

Trends in Socio – Political Attitudes and  
Perceptions of Urban African Students under  
the age of 25, in the Durban Area.

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CASS 17 • ALA

TRENDS IN SOCIO - POLITICAL ATTITUDES  
AND PERCEPTIONS OF URBAN AFRICAN STUDENTS  
UNDER THE AGE OF 25, IN THE DURBAN AREA.

Project submitted as part of the requirements  
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## CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1.
2. METHODOLOGY .....	5.
3. DISCUSSION	
SECTION ONE .....	8.
SECTION TWO .....	16.
4. CONCLUSION .....	19.
5. FOOTNOTES .....	21.
6. ANNEXURE A QUESTIONNAIRE .....	23.
7. ANNEXURE B POLITICAL PARTIES ...	31.
8. BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	40.

INTRODUCTION

"Under South African conditions the opinion poll does not reflect the authentic voice of the people".<sup>1</sup>

Socio-political research amongst Africans in South Africa is a minefield for the Sociologist. Rural areas are technologically undeveloped and this, together with the problem of illegal urban residence makes it almost impossible to obtain a scientifically adequate sample of the African population. Consequently, research is frequently carried out amongst urban African elite. \* Reasons for this maybe threefold: Firstly, the elite are usually legally more firmly established in the urban area which makes them both accessible to research and amenable to the researcher. Secondly, they tend to be better educated, making research easier. Thirdly, researcher and respondent, both being middle class, have similar aspirations and values.

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\* See for example:

1. Kuper, L. "An African Bourgeoisie". New Haven: (Yale University Press, 1965).
2. Unterhalter, B. "A content analysis of the essays of Black and White South African High School pupils". Race, volume 13, 1973, p. 311 - 329.
3. van den Berghe, P.L. "Race attitudes in Durban, South Africa". Journal of Social psychology volume 57, 1962, p. 55 - 72.
4. E.A. Brett and S.J. Morse, "A study of the attitudes of middle class Africans" in Morse and Orpen, Editors, Contemporary South Africa. (Juta and Company Ltd. 1975) p. 154 - 168.

In an attempt to get away from captive sampling, either through institutions or professional groupings, the Institute for Black Research undertook a random sample survey of responses to Soweto '76 in the Black residential areas around Durban. However, their research was skewed because a greater number of people refused to be interviewed than consented to do so. Their survey became biased towards "the youthful and less vulnerable sections of the population, the more educated, more politicized and the less impoverished".<sup>2</sup>

Research refusal amongst Africans is regarded by Brett and Morse as them being "naturally suspicious of probing interviewers (especially if they are white) and reluctant to discuss politics with strangers".<sup>3</sup> This however, was found not to be the case by the writer of this dissertation. Students, in general were very eager to respond to and participate in the study, in the hope that it would have a positive influence on the community. This made the researcher very aware of the academic nature of such a study. This was noted by one student, who when asked to comment on the questionnaire, wrote: "To me it is useless 'cause it is for your own good. You will obtain some marks with it but I will gain nothing". It is surely this sense of futility, coupled with the fear of reprisals, that engenders a high refusal rate in political research in South Africa. It is therefore imperative when sensitive issues are being researched that the interviewer protects the respondent, by not only stressing the confidential nature of the interview but by covering one's research tracks and undertaking the journalistic code of not divulging one's sources.

In an analysis of difficulties in social research in this country, Webster argues four relevant points:<sup>4</sup>

1. The allocation of funds seems biased towards non-controversial research topics.
2. "Research into controversial areas is made difficult by the hierarchical structure of society which leads the subordinate groups to structure their communication with the superordinate groups in such a way as not to antagonise them".
3. Controversial research, it is argued is controlled and made difficult by the Government's requirement of permits to study in Black areas. Uncertainty in reseach, increased by the fear of permit withdrawal, forces the "research worker to play it safe, either by selecting as politically neutral topics as possible, or by failing to push his interaction with the people or questioning as far as he should. This uncertainty also affects publication of results".
4. The research assistant is not immune to Government suppression in the form of bannings, detentions etc.

Furthermore, right wing attacks on the homes of prominent Sociologists like Fatima Meer and Jacklyn Cock illustrate the daunting hazards researchers must face in the field of inquiry in this country.

Over and above the numerous restrictions placed on social scientists, they must still follow research ethics. Well intended research may in fact, break into and expose African secrets of survival. The question of research ethics is highlighted in Jacklyn Cock's study of domestic workers

in the Zuurveld area. She did not study the problem of unregistered workers "because it could have been used to serve the interests of the officials who administer the influx control regulations".<sup>5</sup> The problem of research being used as a two edged sword is best illustrated in Nicolaus' warning: "Sociologists stand guard in the garrison and report to its masters on the movement of the occupied populace. The more adventurous sociologists don the disguise of the people and go out to mix with the peasants in the field, returning with books and articles that break the protective secrecy in which a subjugated population wraps itself, and make it more accessible to manipulation and control".<sup>6</sup>

## METHODOLOGY

### THE PILOT STUDY

A pilot study of social and political trends among urban African youth was conducted in August 1980. The purpose of the pilot was to test the suitability of snowball, non-probability sampling and to gauge the respondents' reaction to the questionnaire.

