the academic field could be extended. There still remain the cultural, social and "athletic" aspects of its isolation.

We were told by several witnesses that the students do not like being organised into sporting clubs or cultural societies; that they are averse to shouldering responsibility; that they will not accept the authority of fellow students; and that in any case they have no flair for organisation. On the other hand, several students said that they would welcome the chance to do something for themselves, and to assume the responsibilities that go with the task of organising.

If the students are right, then what they need is guidance and a strong new lead from the staff in the matter of establishing clubs and societies of a sporting, cultural and social nature. We are aware of the fact that several very commendable efforts in this direction have been made and sustained by members of staff in the past, efforts which have at times met with disheartening response and seemed doomed to failure in the political tensions that have prevailed in the atmosphere at Fort Hare during recent years. But we trust that a resuscitation of interest in these things will help to break this tension and create that new atmosphere for which all now must strive, an atmosphere which will be all the more conducive to the development of the very things that help to create it. Sport will then no longer be "a menace" (as one witness put it), and students will no longer be left "to stew in their own troubles" (to use the words of another.)

Cultural and social societies could be inspired and sustained by outside features such as art exhibitions, musical recitals, documentary films and "live theatre" productions. The Department of Education, Arts and Science from time to time sponsors art exhibitions (like the present one of

the UNESCO collections of prints of famous pictures) which could easily be made available to Fort Hare, and it should be possible to arrange for well-disposed musicians and dramatic companies from nearby centres to pay Fort Hare occasional visits. And, by the same token, the College could arrange for its concerts, choirs and plays to visit other centres.

In the field of sport and athletics the only opportunity the students have at present to compete with persons of their own age lies in inter-hostel contests, but we can see no reason why these should not be continued and encouraged. Visits to other centres by teams from Fort Hare and visits to Fort Hare by teams from other centres will necessitate the travelling of long distances, and these will cost a considerable amount of money—the first in terms of bus or train fare, and the second by way of the provision of hospitality. Furthermore, a pavilion will ultimately have to be built on the sports-fields to accommodate visiting teams as well as the home players, because it would not be reasonable to expect the hostels to provide ablution and dressing room facilities indefinitely for all those who take part in sport. With the exercise of a little imagination it is possible that ways and means will be found for the students themselves to help towards the building of a Sports Fund to meet some of the cost of these projects.

10. RELIGION AT FORT HARE

Fort Hare has from its earliest days aspired to be a Christian institution. It was founded largely as a result of cooperation between the Missions and African leaders. For many years the Christian character of the Institution was never seriously questioned. This religious foundation was expressed in various tangible ways, particularly in the Men's Hostels, each of which was under the control of one or more Christian denominations; and in certain religious services which were either compulsory or quasi-compulsory. Of the Hostels we write at some length later, indicating our view that, without wholly losing their connection with the Churches or the services of Chaplains appointed by them, they should become College institutions under the control of College Wardens, and we shall not elaborate this point further here.

The Services which formed a part of the life of Fort Hare were the morning and evening services at the Hostels, a daily morning Assembly for reading of the Scriptures, prayers and announcements, and a united College service on Sunday evenings. In two of the three Men's Hostels all

services became voluntary some time ago, and comparatively recently the College service on Sunday evenings also became voluntary. When the Commission arrived at Fort Hare, the only compulsory service was the regular morning Assembly. This was abolished by the Principal on his own initiative in the course of our sittings, and the only form of indirect compulsion remaining is at Iona House, where students, though not compelled, are expected to attend devotions. A register may be called, and habitual absence may affect any certificates of character or conduct required by the students. It may be added that the purely voluntary services are not very widely attended by the students.

As to the present state of religion in the College we must record our impression, fortified by the evidence of many witnesses, that there is much indifference and a good deal of active hostility towards Christianity among the students. One witness went so far as to say that in his opinion fifty per cent of the students were actively opposed to religion. Other phrases used were that "the influence of Christianity was waning" and that "Christianity was falling into disrepute." There is convincing evidence that leftist and rationalist propaganda has been spread among the students; in many cases, we believe, before their arrival at Fort Hare, and in many cases, we are sure, after their arrival. All the usual leftist ideas of religion being the opiate of the masses are found, combined with African nationalist views of the missionary as the agent of the conqueror, and traces of the crude rationalism popular fifty years ago and now to a large extent discredited in intellectual circles.

In our view it is sad indeed that so many young Africans should have been indoctrinated with hatred against the faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and we should welcome all good means of bringing them back to Him. We do not regard compulsory religious services as among these good means. They can only lead to hypocrisy and unreality. There is a great distinction to be drawn between real and unreal religion, between a living faith and mere religious practices.

As the Apostle says, "judgment must begin at the house of God," and we need to ask ourselves seriously and sincerely how far the religion which we profess and preach is a living thing, and how far our lives are consistent with it. In a situation such as prevails at Fort Hare we cannot be too careful that all those who name the Name of Christ should live close to Him in humble daily dependence on Him, and in prayer that His clarity and His charity should shine through all their dealings with the students, especially when they exercise disciplinary authority over them. Let us put our own house in order. For the rest, let us recognise the fact

of student estrangement and see what remedies can be found for what we all feel to be a grave situation.

The first of these remedies is to eliminate altogether the element of compulsion from religious services. We as a Commission cordially endorse the Principal's decision to abolish the daily Assembly. There were important reasons of a disciplinary nature for this decision : on the religious side we must record our feeling that the devotional exercises at Assembly had become, for many students, a mockery. So far as Iona House is concerned, we earnestly hope that the responsible Committee will, in the interests of true religion, make the services as completely voluntary as they are at the other Hostels.

In the second place we urge that as far as possible the association between the teaching and preaching of religion and responsibility for discipline among the students be broken. This is the motivation of our later recommendations regarding the control of the Hostels. As things stand now the lay staff are associated in the students' minds with the comparatively easy and happy relationships of the classrooms, while the official representatives of Christianity are held responsible for every bit of tension or difficulty at the Hostels. Secular authorities are credited with the well-appointed lecture rooms and laboratories, and the Church is debited with all the deficiencies of the Hostel Common Rooms. No more skilful way could have been devised of fanning anti-religious prejudices. Even this disadvantage can be, and sometimes has been, overcome by the attractive personality of the right kind of Warden ; but if the wrong kind of Warden is appointed the harm of the system is accentuated.

