

## METHOD AND EXTENT

As in the first stage of the project, we conducted group discussions limiting ourselves to residents of Soweto and excluding the lower income groups.

The following groups were conducted :

1. Male and Female students, 18-24 years old
2. Male and Female working, 18-24 years old
3. Male and Female 25-40 years old, upper income
4. Male and Female 40 year and older, upper income
5. Male 25-50, middle income
6. Female 25-50, middle income

One discussion was completely dominated both in conversation and spirit by one extremely articulate and well informed individual. This was discussion number 3 and the group was repeated, with similar demographic characteristics. Both this and the original group have been included in the analysis. A total of 7 discussions were therefore conducted in this study. There were approximately 10 respondents in each group.

Each group was recorded using tape machines clearly visible to respondents and this did not hinder the conversation in any way. The tapes were transcribed verbatim and translated where necessary, and these transcripts form the basis from which this document is written.

All the discussions were recruited and moderated by Mrs Hope Otto of Soweto. Respondents were recruited according to their demographic qualifications and not by their political affiliations.



The discussions were led over a discussion guide which incorporated the following broad categories:

- the most important political issues facing South Africa currently
- the competing political parties and their aims and ideologies
- the perception of South Africa's leaders
- the form of government to follow multi-racial elections
- the role that Whites, Coloureds and Asians can play in a future South Africa
- understanding of redistribution of wealth and nationalisation
- the dismantling of Apartheid

## **TIMING**

The groups were conducted on the following dates :

14.05.1990

15.05.1990

17.05.1990

21.05.1990

23.05.1990

28.05.1990

30.05.1990

## ABOUT THIS DOCUMENT

Following the introduction is a summary of the results of the groups based on the verbatim transcripts, and although considerably summarised, the report is a true reflection of what occurred in the groups, altering neither the meaning nor the spirit of the discussion. Actual (and translated) quotes have been included where relevant, the discussion guide is appended.



COMMENTARY ON THE GROUPS



## THE IMPORTANT POLITICAL ISSUES

The groups were opened by the moderator asking respondents what they felt were the most important political issues facing South Africa today. Our informants mentioned a number of issues but perhaps top of the list was the one of violence in the country, particularly the black on black violence. All groups voiced concern about the continuing violence.

"People kill one another. There is no peace"

"I am concerned about the armed struggle between black people"

"I think the violence is one issue"

One student expressed concern about the violence by AWB

"I am worried about the AWB. They are shooting every black person in the streets"

Another issue mentioned by many was the economic situation and linked to this the debate about sanctions.

"The first thing is the economy..."

"I am worried about sanctions. The companies pull out"

"This is the right time to impose sanctions"

"I say sanctions are affecting us. It is said that sanctions are good because they will pressurise the government for change. I see it differently, sanctions are affecting us blacks a lot"



Along with concern about the economy, respondents mentioned unemployment and the scrapping of job reservation.

"The most important thing we are faced with is the unemployment which is caused by job reservation"

"There is no work for people..."

Politically, the lifting of Apartheid and scrapping of discrimination was stated as being a major issue.

"The real issue....why don't we just scrap Apartheid"

"The scrapping of the discriminatory laws"

"The important issue is to repeal all that has been going on over the years of misrule - discrimination"

The negotiations, and "talks about talks" was very much a top of mind issue.

"The negotiations between FW de Klerk and the ANC"

"The road has to be cleared for negotiations. The obstacles should be removed"

"Talks about talks"

There is a need for the rebirth of the Black nation in this country. The pressing issue is talks about talks"

"....a whole debate surrounding negotiations"

However, along with the negotiating process was the very thorny issue of minority rights.

"One would believe that the issue of minority rights is going to bring about conflict in SA because we believe in the recognition of the individual. Black people can no longer tolerate the protection of minority rights. These minority rights are nothing else but privileges"



In one group, the 18-24 year old working respondents, the opinion was strongly voiced that negotiations were premature and could only take place (perhaps unrealistically) once real reform had taken place.

'Negotiations? I support the people who say that negotiations are premature'

'The right time to negotiate is after the government has addressed the issue of one man one vote'

In general respondents were very aware of the pressing concerns of the nation, particularly the economic realities and of the political tightrope we all find ourselves walking.

## THE POLITICAL PLAYERS

In general, the groups volunteered the main players in the political ring - ANC, PAC, The National Party, The Democratic Party, The Conservative Party and the AWB. Inkatha was mentioned up front in only two groups; by the students and the upper income 25-40 years old. Although the 'white' parties were well represented, most respondents saw participants generally in terms of those that represent overtly black interests ie ANC and PAC.

We asked respondents about each party; what it stood for and who would be typical supporters.



## ANC

In general, the ANC was seen by all as representative of a non-racial society.

'The ANC represents democracy, irrespective of skin colour or religion'

'Equal rights to everybody, regardless of race'

'... for South Africans, non-racial, plural'

'I think the ANC will erase this stigma of saying black, white'

'It stands for unity of all. We must unite to be one, people of all races'

'It is the only party that stands for non-racialism in SA'

'It has one thing in mind - a fair deal for everybody'

The ANC, while being a non-racial movement, was also seen as being the party which was promoting black advancement and respondents talked about the establishment of a 'middle class'.