Feedback from the pilot study showed that snowball sampling was unsuitable. It was very slow, relying on respondents themselves to set-up subsequent interviews. Further, reliance on public transport and communication made it apparent that not only was it an ineffective method, but would also prove too costly as the respondents would have to be re-imbursed for time, effort and travelling expenses.

Although reaction to the questionnaire was in general good, it soon became apparent that non-students had difficulty in expressing themselves in open ended questions. This, together with the expense of a snowball sample, prompted the writer to conduct research amongst Form V students in educational institutions in and around the Durban area.

### RESEARCH PROCEDURE

In an attempt to alleviate the heavy sampling bias, it was decided to conduct interviews in a range of

educational centres, where it was hoped, a cross section of the population would be included.

The sample was drawn from educational centres in the following areas:

DURBAN CENTRAL	53
DURBAN AREA	36
OUTER DURBAN AREA	21
KWAMASHU	42
<hr/>	
TOTAL SAMPLE	152

Interviewing took place at educational centres and although research under these conditions is normally unsatisfactory, the students appeared to be relaxed as it was not a formal school day.

#### RESEARCH DIFFICULTIES

Research was carried out among 152 students over a three month period. English and Zulu questionnaires were provided. Although the Zulu questionnaires were referred to by many students to clarify points in the English questionnaire, only fifteen students actually completed a Zulu questionnaire.

The questionnaire (see Annexure A) consisted of fifteen questions, many of which required qualified answers. The last question required the respondent to comment on the questionnaire which in general elicited favourable comment. Nobody refused to participate in the study, but some students left questions unanswered. However there appears to be no discernible trend in unanswered questions.

Due to the sensitive nature of the topic under research\* respondents remained anonymous. Consequently their sex, background etc., cannot be used in analysis nor in determining the extent of bias. The researcher hoped to obtain a cross section of Form V students by the selection of government and private educational institutions. However, the sample remains essentially one of an urban African elite.

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\* See for example:

Sunday Tribune, 8th February 1981 page 7.  
(Five Natal men killed in raid on A.N.C. bases in Maputo: three from KwaMashu, one from Umlazi and one from Merebank).

DISCUSSIONSECTION ONE

"Attitudes are a process of individual consciousness which determines the real or possible activity of the individual in the social world".<sup>7</sup>

The questionnaire was so designed as to ask directly how and when social change in this country would take place. A control question on students' perceptions of change was included, in which they were asked whether or not Africans would be living in white areas like the Berea and Durban North, within the next ten years.

Results showed that students perceived change to occur within the next nine to ten years and 64.7% viewed the ultimate aim to be the establishment of a brotherhood of all people living in this country. However 65,0% of the students did not think Black and White would be living together. This is surprising X as the most voiced social complaint appeared to be the colour bar and its social limitations. It seemed so important to the respondents that 74% of those who said that they would leave this country, stated that they would do so in order to live in a country with equal rights and so escape the South African colour bar.

TRENDS IN SOCIO-POLITICAL GRIEVANCES

Research undertaken between 1920 and 1973 stress financial grievances amongst urban Africans, as the tables below illustrate:

JABAVU - 1920 (Incomplete listing) RANKING

Financial	1
Droughts	2
Political restrictions	3
Legal system	4
Housing	5
The chaotic condition of African education	10

QUOTSO - 1973 (Incomplete listing)

Insufficient money	1
Pass laws and police raids	5
Housing	9
No political unity of Blacks	12
Lack of education	13

\* AFSTUAT - 1981

Inequality of opportunities	1
Parents work too hard and too many hours for too little money	2
No political participation	3
Unemployment	4
Not enough money	5
Residence	6
Pass laws and police raids	7
Legal system	8

\* This survey

The latest study indicates that money is not a central issue amongst urban African students. It would be an inadequate explanation to see this in the light of the fact that students have not entered the labour market. Pass laws and the legal system were ranked lower than in previous studies;<sup>a</sup> in fact, the last four categories were barely rated at all. Inequality in society, as perhaps represented in their parents working conditions, is seen to be most important and is also the central issue of the school boycotts. This trend is confirmed by looking at two other studies taken before 1976 and comparing them to Afstuat 1981. A growing awareness that the South African Government violates the 17 Articles of the Human Rights Declaration has seen a sharp rise in Human Rights since 1963.<sup>b</sup>

<u>BRETT AND MORSE - 1963 (Incomplete listing)</u>	<u>RANKING</u>
Education (not Bantu education)	1
x Security	2
Material benefits	3
Health and happiness	4
Comfort	5
Freedom	6
Human rights	7
A home	8

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\*a See: Henry Lever, "South African Society", page 186.

\*b Human Rights, as stated in the A.N.C. Freedom Charter incorporates the right to education, free speech and the abolishment of Pass Laws.

EDELSTEIN - 1972 (Incomplete listing)RANKING

Inadequate political rights	1
Influx control	2
Inadequate income	3
Inadequate educational facilities	4
Inadequate opportunities for employment	5
Inadequate accommodation	6
Restricted mobility within South Africa	7
Inadequate opportunities for occupational training	8

\* AFSTUAT - 1981

Human Rights	1
Equal education with Whites	2
Education for an African future	3
Health and happiness	4
Material benefits	5
Security	6
To own your own home	7

Surveys conducted since 1920 reveal that education has been a central social issue. Separate education has meant unequal education and this is confirmed by statements made by the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Henrik F. Verwoed, who said:

"The Bantu must be guided to serve his own - community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour"<sup>8</sup>.