We recommend, in the third place, that the forces of Christianity should be marshalled for a new advance on all parts of the front, based on a realistic picture of the situation as it is, and not on a nostalgia for the past or wishful thinking about the future. When new Wardens (or, as we suggest, Chaplains) come to be appointed, we hope—and we say this without any reflection on past appointments—that the Churches will give Fort Hare of their very best, and that they will be made aware in advance of the atmosphere at the College and of its needs. No one can be too good a man to spare for this work which may make or mar the future of the Christian faith among the African people.

We believe, too, that, unobtrusively and with loving wisdom, the right kind of religious literature may be made available in the Library and elsewhere for students. It must not be so advertised as to arouse a reaction of opposition, but it must be available, especially to individuals. Chaplains who have not the responsibility of Wardens could do much in this way.

What Fort Hare should aim at, instead of compelling unwilling students to attend religious services, is to put heart and courage into the Christian students, so that they may play the man and put up such a fight for their faith as to put the propagandists for unbelief on the defensive. This will not be done without much work, nor will it be done without prayer; and those who believe should find time for prayer, corporate as well as individual, to this end. We all believe that, offered in true faith and in real humility, with willingness to see and to do God's will, prayer is an incalculably mighty force.

If the forces of Christianity are alive and valiant, the theological students will not feel so much a class alone as they do to-day. We do not regard it as a bad thing that Ministers in training should study at an Institution like Fort Hare with all its difficulties rather than in a closed Seminary; but the pressure of contempt, ridicule and ostracism frequently brought to bear on these students is a severe test of their faith, and it is not right that other Christians should fail to stand by them. The opinion was expressed to us that it would be a calamity for the College if the Churches were to give up their theological courses here; but such an eventuality is possible if the Institution should remain unchanged or should deteriorate still further in its attitude towards the Christian faith.

11. THE HOSTELS : INTRODUCTORY

We have already seen that the Hostels are one of the most important aspects of the missionary origins of Fort Hare. We shall now proceed to consider them, not only from this point of view, but also in more general terms. And here it should be noted that it is not in the Class-rooms or Laboratories, but in the Hostels, the Dining Hall, and the administration of discipline that the chief difficulties of the College are to be found. This must be the explanation of why so much of the rest of our Report is devoted to these subjects.

12. IMPRESSION OF THE FOUR HOSTELS AND THEIR WARDENS

We had interviews with each of the hostel Wardens, and paid visits to the hostels with a view to gaining first-hand knowledge of the students' accommodation and living conditions. We also spent an evening at each hostel to meet the student groups in their common rooms and to hear what they had to say about hostel and College life. The spirit, generally

speaking, is not a happy one, and the cause for this can be put down mainly to three factors : personalities, accommodation, and the system itself under which the hostels are administered.

Two of the present Wardens, although imbued with a spirit of understanding and helpfulness towards the students, are nearing the age of retirement and cannot do all that they would wish, or all that we should like to see done in the matter of taking a more personal and active part in student sport and cultural activities. We feel that important contacts are consequently lacking here which could be of immense benefit to the welfare of the students, individually and collectively. We should add, however, that the Warden of Beda Hall, despite his age, does maintain a friendly touch with his students, partly due to his having less time allocated to lectures and partly owing to his personality ; and at the moment Beda Hall is by common consent the happiest of the Hostels. No doubt the fact that the Warden's wife is the College's much-loved Medical Officer, assists in this.

The Warden of Iona House struck us as possessing some very unfortunate attitudes towards his wards, though we do not doubt his interest in his difficult task. We thought he was lacking in sympathy in his approach to their affairs, antagonistic in dealing with their requests, dictatorial and unrelenting of manner in his relations with them, and unable to appreciate their attitudes. We are of the opinion that it is most desirable that a change should be made in this post by arrangement between the College and the Churches concerned as soon as it can fairly and kindly be done.

We also gained the impression that the Warden of Elukhanyisweni did not really have her heart in her work. She possesses a fund of goodwill and many of the qualifications and attributes that in our opinion would be very desirable in any one occupying such a post. Such defects in her approach to her task and in details of her administration as we have observed could be remedied by one who feels a real vocation for such an important work. This vocation the Warden does not appear to us to have, and on that account we feel that at some convenient time it would be desirable to make a change.

We were glad to see many students accommodated in single rooms, but we also saw distressing evidence of overcrowding. Living in a crowded room with persons of diverse habits and tastes, with facilities for study that are far from adequate, and with cupboard-space for one's personal belongings practically non-existent, is in all conscience intolerable at any time. It is even more so when one is required to concentrate on the

many problems encountered in study or to indulge in quiet contemplation. Such defects should be remedied without delay.

Earnest and immediate attention should be given to the provision of reasonably presentable furniture in sufficient supply in the bed-rooms as well as in the common rooms. The men's Common Rooms struck us as being particularly bleak and unattractive. They could be immensely improved with good furniture (that need not be expensive) and some attractive facilities for music and good reading. A few good pictures arranged round the walls would add to the atmosphere that makes for dignified behaviour and gracious living which, after all, are important aspects in the process of education. With regard to the bedrooms, it appeared to us to be a little hard that students were in many cases not provided with mattresses. Perhaps the provision of mattresses could be arranged on the basis of a yearly fee for hire so that their cost could be defrayed over a period of years. It became very clear to us that the system itself under which the men's hostels were run was by no means conducive either to effective management in the hostels themselves, or to happy relationships within the College as a whole. This system is intimately bound up with the history of the hostels, and gives rise to many very important considerations. We feel, therefore, that a special section should be devoted to it.

In making these criticisms we do not desire to undervalue the great help given by the Churches in constructing and maintaining the Hostels—help without which the College could hardly have come into being—nor to be in any way ungrateful for their continuing interest. But the importance of the Hostels is so great that we feel the needs must be fairly faced; and if the Churches cannot meet them, the College must.