'The ANC is representing the black people for a better life, politically, economically and socially. And now the government, because they are aware that staying apart won't solve the problem, are negotiating'

'The ANC is an organisation that wants to alleviate the problems blacks are faced with. They want to uplift black standards to those of whites'

'... there is talk of a middle class, a working class'

It was noted that the ANC was the only party recognised internationally.

'The ANC is supported internationally, a liberation movement whereby all classes of people are accommodated'

'ANC is the one highly involved because it is talking on our behalf even in international circles'



The ANC was said to stand for peace, non-violence and one student expressed a view that the ANC held the most hope for the future.

'I suppose it holds a much brighter future for South Africans than any other organisation'

'It stands for peace. It has never been violent. It became violent in retaliation to the violence of apartheid'

Those who supported the ANC were seen as fair minded and hopeful individuals. Those of us who are concerned about SA and her future.

'I believe that the people who support the ANC are the people who are concerned about the situation. They want the country to change for the better. People who are aware and want the country not to end up in chaos'

'... everybody who would want to live together' '

'... a person with courage'

ANC supporters were described by one respondent as 'those who can forgive and forget'. There was an aura of benevolence around the ANC and its followers and this extended to some extent to both blacks and whites.

'People of all races, even Whites, support ANC'

'... Both blacks and whites ...'

'Mostly the youth who have more radical inclinations, as well as enlightened whites'



One of our respondents suggested ANC supporters were those who were tired of fighting.

'They are tired of fighting. Our children are all over the country, our husbands are out of the country, they (whites) have their children going to the border. A battle not to be won by anybody'

The ANC represented the New South Africa, the opportunity for black people to maintain their dignity.

'Yesterday I was working for a white man's country and I felt the little time I steal from him brings him more and more down. Now we have got to hold our status by ourselves'

## THE PAC

In contrast to the ANC, the PAC were seen as an uncompromising, hard line, non-conciliatory party. They were described more than once as a black AWB.

'They are like a black AWB'

'The reverse of the ANC. The ANC does not discriminate. I would equate PAC to the AWB or boers or whatever, It is a black AWB.

The PAC was seen as promoting an exclusively Africanist viewpoint, and primarily a South Africa in which whites were unwelcome, or made to suffer.

'The PAC is for people who believe in Africanism, we black shouldn't distance ourselves from our culture, we should have confidence in our black consciousness'

'One of their objectives is that they would also see a white man suffering the way we have suffered as blacks'

'The whites driven into the sea'

Although this appeared to be the general view, there were those few who disagreed, believing the PAC to be non-racial and offering a place to all who considered themselves to be South Africans.

'They are Africanists. They talk of one race, Azanians, irrespective of whether you are Coloured, Indian or White ...'

'Their definition of African is not in forms of colour. They believe that people who call themselves Europeans don't belong here'

'Everybody who feels they belong to South Africa must identify with Africa. Race is not going to be anything in the new South Africa'



However the PAC was seen to be uncompromising and opposed to the issue of negotiations.

'PAC is generally Africanist. They believe in Africanism. They criticise the negotiations. They are just blacks against whites'

'They feel they cannot negotiate over land which is theirs'

'PAC is opposed to compromise. The struggle belongs to blacks. Therefore there must not be any compromise that we should have an integrated parliament'

'PAC does not want whites in their organisation'

'People who support PAC find it difficult to compromise'

'PAC supporters are sick of the atrocities committed by the white regime. So they feel the question of negotiations is out. People must retaliate'

There were those respondents who felt that the PAC supporters are the intellectuals.

'Supporters for PAC are intellectuals' (Student)

'Intellectuals support the PAC' (Upper income, 40+)

Others felt PAC support came from :

- the rural areas
- the radical youth
- 'those who have suffered'
- 'those who are politically emotional'
- violent people



## INKATHA

The discussion about Inkatha was an interesting one. Although identified with Zulus, it was seen as a narrowing tribal party, representative not even of Zulu interests in general but of Gatsha Buthelezi's political ambitions. The majority of respondents viewed Inkatha with loathing.

'Please don't mention that word!'

'Inkatha is a power hungry mob'

'Gatsha is representing only Zulus and not all black people in SA'

'Inkatha, it's a tribal basis'

'There is not unity when you talk of tribalism'

Inkatha was felt to be an organisation which exploited and intimidated people in Natal, and was representative of black on black violence.

'Inkatha is exploiting people. They are forced to join Inkatha'

'When you are looking for a job, you have to support Inkatha'

'Inkatha stand for killing, fighting and hostility'

'Inkatha is busy killing people'

'Black on black violence, that is what Inkatha stands for'



In most groups, respondents expressed the opinion that Gatsha Buthelezi had manipulated Inkatha for his own ends.

'Initially Inkatha was a cultural movement. Then he somersaulted into making Inkatha a political party ... he became power drunk'

'I see it as Gatsha Buthelezi's group - his Zulus. It does not represent everybody, but now he has turned it into an organisation like the ANC. They also kill people'

'The leader started Inkatha as a cultural movement for the Zulu tribe, but he had ulterior motives. He uses that movement as a political base'

In addition, some respondents expressed the opinion that Inkatha was being used to advantage by the government.