Vast disparities in state expenditure on Black and White education, result in inadequate educational facilities, shortage of teachers and severe financial

\* This survey  
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A. 129 B.

hardships for the parents of Black school children. The realisation that "an education for ignorance and for inferiority in Verwoed's schools is worse than no education at all",<sup>9</sup> prompted the A.N.C. National Executive Committee in 1955 to call a week long school boycott. The A.N.C. campaign failed dismally. It was poorly planned and a lack of communication from the National Executive Committee to provincial and branch levels, lead to confusion and scattered boycotting through out the year. Although united against Bantu education, mass protest action was unorganised and unsuccessful. A period of political calm followed the aftermath of Sharpeville, which was broken by the demands of Black students for equal education. The movement had expanded to include all those subjected to second class education. Black consciousness philosophy had brought about a mental revolution which developed into Soweto '76.

According to Modisa Metsing, National General Secretary of the Congress of South African Students, the educational demands in 1980 are for a "dynamic non racial education. We don't want to be White Black men. We want education that will bring us together".<sup>10</sup> Underlying this statement is the awareness that education in South Africa is not neutral. Black education fulfils a vital socio-economic and political role in the development of the White sector and therefore non-racial education cannot and will not mean equal education and equal opportunity. Equality in education cannot be attained until equality has been won in the society as a whole.

Afstuat's study however, shows that equal education with whites was perceived to be more important than the Black Consciousness philosophy of an education for an African future. A tentative conclusion maybe drawn from this:

either Cosas is out of touch with the students, who do not want a different education to whites in the fear that it would be another disguise for Bantu education or else, Cosas' ideals are not widely disseminated amongst students in the Durban area. The survey is unable to reach any conclusion, as it did not investigate the influence of Cosas amongst students.

#### TRENDS IN BLACK / WHITE RELATIONS

Perhaps one of the best gauges of the political climate in South Africa is to determine how Black/White relations are rated. Seven surveys have been undertaken over the past nineteen years. The table below shows tense Black White relations especially after Sharpeville and Soweto '76, with a slight leveling out in 1981.

VIEW	*1962	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1981	
Improving	6,7	32,0	13,0	10,0	11,0	8,0	22,7	
Remains the same	12,3	39,0	74,0	77,0	24,0	23,0	27,7	
Getting worse	81,0	26,0	9,0	13,0	65,0	69,0	24,1	} 49,6
Irreconcilable	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	25,5	

\*Studies were undertaken by:

1962 - van den Berghe  
 1973 and 1975 - Quotso  
 1974, 1976 and 1977 - Markinor  
 1981 - Afstuat

Social grievances, as articulated in pass laws and low wages precipitated the "sustained, disciplined non violent campaign" of 21 March 1960. The results of which are well known. Van den Berghe's study was undertaken shortly after Sharpeville and "African optimism was based on the belief that the restrictive policy of the Nationalist Government would precipitate the struggle for liberation".<sup>11</sup>

Sharpeville did mark the turning point in Black resistance. The sabotage campaign that followed, was in the short term, unsuccessful, as it had the effect of incurring severe government retaliation. The Sabotage Act of 1962 effectively silenced key individuals, newspapers and organisations opposed to the Government. Within a decade, South Africa built herself up into an economically and militarily powerful police state, which is intolerant of Black political opposition.

It is argued however, that Umkhonto We Sizwe saved and rebuilt the strength of the A.N.C. by raising the psychological level of the people. The Rivonia trial showed the world that Nelson Rolinlahla Mandela, together with the other members of the underground movement were willing to die in their attempts to create a democratic society in South Africa. Nelson Mandela, as leader of Umkhonto We Sizwe, has become the personification of the Black man's fight against apartheid.

In the Afstuat study, of those who thought Black White relations were getting worse or even irreconcilable, 68% said that there had been no change in P.W. Botha's policies. Whites, they maintain will never negotiate

with Blacks. Government intolerance to Black opposition is captured in statements like: "If you have been found to be against the Whites, there is no other sentence than death". "There are some Blacks who make suggestion (sic) that differ from Whites, where are they now, Robben Island, where Mandela is". In addition, they argue that their political parties have been abolished, leaving them with no legal representation for negotiation. In this tense political climate, Black leaders that are able to articulate the grievances of the masses achieve meteoric political success.

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SECTION TWOSTUDENTS' ATTITUDES TO BOYCOTTS AND LEADERSHIP

"We have a powerful ideology capable of capturing the imagination of the masses. Our duty is now to carry that ideology fully to the masses".<sup>12</sup>

NELSON MANDELA

In question 10, students were given a list of eleven leaders and were asked to rate them on a scale from 0 to 10. The leaders represented Inkatha, the Homelands, the South African Council of Churches, Black Consciousness, the Pan-African Congress and the African National Congress\*.