13. THE MEN'S HOSTEL SYSTEM

The historical development of the Men's Hostels has given rise to a system of dual authority within the College—an authority shared by the Churches and the College Council. The hostels are also financed on a dual basis, the Council contributing £10 per annum per student out of the annual composite College fee of £75, and the Church providing the further amount necessary to meet the unit annual cost. The Wardens are responsible for the administration of the hostels and the maintenance of discipline within hostel precincts; their jurisdiction does not extend beyond this. The Council, likewise, administers the College and its discipline, and has no jurisdiction over the students within the confines of

their hostels. This feature has led to several awkward situations where students had to be dealt with in matters of discipline ; and the students, and the hostels themselves, are suffering as a result of the very heavy duties the system places on the shoulders of the Wardens.

To us it is beyond question that the Wardens have too much to do. They have to attend to all the details of the organisation and administration of their " houses " ; they have to fill the roles of father, adviser and friend to each one of their wards, and they have also to carry considerable time-tables as teachers in the class-rooms. We have, in a previous section, pointed out some of the unfortunate and damaging results arising out of this combination of functions, and we suggested there that it would be a good thing for the Churches themselves and their work if the duties at the hostels could be divided so that their material features affecting management and discipline could fall to the lot of Wardens appointed by the Council from among the lay members of its teaching staff, and their spiritual aspects be the function of Chaplains appointed by the Churches. Any new policy of this kind will naturally necessitate careful study by, and close collaboration between, Church and Council in the field of financial adjustments and careful selection of Wardens and Chaplains, but we are convinced that this suggestion is of such vital importance for the future welfare of the College that we commend it most earnestly to the immediate consideration of the bodies concerned, and urge that it be settled at an early date and not made the subject of prolonged negotiations

The new policy here suggested will not only eliminate the difficulties we have mentioned arising from the present system of dual control, but it will also bring about the possibility of establishing a measure of uniformity among the hostels in respect of the strictness of the rules applied in them and the standard of the amenities provided by them. Students are notoriously quick to compare and criticise. Unfavourable comparisons lead immediately to discontent and unrest, and these are liable to spread like a devastating fire from one hostel to another, and into the institution itself. The conditions prevailing in Iona House are particularly distressing. Some of the rules there seem to us to be unnecessarily drastic, and its amenities leave a lot to be desired. Even though it seems to be generally felt that the students are not willing to undertake responsibilities, it might well be worthwhile to provide them with a chance to maintain simple disciplines in the hostels as a training ground for greater responsibilities in wider fields. And in this regard it may be a good thing to let them have copies of the rules obtaining at the residences of other university institutions. This will bring home to them the fact that they are not

being treated differently from students elsewhere, and give them a sobering opportunity to "count their many blessings."

While on the subject of regulations we should say here that the amended regulation affecting the visiting hours at Elukhanyisweni gave rise to a tremendous feeling of grievance, which, combined with the refusal of the request from the students for a mass meeting at which to discuss it, was the immediate cause of the unrest in April and May. A capacious Common Room in a central part of the campus would have prevented this unfortunate state of affairs. for it would have rendered the using of the Common Room at the Women's Hostel by the men quite unnecessary. We come back to the desirability of building a Students' Common Room at a later stage. Meanwhile we are of the opinion that the present visiting rule at Elukhanyiseni is too harsh, and suggest that it might appropriately be relaxed to allow visitors the use of the two small ante-rooms between the hours of 7 and 8 on the days as stipulated in the present rule, and the use of the Common Room between the same hours on Wednesdays as well, with the additional concession that in future the "business" of the visit need not be stated if it is made during the stipulated times.

It is the intention that the Churches will maintain their association with their present hostels; but we suggest that, when new hostel accommodation is needed, it be provided by way of hostels directly under the control of the Council, and stand in relation to it in exactly the same way as the Women's Hostel now does. It will necessarily follow that a Standing Committee of Council will have to be appointed to attend to hostel affairs, and we return to this point in our section on the constitution of Council later.

We should like to see the spiritual side of the life of the students in the College hostels fostered and cared for to the same extent as in the other hostels in which the Churches have a direct interest. This will probably have to be done in a more undenominational way in these hostels than in the others, but we have no doubt that an acceptable arrangement could be arrived at.

14. MATERIAL IMPROVEMENTS AND NEW AMENITIES.

(a) *Dining Hall.*

A tremendous amount of complaint on the part of the students centred round the food served in the Dining Hall. We were supplied with a full record of the menus provided over a period of a week, and partook of a lunch with the students. We cannot express any opinion

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about the nutritive value of the food given to the students, but the quality of it seemed to be good and the cooking on the occasion of our visit quite satisfactory. The complaints concern chiefly the monotony of the meals and the standard of the cooking. The latter should afford no real difficulty financially or otherwise in respect of effecting an improvement, but, if greater variety is to be provided, we fear that the fees for the Dining Hall will have to be raised. The meals, in our opinion, represent very good value for the money, and if more meat days are to be allowed, together with a regular supply of fruit and a greater variety of vegetables, the students will simply have to face an increase in fees. We feel that the improvements suggested are very desirable, not only because deficiencies (major or minor) in dining halls are notorious grounds for complaint, but also because the students' health—both temperamental and physical—will be improved thereby.

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In a previous section we put forward the suggestion that the possibility should be considered of getting members of staff to have meals in the Dining Hall. A schedule of rotation could be worked out in terms of which staff members could week by week, say, sit with the senior students, such as the members of the S.R.C., at the "High Table." The students would be much more readily satisfied with their food if they had members of staff partaking of it with them. And such an arrangement would naturally provide a good means of contact between staff and students as well.

(b) *Students' Common Room.*

The present common room in the Christian Union Hall is far from adequate, and to replace it we envisage a capacious Common Room (which could be developed in time into a Students' Union with all its accessories) built on a convenient site on the College campus. Such a Common Room should be adequately furnished and provided with facilities for reading, writing and music. It would, of course, not be complete without a cafeteria, and we suggest that the students be met as generously as possible in the matter of the times during which it will be open to them. As we previously pointed out, such an amenity would do away completely with the difficulties at present being encountered in the Women's Hostel, and furthermore, it will relieve the considerable congestion that exists in the Common Rooms of the Men's Hostels.

(c) *Sanatorium.*

It was brought home to us with considerable emphasis that there are times of sickness when great inconvenience and even danger are faced

on account of the fact that the College does not possess any hospital facilities of its own. We feel that a Sanatorium of, say, twelve beds, is an urgent necessity, the provision of which will have to be considered very soon. Such an amenity will necessarily mean the appointment of a nurse, and we feel that this will be an excellent opportunity for providing an African nurse with a career for which her training will admirably suit her.