'Our government cannot stop the violence in Natal. Because it is to their advantage'

'He is a tool. The government is using him as a tool'

'Inkatha, the government is forever choosing Gatsha'

'It is an instrument of the government'

Respondents also had a poor opinion of Inkatha members, describing them mainly as illiterates.

'... It is easy to manipulate an illiterate. Gatsha is using the hostel dwellers. They too are illiterate'

'I think his followers are illiterate'

'Most people who belong to Inkatha are tribal in mind and their standard of education is very poor'

Perhaps Inkatha's biggest mistake in the political arena however, was been seen as in opposition to Nelson Mandela and the ANC.

'Inkatha seems to be fighting with Mr Mandela. They say they cannot be led by a Xhosa'

'Some people say that Gatsha was asked to make Inkatha an internal wing of the ANC but he refused, so it brought them into collision with the ANC'



## THE NATIONALIST PARTY

The Nationalist Party as such was given little credit by most respondents. It was seen as the creator of apartheid, and now as a party relinquishing as little of apartheid as possible, as slowly as possible, and that due only to foreign pressure.

'Basically apartheid'

'They come with cosmetic changes'

'It wants to maintain the Afrikaaner ideal. They are trying to qualify for acceptance in the UN.

And looking at the economy, it was heading for the rocks before Mandela was released'

'The aim of the NP is to make it a point that they keep on lingering in power'

There was a belief that the Nationalist party was not to be trusted, that it had 'double standards' and that it was FW de Klerk who was committed to change without his party behind him.

'The Nationalist Party is two-faced'

'It is not changing. It is only FW who is talking about change, not the people who selected him. They say he is selling them out because they did not give him a mandate'

'It is double standards. It wants to please on one hand and on the other it wants to please the right wingers, so it doesn't know where it stands'

'The NP is a party of crooks. They never come out clearly on what they want. They are not open and we cannot tell where they are leading.

The Nationalist Party was seen as an organisation that stood for minority rights and it's supporters were those whites who had something to lose.

'It stands for white oppression and the interests of the minority'

'Persons supporting the Nationalist Party are there to protect their salaries, the house ...'

However, there was recognition that the NP had instigated change.

'It stands for the oppression of the black people, but now of late it has seemed to change.

It stands for change and negotiations'

'They are learning from their mistakes'

'... but I'm happy with the changes we are talking about'

'I don't think they are oppressors or Mandela and others would not have been released. I

think the Nats would also like that we should work together'

'... they have a direction and they are moving towards it as they promised'



## THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Respondents overall had little to say about the DP, a party that overall has appeared to make little impression.

'I don't understand the thing'

'Confusing ...'

'We can't decide where they are standing'

When an opinion was voiced it was primarily uncomplimentary. They were seen as elitist liberals able to support democratic change from a buffer zone of unaffected comfort. They were seen as not being committed to any real policy and were described as 'soft-peddlers'.

'I believe they are window dressing. I don't have that much confidence in them'

'They are talking from a comfort zone'

'If facilities like swimming pools are opened, they don't care, they have their own swimming pools'

'They are soft peddlers'

'They are neither in nor out'

'Whites who formed the DP, they are whites who are very wealthy. They formed that to cleanse their conscience'

In one group, the DP was described thus :

'On those hypocrites! Afrikaaners are much better than the English. They will tell you in the face if they don't like you but the English are such hypocrites. Look at Mrs Thatcher, she did not support sanctions. Did you know her husband has shares in South Africa?'

More than anything the Democratic Party was associated with wealth and its interests therefore were limited to the economy and the issue of nationalisation.

'The DP's membership is mainly elite whites, the big businessmen'

'They are the people who are concerned about the economy of the country'

'If we look at DP leaders, the majority of business executives'

'... these people are opposed to the idea Mr Mandela came up with; nationalisation'

Although the overall of the DP was negative, there were a few isolated respondents who were prepared to concede the DP had played a role in the country and could continue to do so.

'... it's hurting the DP to watch the black man suffering'

'The Nationalist Party has stolen the DP agenda. The DP has never supported black majority rule but has talked about a Federal State and things like that'



## THE PRESENT LEADERS

Following the February 2nd announcement, we found considerable support and admiration for FW de Klerk\* and this has persisted. Our respondents felt he had achieved an enormous amount in a short period of time and accorded him a great deal of respect for the role he was playing.

'He has done a lot in a short period of time'

'He knows what the solution of the country is. He is there to scrap apartheid'

'I still feel we have reason to commend de Klerk's bravery'

'He is coming up with something beautiful. He has unbanned the ANC and SACP. He is becoming liberal'

'De Klerk is coming on alright. I haven't experienced any problems with him yet'

'I must say he is a brave guy'

President de Klerk was recognised as a man not afraid to take risks and he was given enormous credit for what he has achieved.

'FW was nearly booted out because he said our next president will be black'

'De Klerk does talk with Slovo and Mandela. Yet Botha was afraid of talking to them. There is hope'

'... above all, whatever green light we have is because of him'

'I really worship that man. Had it not been for him, Mandela would still be in prison'

'We never saw Botha walking side by side with a black man'

\* Rubicon Project - McCann Group - February 1990



One respondent, an 18-24 year old working man, even went so far as to give perhaps the ultimate compliment :

'De Klerk is a black man in a white skin'

However this praise was not as unreserved as that we experienced before. There was a belief that De Klerk was not operating under his own steam but was being driven by the fuel of international, and ANC, pressure.

