

The South Africa Collection

A series of background and position papers written in preparation for and as an outcome of a six-week period of community consultancy in the Western Cape in May and June 1987

By
David Wasdell

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The South Africa Collection

No.1: Reflections on the South African Situation

The South Africa Collection

is a series of background and position papers written in preparation for and as an outcome of a six-week period of community consultancy in the Western Cape in May and June 1987

By
David Wasdell

A collection of seminar ideas, insights and reflections on the dynamics of South Africa. Subjects range from the complexity of polarisation to the role of world citizen in the Global Village; from unconscious sexual fears and guilt in the black/white relationship, to the dynamics of the Jewish community in the Cape; from paranoid processes and the need for personal integration to the paradoxical psychosis of religion; from the cultural fixation of the expatriate communities to the realistic hope of inter-racial cellular networks; from the application of Catastrophe Theory to the insights of Systems Analysis.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION

South Africa is a global cauldron, a seething crucible in which is being forged the being of tomorrow's world.

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Parameters of splitting in the South African situation: You have black and white, but it is not that simple. You also have Colour, and alongside Colour you have Asian and Malay, which are not black and they are not white, but they are not mixed race, they are ethnic entities and sub-entities, whereas the Coloureds are seen as non-entities. Colour covers a multitude of shades of miscegenation, already hidden in the histories of other sub-entities. The white however may split into English and Afrikaans-speaking, rich and poor, male and female, communist/capitalist, in-group/out-group, good and bad, liberal and conservative, powerful and impotent. Other sub-entities likewise may split into other groupings - Xhosa and Zulu, the fathers and the comrades, the conservatives, conformists, the radicals, the revolutionaries.

So splitting within the South African culture is multi-faceted, each grouping forms its own in-group bonding, its out-group anathema, and its boundary armour. Each grouping has its own projection mechanisms, its idealisation that 'in' is good, and 'out' is bad. Each in-group uses the out-group to dump the unacceptable parts of the in-group.

Splitting is not simply of persons from persons, but of parts of persons from other parts of the same person. Splitting is intrapersonal, not just extra-personal. Indeed extra-personal splitting within the social system is an externalisation of the splitting of the intra, so blackness is a condition of repression of parts of people - it represents the foetal unconscious as the black part, the repressed, contained, enslaved victim, the source of displacement, splitting, projection and scapegoating within society as a whole.

Disintegrated persons generate a disintegrated society. The social psychosis is a construct of the group in power, so the disintegration of apartheid is a construct of the psychosis of the dominant white minority. It is a sign of white sickness, of human sickness. There is a projection and denial of the black side of the white and of the white side of the black. If black is the symbol of the foetal unconscious, the contained, then white is the symbol of the persecuting cervix, crushing, containing, and yet in the laager all this was reversed. And we have reversed foetal dependency. The circling Zulu impis are seen as the crushing environment, in defence against which the wagons formed the laager wall, protecting the vulnerable foetal interior from violent onslaught.

Splitting into certain parameters is so clear that we are going to miss certain other parameters like the left/right split, the psyche/soma split, the cutting off of significant analysis, the acting out in body language and the outlawing of synthesis.

Personal integration and social integration are mutually interdependent necessities in the generation of tomorrow's world.

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The pronoun 'we' as South Africans includes all parts of all persons and all parties of the province.

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There is an enslaved part of every person, a victim at the heart of every victor and the slave mentality may be generated by the giving away of power to others just as much as being imposed by the taking away of power by others. So dependency in the Christian church may be an enacting of slavery which castrates and impoverishes those who take part in it. If the people give away their power to their pastors and to God, if they are continually seeking some messianic leader who will take over their responsibility and lead them through the wilderness then they themselves have become slaves, and in their acted enslavement enslave others in turn. So the theologically dominated becomes the humanistically dominating. The in-group which denies, represses and projects its victim parts into the victim Christ, victimises others with impunity.

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Need to explore the Jews as a group able to take ideological and practical initiatives yet castrated in their capacity to do that precisely by that which generates in them also the condition of being the victim, the castrated one, in circumcision. We need to go deeper to resolve the roots of splitting in the human psyche and in so doing to resolve the phenomena of the symptoms of splitting in human society.

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We also need to go higher in levels of integration to understand each individual person as a world citizen, an entity in their own right within the human species. It is as the dignity of the individual member of homo sapiens is recognised as a global characteristic that the Coloured, the White, the Black, the Jew, the Malay, the Hindu, the Indian, Xhosa and the Zulu each find their equivalent id-ENTITY, not as a member of some warring sub-group that dis-identifies all others but in collaboration with all sub-groups and none, equally having the same id-ENTITY so outlawing nonentities from the human experience.