(d) *Houses for Members of Staff.*

Strong representations were made to us in the matter of the provision on the campus of living accommodation for members of staff not already provided for, and we should like to support them very strongly. The needs of the unmarried as well as of the married members will have to be considered, and we are not competent to say whether they could best be met by a series of houses or a set of flats. But this we know, that suitable accommodation in Alice is not easy to come by, and, furthermore, a grouping of staff members on the campus will be most conducive to the healthy mingling of staff and students on an extra-mural basis that we spoke of earlier in this Report.

(e) *College Grounds.*

We realise that the soil roundabout the College is not rich in the properties that make for the easy growth of grass, plants and shrubs, or even trees, but we do feel that every attempt should be made to make the commanding and dignified site of the College as attractive and beautiful as possible. The Department of Botany and Agriculture would be able to give valuable advice and assistance in this connection, and the students themselves might be prevailed upon to undertake some of the labour by way of a contribution in kind towards their fees.

15. THE ADMINISTRATION

One of the features of the administration of the College that struck us most forcibly is the fact that the Principal takes a colossal amount of the work and the responsibility on his own shoulders. This could be attributed in a measure to the paternalism inherent in the traditions of the College, but also very largely to the genuine desire on the part of the Principal to be of the greatest possible assistance to the students, and of use to his colleagues. But the result of it is that he is far too accessible to the students, and is being overwhelmed by matters of detail (some of them amounting to the merest trivialities) that should never be allowed to engage his attention at all. It must impose an unbearable burden on

him, and make demands of a drastic nature on his time. In any case, it is not in keeping with the dignity of his station. It is not right that the Principal should be in the front line of action, with no screens to absorb the blows that should and could be met and disposed of at other levels; and with no "shock absorbers" to "cushion" those which in the ordinary course of events would ultimately fall to his lot to meet.

In a later section we indicate how we think the work of administration might be reorganised so that the Principal could be relieved of many of the multifarious duties he at present carries. Our suggestions include new appointments ranging from those of permanent Deans on the one hand to those of capable general staff of the nature of Porter and Caretaker on the other, among whom much of the routine work of the College could be distributed.

The very commendable desire to help the students has led to several features which not only place unnecessary burdens on the officers who have to attend to them, but also deprive the students of opportunities to exercise personal responsibilities which would be very good for them. To us it seems quite out of place, for example, that members of staff have to make train reservations for the students and look after their railway tickets for them. Nor does it seem to us to be an appropriate part of their function to assume the functions of a savings bank to handle the students' pocket money. Students who claim the rights and privileges of adults should take at least these minor responsibilities on their own shoulders. As far as their pocket money is concerned, they might be encouraged to use the savings bank facilities of the Post Office and, at the most, leave their bankbooks for safe keeping with their respective Wardens if they so desire. Another item that falls into this category is the practice of making small personal loans to students. This appears to us to be dangerous in principle; and, genuine and generous as the motive behind it is, we feel that it will be all to the good for the students' morale and self-discipline if they were to learn the niceties of elementary financial affairs right from these early beginnings.

While on the matter of finance, the suggestion was several times put to us that the class fees should be raised, the argument being that the students would show greater appreciation for what they are getting if they were required to bear a greater proportion of the cost. And this proportion was very low anyway. We should not like to support this suggestion at this stage, because we feel that, if any increase in the fees is to be made, it should be made in the portion allotted to the Dining Hall. We return to this point in a later paragraph.

But we do want to say here that the regulations relating to the paying of fees should be applied far more strictly. In the next section we have something to say about discipline in general, and we feel that the lessons in discipline could be used and inculcated to good effect in the matter of insisting upon the prompt payment of fees right from the start. The matter of application for readmission from year to year is bound up in a way with the question of fees, and it has been put to us that a student admitted to the first year of study for a degree would naturally expect to be allowed to go on automatically to the second and third years, assuming that he passes the required examinations at each stage and pays his fees. We suggest that this matter be looked into with a view to easing the anxiety that exists in the minds of students in this regard.

We were greatly impressed by the qualifications and efficiency of the administrative staff. In fact, we have no hesitation in saying that the College is better served in this respect than any educational institution of comparable size that we know. They not only possess the necessary knowledge and enthusiasm for their work, but are also imbued with a very commendable feeling for the students of the College—a feeling which we have emphasised in previous sections as being of paramount importance, and which will no doubt be borne in mind by Council in making even the most minor of its administrative appointments.

We commenced this section by drawing attention to the heavy load being carried by the Principal, and we should like here at its conclusion to suggest that this could be further lightened if he were to delegate certain of his duties and powers to the Registrar, Bursar and Librarian, leaving them, in all but exceptionally important matters, in complete charge of their departments.

16. DISCIPLINE

The Commission has heard a good deal of evidence on this subject and has had before it the most recent set of disciplinary rules, introduced less than two years ago.

The disciplinary authorities recognised by this Code are the Principal, the Senate, the Discipline Committee, the Wardens, and the Students' Representative Council.

The Discipline Committee is a Committee of Senate, consisting of the Principal as Chairman and two other members chosen annually by the Senate.

All proceedings of enquiries by the Discipline Committee must be reported to the next ordinary meeting of the Senate for its review and confirmation, or amendment of the punishment or order. At the request of the student concerned, the Senate shall within forty-eight hours review any proceedings before, or any punishment imposed by, any of the authorities of the College; and similarly at the student's request the Principal shall review any proceedings before, or any punishment imposed by, a Warden or the S.R.C. The Principal is also given (*vide* Para. 4(1) & (2)) a general right to act as a kind of court of first instance for all offences.

A perusal of these rules suggests at once two criticisms, both of which are confirmed by the evidence tendered to us, namely that the Principal is unduly occupied with all kinds of disciplinary cases, and that the time of the Senate is too much occupied in acting as a court of appeal or review. We feel very much the need to protect the Principal against this state of affairs. His value as a disciplinary officer is much impaired if he takes a personal part in considering all sorts of relatively minor cases, and it damages his prestige by putting him constantly in the front line of tension and difficulty. It is like a bad chess-player risking his queen when a pawn or knight would do as well.