'I think the reality is that FW has done something, not of course by good heart but he has accepted the pressure when others did not'

'There is no way he is a good guy. He is the same who banned COSAS. He is just forced by external pressure'

'FW had no option. There was too much external pressure'

'I would say De Klerk is not the one who is doing a good job, that comes from the ANC'

'He had to do something. If he did nothing, sanctions were going to bite and the people who were going to suffer were the minority - his whites - so he had to do something'

'I wouldn't say De Klerk is brave. He was cornered. He had no alternative. The country was crumbling economically. Now De Klerk has got what he wanted. What he was doing by negotiating was window dressing for his own good, not our good'

In addition, the President was criticised for demanding minority rights and perhaps he will never be forgiven for holding the post of Minister of Education.

'He is resistant about the minority rights'

'We should look at his background. He was the Minister of Education'

'Following his background, I am skeptical. I think he has no options'



When released from prison, it seemed as if Nelson Mandela carried the hopes and dreams of the entire black nation on his shoulders, and to some of our respondents he continued to do so.

'Nelson Mandela is the navigator of our destiny. So far he has proven in jail and out that he is capable of navigating the destiny of the whole of SA'

'I am voting for Mandela because that's my model'

However, there was some realisation that he was merely a spokesman for a wider group, albeit an extremely effective one, and he was being used to great effect by the ANC.

'The ANC is using him as a very respectable figure all over the world. I don't think he is actually representing the actual policies of the ANC'

'He does what the organisation tells him, not what he wants to do'

'We must be aware that Nelson does not just say; he has a government to consult'

He has remained a greatly admired man and was respected for the amount of good work he continued to do, even at his own expense.

'I have a lot of respect for the man as an individual. He must be under a lot of pressure. A man having spend 27 years in jail, not having been exposed to the media, he is actually coping'

'I feel he is a great man. He is condemning everything wrong'

'He is still doing a great job'

'We are really happy with him. He is tired but he is travelling all the time'

'... Mandela is an inspiration to the children'

Mandela was respected for his achievements, for encouraging peace and for advising children to return to school.

'He does industrial relations'

'He always tries to be present at a place hit by strife. Mandela is always preaching peace and education'

'He is advising the children to go back to school. Who can be a leader without education'

'Mandela is concerned about the unity of the people'

While Mandela was recognised for his achievements on behalf of the black people, not all respondents revered him.

Some felt that he had short comings and that he had not lived up to his expectations.

'Somewhere along the way he has changed ...'

'I would like him to be a Deputy President. I would still vote for Comrade De Klerk as a white to be president'

'Much as I am happy with him. I still have a problem. I think now he tends to commit himself more than he should'

'Personally I think it is too soon to say anything about him'



This was particularly true when it came to unification of the black people, and controlling the continuing violence in Natal. Opinion was divided as to whether Mandela could actually unite the people and stop the violence.

'I realise that people expect Mandela to create a paradise and there is nothing he can really do about it'

'Mandela cannot make miracles'

'I am not sure whether he will be able to unite the black people'

'Very much so he is succeeding'

'He has instilled what we could refer to as African Nationalism. Those people are now aware of their being blacks'

The blame for the violence in Natal was laid squarely at the door of Gatsha Buthelezi, who was in the main seen to be spoiling the efforts of Mandela to bring about peace.

'Gatsha spoiled all the efforts. Mandela tried his best but somebody does not appreciate his efforts'

'Don't count Gatsha. He is ripping blacks apart'

'Gatsha has personal ambition and now he sustains it through violence'

'Gatsha Buthelezi does not want the Natal violence to stop. If it stops that it is the end of him. So Mandela did try to intervene'

It was said that Mandela had become a rallying point for striking workers.

'So people strike because they say that if Mandela can address us, he will tell us what to do'

'He is becoming a rallying point of most job related strikes. They are actually talking about Mandela and that is a rallying point, which suggests that he is uniting even those who aren't political'

One student criticised Mandela for his high living.

'I think it is wrong for him to live his flashy life, flying all over the world, while people are killing each other right at home'

Overall however, although still much was expected of him, since the initial euphoria surrounding his release Mandela is recognised as a mere mortal with human abilities rather than super human expectations.



## THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT

There was general consensus that the ANC would win an immediate general election.

'If open to all races, it goes without saying the ANC will win'

'Because blacks are the majority, and most blacks will vote ANC'

'Nelson Mandela - the ANC; it has come to stay'

'The ANC is like some kind of business and it markets itself to the black community'

There were a fair number of doubts however, most of whom felt that ANC might have to fight off a powerful and growing threat from the PAC.

'I don't think the ANC can win because PAC are gaining ground terribly and they are conscientising (Sic) people'

'There is doubt whether ANC would win. Mandela he is out of vision, going too slow. People are waiting for action'

In any event, the future government of South Africa would not be multi-racial but NON-RACIAL.

