

Privilege, Prejudice and Parties. A study in patterns of political motivation among White voters in Durban. By Lawrence Schlemmer (South African Institute of Race Relations).

THIS STUDY by the Director of the Institute for Social Research of the University of Natal is a clinical example of the invaluable contribution to South African enlightenment made by the Institute of Race Relations. ;

With the encouragement and financial help of the Institute, Professor Schlemmer conducted a survey into the political attitudes of a representative group of Durban people, equally divided between English- and Afrikaans-speaking and scientifically selected to ensure objectivity.

The basis of the investigation was a sophisticated questionnaire

made up of some hundreds of statements with which the respondents were asked by _ carefully-briefed interviewers to agree. or disagree. The questions were designed - to ascertain the respondents' ideas on gen-

eral topics like moral conservatism, race prejudice,

Political;

â\200\224a study

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authoritarianism, political
and group allegiances; and

on particular matters of political controversy. ; The result is a collection of facts as distinct from the mixture of instinct and wishful thinking with which the average politician gets by. Professor Schlemmer and his co-workers have been well aware of the pitfalls of an exercise like this in a country which combines marked political consciousness with, by European standards, a considerable degree of political naiveté. In terms of current political controversy, given questions call forth given answers. The control is, in effect, to include in the list related questions which

often produce contradictory answers.

ity

Tentative

The answers have been carefully analysed and

weighted, and tentative con-

clusions drawn. The word is.

â\200\230â\200\230tentativeâ\200\231â\200\231. Professor Schlemmer shows at every turn his awareness of the danger of generalizing from a sample, however carefully composed, from one not particularly typical South African city.

Nevertheless, the conclusions are fascinating. A review like this cannot include the careful qualifications and academic reservations. These are some of the findings, with the warning that they must be read as the kind of facile generalization against which the survey itself warns (â\200\234Eng-

an

lishâ\200\235 and â\200\234Afrikanerâ\200\235 are used to mean English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking).

A high concentration of

Afrikaners is found in lower-status employment,

with more Afrikaners in

semi-skilled and unskilled jobs, and as clerks and salesmen. There are more university graduates among Afrikaners but in both groups more than 50 per cent have achieved matric or better.

The English break down into 17 per cent Progressive (who made up one per cent of the Afrikaner group); 57 per cent United Party (16 per cent Afrikaner); and 19 per cent Nationalist (75 per cent Afrikaner).

There is a higher degree of race prejudice among the Afrikaners. The Afrikaans group is shown to be more prejudiced about other groups and more materially self-interested than the English group. ;

There is a relatively high level of race prejudice in all samples, more among, Afrikaners than English. Prejudice tends to diminish with higher = educational standards. Those with no religious__ affiliation are least

rejudiced, members of the

utch Reformed churches the most, and under-45s are less prejudiced than over-45s. Prejudice correlates with moral conservatism.

About 70 per cent of English and 40 per cent of Afrikaners agree that â\200\234strict censorship of films, books and entertainments is outdated ~and unnecessaryâ\200\235. Authoritarianism (â\200\234a government should be strong and determinedâ\200\235) is relatively high in both groups, relatively higher among Afrikaners. There is a sharp decline in approval of authoritarianism, as with

â\200\230and skilled an

moral conservatism, with a rise of education.

Both largely reject the idea of migrant labour and half the English and one third of the Afrikaners ac-

cept the idea of Black trade unions.

The English much more than the Afrikaners favour mixed sport, with English voters more willing to contemplate sharing of political power. Some 75 per cent English and 35 per cent Afrikaners want non-Whites to take part in mixed sport.

Language and the associated cultural differences are the major factor in determining voting behaviour and opinions.

Moral conservatism

There is a distinct association among Afrikaners between moral conservatism (â\200\234very short mini skirts are not properâ\200\235) and regular attendance at church. United Party Afrikaners are notably less morally conservative than Nationalist Afrikaners.

About 72 per cent of Afrikaners (30 per cent English) agree that â\200\234It is necessary to keep the Coloureds socially separate foreverâ\200\235.

Support for the Progressives is significantly concentrated among professionals and semi-professionals; is entirely absent from routine = non-manual unskilled manual categories; and almost entirely absent from government and municipal employees.

