

Review: Gary Baines and Peter Vale, (eds.), *Beyond the Border War. New Perspectives on Southern Africa's Late Cold War Conflicts*, Pretoria, Unisa Press, 2008.

The authors brought together a large collection of articles which all relate to various aspects of the border war in Namibia. Although it should be stressed that this collection of articles does not represent the final word on many aspects of that war, it nevertheless constitutes the most comprehensive attempt to date at a revisionist interpretation of the war, and the ideology and policies that initiated and sustained it. Earlier (the pre-1994 era) the border war was almost without exception monopolized by military historians who often focused narrowly on the military tactics and successes achieved by South Africa's military machine. In such works the perceived combined threat of revolutionary communism and national liberation movements bent on destroying white civilization in southern Africa was either implicitly or explicitly accepted. Thus this volume represents an important advance insofar as it not only questions the ideological motives and subsequent policies that underpinned the war, but also the effects that it had on people.

It is important to understand that this book explores the motives underlying the war and its impact on society and individuals seen almost exclusively from the vantage point of white South Africans. As a consequence important perspectives are not included, for example, the impact on African people, collectively and on an individual level, of

the growing militarization of society. Also lacking is an analysis of the trajectory of economic policies and pressures brought to bear on the system of apartheid and how African communities and various political organizations and movements were affected by the war and government policies. Furthermore there is no attempt to evaluate the impact of the war on neighbouring countries. In a sense, the book reflects the continued obsession of white South Africans trying to come to terms with the war and its effects. Despite these caveats *Beyond the Border War* offers in some respects unique perspectives on a traumatic period in South African history and provides a useful conceptual template from which future explorations of South Africa's tempestuous past can be undertaken.

Gary Baines, co-editor of the volume, in his contribution titled "Introduction: Challenging the Boundaries, Breaking the Silences", pointed to the extent that the various conceptions of the term border and border war, as well as different manifestations of silence, featured in the book. It can be argued though, that most articles are also directly or indirectly concerned with the various manifestations of Apartheid and Cold War ideology. To appreciate better the extent to which the collection of articles help to advance our understanding of the impact of the Border War on white society and individuals and how they responded to it, the salient arguments in each of the articles are briefly discussed.

Peter Vale: *The Cold War and South Africa: Repetitions and Revisions on a Prolegomenon*

Vale's observations are, coming from an astute observer and analyst of the socio-political scene in southern Africa, valuable and instructive. Positioning South Africa as an important peripheral player in the Cold War, servicing the interests of the more conservative, even reactionary elements in the political and security nexus of countries like the United States, Britain, France & Belgium, serves as useful reminder that the Afrikaner oligarchy charged with maintaining white hegemony was not simply an embattled, isolated minority. They could always count on a degree, and sometimes an impressive degree of support in the capitals of the western world. Such support, combined with the compliance of the white working classes, (by offering people jobs), contributed to the survival of apartheid. Instead of an in-depth analysis of the challenges facing white domination, Vale argues that such challenges were met by a system of security management informed by conspiracy. In the absence of tolerance and understanding, prejudice was encouraged to function as a standard mode of perception (p. 37).¹ This strikes one as a particularly keen observation of the South African political scene in the 1970s and 1980s, yet it fails, in my view, to take into account fully the deep-seated fear and uncertainty that characterized the

¹ The observation about prejudice being a standard mode of perception was borrowed from N. Ndebele.

Afrikaner ruling classes. In other words, not only ignorance and prejudice, but deep-seated and irrational fears were constitutive elements in the socio-political and psychological mindset of the ruling classes.²

Monica Popescu: *Mirrorings: Communists, Capitalists and Voortrekkers of the Cold War*

Popescu provides important insights into the Afrikaner psyche with her observation that the embrace of the US-led campaign against international communism caused Afrikaners to compromise traditional values long considered to have been the essence of Afrikaner identity: pride in the heroic past which featured battles to defend the *volk* against enemies, moral strength derived from the religious belief in Christian values and an austere lifestyle devoid of ostentation and materialism. Afrikaners for a long time, probably until the 1970s, viewed first British imperialism and then liberalism and a perceived abandonment of traditional western values with a mixture of scorn, fear and concern. Apart from the Afrikaners' above-mentioned unease with aspects of western materialism and its socio-political culture, they were