The Senate is a large body, not specially equipped to act as a law court, and its valuable time should not be too much drawn away from its main function of supervising the academic activities of the College.

Whether it is due to this set-up or to other reasons, we gain the impression that discipline at Fort Hare is somewhat unpredictable. Sometimes an element of leniency or even softness comes in, then unexpectedly the authorities clamp down on the student body with almost too much severity.

We have also formed the impression that too much use is made of student tale-bearers, and feel that they should be discouraged, especially if they are reporting on fellow-students' political or other speeches. We know that student evidence may be absolutely essential in certain disciplinary cases. In such cases we feel that the accused should hear the evidence given against him and have a right to cross-examine witnesses, with due courtesy and subject to the control of the authority hearing the case. We gather that this is not always done.

In the "cold war" that has been going on between sections of the students and the College authorities, considerable ingenuity has been exercised by the former in boycotting functions and pursuing other irritating methods which are just within the letter of the law. Some means must be found of dealing with this.

Some of the rules are quite unenforceable, e.g. the rule that no student is permitted to be outside the College grounds after 8.0 p.m. except with the permission of his Warden. Such a rule could not be enforced unless the College appointed Proctors and their "bull-dogs" or some form of College police. The rule that no student may possess alcoholic liquor can also not be enforced except by continual searching of rooms. As the only penalty for a breach of this rule is suspension or expulsion, the contrast between the fate of the 1% who are found out and the 99%—equally guilty—who are not found out is terrifying. It is not that we undervalue the dangers of liquor. We realise that it can be a scourge and that the College authorities wish to protect the students against themselves. But rules which cannot be enforced at all, which can only be enforced by constant police measures, or which operate intermittently and unpredictably in such a way that mild sinners may be severely punished while inveterate offenders escape, are bad laws in any society.

Surveying the whole field of discipline, we feel that discipline at Fort Hare is not satisfactory; that there is a spirit of lawlessness and disrespect of authority abroad; that too much of the time of high authorities is occupied with disciplinary cases, yet that discipline is a little unpredictable, sometimes too lax, sometimes too severe.

What remedies can be found for this state of affairs?

It appears to us that many cases are at present being dealt with directly by the Principal which are not really cases of "discipline" in the sense that they involve any serious misdemeanour or contravention of the rules and regulations of the College. In the first place we should like to suggest that offences might be divided into three categories:

- (i) Those commonly met with in the field of the student's academic work, such as lack of diligence, poor attendance at lectures and laboratories and general neglect of studies. These could very appropriately be left to the Deans of Faculties to dispose of.
- (ii) Those committed in the field of administration, such as failure to pay fees or meriting the payment of a nominal fine. Such cases could be dealt with directly by the Registrar, the Bursar and the Librarian.
- (iii) Those which are essentially cases of "indiscipline" in the light of the meaning of the word "discipline" as defining the function of the Discipline Committee. Such offences, we take it, would amount to serious breaches of the "laws" of the College, and would include theft, drunkenness, immorality and dishonesty at

examinations. Such cases would come directly before the Discipline Committee.

Misdemeanours falling into the first two categories could, in our opinion, be dealt with as minor matters of routine, and we suggest that the Principal appropriately delegate his powers to the Deans of Faculties, the Registrar, the Bursar and the Librarian so that these officers can deal with them on his behalf. The Principal will naturally, as the officer who will bear the final responsibility *vis-a-vis* the Council, have the right to intervene in these cases should any situation arising from them demand it.

As to the offences falling into the third category, we suggest that rules which cannot be enforced or which are not really applicable to university conditions should be eliminated, and that the rules be few, simple, reasonable, enforceable and strictly enforced.

Expulsion should not be resorted to if other punishments can meet the case, but it should undoubtedly be the sanction for repeated law-breaking or deliberate defiance of the authorities. The laws governing Fort Hare should not be onerous, but the place must be under the rule of law, and respect for authorities must be insisted on.

By means such as these the number of disciplinary cases can, it is thought, be greatly reduced. As to the authorities enforcing them, we recommend that the Senate be completely relieved of its functions as a court of discipline, and that in cases of indiscipline the Principal should normally be brought in only in so far as he is a member of the Discipline Committee. (He could quite appropriately even be Chairman of this Committee.)

The Discipline Committee should consist of four members, and might consist of the Principal, *ex-officio*, one member elected by Council and two members elected by Senate. Any elected member should hold office for three years, and the three elected members should in the first instance hold office for three years, two years, and one year respectively, and all hereafter for three years, in order to obtain continuity and therefore greater consistency in disciplinary cases.

We feel that, although Council is the final authority in all matters of discipline, much of the general discipline of the College could be attended to in a scheme of delegation of functions such as we have indicated. The Discipline Committee will have extensive powers, but it will naturally be responsible to Council for the way in which it exercises them, and should, in any case, submit any recommendation for the expulsion of a student to Council for final approval before such a recommendation is carried out.

We desire, in conclusion, to refer to the problem of how to deal with requests made by the S.R.C. There is in existence a liaison Committee

between the S.R.C. and Senate. This Committee should in the first instance handle these matters with the S.R.C. Twice in each semester, if the situation appears to warrant it, assembly of students might be held in which a spokesman of the liaison Committee—not the Principal—should tell the students what has happened to the requests made by the S.R.C., and, if they have not been granted, the reasons for the refusal. The spokesman should not enter into arguments with the students, but should withdraw after his statement, though we see no objection to the students remaining to discuss matters with their S.R.C. The Principal should, of course, be free to convoke a Special Assembly at any time ; but our object in making these recommendations is to keep him in reserve for really important occasions, and not to put on him the burden of numerous disciplinary cases nor the odium of being the constant channel for announcing decisions where the Senate has been unable to agree with the requests of the S.R.C.

17. THE PRINCIPAL

During the sittings of the Commission, members were informed in confidence by the Principal of his intention to resign on the grounds of ill-health. The Commission wishes to place on record its conviction that Fort Hare will have to go a long way to find a Principal of greater integrity or deeper caring for the students than Professor Dent. He has never spared himself ; and those who know him will cherish for him, as we ourselves do, sentiments of deep affection and admiration. We cannot however disguise from ourselves the fact that after all that has happened and the tension resulting from it between many members of the student body and the Principal, the restoration of peaceful and normal conditions at Fort Hare would probably have imposed on Professor Dent a burden too heavy for even his courage and strength to bear.