The English in general are found to be more liberal than the Afrikaners, among whom there is no decline in prejudice with rising education as is the case with the English. 7

he survey ends.with. a

d prejudice

Durban Whites

Professpr Sch_lemmer

(tentative) suggestion that the Nationalists are more

likely to. .obtain recruits
from the wverkrampste wing
of the United Party; the
United Party from the
verligte = wing of the
Nationalists; and the Progs
from the werligte United
Party (and possibly from
the left wing â\200\230of the
Nationalists). el

The survey examines the
alternatives, including the
suggestion that the English
in expressing liberal and un-
prejudiced views are merely
being hypocritical, whereas
the Afrikaner is sufficiently
honest to let the Black man
know exactly ~where he
stands. 3

The findings of fact â\200\230are
more complicated and the
conclusions drawn = from
them more subtle than the
summaries given here.
Politicians and their jour-
nalistic = observers could
study the â\200\230smallâ\200\231 print with
profit.
' Victor Norton

S v. \.,1â\200\230 ag?lf

MHLELI, â\200\224 Kuyadabu-
kisa kanti futhi kubuhlu-
ngu okwenzeke ePhalame-
nde yakithi kwaNongoma
kwaZulu kunukubezwa
uNdunankulu wethu
uChief Buthelezi. Okuxaka
umgondo womuntu ukuthi
| noma ecabanga ngezenzo
zabantu bakithi zokunuku-
beza uNdunankulu uku-
thi bafuna enzenjani ka-
nti? %

Ngakho konke akwenza-
yo nakukhulumayo siyaku-
bona, = siyakuzwa futhi.
Akukho lutho alufihlayo
nalwenza ngasese kodwa
konke uyakuveza empha-
kathini wonke. Asize si-
ngezwa kuvela noyedwa
esola lokho asekwenzile
nasekukhulumile. Kodwa
sivesizwe iningi limvume-

la.

Pho lokhu kusola aba-
msola ngakho kughamuka-
phi ngoba asize singezwa

ukuthi kukhona abathu-
mela izikhalo 7abo kuHu-
jumeni wakwaZulu waze-
naaba, kodwa konke
akwenzayo ukumela
ilungelo lomuntu omnva-
ma? Pho lokhu kusola
okungenasizathu kusuka-
phi? Kueaondeni?

Kuyasikhanyela
7Zulu uknithi
abenza lokhu bahlangene
namaBhunu athanda uko-
rela phansi isizwe sama
Zulu, alokhu egxeka
uNdunankulu wethu nee-

thina

genzo ezingaocondene nawo

ecingazi ukuthi ahlushwe
vini ngezinto zethu esize-
nzela zona ngeyethu imi-

aondo kodwa kube ngu-
Hulumeni wawo -ongavu-
mi nelungelo labantu aha-
.mnvama.

Manje athi-ke uNduna-
nkulu wethu (uButhelezi)
akenzenjani ngoba okaShe-
nee uvazibeka jzikhalo za-
khe kuye uHulumeni wa-

Jahabantu

bamhlophe, kodwa akazi-
mukeli masinyane ukuze
naye (uHulumeni wakwa-
Zulu) akhuthale, abenesi-
bindi nokuzimisela ngoku-
thuthukisa abantu bakhe?

Kodwa wona amaBhunu
alokhu ethi ubambezela
intuthuko kaZulu, yini
aseyenzile wona maqonda-
na nezikhalo zikaHulume-
ni wakithi kwaZulu ukuze
sibone-ke ukutii uHulu-
meni wethu osibambezele?

Okudabukisayo kakhulu
ukwenza kwabantu baki-
thi, futhi bona abafundisi-
we nabasezikhundleni ezi-
phakeme ukuba kube yibo-
na abacekela phansi imiza-
mo kaNdunankulu wethu.
Benza sengathi bakhalela
isizwe kanti bangasohla-
ngothini lwezithar zethu
amaBhunu. y

Babengathini ~ukuba
kwenzeka okwenzeka kwa-
many amazwe lapho
okwathi ngokuthola inku-
luleko yabo kwasuka izi-
mpi kwaliwa, kwafa aba-
ntu abaningi, kwachitheka
igazi ngakho njalo ukuba
kusuke abaMhlophe â\200\230baxo-
ve abantu ukuba bange-
zwani - bahlukane phaka-
thi? Ngabe basola bathini
ukuba kwenzeka leyonto
kwaZulu?

Okunye okudabukisayo
ukuthi sinabaholi abadala
ekade babelwela inkulule-
ko kaZulu. Noma benge-
kho esigungwini sikaHu-
Jumeni wakwaZulu kodwa
bathule nje abakukhuzi lo-
khu okwenziwa abantu
abanjengoChief Hlengwa
noMnuz. Dlangamandla,
yize bebona ukuthi lesise-

nzo siwukunukubeza nNo-

kwehlisa isithunzi sikaHu-
lumeni wethu nokwenza
inhlekisa kwabamhlophe
ngathi.