² Two Afrikaner historians have argued that fear can be considered a key motive in Afrikaner history. The fears that drove Afrikaner political consciousness derived from the challenges of British Imperialism and African nationalism in its various manifestations, cf. Derek du Bruyn and Andre Wessels, "Vrees as faktor in die regse blanke politiek in Suid-Afrika gedurende die eerste dekade van die apartheidsera, 1948-1958", *Journal for Contemporary History*, 32, 2, December 2007: 78-94.

ironically, remarkably similar to the Russian ruling classes as far as their adherence to authoritarianism, political obedience and an embrace of militarism as a solution for political challenges were concerned. Both Vale and Popescu have noted how much of the Cold War discourse in South Africa was characterized by an astonishing superficiality. The true impact of Cold War thinking on South Africans, they argue, has not yet been adequately researched and analysed.

Dylan Craig: *'Total justification': Ideological manipulation and South Africa's border war*

Craig discusses how government policy initially focused on securing white privileges in the form of wealth and status, until the escalating threat from opponents of apartheid required mobilization across the entire spectrum of society. Through the mass media in particular, the aim of ideological manipulation to ensure support for its policies was pursued. Increasingly the civilian and military spheres of life overlapped to such an extent that they became indistinguishable. Craig argues that government propaganda faltered because of three factors: firstly a growing realization that "war was not a last resort for South Africans" (p. 67), secondly, attempts to portray the government as a "representative, accountable and legitimate authority" (p. 68), charged with waging war on behalf of all South Africans, was questioned from across the political and ideological spectrum and thirdly, the war

came to be viewed as morally indefensible.

Daniel Conway: *'Somewhere on the border – of credibility': The cultural construction and contestation of the 'Border' in white South African society*

Conway argues that the border war concept was culturally constructed by the South African state "in terms that made its prosecution seem natural and essential" (p. 76). The growing militarization of SA society in effect depended on this border discourse. It was not only portrayed as the ideological line in the sand that no outsider could or should be allowed to cross, but it became a highly gendered concept. It also featured in daily discourse as a "self-evident, common sense line of defense" (p. 80). . Conway does not elaborate on the historical roots of the border concept, but white South Africans, Afrikaners in particular, would have been familiar with the idea of frontier/border (often used in the sense of a defense on the frontier of civilization, as well as considering border as a legal-political concept). The border war against Swapo and its communist allies could thus be easily inserted into the white, especially Afrikaner psyche, as simply a continuation of historic battles to ensure the survival of whites, Christianity and civilization. Apart from the ideological dimension in the cultural construction of the border, it depended on clearly defined gender identities: service on the border was equated as a patriotic duty for white men and combat was considered an essential part of it.

Women were expected to play a supportive role as nurturers of the soldiers of tomorrow and the guardians of home and family. Until the early 1980s most whites supported the war and held the South African Defence Force in high esteem and believed it could defend them and defeat their enemies. Most whites were hardliners and government had to take this into account. Eventually the border, once considered to be a distant, ill-defined reality, intruded into the lives of white South Africans, particularly when conflict in the townships led to the deployment of troops there. Conway traces the gradual erosion of the once hegemonic border discourse as the truth about the real costs of war and its impact on white society caused organizations and individuals to mobilize in opposition against the war.]

Michael Drewitt: *The construction and subversion of gender stereotypes in popular representations of the Border War*

Drewitt's article should be understood against the background of South African history, with its profoundly patriarchal tradition and the prevalence of chauvinistic and intolerant attitudes. In this respect the role of institutions like the church (esp. the Afrikaans churches), should be stressed as having been hugely influential.

The development of critical attitudes towards the border war and the gendered constructions informing attitudes and policies about it, evolved slowly and mostly amongst English-speaking South Africans, as Drewitt

correctly pointed out. It may be suggested here that, important as the observations about gender, ideology and conceptions of the border discussed by the previous authors are, a single narrative and analytical volume about the border war would probably achieve more coherence.