The table below shows how the top three leaders were rated:

	0 - 5	6 - 9	10/10
1. Nelson Mandela	10	16	95
2. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi	57	32	36
3. Bishop Desmond Tutu	34	44	24

A.N.C. ideology filtered throughout Afstuat's responses and Mandela's popularity is as expected, very high. Mandela has become the symbol of the will of the people and the A.N.C., in its struggle for Democratic rights in this country, has become an expression of that unity.

It became obvious from Afstuat's study that students' attitude towards internal leaders had to be analysed

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\* See Annexure B.

in the light of the school boycotts. In the open ended section on leadership, KwaMashu students rated student leaders from Soweto '76 and the KwaMashu school boycotts very high. Tutu with his high middle rating came out in full support of the student boycotts while Buthelezi who strongly denounced them, received a very high 0 - 5 rating, which only compared with the given Homeland leaders.

Tutu can be seen as an internal leader who is able to "vocalise the feelings of the Black people and open the way for dialogue about the real issues that concern them",<sup>13</sup> said the President of the Methodist Church of South Africa. Last year he spoke at numerous student meetings around the country. At a meeting on Natal University Campus, he told students that "there was a great deal of student power to be tapped. It is your future you are creating".<sup>14</sup> When commenting on the '76 and '80 school boycotts, he said that in both cases "the real protest is against the total apartheid system of injustice, oppression and exploitation".<sup>15</sup> Tutu's popularity stems from his total support of student protest and his ability to voice and attempt to negotiate, as a humanitarian, with the Government. He is quoted as saying that they went to meet the Prime Minister as church leaders and not as politicians. "There is no way that the Government can try and substitute us for the real leaders of Blacks, for these are either detained, in prison, banned or in exile".<sup>16</sup>

Buthelezi attacked the school boycotts with as much fervour as Tutu supported them. Buthelezi said

that there was no prospect of "the pupils of our schools achieving that which has defied the Black population for decades".<sup>17</sup>

There is a correlation between Buthelezi's rating and the students' views on boycotts. His support in KwaMashu is very low, nearly 70% of the students gave him a 0 - 5 rating. KwaMashu was the first and only area in which the African schools' boycott grew despite the state and Inkatha's attempts to control it. Although Inkatha claims to represent the youth, workers and middle class interests, it came out strongly against the boycotters. Parents claimed that there were no agitators behind the boycott and that students were demonstrating legitimate grievances. However, Inkatha impis overrode these claims, and took it upon themselves to police the area which led to open confrontation between Inkatha and boycott supporters. Further, Inkatha failed to publically listen to, or come to terms with, student grievances. Consequently under pressure from both Inkatha and the state, students returned to school.

Buthelezi has been criticised for not taking part in the boycotts and for actively preventing them in Natal schools. However, he still appears to have a strong power base with Zulu students. But 51,2% of the students felt that he is not remedying their most urgent social grievance, which is social inequality.

CONCLUSION

The most striking feature of the apartheid generation is the energy and determination they have shown in rejecting government policy. They see apartheid as the most serious limitation to Black unity. When asked if ethnic differences would increase or decrease in a future African government, over 70% said that they would get better and blamed apartheid for the existing differences in South Africa. The re-occurring theme throughout the study is the need for Black unity of action.

The study taken six months after the Kwamashu schools' boycott, includes students who actively participated in the campaign. Although unable to determine the percentage of active student involvement in the sample, it was possible to compare student attitudes through educational institutions. Students from a centre that was not directly involved, viewed the boycotts as unsuccessful. While Kwamashu students saw the boycotts as successful and said that they would have been very successful if all Blacks had joined the campaign.

Whereas students in 1976/77 viewed mass action as a decisive form of protest, student leaders in 1980 realised that boycotts are a limited tactic. Students realise that they pose no real threat to the system, but as a force are able to show a united front against social injustice. They therefore stress the need for Black unity in the drive towards social change.

From Afstuat's study it is evident that the students interviewed were influenced by A.N.C. philosophy especially in their view of social change. There was a surprising lack of Black Consciousness support, which is reflected by the low ranking of their leaders. Dr. N. Motlana received only 56.5% of the students' votes. The A.N.C.'s cry of national brotherhood, is seen to be the ultimate aim of 64.7% of the respondents. Whites however are seen to be the limiting factor, as 49.3% felt that they would not share power equally and peacefully in a multi-racial society.

On the question of social change 57.03% believed that it would come about through negotiation, while 21.5% felt that violence, such as sabotage, or a revolution would have to take place. This tends to support the Institute for Black Research's findings, in which Africans stated that the most effective means of change would be through direct negotiation with the Prime Minister, while the most likely would be through internal violence.

In conclusion, reference must be made to Edward Roux's prediction of South Africa's future. He argues that if internal pressure for change grows and if external pressure continues as it has in the past, then change will be inevitable. Students are aware that worker power and not school unrest is likely to change government policy. However, students in this study view boycotts as a means to show a united front against social injustice as it manifests itself in the educational system. Whatever the pros and cons, students are, and want to be seen as, an internal pressure group calling for social change.