Esinye isenzo esibuhlu-
ngu esenziwe uBaba uMa-

hlathâ\200\231'amnyama ngokuleke-

lelana nomuntu wesifaza-
ne osolakalayo kulencwadi
yesidumo esisuke ephala-
mende, besekuba uyena
ogijima ashaye izingeingo.

Futhi yena loMahlathi
ozibiza ngokuthi uyiBig
man, uthembisa igembu
elizibiza ngokuthi liyiZwi
laboMdabu ukuthi uzoba-
siza -â\200\231 - ngokwenqatshelwa
kwabo uNdabazabantu wa-
seMpumalanga ukwenza
umhlangano wabo.

Kanti yena loMahlathi
ukuluphi uhlangothi? Ake

â\200\230 asichazele sizwe. UNdaba-

zabantu ukhulume igama
elikhulu' futhi elingena-
kuphikiswa lokuthi laba-
bantu bazofaka umoya
omubi kubantu. Ingani
ubesho khona ukuthi bazo-
hlukanisa uZulu phaka-
thi? Yenake uMahlathi
uthi bebezofaka moya mu-
ni? ;

Kanti yena loMahlathi
skusewuye umuntu osiza

abantu abahlupheke nge-

qiniso, usewumuntu osiza

â\200\230 abantu abayizitha zikaZu-

lu?

Abantu sebezofihla ubu-
qili babo ngave, futhi na-
ye avume yize ebona uku-
thi bagondeni? ;

Impela siyadideka Ma-
hlathi. OkaShenge ka-
Mnyamana, umNtwana wa-
kwaPhindangene, -
methemba kakhulu, futhi
siyethemba ukuthi ungu-
mlomo ongathethimanga
ngempela.

UMnuz. PDLadla. yena
pesimethemba impela uku-

thi uyisandla sokunene si-
kaShenge, kepha manje
uyasisolisa ngalencwadi
ayiphikelayo asho noku-
thi ayilutho. Uyayivikela
kodwa ebe eyazi ukuthi
ibhalwe nzangqondoni no-
kuthi isopheni.

' pho efa khoni uDladla.

sesiyva- .

Uma ibi-

L â\200\224â\200\224

hlambalaza yena = ubenga-
sho yini ukuthi ayilutho?

Yebo, nabanye abafundi
bayasho bathi bayofa la-

Sengathi abayazi into aba-
yobe beyifela ngoba uDla-
dla uyayazi into ayenzayo
bona abazi.

Baphi ababethi uHle-
ngwa yindoda ngokuhluka-
nisa uZulu.

Baphi ababethi uMhlongo
yindoda enesibindi? Ba- |
thini namhlanjena uma |
sehembulwa izinge ukuthi
bayizimpisi ezembethe
uboya bemvu kodwa
uChief Buthelezi akashi-
ntshile yilokhu akhuluma
into eyodwa kusukela eku-
qaleni kuze kube manje
umile entweni eyodwa yo-
kuthi nikani uKhesari |
okukaKhesari? !

MaBhunu, yehlukanisani
amakhoba namabele. Asi-
nakukhohliswa sibhekile.
UmNtwana wakwaPhinda-
ngene noma angaphelelwa
ukubekezela akumangali-
si. Naye uyisidalwa esine-
mizwa.

Kubuhlungu ukusolwa
ungone lutho. njengoba
nathi ~ simzwela ubuhlu-
ngu simdabukela kodwa
singenakumsiza * ngalutho
kodwa sibheke yena uku-
ba asize thina ngalo lelo-
gazi lakhe.

Sicela labo abahlamba-
laza uNdunankulu wethu
ukuba baveze obala izi-

khalo zabo esebeke bazi-
yisa kuHulumeni wakwa-
Zulu zengatshwa.

Abatshela izwe ukuthi
bafuna uNdunankulu achi-
the igazi yini? Kuyadabu-
kisa kakhulu ngoba aba-
ntu bakithi banjengaba-
ntwana abangacabangiyo. |
Ngiyaxolisa Mhleli ngo-
kwelula kangaka, kunge-
nxa yesenzo sabantu baki-
thi.

Vusumuzi Peter Mhlong
DURBAN.