Mathilde Rogez: *Borderline cases: Madness and silence in the representation of the Border War in the works of select South African novelists.*

Henriette Roos: *Writing from within: representations of the Border War in South African Literature*

These two chapters address the border war from different perspectives: one is concerned with the psychological impact of the war on people and the other on what is believed to have been its radical, even transformative impact on Afrikaner thinking. Rogez is particularly concerned by displays of disorientation exhibited by the characters in the border war novels she discusses, causing them to descend into hysteria, madness or silence, conditions she ascribes to the impact of the apartheid ideology: "An education built on distrust and fear of the Other, and therefore on veneration of strength, embodied in the military force, is shown to have contributed to a gap between the self and other people" (p. 125). Roos argues that the border war literature produced by a generation of younger Afrikaans writers are "harbingers of the post-modernist era in Afrikaans literature" (p. 147) insofar as it undermined the status quo, rejected authority, hierarchy and stereotypes, fragmented narrative

structures, forsook aesthetic norms and crossed textual boundaries.

While Roos admits that border war literature suffers from a rather narrow focus and features “unconvincing efforts to portray the ‘other’ side” (p. 147), she believes it helped to create awareness amongst people who were oblivious of the realities of the war and the extent to which it touched them. Although she concurs with Rob Gordon’s observation that this literature was aimed at the destruction of whites (a concept arguably used to signify elimination of white domination), she disagrees with his contention that border war literature and low-brow publications catered for the middle and working classes respectively. According to Roos this line of thinking fails to recognise “the radical core of these texts and the subversive nature of their literary discourse” (p. 146). The impression, however, that border war literature reflected an existential crisis of middle class authors and their middle class readers cannot be ignored. This is not to belittle the significance of border war literature as a force for raising awareness amongst a notoriously ignorant and disinterested populace, but it does point to its core weakness, apart from the literary merit of the work: it is a reflection of how basically liberal-minded whites were affected by the border war, their traumas, pain and self-reflections.

Examples selected by Roos underscore these points: She refers to Koos Prinsloo as the author most closely identified with the “subversive nature of Afrikaans border literature”, but she also mentions that his work was “contemptuous of the pretences of

middle class society, subversive of the official communiqués, menacing in its personal despair” (p. 142). She elaborates on this theme by pointing to the relevance of Karl Jaspers’ ideas which held that an individual only “attains complete identity when opening up to border experiences: those involving conflict, struggle, guilt and death” (p. 143). Roos argues that despite dealing with war stories, the books constantly return to “boundary situations”. This confirms that border war literature was essentially concerned with the authors’ disillusionment with official discourses and their own sense of disorientation caused by the fading away of traditional certainties. Thus it could, in fact, appeal to an arguably more enlightened section (class?) of the white community.

Rogez points to J. M. Coetzee novel *Dusklands*, which pre-dated the border war, but explores the universal themes of colonial expansion and exploitation, exemplified by Vietnam and Namibia. However, whereas Coetzee’s novel displays an acute awareness of the historical dimensions and moral dilemmas associated with the imperial and colonial enterprise, border war literature largely fails to transcend an obsession with the contemporary, largely personal crises experienced by its authors and readers.

Wendy Morris: *Art and aftermath in Memórias Íntimas Marcas: Constructing memory, admitting responsibility*

The article explores another important dimension to the reflections about the border war. According to Morris the

project deviates from what war museums and memorials attempt to do, namely to portray the paraphernalia of war from the view of the victor, or to offer consolation to both victor and vanquished. She quotes Gele Uanga's statement that the project is about guarding "against lapses of memory, omissions, oversights, facile don't remembers, anaesthetising of lives, ensnaring of words and sealing of lips" (p. 161). The project is also significant for allowing artists who did not experience war duty to recapture the past as an "ethical or intellectual obligation" (p. 166). Morris quotes the visual artist I. Rogof's observation that "politically informed intellectual work is founded on certain disenchantments and frustrations with existing ways of knowing and that it is the mobilisation of this discontent that is the driving force behind the need to arrive at new articulations" (p. 166) Some artists view their work as an attempt to put in words their complicity in the war. The fascinating aspect inherent in the project is that it offers an opportunity to engage with a troublesome past, even if it constitutes a decidedly ambiguous engagement. Such initiatives may transcend the inherent problems in official attempts to reconstruct memory, such as South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, by creating an imagined world impossible to subject to clear definition or description.