'Where everybody, irrespective of race where there won't be some restrictions that whites should elect it's side, blacks it's side'

'Non-racial, democratic'

'I would like a government that is democratic, non-racial'

'A non-racial government which does not recognise groups, cliques and races'

'A non-racial government, elected by people for the people. There will be no qualification for voting based on colour, so automatically racialism falls out'



Respondents expressed a fair degree of idealism based on fairness and non-discrimination.

'I would like to see a system whereby all the people of South Africa will work out something equitable where there will be equality, no racism, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of association'

'When we talk of democracy we talk of a level where everybody is given a chance. Also people harmoniously working together irrespective of race'

'We will get a humble and stable government if Mandela can be included. He does not discriminate against people as Zulus, Shangaan or Xhosa'

Some members of the group of working 18-24 year old respondents suggested that a socialist government was the best option.

'The Socialist Government'

'I choose a socialist government so that it can upgrade the standard of the blacks'

While many felt an immediate election was desirable, there were others who said that the black population needed a little more time. This was because they needed to be educated politically as to the different options but also time was needed for the various factions and parties to get together.

'Its too early to go into elections. I don't think we are in a position to run the country yet.

I think we need to spend some time just to learn from the whites'

'I wish our people could be educated. They seem not to understand this democracy. I wish we could be a little more enlightened and educated and have a good concept of what we mean by independence. Because Independence without responsibility is a downfall'

'We are not ready. The organisations opposed to apartheid have not met'

'We must first talk and establish a firm foundation. Not at the moment when there is still turmoil'

'It is not aptly put when we talk of elections now. It should be viewed as a long term plan'



One respondent, a student, expressed the unqualified opinion that the future government would be "a corrupt government".

The term Unitary and Federal States were put to the respondents to assess levels of understanding.

Although not understood in detail, each group expressed the opinion that a Unitary State meant "One Central Government".

'We won't have independent states. A non-racial country where we don't want duplicates of departments'

'A unitary state is where we won't have certain sections of people staying at a certain part of the country. One central government governing the whole area'

'A state with one government talking to the people as a whole'

'... all the states fall under one law'

The United States was put up as an example as a Federation or Federite State but respondents generally rejected this form of government in favour of a Unitary State. The homelands were put up as a local example of what a federation could embrace.

'... the United States. Each state has got it's own rules, decides what they want to do, the law, everything"

'We have homelands, but they don't want to abandon their independence, but they want to join South Africa as a whole to form a federation'



Respondents felt that federations could entrench minority interests and thus South African people would not, under this system, become unified.

'The basic policies are the same but in each state to satisfy the interests of different people addressed differently'

'... it's sort of another way of extending the so-called minority'

'That divides us. It will not bind us together'

'I can imagine the CP would opt for that. They would like to have their own sovereign state'



## THE ROLE OF THE WHITES

Virtually all respondents acknowledged the vital role whites could continue to play in South Africa, both economically and politically. It was stressed however that their presence would only be welcomed should they adapt to their changed status in both social and political terms. Most importantly, the whites had to accept blacks on equal terms; show respect.

'An equal role'

'There is room for whites if they know that we have feelings like them, aspirations like them and they respect us. If they don't there is no room for them'

'As long as they come as equals'

'A white man will have to accept a black man as his equal'

There was a strong belief that whites had considerable knowledge to impart and that blacks could and should continue to learn from them.

'We still have a lot to learn from them. We will still be more or less dependent on the whites'

'... they have got the expertise. They must now impart what they have denied us'

'They have the economic skills. They have got to participate'

'They have the skills which we have to learn from them'

'They will advise blacks as they are people who are always holding meetings and have a vast knowledge of things'

Some respondents felt that the whites had a debt to pay which needed to be acknowledged; that whites had sacrifices to make, amends to be made.

'Now the role they should play is one of sincerity. They have maintained their privileged status out of our own sweat, blood, misery and squalor. This is their role, not only admit but to make sacrifices'

'They must reconcile now. They must sit there and say "yes, we have done it. Now how do we mend it"'

Virtually all were optimistic and positive about the role the whites can play. Some expressed it in terms of non-racialism, suggesting that colour no longer be relevant, everyone had a place and a contribution to make and no-one should be excluded.

'In the new government, we don't think in terms of whites and blacks'

'The new South Africa does not cater for what role the will whites play, or the blacks. The new South Africa is for a committed South Africa'

As one respondent put it :

'We don't hate whites, we mind apartheid'



But what of the other racial groups. By and large, the Coloured and Asian sections of the population were viewed by the respondents with contempt. Their policies were felt to be expedient.

'The Transvaal Coloureds wanted to do whatever was convenient. If it was convenient for them to struggle they would, if it was convenient to have tricameral elections and be in power, they would'

'They must leave the fence they are sitting on'

'I see them as chameleons and opportunists at the same time'

'There is a certain section within the coloured community which considers itself to be white. Hence they treat the black as a "kaffir"

'They are very cunning. When the bread is buttered they swallow it quickly'

Neither the Coloureds nor the Asians had joined the struggle and both groups had adjustments to make.

'They will have to overcome this attitude that they are a better class'

The Asians in particular however were criticised for being exploiters and only interested in money.