FOOTNOTESINTRODUCTION

1. Race and Class, volume 19, page 428.
2. R. Timol and T. Mazimbuko, "Soweto a peoples' response". (Institute for Black Research 1978), page 6.
3. E.A. Brett and S.J. Morse, "A study of the attitudes of middle class Africans", in S.J. Morse and C. Orpen, Editors, "Contemporary South Africa". (Juta and Company Limited 1975) page 154.
4. E. Webster, "Servants of Apartheid?" A survey of social research into industry in South Africa in Africa Perspective number 14, Summer 1980, pages 18 - 20.
5. Jacklyn Cock, "Maids and Madams". (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1980), page 23.
6. Ibid

DISCUSSIONSECTION ONE

7. W.I. Thomas, quoted in E.S. Bogardus, "The development of social thought". (Longmans Green and Company, New York, 1960), page 541.
8. T. Karis, G.M. Carter and G.M. Gerhart, "From protest to challenge. Documents of African Politics in South Africa", volume 3. (Hoover Institution Press, California, 1977), page 29.
9. Ibid, page 35
10. SASPU National. (The South African Students' Press Union, number 3, 1980) page 4.

11. Henry Lever, "South African Society".  
(Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1978), page 205.

## SECTION TWO

12. Mandela's Presidential address to the Youth League in African Logestar, December 1951. Published in T. Karis, G.M. Carter and G.M. Gerhart. op.cit, page 93
13. The Natal Witness dated 6 March 1980.
14. The Daily News dated 9 September 1980.
15. The Sunday Tribune dated 1 June 1980.
16. The Sunday Times dated 18 July 1980.
17. The Natal Mercury dated 19 May 1980.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

1.

23.  
WHAT IS YOUR OCCUPATION / WORK?  
.....

PLEASE TICK YOUR ANSWER (✓)

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What do you think is most important?

- a) Security
- b) Material benefits
- c) Health and happiness
- d) An equal education with Whites
- e) To own your home.
- f) An education for an African future which would emphasise Africa's heritage and would equip students with skills necessary for a developing country.
- g) Human Rights

2. Which of the following makes you most, 2nd most and 3rd most angry and frustrated? (ie. tick 3)

- a) Inequality of opportunities in education, work etc.
  - b) Residence ie. the standard of your house, living quarters etc.
  - c) Not enough money for entertainment and material goods eg. motorcar, radio, books etc.
  - d) Unemployment
  - e) No political participation ie. Blacks have no political voice in the government.
  - f) Pass Laws and police raids.
  - g) Parents work too hard and too many hours for too little money.
  - h) The Legal System ie. laws and prosecution.
  - i) Other reasons, which are .....
- .....
- .....

3. How would you rate present Black / White relations?

- a) IMPROVING
- b) STABLE ie. remaining the same
- c) GETTING WORSE
- d) IRRECONCILABLE ie. Black and White political opinions are poles apart.

WHY? .....

.....

.....

.....

- 4. Do you think Boycotts work to bring about change or not?
  - a) YES, they work
  - b) NO, they do not work
  - c) OTHER .....
  
- 5. Do you feel that the present school boycotts are :
  - a) NOT SUCCESSFUL
    - ie. will not improve the situation in the long run.
  - b) SUCCESSFUL
    - ie. will gain some improvement in education etc.
  - c) VERY SUCCESSFUL
    - ie. will achieve goal / aim, for equal education etc.
  
- 6. Do you feel that Franchise (the vote) should be :
  - a) UNIVERSAL - One man, one vote.
  - b) QUALIFIED - By education ie. those with Standard 8 and above.
  - c) QUALIFIED - By income and property ie. those who earn R150 per month and /or those who own property.
  
- 7. Do you think that Africans will be living on the Berea / Durban North ie. in 'White Areas' in the next 10 years?
  - a) YES
  - b) NO
  - c) OTHER COMMENTS .....
  
- 8. Do you think that Whites, with their past political history would share power equally and peacefully in a changed / multiracial Government or not?
  - a) YES, WOULD SHARE
  - b) NO, WOULD NOT SHARE

If YES, do you think that all people in this country can live in brotherhood - enjoying equal rights and opportunities?

YES  
NO

If NO, do you think minority groups ie. Indians, Coloureds and Whites should be expelled from the country?

YES  
NO

9. What do you feel to be the ultimate goal / aim in this country?

- a) A formation of a United States of Africa, ie. a unity of all African countries.
- b) A brotherhood of all people living in this country ie. a brotherhood which extends across colour.
- c) Keep the present homeland policy.
- d) A united African government which tolerates Whites, Indians and Coloureds.
- e) An all African government which expels minority groups.
- f) Other .....

10. If 10 out of 10 means a leader is the most ideal and truly a national leader, and 0 out of 10 means that such a person is not a true leader at all, what score out of 10 would you give to each of the following :

- a) Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima ..... out of 10.
- b) Chief Gatsha Buthelezi ..... out of 10.
- c) Chief Sebe ..... out of 10.
- d) Bishop Desmond Tutu ..... out of 10.
- e) Doctor Nthato Motlana ..... out of 10.
- f) Letsatsi Mosala ..... out of 10.
- g) Ishmael Mkhabela ..... out of 10.
- h) Nelson Mandela ..... out of 10.
- i) Potlako Leballo ..... out of 10.
- j) Vus Make ..... out of 10.
- k) Curtis Nkondo ..... out of 10.
- l) Other, such as ..... out of 10.