Karen Batley: *'Documents of life': South African soldiers' narratives of the Border War*

Batley's article is an important reminder of how it is not always easy to dis-

entangle good and evil from each other in the aftermath of the border war: soldiers' experiences often testify to the fact that many did not experience the war in simple black and white terms. People were profoundly affected by the war & experienced a variety of emotions: alienation, fear, uncertainty and hopelessness, but they also long for the comradeship, friendship and shared hardship of border life. Sometimes the trauma of recounting harrowing events intermingles with intense longing for those times that produced it. An awareness of complicity in evil acts or human rights violations is often interspersed with a sense of longing for lost friends and good times. Unsettlingly, if stories recounting harrowing events were meant to produce a catharsis for the individual, they did not always do so, and if they were meant to ensure this among the reading public by informing them about what happened and how it was experienced at the frontier by individuals, they also did not necessarily achieve this objective, as "most civilians actually did not want to hear stories of trauma and victimhood" (p. 192).

This article and the growing body of literature featuring personal accounts of border war and associated military experiences indicate how much individuals were affected. The unsettling truth, however, is that many soldiers were not necessarily overtly perturbed by the moral depravity and human rights violations associated with the war. As G. Baines, co-editor of this volume, remarks in another article, many soldiers developed ex post facto remorse about the war and their own

role in it. Future research may reveal how much the reverses suffered by the SADF towards the late-1980s and the relatively peaceful nature of the transition to a democratic dispensation induced literary constructions about the border war suffused with remorse and a heightened appreciation of their own guilt.

Elaine Windrich: *Savimbi's war: Illusions and realities*

Windrich offers an interesting assessment of South Africa's involvement in Angola: motivated more by a desire to have a pro-SA govt. installed in Angola, rather than, as the United States aimed to do, to forestall communist objectives for control of Angola. This would seem to confirm the views of some critical observers that South Africa's border war was motivated more by a desire to prevent Swapo from coming to power in Namibia, than to engage in the often invoked life-and-death struggle against the forces of world communism. It is also interesting to note that Jonas Savimbi, Unita leader, for so long presented as a heroic defender of freedom against communist dictatorship, had a rather testy relationship with the SA government, with the latter's insistence that Unita pay for the material support received, forcing him to engage in extracting ivory and teak from the Angolan countryside. For all his credentials as a freedom fighter Savimbi was also notoriously reluctant to submit to the democratic verdict of the Angolan people, choosing to continue to fight his war against the MPLA at great cost to

the people of the country and its economy.

Edgar J. Dosman: *Countdown to Cuito Cuanavale: Cuba's Angolan campaign*

Dosman presents a more nuanced version of the much-debated military and diplomatic events and developments in 1987 and 1988 preceding and following the landmark battle of Cuito Canavale. He argues that Cuba effectively transformed the strategic and geo-political balance in Angola by decisively ending SA's quest for de facto regional hegemony. He presents a persuasive argument that Cuba should primarily be credited for forestalling SA's objective of using its military successes against the Cubans and MPLA in 1987 to secure a 'proxy government' in Angola. Such an outcome would essentially have cemented the interim administration in Namibia as the ruling body of the territory. Dosman further argues that US Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs C. Crocker should not be credited for facilitating the peaceful conclusion to the war through his 'constructive engagement' policy. That policy would almost certainly have allowed SA to achieve its neo-colonial objectives, had Cuba not intervened to reshape the geo-political and military constellation of forces in the region. Seen in this way, the widely accepted stalemate that resulted from the battle of Cuito Canavale did more than merely terminate SA's potential expansionist ambitions: it was decisive in forcing SA onto the defensive by moving a significant military force southward, close to the Namibian

border, thereby underlining SA's growing inability to project its military domination into Angola.

Dosman also dismisses the general (US & SA view) according to which Cuba was a Soviet puppet, doing its master's bidding at every turn. By contrast, Cuba planned the counter-offensive against SA from the end of 1987 and implemented it virtually on its own, only informing the USSR at a very late stage in proceedings. Their relationship, as he illustrates, was also often driven by tension generated by the arrogant attitude of the Russians and the anger of the Cubans over the USSR's neglect to consult them regularly.