Any new Principal will, if the Council approves the main tenor of this Report, begin a new era in the life of Fort Hare. He will not be as accessible to the students as Professor Dent has been, and will delegate most of the day-by-day administrative and routine duties ; for the College can no longer be conducted successfully on the paternal basis so natural in its earlier years.

We realise that the choice of a new Principal will be one of Council's most important tasks in the near future, and that much of the success or failure of the new methods and outlook which we recommend will depend

upon the right man being chosen. We would express the hope that whoever is chosen will be a man of high academic standing, known outside Fort Hare, and able to act as an effective liaison officer between it and the wider world. With the devolution of duties on the Administrative Staff and the Deans he should be able to inspire and direct the College without being burdened with too many routine duties. If—and it is a lot to ask of mortal man—he can combine with these gifts the patience, courage and kindness which have shone out of Professor Dent even during these last difficult years, Fort Hare will be fortunate indeed.

18. A NEW SET-UP IN ADMINISTRATION

We have drawn attention in previous sections to certain aspects of the general administration of the College in which we thought improvements could be made. We wish to group them together in one section and dwell on them and related matters in somewhat greater detail.

In section 15 we expressed the opinion that the excessive burden of administration carried by the Principal could be eased if some of it could devolve on the Deans of Faculties and the senior administrative officers. The Deans, for example, could take full responsibility for their faculties in matters such as the standard and content of the curricula of the various departments, the adequacy of class-room and laboratory accommodation, the suitability and supply of all the furniture and equipment connected with the teaching, and the needs of staff and students as far as the Library is concerned. They could also be called upon to exercise discipline of a domestic nature related to tutorial requirements, and to attend to the guiding and admission of students to courses when they enter the College.

In the section referred to above, we also indicated that the Registrar, the Bursar and the Librarian might well be allowed discretion to deal with all matters in their departments which do not really merit the attention of the Principal. For example, they should have authority to deal with matters of departmental discipline which are not important enough to be referred to the Discipline Committee, and allowed to take full responsibility for all routine affairs related to their work.

There are two items of finance which we should like to mention. We suggest that Council consider the inclusion of "caution money" in the composite fee for the first year of residence. This fee could be retained as a "security" against library losses and general breakages—and, if still intact at the end of a student's career, it will come as a very acceptable

refund. The other item is the practice of making loans to members of staff. We do not know of the existence of such a practice in any other institution of this nature, and regard it as highly undesirable and dangerous. It could easily lead to considerable embarrassment, and we feel that it should be eliminated.

In Section 15 we also put forward the suggestion of the appointment of College servants to assist in maintaining orderliness on the campus and at College functions by giving information and direction rather than by exercising any disciplinary authority, and in maintaining neatness in and outside the College premises by example as well as by precept. It would add to the dignity of the College and themselves if they could be attired in suitable uniforms.

19. EDUCATIONAL QUESTIONS : GENERAL

We turn now to the more purely educational aspects of the College's life. And here the policy of Fort Hare should be to seize every opportunity of fostering cultural life at the expense of concentration on examinations. With this in mind special efforts should be made to assist and encourage professors and lecturers in research activities, and to institute post-graduate classes wherever possible. Some of the scholarships at present available should be diverted to this if new scholarship endowments cannot be obtained. There are those who will question whether posts will become available for Honours graduates. We have no doubt that the statement " Good men will always create posts for themselves " is true, and we are convinced that the time has come for a general rise in the academic status of Africans, such as happened in earlier years at Fort Hare when the Bachelor's Degree replaced the Matriculation Certificate.

We were pleased to hear of the arrangements which had been made for Professor Dover Wilson to visit the College and deliver a course of lectures. We believe that it should be the policy of Fort Hare to encourage visits of this kind at least once a term, not just for a single lecture but for a course of lectures, covering a period during which the distinguished visitor can live the life of the College and get to know people and be known by them. These Lecture Courses should not for the present be on subjects which lend themselves to acrimonious political questioning or discussion. Visits of this type are valuable in assisting to create a general atmosphere of university life and in lessening the isolation of the College.

For it is important that Fort Hare should be linked up in every possible way with other university institutions, and that as many friendships as

possible should be formed with leaders of thought outside the College. In particular we would plead that Fort Hare do all in its power to encourage cooperation with Rhodes University with which it is especially affiliated. We deeply deplore the foolish action of the students in breaking off relations with Rhodes students. It was really a case of "cutting off your nose to spite your face." Students cannot be forced in these matters, but every effort should be done to replace this boycott with cooperation. Perhaps a beginning might be made by fostering meetings between students engaged in particular studies (e.g. the senior Zoology or Psychology students of each Institution).

The Staff have not, like the students, put Rhodes on the black list. None the less there does not appear to be the active cooperation that there should be. From evidence it would appear that there is some feeling in Fort Hare about its affiliated status. This is a pity. No better arrangement could have been made at the time, nor can one be made now, for the years of transition until Fort Hare has grown big enough to receive its own independent charter. If any teaching Department feels unduly bound we are sure that Rhodes would be willing to agree to equal but divergent syllabuses, as has been done already in the case of one or two subjects. The lack of contact may in some cases be the fault of Rhodes; there may be difficult personalities at either end; but in general we hope that Fort Hare will take the initiative and seize the opportunity of contacts with this near, closely-related and famous University, rather than allow an avoidable isolation to develop.

It is a platitude to suggest that care should be taken in the recruitment of staff, particularly of temporary staff, for the wrong man may do a great deal of harm even in six months.

It appears that there is a tendency to give the heads of Departments which have only a small number of students the status of Senior Lecturer rather than of Professor. This policy should be reconsidered, for a small Department may, from the point of view of research and of the general cultural life of the College, be very important.

We have given consideration to the question of the new directions in which Fort Hare could develop. Plato's twin foundations of music and gymnastic are dealt with in the two succeeding paragraphs. Two other Departments which should receive early encouragement are those of Law and Commerce. The institution of a Law Chair is long overdue and it is thought that the time is ripe for the introduction of Commerce at Fort Hare. These two activities would broaden the range of interest of the

students, and open the way to new professional opportunities at a time when openings in teaching may conceivably be somewhat diminished.