11. Do you believe that political differences and tensions between Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho etc, would increase or decrease in a future African Government?

WOULD INCREASE ie. get worse  
 WOULD DECREASE ie. get better

COMMENT .....

.....

.....

12. How, in your view, will change in this country take place?
- a) EXTERNAL PRESSURE - economic boycotts, world pressure etc.
  - b) PASSIVE RESISTANCE - peaceful demonstrations etc.
  - c) NEGOTIATION
  - d) NON CO-OPERATION - work stay aways, boycotts etc.
  - e) SABOTAGE / GUERRILLA WARFARE / TERRORISM
  - f) REVOLUTION

13. When will change, as discussed in question 12 above, take place in this country?
- a) 1980 - 1985
  - b) 1985 - 1990
  - c) 1990 - 2000
  - d) 2000 +

ie. when .....

14. If you could, would you leave this country or not?
- a) YES, would leave
  - b) NO, would not leave

If Yes, would leave, which country would you like to live in?

.....  
 .....

WHY?

.....  
 .....

15. Do you think that there will be Whites who will join Blacks in order to bring about change, through violent means?

YES

NO

WHY? .....

.....  
 .....

16. Please comment on this Questionnaire.

.....  
 .....

THANK YOU

1. NGICELA UKHOMBISA NGALOKHU (✓) EDUZE KOVUMELANA NAKU

I M I B U Z U

1. Yikuphi okubalulekile kakhulu kulokhu?

- a) Isiqimseko
- b) Inzuzo ebonakalayo
- c) Impilo nenjabulo
- d) Imfundo elinganayo neyabamhlophe
- e) Ukufuya ikhaya lakho
- f) Imfundo yekusasa losundu engagcizelela isiqiniseko sobuntu bomuntu onsundu enganika abafundi ubuchwepheshe bezwe elithuthukayo.
- g) Amalungelo obuntu

2. Yikuphi kokulandelayo okungakwenza uthukuthele kakhulu, kakhulwana noma kakhulu kakhulu?

- a) Ukungalingani kwamalungelo emfundo, omsebenzi nokunye.
- b) Indawo yokhulala - ukuthi indlu yakho injani ikuliphi ibanga.
- c) Ukungabi nemali eyanele yokuzijabulisa, nokuthenga izinto ezibonakalayo njengemoto, iwayilenze izincwadi nokunye.
- d) Ukungasebenzi
- e) Ngabi nazwi kwezobupolitiki - abomdabu abanazwi kuhulumeni.
- f) Imithetho zamabasi nokungenelwa amapoyisa.
- g) Abazali basebenza kanzima amahora amaningi bathole imali encane.
- h) Ezemthetho - inithethe yokujeziswa.
- i) Ezinye izizathu ezi .....
- .....
- .....

3. Ububona buyani ubudlelwane phakathi kwabomdabu anabamhlophe?

- a) Bubangcono
- b) Bufana nokuqala (abushintshanga)
- c) Bubabubi kakhulu
- d) Abuhlangani nje nempela, okusho ukuthi indlela abacabanga ngayo ngezobupolitiki ihlukene kakhulu.

4. Ucabanga ukuthi iziteleka yizona zindlela ezisebenzayo ukuletha inguquqo noma cha?
- Ziyasebenza
  - Azisebenzi
  - Okunye .....
5. Ucabanga ukuthi iziteleka zamanje zi :
- Aziphumelelanga - ngeke zilungise lutho
  - Ziphumelele - ziyokwenza ubungcono emfundweni nokunye
  - Zimphumelele impela - ziyoba nomphumela wemfundo elinganayo nokunye
6. Ucabanga ukuthi uvoto kufuneka lube :
- Uvoto olungabandlului (wonke umuntu uvumelekile)  
'One man one vote'
  - Olugcizeleliswe - ngemfundo okusho ukuthi labo abano standard  
8 nangaphezulu.
  - Olugcizeleliswe - inzuzo engenayo / yimpahla okusho ukuthi  
labo abahola u R150 ngenyanga / noma abenempahla.
7. Ucabanga ukuthi abondabu bobebahlala eBerea / Durban North okusho ukuthi ezindaweni zabamplophe eminyakeni eyishumi ezayo?
- Yebo
  - Cha
  - Okunye .....
8. Ucabanga ukuthi abamplophe nomlando wabo kwezobupolitika bangaphathisana kwezombuso noxolo kuhulumeni oshintshile wezinhlanga zonke?
- Yebo - bayophathisana
  - Cha - ngeke baphathisane

Uma uvuma ucabanga ukuthi bonke abantu kulelizwe bangahlala njengomndeni - besasela ezombuso namalungelo ngokulinganayo?

Yebo

cha

Uma uphika ucabanga ukuthi izixuku ezincane njenga mdNdiya amaKhaladi nabelungu kufuneka baxoshwe kulelizwe?