Robert J. Gordon: *Oh shucks here comes Untag!: Peace-keeping as adventure in Namibia*

Gordon addresses some really pertinent issues here, which unfortunately tend to be submerged into a paradigm which, in effect, trivializes the many important issues associated with the Untag operation in Namibia in 1989 that he raises. To posit the role of Untag as basically an adventure largely forecloses an analysis of the constellation of forces that influenced and shaped the transition process in Namibia. Gordon touches on this when he quotes Howard who stated that the success of the transition was due to, not "so much the consent of the warring parties and the strong Security Council interests, as that UNTAG were able to adapt to the needs of the post-war environment" (p. 230). The rest of the article fails to explore the validity of this assertion and instead offers a discourse on adventure on the

one hand and examples of Untag personnel's frivolous behaviour on the other. Gordon may well be right in asserting that Untag personnel did regard their tour of duty as being an adventure during which they somehow failed to conduct themselves in a manner befitting the historically momentous endeavour they were charged with. However, by elaborating extensively on adventure as an academic concept and by assessing to what extent this particular peace-keeping undertaking conformed to this definition, the article is rather uneasily positioned amongst the rest of the collection comprising this book.

Sasha Gear: *The road back: Psycho-social strains of transition for South Africa's ex-combatants*

Gear points out how poorly conceived and planned the transition to a post war society had been in SA on the level below the metapolitical and economic superstructure, to which enormous amounts of time and effort were devoted. Soldiers from both sides of the political divide, once feted as the principal defenders of their respective causes, found themselves, if not actively disregarded, often marginalized. It is ironic that so much effort was expended in waging war and training people to kill, but very little thought was given to how those traumatized by war could adapt to a democratic, peaceful dispensation. This omission clearly has the potential to undermine social stability, potential manifested in an escalation of violent crime, individual experiences of post-traumatic stress disorder and the failure

to adjust to a peaceful, yet challenging social and economic dispensation. As Gear makes clear, it is not only a failure to provide adequate social and economic conditions for ex-combatants which characterize the position of antagonists on both side of the military and ideological divide, but also the neglect demonstrated by both government and society to attend to the psychological needs and concerns of these people.

Christopher Saunders: *South Africa in Namibia/Angola: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Account*

Saunders argues that the TRC in SA may have been successful in offering some people the opportunity to tell their stories & relieve the burdens of sorrow and pain to some extent. From the perspective of historians, though, the TRC failed in many respects to ask for & retrieve vital information about the human rights abuses committed during the war & period of apartheid rule inside and esp. outside SA. Deficiencies include the absence of historians on the TRC, the scope of the commission's work which focused only on high profile cases and ignored much of the "routine brutality of apartheid rule", the inability and unwillingness of people appearing before the commission to talk about what happened in Namibia, etc. (pp. 270-1). His conclusion is that much more work is required before a "comprehensive and reliable account of South Africa's role in Angola and Namibia" will be available (p. 276). Judging from the number of books that have appeared since the end of the border war, it is already possible to

have a better and more nuanced understanding of this conflict. As is evident from developments during the past ten to fifteen years, questions on issues such as political and military leaders' awareness (and toleration) of human rights abuses and continuity and changes in strategic political and military objectives may never be fully answered. For Saunders this deficit constitutes a serious shortcoming of the TRC's work.

Heike Becker: *Remaking our histories: the Liberation war in postcolonial Namibian writing*

Becker's article presents a suggestive feminist perspective on the war which raises questions about the carefully-constructed master (male) narrative by Swapo embodying events like Heroes Day, Cassinga Day, the construction of the Heroes Acre Memorial and the former president's book entitled *Where others wavered*. The three texts discussed by Becker point to attempts to manoeuvre outside this master narrative, or to provide a subtle counter-narrative. The general paucity of such works, cautious and restrained as these ones are, is however an indication of how difficult it is for counter-narratives to be inserted into the public domain in Namibia. One text, an account of writing by Namibian women, is characteristic of the "highly restrained" nature of voices (p. 286), failing to talk about abuses experienced (even referring to fellow black Namibians who committed abuses as 'South Africans'). In a second text, the author not only mentions the abuses of

the 'Boers', but refers to shadowy liberation fighter figures and talks about the cultural dislocation experienced by people as a result of the war. The last book is a highly personal account from an author disillusioned by the nature of the changes in Namibia as well as in herself, identity questions and events from her childhood that continue to haunt her. These accounts, according to Becker, contrast implicitly with existing male versions of the past, mostly written by prominent Swapo figures largely following the master narrative that privilege Swapo as the premier liberation force in the country.