'Indians are into money. So when we are talking of their involvement in the struggle there are only a few who are really committed'

'Personally I am against Indians'

'Another thing most Indians have learnt is how to exploit the blacks and everybody else to get rich'

'A certain portion of them have been in the struggle. Another portion have been exploiting blacks. So they have to repent for their sins before they can be accommodated'

'Indians exploit our children. They employ black youngsters to work in their backyards, to clean their houses and look after their children'

The Asians were criticised particularly by one group, the upper income 25-40 year olds, for not integrating with other communities, and for not being first and foremost South Africans.

'The Indians consider themselves Moslems or whatever. And to me, I feel they don't see themselves as part and parcel of South Africa'

However it was accepted that certain individuals played a significant role, eg. Alan Boesak, and that

'In the new South Africa everybody will have a part to play if they are committed'



## REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND NATIONALISATION

The terms of "redistribution of wealth and nationalisation" are two concepts which are bandied about in the media and we asked respondents what it was they understood of those terms.

The "Redistribution of Wealth" was at it's most basic, understood to fall into the Robin Hood Syndrome - take from the rich and give to the poor.

'I think by redistribution of wealth they mean that the country's economy should be shared equally, among all inhabitants of the country disregarding colour'

'I think it was what happened in Mozambique. The poor moved into the houses that were previously occupied by the well-to-do'

The concept was frequently associated with the ownership of land.

'How do you reconcile the fact that 13% of the population owns 87% of the land. So in all fairness we must equally share the land and be allowed where we want to stay'

'We have in OFS no land owned by blacks, so we should distribute the wealth there, in the manner that the blacks own everything'



To some, the redistribution of wealth meant that all must be allowed to participate in the economic richness of South Africa.

'People should have more business opportunities created for them'

'According to me, power sharing would mean redistribution of wealth'

'The institutions, the banks or mines ... the government should intervene so they can have the profits to redistribute to the people who have been overlooked'

'Industries consumed by blacks must be controlled by blacks'

The concept was a confused one however, between a communistic ideal and the creation of ample opportunity. As one rather hopeful woman said :

'Maybe the rate of crime will go down, because everybody will be having a little bread'

The concept of "Nationalisation" was generally understood to mean the state control of major industries like mining and banking. The state control of these industries would mean that the profits would go back to the people and not remain in private (white) hands.

'The state will own those profits and those profits will be ploughed back into the communities that have been deprived of opportunities'

'It means big business like banks, mines, should be controlled by the government. They should not be privatised. Privatisation causes the poor to be poorer and the rich to be richer'



There was by no means unanimous agreement that nationalisation was the best solution or that it had always worked. It eliminated competition and did not always equal efficiency.

'I don't think nationalisation is the solution because redistribution is concerned with how money is spent. You think of a situation where there is no competition, then the country is going nowhere'

'Nationalisation can be good, but if there are other means in which wealth can be redistributed then we can opt for it'

'Nationalisation has its own disadvantages. For example the Post Office. If you now apply for a phone, you get it in three years'

'... I have no confidence in nationalisation'

'What I fear with nationalisation is productivity. People may not be so efficient'

'I want to know a country that has everything nationalised and at the same time is progressive. If there is, then that must be our model country to copy'

There was however a residual fear that the privatisation policy of the government was a ploy to disinvest the future black government.

'The whites are privatising because they are on the verge of loosing out'

'About nationalisation. If the white man takes most of his wealth away what percentage of it will remain in this country'

## THE DISMANTLING OF APARTHEID

In the previous research project, respondents talked about the dismantling of apartheid as a prerequisite to a future settlement. In this project we asked respondents what was meant by the term dismantling of apartheid and how the government was expected to go about it.

Most groups felt that the dismantling of apartheid implied the scrapping of discriminatory laws; the removal of these laws from the statute books. Group Areas, education and voting rights were top of mind.

'The scrapping of laws like the Group Areas Act and changing education'

'The right to vote and equal education'

'The Group Areas Act must be scrapped. The Population Registration Act - I think that is the cornerstone of apartheid'

'Drive away all the segregation laws'

'They should take away the Group Areas Act, Land Act and Bantu Education Act'

The middle income women talked about equal benefits and recognition.

'When it comes to jobs a person's merits must be considered'

'Pensioners must be give the same allowance'

'Taxation must be the same'



Although respondents did say apartheid must be removed from the statute books, there was considerable appreciation that apartheid was as much a social phenomenon as a statutory one.

'Apartheid is more a question of a state of mind. You cannot just say apartheid is over, it means nothing. It's not going to change Treurnicht'

'At root level, it is a psychological problem'

'In the statutory laws apartheid will be dismantled but in the human beings it will never'

'The ideology of apartheid must be removed'

'You know apartheid is an in-born disposition as a human being'

This was not only to do with white attitudes however but to some respondents this was also a black problem.

'... step number 2 would be to make blacks feel proud of themselves'

'... I hate the white man. If they remove it I don't care to have any association with them'

'You know, we as blacks, there is that tendency of being a certain somebody because of his ethnicity, so it is going to take long to change'

Opinion was quite divided on how long it would take to remove apartheid. Some felt it could be done overnight.

'Immediately ...'

'I think it could be an overnight thing. They have the machinery - Parliament - where they can sit and decide that apartheid can be dismantled'



Others felt it was a process which was more gradual and would take anything from two to ten years.