Yebo

Cha

9. Ucabanga ukuthi yini umphumela / inhloso kulelizwe?

- a) Ukusungulwa kwamaqembu ahlange ase Afrika okusho ukuthi ukuhlange kwamaAfrika.
- b) Ukwakheka kobuhlobo bazo zonke izinhlanga
- c) Ukubamba inqubo zabansundu endaweni enqunyelwe abansundu (bomdabu)
- d) Uhulumeni ohlangene wabansundu obekezelela abamhlophe, AmaNdiya namakhaladi.
- e) Uhulumeni wabomdabu oxosha zonke izixuku ezincane (ezinye izizwe)
- f) Okunye .....

10. Uma imihlomelo eyishumi kweyishumi isho ukuthi umholi ngumholi oneqiniso nowezwe jikelele kodwa okungeko (0) eshumini kusho ukuthi umuntu akayena umholi weqiniso yimihlonelo emingaki kweyishumi ongayinika laba abalandelayo :

- a) Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima ..... out of 10
- b) Chief Gatsha Buthelezi ..... out of 10
- c) Chief Sebe ..... out of 10
- d) Bishop Desmond Tutu ..... out of 10
- e) Doctor Nthato Motlana ..... out of 10
- f) Letsatsi Mosala ..... out of 10
- g) Ishmael Mkhabela ..... out of 10
- h) Nelson Mandela ..... out of 10
- i) Potlako Leballo ..... out of 10
- j) Vus Make ..... out of 10
- k) Curtis Nkondo ..... out of 10
- l) Abanye, ..... out of 10

11. Ucabanga ukuthi ukungafani kwezokupolitika nokungezwani phakathi kwamaXhosa, AmaZulu, aBesuthi nabanye kokhuphuka noma kokwehla kuhulumeni wakusasa Omnyama wase Afrika?

Kuyokhuphuka  
 Kuyokwehla  
 Chaza ngamafushane .....

.....

.....

12. Ngokubona kwakho, inguquko kulelizwe yofika kanjani?

- a) Ngomfutho wangaphandle
- b) Ngokuqiniseka
- c) Ngokubonisane
- d) Ngokuphambana kwemibono
- e) Ngokubulala izakhiwo / ngokulwa isinyenyela / ngokuphekula
- f) Ngenguquko yesihluku

13. Uma ucabanga, inguquko okukhulunywa ngayo kumbuzo 12 yofika nini kulelizwe?

- a) 1980 - 1985
- b) 1985 - 1990
- c) 1990 - 2000
- d) 200 +

Okusho ukuthi, nini .....

14. Uma ungase ubenako, ungalishiya lelizwe nona cha?

- a) Ngingalishiya
- b) Ngeke ngilishiye

Uma ungalishiya, yiliphi izwe ongathanda ukuhlala kulo?

.....  
.....

NGOBANI?

.....  
.....  
.....

15. Ucabanga bakhona kwabamhlophe abangasizana nabamnyama ekuletheni inguquko ngokusebenzisa amandla noma cha?

- a) Yebo
- b) Cha

NGOBANI?

.....  
.....

16. Ngicela uchaze ngamafuphi mayelana nalembuzo.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

NOTES ON THE POLITICAL PARTIES  
MENTIONED IN THIS DISSERTATION.

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CASS/17-ALD

INKATHA YENKULUEKO YESIZWE

(National Cultural Liberation Movement)

Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe was launched in March 1975 by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu. Originally an exclusively Zulu organisation, its membership has since been opened to other groups, but remains predominately Zulu. Although Inkatha has an active political wing, Chief Buthelezi has emphasised that it is not in itself a political movement, but is concerned with the overall liberation of Black South Africans from cultural, educational, economic and political inferiority. Its aims are contained in an 18 point Statement of Beliefs, which include the following:

- \* We believe that respect for individuals is synonymous with progress towards a politically stable society;
- \* We believe that political rights of all national groups should be protected;
- \* We believe in individual equality before the law.

Chief Buthelezi has described his goal as the creation of a non-racial society by non-violent means with a "common society" constitution agreed by all racial groups. Inkatha pursues a policy of participation in government-created political institutions in order to thwart apartheid objectives.

Inkatha rejects disinvestment by foreign investors as a means of applying pressure to the South African Government. Although their strategies differ, Inkatha sees its basic aims as identical with those of groups fighting for liberation from bases outside South Africa and has called for unity among all the country's Black nationalist movements.

PRESIDENT : Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of South African Black Alliance.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT /DR. NTHATO MOTLANA

In the late 1960's a new "Black awareness" began to emerge, leading to the formation of a number of organisations. The two most important of these were the South African Students' Organisation, SASO, which started in July 1969 and Black People's Convention, BPC established in 1972.

The Movement defines Black Consciousness as implying awareness by the Black people of the power which they wield both economically and politically.

SASO emphasised the need for Black people to liberate themselves from psychological oppression. BPC began a campaign for the withdrawal of foreign business interests in South Africa. SASO rejected the homelands as "extensions of the oppressive system" and opposed the Bantu education system. Although the Black Consciousness Movement claimed responsibility for unrest in African areas during 1976/77, the student demonstrations which began in Soweto in June 1976 and later spread to other centres, sprang from a spontaneous reaction to a government ruling on the use of Afrikaans as a teaching medium in African Schools.