In this connection, while it is realised that the College could probably not afford to retain the services of a full-time Careers Guidance Officer at present, it might be possible for some interested staff member to undertake the work of putting students in touch with possible careers, and approaching employers outside to open up opportunities for non-European students.

Certain points were brought to our notice by witnesses, which seem to us to be matters for internal arrangement rather than for recommendations by the Commission. Among these were the alteration of the term dates to correspond with those of Rhodes, and the possibility, now that Assembly has been abolished, of beginning lectures at 8.0 a.m. daily and dispensing with Saturday morning lectures. We have not formed an opinion on these points but would commend them through Council to Senate for its consideration.

There are other points on which we feel more ready to express an opinion. One witness urged that more attention be paid to the June and November examination results, as at Rhodes, with a view to warning students who are persistently lazy or incapable; and, where necessary, withdrawing bursaries, or even withholding re-admission where there is no improvement after warning, so that classes do not carry too much "dead wood." We strongly endorse this suggestion. We feel also that such elements of the tutorial system as may be possible with the present small staff should be introduced, and testing or examination carefully watched to reduce the amount of mere memorizing done by students, and to encourage original thought.

We regret to find that drama at Fort Hare, if not dead, seems to be in a coma. We should much welcome any revival of the theatre (including miming and the use of puppets). It is the joy of self-expression which seems rather missing to us in the combination of good lectures, examinations and political agitation which make up the routine activities of Fort Hare. The aim of all good education is to release and enrich the life of men, and we hope that education at Fort Hare will be made more and more a living thing. That life can be communicated by lectures as well as in other ways if a live personality is giving them we do not doubt, but our desire is to see it flourish in every possible way among a people who have, after all, a noteworthy zest for living.

Members of staff in Science subjects were visited in their departments, and an inspection was made of their class-rooms and laboratories. A

visit was also paid to the library. We were particularly struck by the enthusiasm of all these capable people for their work, and could thus readily understand why the student-staff relationship in the class-rooms was so good. In all the departments we found that the equipment was admirable, and adequate for the requirements of the Bachelor's Degree Courses. In a few cases the demands of the Honours Courses were also being met, but in others considerable expenditure will have to be faced when post-graduate work is introduced—as we hope it will be.

Class-room and laboratory space is well planned and well furnished. It is also adequate except in the case of Botany, Zoology and Geography. We were informed that a new building had been planned to house the biological sciences. We should like to recommend that this building be given a very high priority in any building scheme that is being contemplated. It will not only relieve the considerable amount of congestion in the departments of Botany and Zoology, but also provide room for the proper housing of the department of Geography and facilitate the extension of post-graduate work in the other departments as well.

The library appeared to us to be somewhat on the small side, but it was neat, orderly and put to good use by the students. The shelves were being filled with additional books as finances from time to time would allow, and we were informed that their contents were at present adequate to meet the demands of the situation.

20. MUSIC

We feel that Music should play a far greater role than it does at Fort Hare. We were struck by the absence of choirs and of an orchestra. Music is an African gift, and students who come to Fort Hare carry with them a tradition of music from their High Schools. We do not forget C. S. Lewis' remark that there are three things not to be found in hell—music, silence and laughter—but that perpetual noise is to be heard instead. We should not like Fort Hare to conform too closely to this infernal pattern!

The best way of giving music its proper place in the College would be to establish a chair of music, with a view to teaching Music as a major subject for the B.A. Degree, the Professor appointed to be responsible for encouraging and supervising Church and orchestral work at Fort Hare. The first appointee should be selected with these considerations in mind. Later on the Department may perhaps expand into a Faculty and embark

on extensive research, but our immediate object in making this recommendation is to see Music become a living part of Fort Hare's daily life.

21. PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT

In the previous section we suggested that provision be made for the introduction of Music into the curricula and the activities of the College. The facilities for "general education" available to the students are already so limited at Fort Hare that we hope not only that this suggestion will be adopted, but also that Council will favourably consider the creation of a department of Physical Education under a head who would conduct courses in this subject in the appropriate Faculty or Faculties and who would be in charge of the amenities that go with it. These would include a Gymnasium to start with, and a Swimming Bath at a later stage. We are convinced that the release from mental tensions that healthy physical interests and activity will bring about will play a large part in restoring a calm and congenial atmosphere, besides, of course, contributing greatly to the bodily improvement and welfare of the students.

The equipment necessary for an appropriate Gymnasium and programme of sport will call for a considerable outlay, but we feel that this should be faced in view of the benefits that will obviously follow.

The sports-field will have to be extended and improved to come up to the desirable standard, and this circumstance might well provide an opportunity for the student body as a whole to lend practical support by contributing voluntary labour.

22. THE SENATE.

We have given some thought to the question of the composition of Senate, which varies in some respects from the pattern usually followed in South African Universities. Many of our Universities allow the senior lecturers and lecturers who are not members of Senate to elect two representatives to that body. We recommend that this procedure be followed at Fort Hare. It would have the advantage of placing probably at least one additional African representative on Senate. Whether a Lecturers' Association should be formed which might brief the lecturers' representatives and hear their reports as to matters which Senate has not declared to be confidential is a matter for the lecturers themselves.

We further note that the Boarding Master, the Bursar and the Librarian are associate members of Senate. This, we believe, is contrary to South African University practice. We feel that these officers should be called in, when required, to give factual information about their departments but should not be associate members. If it is felt that the withdrawal of associate membership would be felt as a hardship by those at present enjoying it, it may perhaps be continued to them in their personal capacity but not extended to their successors in office.

We presume that the Wardens are members of the Senate in their capacity as Theological Lecturers. We feel that in future any Warden (or Chaplain) who is not on the College's teaching staff should not be a member of Senate, though like the Boarding Master, the Bursar and the Librarian, he should be available when required to give the Senate information about his department of work.

We have been struck by the very tenuous functions of Deans of Faculties at Fort Hare, and that these posts rotate annually. On both points Fort Hare again differs from other South African Universities. In a previous paragraph we have recommended the devolution on to the Deans of certain functions here exercised by the Principal but in most Universities appertaining to the office of Dean. While Deanships are not permanent in other South African Universities, it is customary to confine them to fairly senior members of Staff, who, if willing to serve, are frequently re-elected, so that the knowledge which they acquire of University regulations and procedure is not wasted. We think Senate would be wise to follow this example. The office of Dean should be an important one and should not be treated as a mere honorary distinction available in turn to any and every Senate member.

