

vided and an extremely imaginative housing policy will have to be followed. I believe the Government is fully aware of this. It is the duty of responsible citizens to keep on pressurising the Government to put into practice the many constructive plans and approaches set out in the White Paper.

This is undisputably clear to me: with the passing of the Abolition of Influx Control Act and the other Acts to which I have referred in this article, we have come to the end of an era, an era that can never be re-opened again. □

Reviewed by Peter M. Stewart

PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGE

Paul Malherbe, **A Scenario for Peaceful change in South Africa.**
College Tutorial Press, 1986
Julie Frederikse, **South Africa: a different kind of war,** Ravan Press, 1986.

There is a certain perversity involved in presenting a scenario for peaceful change in South Africa. To do this is to deny the extent to which political violence is a feature of South African Society. It indicates a refusal to accept the significance of the deaths that have occurred both in the struggle against apartheid and in the name of that struggle. Indeed, it could be argued that to present a scenario for peaceful change in South Africa is to have an inadequate understanding of the nature and severity of the crisis confronting this society.

While the concept of peaceful change may now be obsolete there can be no doubt that there exists within South Africa the potential for much greater violence. As Merle Lipton argues, "It is this prospect - 'too ghastly to contemplate' - that provides the incentive, indeed the moral duty, to pursue the difficult, and now often unpopular, role of nurturing the diminishing possibilities of reform and negotiated change that still remain." Given this imperative and the obvious sincerity of Malherbe, one is obliged to take cognisance of his arguments.

Malherbe lists four prerequisites for peaceful change:

- We must overcome white complacency
- We must overcome white fear of ending baasskap
- We must bring about a change of government, and
- We must secure black co-operation.

Much of the argument in his book is devoted to the justification of these prerequisites by means of a consideration of the "main actors in the drama". In essence, he sees a deadlock between the National Party government, which despite rhetoric to the contrary remains committed to 'old fashioned baasskap', and the ANC, which is only prepared to discuss the handing over of power. Malherbe's analysis leads him to the conclusion that since power is effectively in the hands of the white population the only way to break this deadlock is for the white population to vote for the PFP, thus bringing about a change of government. Given this scenario, the logic of his prerequisites for change is evident.

For most of the remainder of his short book Malherbe chastises the PFP for following the politics of protest

as opposed to attempting to establish a balance of power situation in Parliament. The PFP, he argues, should aim to gain power by securing Black co-operation and overcoming white fear. Malherbe's conception of white fear is a central theme in his book and it would appear that many of the inadequacies of the book emanate from the inadequacy of this conception. White fear is not merely an abstract paranoia of black domination. It also emanates from having too much and hence too much to lose. Furthermore, even if the PFP was to win an election, it is unlikely to gain the co-operation of either the bureaucracy or the security forces. This could only lead to the further paralysis of parliament and an escalation in violence as state structures assert their autonomy.

Malherbe's scenario is further marred by a simplistic analysis of the ANC and the UDF and a facile, and in this context unnecessary, consideration of the relative merits of capitalism and socialism.

Julie Frederikse, in stark contrast to Malherbe, attempts to document the different perceptions which have culminated in South Africa being the site of an embryonic civil war. In order to do this she has assembled a collage of interviews, photographs, songs and extracts from newspapers, posters and pamphlets, loosely arranged into five chapters. The intention is that the words and pictures will "enable readers to make sense of the emerging situation - in terms of how the people of South Africa express their own experience".

For non-South Africans Frederikse's book might indeed be fascinating. South Africans, however, will probably feel that the complexity of South African society has eluded its scissors and glue approach. It is even possible that the conception and structure of the book prevent an adequate understanding of South African society from emerging. Nowhere is the reader informed of the criteria, for the inclusion of information and much of the content functions at the level of propaganda which, by its very nature, distorts reality. Thus while one is made aware of the vastly different perceptions which one finds in South Africa, it is virtually impossible to reconstruct an image of the society itself. Frederikse has attempted to overcome this problem by including a commentary but, unfortunately, this often contributes to the distortion as it is simplistic and contains many unsubstantiated assumptions.

Finally, when considering a society which is permeated by violence and the potential for violence, it is important to remember Hannah Arendt's observation that once violence as such is glorified or justified, one leaves the realm of the political and enters that of the antipolitical. Julie Frederikse, it would seem is not always aware that **A DIFFERENT KIND OF WAR** documents the end of politics in South Africa. □