After the death of Steve Biko and the bannings of Black Consciousness organisations and leaders, Dr. Harrison Nthato Motlana, Chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, emerged as a leader of internal opposition to the Government. He has described his "ideal South Africa" in terms similar to the aims of the B.P.C. and has advocated both internal and

B.C. (continued) / Dr. Nthato Motlana

external pressure on the government, since in his view the South African National Party would "never voluntarily institute meaningful change leading to majority rule". He has taken part in unity talks with Chief Buthelezi, but these were broken off in 1979 because of the latter's participation in the existing system.

LEADERSHIP

The Black Consciousness Movement has since 1977, gradually built up its organisation with an external director - Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu - based in Gaborone, Botswana.

SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

In a meeting with the Prime Minister in July last year, church leaders asked for:

- \* A common citizenship for all South Africans.
- \* Abolishment of pass laws and other discriminatory laws.
- \* An end to resettlement policies.
- \* A uniform education for all population groups in the country. <sup>+</sup>

SPOKESMAN :

Bishop Desmond Tutu.

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<sup>+</sup>Sunday Times dated 18 July 1980.

AZANIA PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (AZAPO)

Formed in April 1978, AZAPO has aimed to incorporate Black Consciousness groups such as SASO and the BPC. It rejects the government's education and Homeland policies.

AZAPO's aims are:

- \* to mobilise Black workers through the philosophy of Black Consciousness to strive for their legitimate rights;
- \* to work towards the establishment of an educational system that will respond creatively towards the needs of Azanians;
- \* to promote an interpretation of religion as a liberating philosophy relevant to the Black struggle;
- \* to promote research into various problems affecting the people;
- \* to expose the oppressive exploitative system in which the Black people are denied basic human rights;
- \* to work towards the unity of the oppressed, for the just distribution of wealth and power to all people.

The Rand Daily Mail of 27 January 1981, sets out Azapo's six conditions for attending any National convention, these are :

- \* The transferring of power in the land to the indigenous owners of it.
- \* All political prisoners should be freed, the banned unbanned, the banished unbanished and an anemesty granted to the exiles which would be a de facto recognition of the authentic leaders of Azania.

AZAPO (Continued)

- \* Structural violence in the form of influx control, migratory labour and forced resettlement and other related matters should come to an end.
- \* The historical political organisations such as the A.N.C., P.A.C. and B.P.C. should be party to the talks.
- \* The attack on our brothers on the border should come to an end for we believe the people who have resorted to the armed struggle have done so because of frustration that their protests and complaints have fallen on deaf ears.
- \* There can be no negotiation between non-equals.

PRESIDENT :

Ishmael Mkhabela (banned)  
Curtis Nkondo, also  
Chairman of the Soweto  
Teachers' Action Committee.

NATIONAL ORGANISER :

Letsatsi Mosala

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)

The African National Congress, the oldest African movement and one of the longest established South African political organisations, was founded by Pixley Seme in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress. In its early days the A.N.C. was an elitist group of educated professionals and tribal chiefs. In 1940 attempts were made under its then President-General Dr. A.B. Xuma to turn the A.N.C. into a mass movement and an A.N.C. Youth League was set up at Fort Hare in 1944. Up until 1945 the A.N.C. had mainly been concerned with opposing discriminatory measures, but it adopted the Action Programme proposed by the Youth League. Along with other opposition groups, the A.N.C. formed the multi-racial South African Congress Alliance. This organisation drew up the Freedom Charter, which declared "that South Africa belongs to all who live in it ...".

In 1961 members of the A.N.C. Youth League turned to a policy of limited violence. Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) began a sabotage campaign in December 1961. Nine members of MK, including Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, were charged with sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment.

In August 1976, Oliver Tambo said that South Africa was "ripe for armed struggle on a massive scale". The total number of A.N.C. members "under arms" is unknown, but in June 1978 Brigadier C.F. Zietsman Chief of the South African Security Police, said that 4,000 South African Blacks were undergoing terrorist training outside the country, 75% having been recruited by the A.N.C. and the remainder by the P.A.C.

A.N.C. (continued)

In October 1976, the United Nations recognised the A.N.C. as "a true representative of the South African people".

PRESIDENT-GENERAL : Oliver Reginald Tambo,  
who has led the A.N.C.  
in exile since 1960.

IMPRISONED LEADERS : Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela,  
a member of the Tembu royal  
houses and is the tribal  
uncle of Paramount Chief  
Kaiser Matanzima.

His wife Winnie Mandela  
and daughter Zinzi are  
involved in politics.

Govan Mbeki

Raymond Mahlaba

Walter Sisulu

PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC)

The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) was formed in April 1959 by an ANC breakaway group under Potlako Leballo rejected the multi-racial approach and participation in the S.A.C.A. Both the P.A.C. and the A.N.C. were banned on 8 April 1960 and went underground. Whereas MK's sabotage campaign avoided civilian targets, Poqo was responsible for a number of deaths.

Following Sobukwe's death, Leballo was elected Chairman of the Central Committee. However the P.A.C. has had difficulty in establishing itself in exile, mainly due to internal disputes.

The PAC is recognised by the OAU Liberation Committee.

CHAIRMAN :

Vus Make, de facto leader since June 1979.

Potlako Leballo relinquished his duties in May 1979, due to ill health.

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