â\200\230 UDR D. P. P. MAROLEN, oyisikhulu senhlangano i-African
Bureau of Education, uzohambela izindawo ezehlukene kuleli nje-
ngesabelo sakw,aZuluâ\200\231,'esaseCiskei nesaseTranskei ebonana nabaholi

bazo abuye ahambele namangcwaba abaholi

abaziwayo abangasekho

njengoDr. J. L. Dube, Dr. B. W. Vilakazi, Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu,

Mnuz. R. R.

nhlangano kayizihla-
nganisile nezombangazwe
kodwa lnggz.inikelele eze-
mfundo kanti yasungulwa
nguye uDr. Marolen eWit-

watersrand ezinyang
eziyisikhomb . ezedlule

" Lenhlangano isibe mne-
mpumelelo enkulu kulesi-
sikhashana isunguliwe ka-

ba abaphathi bayo
sebehlele ukuthi ngenya-

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o sy

' State nesifunda

R. Dhlomo nabanye abaningi,
nga ezayo bawughube um-

sebenzi wayo usabalaleke
kulo lonke leli.

" Jzogala ngokuba ngale-

anga kaJune ivule ama-.

n

h{\ovisi ayisithupha eziga-
beni zayo eziyisithupha ku-
leli.

" Phakathi komhlaka June
4 nomhlaka 12 izovula
ihhovisi eThekwini elizo-
phatha iNatal naKwaZulu,
kuthi phakathi komhlaka
June 14 nomhlaka 16 ivule
ihhovisi eBloemfontein
elizophatha i-Orange Free
saseN

ern Cape.

~ Phakathi komhlaka June
18 nomhlaka June 24 kuzo-
ePort Eli-

phakathi â\200\230komhlaka June
26 nomhlaka June 29 ku-
yovulwa ihhovisi eCape
Town elophatha isifunda
saseWestern Cape,
Kulindelwe futhi noku-

â\200\230ba kuvulwe ihhovisi eGoli,
thern

elizophatha

ebeka izimbali.

Transvaal nasePitoli, eli-
zophatha iNotrthern Trans-
vaal.

Lamahhovisi azovulwa
nguye ugobo uDr. Maro-
len njengoba elindeleke
ukuba ahambele zonke le-
zizindawo khona eduzane
nje. :

â\200\230Kulona loluhambo lwa-
khe uzohambela mnama-
ngewaba abaholi abaziwa-
yo asebafa nengoDr, J. L.
Dube, Dr. Vilakazi, Prof.
Jabavu nelikaMnuz. R R.
R. Dhlomo, abeke izimbali
kuwo. :

Uzohamba enza izinkulu-

mo ezindaweni eziningi la-

- pho ecelwe khona, aha-

mbele nezindawo ezibalu-
lekile zemfundo.

Uyobonana nabaholi be-
zabelo, uChief Gatsha Bu-
thelezi uNdunankulu wa-
KwaZulu, uNdunankulu
Sebe waseTranskei, kanye
noNdunankulu Kaizer Ma-
tanzima, waseTranskei.
UChief Buthelezi wa-
mbhalela incwadi uDr.

Marolen ethi: â\200\234Ngikutho-
kozela kakhulu ukuzwa
ukuthi uhlose ukuvakashe-
la KwaZulu.â\200\235 :
UChief Buthelezi uselu-
beke loludaba ezandleni
zikaNgqongqoshe = wezem
fundo KwaZulu, ukhanse-
la J. A. W. Nxumalo, oku-
nguyena ozokwenza ama-

lungiselelo - aloluhambo
_eNatal naKwaZulu.

.râ\200\230-â\200\230 - \TT
HE RAND DWY MAIL

W()I'ld unions baCk ,

By JOHN IMRIE
â\200\230Mailâ\200\231 Man on the Spot

~ GENEVA.

THE BRITISH Trades Union Congress
appears to have swung almost the
entire Western Europedn trade union
movement behind its plan to help
South Africa's Black workers.

In effect the plan has been adopted by
the International â\200\230Confederation of Free
Trade Unions which is setting up a special
cio-ordinating committee for its implementa-
tion. :

The committee will be staffed from the trade
union movements of nearly all the major Western
industrialised countries as well as the powerful inter-
national trade union secretariats, such as the Inter-

~ mational Metalworkersâ\200\231 Federation. ke

| 'The main aim of the TUC"
; plan is to build up Black
trade unions. 0

The involvement of the
ICFTU may be bad news for |
the South African Govern- |
ment since the organisation, |
which has labour movements |
from 14 Black African state |
affiliated toit, is far mors
militantly anti-apartheid
the British TUC:: < %

There is agso fur
tal difference â\200\230betwee
ICFTU and the ;

plan to

Blacks

e yesterday
he wanted no contact with
Tucsa which he believed had
too many conservatives in it.

â\200\234We migg}â\200\234however, work
with some of the progressive
elements in Tucsa,â\200\235 he said.

Asked what would happen !
if the South African Govern-
ment used its new law to
prevent funds entering the
country to build up an Afri-
can labour movement, he
said there would be a â\200\234ser-
iousâ\200\235 reaction from the
international labour move-
ment.

