



New light shed on link between protest and armed struggle

APARTHEID'S REBELS: INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA'S HIDDEN WAR by Stephen M. Davis (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1987).

IN this book Stephen Davis, American journalist and political analyst, sheds new light on a country in the grip of a civil war.

The book starts off by dealing with the birth of the South African National Congress, later renamed the African National Congress, and the years of non-violent protest. It deals with other actors such as the South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress that are also involved in the South African liberation struggle. It identifies the ANC as one of the major actors in the current struggle for liberation.

The ANC's decision to take up arms, the early years of exile and the escalation of the armed struggle is discussed against the background of greater repressive trends in South Africa.

Apartheid's Rebels provides the reader with an extremely good "inside" view of the background dimension of the liberation movements. The author's discussion of military objectives, infiltration tactics, espionage and war statistics provides the reader with a useful tool to understand the crux of the current resistance that resulted in a political impasse in South Africa: an outmoded ideology and illegitimate regime being juxtaposed with a relatively successful armed struggle and a highly effective diplomatic strategy by the liberation movement.

The book shows how the National Party regime opted for the "bunker state" option rather than negotiation and a redistribution of scarce resources. By using the "bunker state" concept, Davis is following closely in the footsteps of the garrison-state concept developed by Lasswell. It is shown how minority domination was/is being maintained by ideological manipulation of legitimacy (total strategy and reform), militarisation and an ideological framework based on a total onslaught.

There are, however, some critical remarks: one cannot criticise Davis for having to rely mainly on interviews and newspaper reports in the first part of the book — especially regarding the rebellion-revolt part and the ANC's military strategy. That is to be expected in a war-torn situation. In fact, this part of the book is excellent — given this contextual restriction!

However, the "bunker state" concept is not clearly conceptualised. As a concept it is also not demarcated from similar concepts such as the "garrison state" (Lasswell), "mobilized society" (Orr) and "totalitarian state" (Brzezinski). Some excellent working definitions have been identified in a South African context by Willem van Vuuren (University of Western Cape) and also applied to the South African state. (See *Politikon*, vol 12(2), Dec 1985.) It is a pity that a potentially excellent chapter has been underplayed in terms of an analysis and contextual application. The chapter ended up as an average descriptive chapter while it could have been an excellent piece of work. It is trusted that this will receive more attention in later editions.

Reflecting on the current violent stalemate, Davis concludes with a very sobering(?) — worrying(?) — idea: "When peace arrives (in South Africa) it will probably not be through conquest. Rather, it will come grudgingly, and after seasons of bloodshed, as a fruit of exhaustion." Perhaps that constitutes the irony of South Africa.

In conclusion: *Apartheid's Rebels* is indeed an important contribution in a neglected field (the link between protest and revolt and the military strategy of the ANC). One hopes that, in future editions, the rather descriptive chapters towards the end will be improved and that attention will be given to clear conceptualising and in-depth analysis of the minority regime's reaction to liberation strategies and tactics. However, the book can be seen as a must — if the reader can still get hold of a copy.

IAN LIEBENBERG
IDASA Research Consultant

Aangehoudenenes het nie die reg op die besoek van 'n private geneesheer of spesialis nie, behalwe as die hoof van die gevangenis dit aanbeveel.

Hulle is nie outomaties geregtig op besoek deur familieleden nie.

Hulle word nie toegelaat om koerante, musiekinstrumente, radio's, televisiestelle, platespelers, eetgoed of bandopnemers van buite die gevangenis te ontvang nie.

Hulle is net geregtig op 'n halfuur oefening per dag buite die sel, wat beteken dat 'n aangehoudene 23½ uur per dag in sy sel kan deurbring.

Mnr. Currin sê Regslui vir Menseregte sou graag wou sien dat aanhouding sonder verhoor heeltemal afgeskaf word. Maar omdat hulle graag 'n konstruktiewe bydrae tot die bestaande debat wil lewer, vra hulle dat daar sekere drastiese wysigings aangebring word aan die betrokke wetgewing.

Dit sluit die volgende in:

- Die tydperk van aanhouding sonder verhoor moet beperk word tot drie maande, waarna 'n aangehoudene aangekla of vrygelaat moet word. Indien die staat in dié tyd met getuienis vorendag kom wat daarop dui dat 'n aangehoudene 'n bedreiging vir staatsveiligheid inhou, kan die staat 'n aansoek om borgtog teenstaan. Die hof sal dan moet besluit oor vrylating al dan nie.

- Die Minister moet binne veertien dae redes verskaf vir 'n aanhouding, en moet binne dertig dae ná aanhouding verhoër van regsverteenvoerders oor aangehoudenenes aanhoor. Daarna moet die Minister sy eie mening oor die meriete van die spesifieke geval van aanhouding formuleer, waarop die voortgesette aanhouding van 'n persoon gegrond moet word. (Op die oomblik berus die Minister hom by die mening van die lid van die veiligheidsmagte wat die aanhouding beveel het.)

- Om enige beskuldigings van mishandeling uit te skakel, moet 'n onafhanklike geneesheer 'n aangehoudene binne sewe dae nadat hy in aanhouding geplaas is, besoek. Daarna moet hy minstens een keer 'n week besoek van 'n onafhanklike medikus ontvang.

- 'n Aangehoudene moet binne die eerste sewe dae van sy aanhouding toegang hê tot 'n regsverteenvoerder, en daarna op 'n weeklikse grondslag. 'n Pro Deo-komitee moet 'n private regsverteenvoerder aanwys vir diegene wat nie sy eie regsverteenvoerder kan bekostig nie.

- Familieleden moet 'n aangehoudene weekliks kan besoek.

- Aangehoudenenes moet dieselfde voordele as verhoorafwagendes geniet.

Indien hierdie wysigings aangebring word, sal die ontberinge wat aangehoudenenes verduur, grootliks verwyder word en sal dit daartoe bydra dat menseregte in Suid-Afrika in 'n sekere mate herstel word, sê mnr. Currin.