Justine Hunter: *No man's land of time: reflections on the politics of memory and forgetting in Namibia*

Hunter presents a deliberately even-handed interpretation of the conundrum of human rights abuses during the period of the liberation struggle, perpetrated by both SA and Swapo. Swapo's dominant position in society and fault-lines caused by ethnic divisions and the divisions in society caused by the liberation war, further undermined attempts to open up the past for investigation. Hunter concludes that though it may take decades "to come to terms with the past" (p. 317), Namibia should nevertheless attempt to do so because "contested history is preferable to the myth-making of official selective history" (ibid.). Examples of how this was done elsewhere should not necessarily be duplicated, as long as the importance of trying to cultivate a human rights culture is recognized and followed. If the former head of state's occasional intemperate

outbursts directed against particular groups in society such as 'Boers', certain religious denominations who failed to align themselves with the liberation movement and an assortment of societal miscasts, are used as a yardstick, the day when Namibians will be in a position to face the past in an honest, transparent manner may still be in the distant future.

Comment

Beyond the Border War is an important and timely book, coming as it did on the back of several accounts by military historians or academics who were either obsessed with the reasons why the political outcome of the border war was so much at odds with the military successes achieved, or focused largely on the technical aspects of the war and the military achievements of the SADF. In a sense it is the logical successor to a groundbreaking account of South Africa in the grip of apartheid oppression and counter-terror, which was published on the eve of the momentous events of 1990.³ A recent re-reading of this book, titled *The militarization of South Africa*, still evokes the pervading sense of foreboding. *Beyond the Border War* is the first post-transition locally published book that touches on several aspects raised in the earlier one. The articles by Vale and Dosman offer an incisive critique of the political rationale and military strategy underlying the border war, bringing clarity to issues that were often clouded

³ Jacklyn Cock & Laurie Nathan, (eds.), *War and Society. The militarisation of South Africa*, Cape Town, David Philip, 1989.

in confusion by the end of the 1980s. The various articles in *Beyond the Border War* dealing with the way in which white South Africans were subjected to official propaganda and co-opted into active support for the war, confirm and build on similar accounts in *The Militarization of South Africa*. A few new themes are presented, for example the emphasis on gender and the more elaborate reflections on the war by novelists, both Afrikaans and English, as well as by former soldiers, whose reminiscences often offer poignant comment on official attempts to construct an edifice of national unity, patriotism and ideological conformity around the issue of the border war. It is also possible in the new book to contextualize issues raised by the earlier one, for example how the arrival of the border war in the black townships radically affected whites in a manner that the distant conflict failed to and helped to sensitize public opinion about the war. The various articles dealing with literature about the Border War, including both fiction and non-fiction, touch on two important issues: they confirm what the earlier book suggested, namely that Afrikaners tended to embrace more enthusiastically the rhetoric of anti-communism and the resultant rationale for war than their English counterparts, but they also reveal to what an extent individuals, Afrikaans and English alike, harbored doubts about the war.

For all its laudable intent to cover as many aspects of the border war as possible, there are inevitably others that call for analysis. The impact of not only the war, but the extent of human

suffering caused by it in neighboring states, more contributions from black writers about their experiences of war, racism, ethnic and inter-group conflict in black communities and an assessment of the impact of apartheid on the post-1990 generation of both white and black South Africans, are a few of the issues that call for investigation. It is also possible that accepted accounts of the recent past will be subjected to revisionist interpretations. Frequent references to the legacy of apartheid and white racism to explain a variety of social ills, especially crime, corruption and the failure to establish a meaningful sense of unity in South Africa, suggests that the determinants that helped to shape the South African past are still inadequately understood. A recent book by Anthea Jeffery titled 'People's War, new light on the struggle for South Africa', disagrees with the orthodox version of the factors underlying the violence in the 1980s and early 1990s, namely that the security forces fomented violence through the agency of a 'third force'. According to Herman Giliomee, Jeffery argued that the ANC's strategy consisted of the following: organize protests and ethnic (peoples') uprisings, intimidate, injure and eliminate opponents and win the propaganda war by blaming antagonists and the police for the violence and get the ANC line accepted in newspapers and on TV screens around the world.⁴ If publications that appeared during the past twenty years are anything to go by, it can be expected that the border

⁴ *Rapport*, 4 October 2009 (H. Giliomee, 'Die ANC se geheime resep is geweld').

war and the ideological and socio-political constructs underpinning it, will continue to be subjects for investigation. And it is quite likely that the fruits of such work will reveal an increasingly complex picture of the southern African past.

Christo Botha
UNAM, Windhoek