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among some semi-skilled and skilled manual workers, and among some rural subsistence people.

This consciousness is also not necessarily radical in ideological content: indeed even some people with a strong Zulu ethnic consciousness are militant. Militancy is also present among some younger or highly discontented Inkatha supporters.

The relative size of these types of consciousness is very difficult to estimate. Judging broadly from the Commission's results one might say that the second type is the largest in terms of its spread, followed by the first and then by the fourth and third.

Together all four types of consciousness, with variations and overlap, would encompass some 90 percent or more of the Black South Africans in the regions surveyed.

As we have already estimated, the militant category, including the more militant radicals of the third category, probably account for between three and four out of ten Black South Africans in Natal, KwaZulu and the Witwatersrand.

Results indicate that the second and largest category, although politically conscious and with strong feelings of relative deprivation, is moderate in terms of acceptance of policy alternatives. The militant and some of the radical types is less flexible in outlook.

Embedded hostility to Whites is present only among some of the militants and radicals, but is not a feature of the first two groups identified.

From this viewpoint it follows that not all the people who say that they support the ANC are likely to be militants. Some will support the ANC on the basis of the older sentiments of African Nationalism, some because it has become fashionable to support "liberation movements" after Mr Mugabe's ascendancy in Zimbabwe, some because the ANC currently symbolises a radical rejection of the "system" and some because there is, for them, a vacuum of leadership inside the country.

One cannot assume, therefore, that majorities of Blacks have a revolutionary consciousness. A militant and committed revolutionary consciousness with *intentions to act*, as it were, is probably still a minority phenomenon, found among the militant group we have described and among a small number of the better-educated urban radicals.

Even if the group with "intentions to act" is no more than five to ten percent of the young adults, however, it constitutes a disturbingly large number of people.

There is a widespread expectation of violence and a sense of its inevitability as well as considerable sympathy or verbal support for insurgency for a variety

of reasons.

These sentiments can have two important effects. Firstly, they create a climate in which insurgency can occur with approval which reinforces the motivation of the insurgent and in this shelter the insurgent may also expect protection and shelter.

Secondly, this consciousness undermines the credibility of internal leadership, which, if internal leadership becomes discouraged, leads to a vicious cycle of an ever-widening political vacuum within the country.

This coupled with the effects of separate development in "removing" internal Black leadership from the common arena of South African politics, could come to be seen as the only political instruments of the Black South African.

There is a clear need for political initiatives which will counteract this trend by building legitimacy for open, internal Black politics in South Africa and in the region.

The comments of the types of consciousness above also imply that there is to some extent a split between economic consciousness (type 1) and political consciousness (types 2,3,4). It stands to reason that politicisation is likely to spread, not decrease, and if the low-level economically deprived Black people become politicised a very significant deepening of the potential instability could take place.

Others fear for the future of S.A.

Whites, Coloureds and Indians acknowledge the need for reform

Less than one-third of Indian South Africans and less than one-quarter of White and Coloured South Africans claim to be confident about the future of South Africa.

The result's of the Commission's surveys among White, Indian and Coloured South Africans showed that the greatest degree of pessimism or anxiety is found among Whites who support parliamentary opposition parties — both to the right and the left of the ruling National Party.

In brief the Commission reported:

Supporters of the National Party appear to have an unusual degree of complacency about the future, which is perhaps partly because of faith in the policies of the governing party, but partly because of other reasons.

The view expressed by Heribert

Adam in the political report of the Commission — that White South Africans are too convinced of their superiority over Blacks to be fearful of Black reactions in the future — may be particularly relevant to the supporters of the governing party.

Substantial proportions of each group, however, see the future involving instability and disturbances in race relations. This, where present, is expected as a consequence of the present dispensation for different races or the state of race relations in South Africa today.

In response to these perceptions, very large majorities of Whites and virtually all Indian and Coloured South Africans see the need for reform in the socio-economic conditions for Black South Africans.

Substantially fewer than half of the Whites and less among Indian and Coloured South Africans believed that the present situation of the social and political separation of KwaZulu and Natal could last indefinitely. Among all minorities there is a very high recognition of the fundamental interdependence of all groups in the region.

Of particular importance was the finding that majorities among White businessmen, Progressive Federal Party and New Republic Party supporters, politically conscious and upper-middle status English-speakers endorse the item (in the surveys) that Chief Buthelezi should share in the government of the Province of Natal.

Generally Chief Buthelezi's significance as a political figure and his support among Black people in the region was well recognised.