'It is an ongoing thing. It can't be changed overnight'

'Two to five years'

'It is a process that will take five to ten years'

'I think the way it is going now, it is going to take us less than three years'

There was almost unanimous agreement that sanctions should not be lifted until apartheid had been effectively scrapped.

'It would be premature for sanctions to be lifted because we haven't achieved our goals. Sanctions is one of the pressures that the world is exerting on South Africa'

'... the effect is on everybody but more on the government which they no longer have enough funds for actually carrying on with apartheid'

'Sanctions can be lifted when apartheid is gone - after negotiations'

'The sanctions are one of our weapons which has actually made the South African government to think about talking to blacks. We cannot put away our best arms when we are going to negotiate a truce'

'On condition apartheid is dismantled. You cannot trust the whites. If sanctions can be lifted now, they might implement apartheid fully'

There were only one or two respondents who did not support sanctions, fearing that sanctions affected blacks most of all.

'I still insist. Sanctions are not doing the black man any good'

'We suffer, because when there is staff reduction, blacks top the lists'



Most however believed sanctions should be maintained.

'Why must we go ahead with sanctions? Because of the advantages we have gained through them'

## COSMETICS

As an ending to the groups, we asked respondents to envisage the new South Africa in terms of her flag, her major cities and the President and Vice President.

In terms of the flag, most envisaged the ANC flag or at least the ANC colours. Some felt a completely new concept was required.

The seat of the government was pragmatically suggested to remain in Pretoria or Cape Town as 'the buildings already exist'. There was some support for moving government to Johannesburg.

Not many respondents were in favour of changing the country's name to Azania. It was felt that South Africa was known in the world already and a new name would be confusing. 'New South Africa' was a possibility.

The names of the major towns were acceptable and should remain. However one respondent suggested :

'There will be a place called De Klersdorp one day'

There was considerable support for Nelson Mandela to be President, and for his Vice President to be .... FW De Klerk!



## **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

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- O Like the first Rubicon Project, the groups were conducted in good spirit and our respondents were intelligent and articulate about the subject under discussion. However in these groups, we came across extensive anger not evident in the first flush of euphoria following the reform announcements. All respondents from young to old exhibited this anger and while we expected it in the younger informants, we had not encountered it before in the older. Perhaps they are angry that now the reforms have begun, it is too late for them personally to reap much benefit.
- O There seems little doubt that the ANC has considerable support and this is confirmed by the recent research conducted by the Argus Group. There was an area of benevolence surrounding the ANC and it brings to mind a rather autocratic, but gentle white haired gentleman with his supporters kneeling at his feet. The ANC was perceived at worst as soft, and compromising and at best fair minded, and offering tangible hope to the future. Nelson Mandela in his role as apparent leader of the ANC was admired and respected but seen in a more realistic light since the early days of his release. He is being used by the ANC to great effect but there is a need for the ANC to establish a second tier of younger leadership. Should Mr Mandela die, there is the possibility that the ANC, apparently leaderless, would lose considerable support. In addition, the ANC must be careful not to over exploit him.
- O In contrast to the ANC, the PAC were seen as a uncompromising hard line group with not insignificant support. The Argus Group research puts 10% of black people as feeling "very close" to PAC (as opposed to 38% ANC). At it's worst the PAC was seen as a black AWB, non-conciliatory and racist. At best they were strong, confident, non-compromising and Africanist. However, there was no strong leader who stood out and perhaps that is what they are lacking - a hero, a charismatic leader accepted locally and internationally as is Mandela.



- The white parties had little credibility. The DP were largely ignored and not respected. The Nationalist Party dichotomy was recognised in that they were on the road to reform but at the same time attempting to placate the right wingers. They did not show a particularly united front and the credit for the reform was all laid at the door of FW De Klerk, still viewed with respect and admiration. To him alone goes the credit for recent events, not his party.
- The future government of South Africa was surely supposed to be ANC and non-racial. Economically a certain amount of nationalisation was inevitable but not all respondents were entirely committed to that process.

Understanding of the term was that of state control of main industries like mining and banks so that profit from those organisations could be ploughed back into the community and not fall into private hands. Understanding of the redistribution of wealth varied between a purely collective sharing of all resources to a creation of opportunity and therefore the ability to share in the wealth.

- The dismantling of apartheid was in the main expected to take some time and meant largely that all discriminatory laws such as Group Areas, and population registration would be removed from the statute books. Respondents understood however that apartheid was as much a state of mind and that a change in attitude was what was required.
- Overall the groups were successful and constructive. In the aftermath of the reforms, this Rubicon Two project seems a little anti-climatic but nevertheless, what we found confirmed some of what we found before and clarified many issues. We believe that it is a worthwhile project to continue as change occurs to monitor where the average man is heading.



## DISCUSSION GUIDE

- Let's talk about South Africa today. What are the most important political issues facing South Africa at the moment ?

- What political parties are competing ? Let's talk about them.

First ANC        -        what does it stand for - it's political ideology  
                     -        who are the ANC supporters

Repeat for PAC

Repeat for Inkatha

Repeat UDF

Repeat Nationalist

Repeat Democratic Party

- If there was an election now, who would win ? Why do you say that ?

What about in 5 years time ?

- Who are South Africa's leaders ? Let's talk about them ?