Further we cannot see any justification for the application of the principle of rotation to the Senate representation on Council. Constant changes mean that Senate representatives are imperfectly acquainted with the background of Council business, and are to some extent, therefore, placed in an inferior position to other members of Council.

While it is not absolutely essential that the Fort Hare Senate should conform in detail to the general academic pattern of South Africa, we hope that it will do so, especially as there are strong arguments for the proposed changes on their own merits.

23. THE COUNCIL

It would be hardly seemly for this Commission, appointed by the Council, to report on the appointing body; but there are one or two points on which we should wish to offer, with due respect, observations and suggestions.

We were struck by the fact that the Council Executive which had to take decisions of vital importance in May last did not have a single African member on it. We feel that great care should be taken to secure adequate African representation on this important body.

In view of the critical times through which the College has been passing, the extensive programme of reforms recommended in this Report, and the advisability of members of Council being in a position to keep themselves fully acquainted with the changing situation, we raise the question whether the full Council should not meet more often than twice a year, which we are told is the usual practice at present.

Finally we think, especially in view of the recommendations which we have made about the Hostels in this Report, that Council would do well to appoint a permanent Hostels Committee to co-ordinate and supervise the work of the Hostels (including the Dining Hall) and to endeavour to carry out as rapidly as possible the necessary improvements in them.

24. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

(The numbers in brackets refer to Sections)

A. THE KEY TO THE REPORT

In general the Report aims at the elimination of the relics of the Missionary High School past surviving at Fort Hare and its transformation into a modern university institution. (3)

B. THE HOSTELS

Perhaps the most important single item in the Report is the recommendation that the Men's Hostels should be transferred to the College and be placed under College Wardens, the Churches appointing not Wardens but Chaplains who will not be asked to administer discipline (13). Specific recommendations are made as regards certain Wardens (12).

C. STAFF-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS AND DISCIPLINE

- (i) Fewer rules, and better enforcement of those that remain (5 and 16).

- i(ii) No toleration of disrespect or insubordination (5 and 16).
- (iii) Student requests not to be lightly refused : the attitude toward them to be ' Why not ? ' rather than ' Why ? ' (5).
- (iv) In general students not to be punished for mere speeches (5)
- (v) As far as possible students to be protected against intimidation by other students (7); Voting by ballot at S.R.C. and Mass Meetings (5).
- (vi) Except for legitimate claims in connection with ill-treatment or necessary giving of evidence in a straight-forward disciplinary case no encouragement to students to give information about other students (5 and 16).
- (vii) Modification of the new rule regarding the Women's Hostel (13).
- (viii) Contact between Staff and Students to be encouraged (6).
- (ix) Revision of the College's rules and eliminating those which are obsolete or unenforceable (16).
- (x) Elimination of the Senate as a disciplinary Court (16).
- (xi) Amendments to the Constitution of the Discipline Committee (16).
- (xii) Principal not normally to deal with minor cases of indiscipline (16).
- (xiii) New method of conveying to students Senate's decisions on requests made by the S.R.C. (16).

D. MATERIAL IMPROVEMENTS AND NEW BUILDINGS

- (i) Improvements at the Men's Dining Hall, even at the cost of raising fees. Members of staff to sit at " High Table " in the Dining Hall (14).
- (ii) A Students' Common Room-Cafeteria near the centre of the Campus, available for both men and women students (13).
- (iii) A new building for the Biological Sciences (19).
- (iv) A small Sanatorium for sick students, involving the employment of a full-time nurse (14).
- (v) Improvements in Staff Housing (14).
- (vi) Improvements to College grounds (14).
- (vii) Gymnasium, and possibly Swimming Bath (14 and 21).

(viii) Sports Pavilion (9).

Most of the above are urgently needed, but we feel that priority should be given to items (i), (ii) and (iii).

E. EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT

- (i) Encouragement of Post-graduate Courses (19).
- (ii) Visiting Professors (19).
- (iii) Better student cooperation with Rhodes University (19).
- (iv) Better staff cooperation with Rhodes University (19).
- (v) An attempt at Careers Guidance (19).
- (vi) More attention to June and November Examination results (19).
- (vii) Gradual Introduction of the Tutorial System (19).
- (viii) Encouragement of Drama (including Miming and Puppets) (19).
- (ix) Professorships for small Departments (19).
- (x) New Departments, e.g.
 - (a) Music (20).
 - (b) Physical Education (21).
 - (c) Law (19).
 - (d) Commerce (19).
- (xi) Cultural, Sporting and Social Activities (9).

NOTE : We have not placed these in order of priority, as this question should not arise if all the posts are given Ministerial approval.

F. RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE COLLEGE

- (i) Elimination of all elements of compulsion from religious services (10).
- (ii) An active programme of Christian work on a voluntary basis (10).

G. ADMINISTRATION

- (i) Students to look after their own railway bookings (15).
- (ii) Students to look after their own pocket money (15).
- (iii) Students not to be given personal loans (15).
- (iv) Stricter application of the rules relating to payment of fees (15).

- (v) Abrogation of the rule requiring students to re-apply for admission each year (15).
- (vi) " Caution money " to be required from students (18).
- (vii) The granting of fuller powers in their own Departments to the Registrar, the Bursar and the Librarian (17 & 18).
- (viii) Greater use of Deans in administration (17 & 18).
- (ix) Loans not to be made to Staff members (18).
- (x) The employment of uniformed College servants (18).

II. SENATE AND COUNCIL

- (i) Representation of Lecturers on Senate (22).
- (ii) Gradual elimination of non-teaching members of Senate (22).
- (iii) Deanships and other offices not to rotate annually (22).
- (iv) More African representation on Council Executive (23).
- (v) More frequent meetings of Council (23) .

I. MISCELLANEOUS

- (i) Opportunities for students to earn money towards their fees (6, 9, 14, 21).
- (ii) Informal discussions between College and leaders of political youth movements (7).

(Sgd.) J. P. DUMINY
Chairman

(Sgd.) M. C. BOTHA
Member

(Sgd.) EDGAR H. BROOKES
Member

DATE : 22nd August, 1955