-        how do you feel about FW De Klerk ? Is he doing a good job, why do you say that?

-        how about Nelson Mandela. How is he doing as a leader ?

He was expected to unite the African people, has he done that, why not (violence in Natal - not stopped why not ?)

-        Buthelezi ?

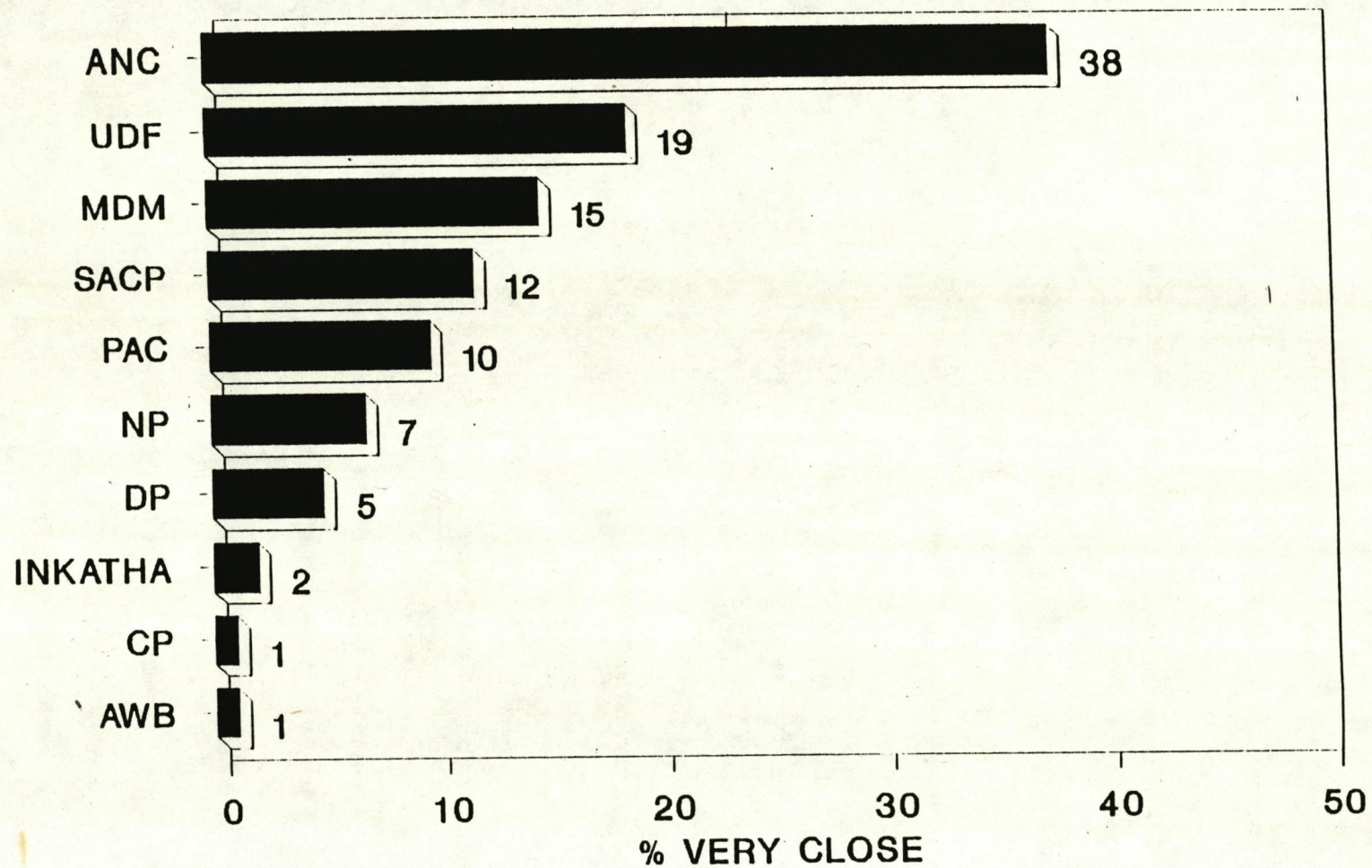
- Will there be an election for everyone ? When ?



- What kind of government will we get after elections ?  
(Democracy, multi party state, one party state, communist/socialist)
- The newspapers talk about a Unitary state. What is that ?
- The newspapers talk about a Federation state. What is that ?
- What role can the whites play in black South Africa ?
  - is there a place for whites here
  - can they participate in government, how ?
  - can they participate in the economy, how ?
  - what about the Coloureds and Asians ?
- Redistribution of wealth. What does that mean ?
  - How will that happen ?
- Nationalisation - what is it, what does it mean ?
  - how will it happen ?
  - what will be nationalised
  - who will run those organisations
- Dismantling of Apartheid - what has to change/go ?
  - how, overnight, process (how long) ?
  - how will we know when Apartheid is dismantled ?
  - when should sanctions be lifted ?
- What will the South African flag look like ?
  - where would seat of government be ?
  - would we change the name of Johannesburg, Pretoria & Cape Town - to what
  - who would be president - vice president



## PERCEIVED CLOSENESS TO ORGANISATIONS ( EXCLUDING NATAL)



Source: THE ARGUS GROUP