The understanding of world citizenship and the integration of world boundaries is essential if the dynamics of South Africa are to be effectively resolved, for at the moment the shattering of every system is itself projected into South Africa in order to defend the world as a whole from handling the implications of integration within the global village. What South Africa represents within a province, the world represents within a globe and as such South Africa can lead the world into tomorrow if it can recover its id-ENTITY and throw off the sense of becoming the victim of the world's psychotic projections. As such it would seem that Cape Town is the key to the health of the province, Wynberg the key to the health of Cape Town and St. John's the key to the health of Wynberg. Here is a unique point of yield within a conflicted social system.

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A paranoid system will unite around negativities, complaints, and the throwing off of a persecutory rule. When that is achieved the paranoid community refocuses its paranoia, its splitting, its projection, its defences and reincarnates the very system it has sought to overthrow. We need to move in a different way, not by internalising and acting out paranoid dynamics but by producing a consensus around positive future goals, instead of present negative complaints, to be united for not united against, to move up level in such a way that each member of society can see the form of society as the responsibility of the total society, so that we do not say 'we are rich - they are poor', but the total population is included in the 'we' who say 'we are alienated into rich and poor', 'we are conflicted between black and white', 'we are torn into many warring factions, each struggling for supremacy'. So a meta-view of the social system lifts us above the warring faction and allows integration across boundaries, whereas the existential view forces us to identify our own interests within the group interest and to see all others as out-members, de-personalised, threatening. Such a raising of the level of integration demands raising the level of integration of persons and that in turn demands a structure of human maturation, widespread, crossing all cultural and racial and ethnic and belief and ideological boundaries and effective in its task performance.

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What would appear to be required is a mosaic of transformer groups, a multi-dimensional 'Cell-net' in which each cell is itself a transformer, a place of human growth, of development, of maturation, of goal searching, of personal transformation and of social transformation, linking the energies in flows moving from inside to outside, from outside to inside, building up into major national grid lines in which power is shared, flowing from one area to another. The sort of thing I have in mind at this stage is a set of non-entities, i.e. groups of 9 dividing into 3 threes, operating as co-consultants, co-counselling, each pair enabling the development of the out-member in the tripod, the triads themselves relating to each other as 3 threes, three triplets, a tetrahedron of tetrahedrons, a human pyramidal structure capable of sustaining massive stress and therefore facilitating major maturation within the social system, even though that system militates against the process. At the inter-cell level each triad could relate to two triads from other sectors, so that the inter-cell would be a rich mix, allowing the inter-group transformation, the boundary de-construction, the withdrawal of projection and the integration of the psychotic material. Such a system might be initiated within the churches but must transcend the churches, for indeed the churches themselves are as much sources of the dynamic of disintegration in society as any other sector. The seed must die if the fruit is to be born, and if in so doing the churches themselves go into demise, leading into the fullness of the humanity of the totality of integration, both intrapersonal and interpersonal within the society of tomorrow's world, then so be it. Perhaps with Bonhoeffer we can move towards religionless Christianity, and the celebration of humanism within the wholeness of our world.

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We must be acutely on the look out and alert to the pressure to regress away from the boundary of conflict in an attempt to unify in some deep mystical oneness of regressive idealisation those elements whose pain has to be worked through into the beyond of tomorrow, rather than withdrawn from into the bliss of yesterday. So the anxiolytic containment of alcoholism, in parallel to the opiate function of spirituality, the regressive drives of the charismatic movement, or the transpersonal mysticism of the new therapies, all

drain energy away from the boundaries at which the conflict must be resolved and worked through, facilitating a pseudo-unification of parts, at the expense of the disintegration of the whole. The direction of regression must be reversed in order to work back out through the crucis, through the crisis, through the cervix, into the world of reality, sustaining in that crucible the integration of disparate parts, rather than the unification and homogenisation of regression.

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I suspect that in the Coloured community there is a massive predominance of fertilisation trauma right at the heart of its cellular being. Most of the miscegenation would have occurred in conditions of dominance by the white male over a subject victim female and the coloured community is in the majority situation the product of a rape and of generations of rape victims then breeding and interbreeding with each other. The fundamental experience is of the sperm attack on the good ovum, the black mother rules, the white invader precipitates the traumatic impingement and it is only as that trauma itself can be overcome and relieved that the DNA structures in the very core of the molecular heart of the nucleus of the cells themselves can be integrated and accept the id-ENTITY of Colour as itself beautiful. It is imperative to disown as script the nuclear disintegration represented by the rape of the maid by the master. In primal terms we will probably see the loss of id-ENTITY at a cellular level within the Coloured community representing fertilisation and implantation trauma predominating over the fundamental splitting into fighting factions, epitomising perinatal impingement for those for whom their fundamental conception is itself whole. I would expect therefore alcoholism, drug abuse, suicide, regression to the point of annihilation to predominate in certain cultures within the Coloured community, matched also by violent flip/flop conversion reactions from one side to the other as the very cellular tissue of being experiences this sense of being torn asunder by warring factions.

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Somewhere behind all the defences is the most intense loss dynamic. I think there are indicators in the title and subject matter of *Cry, The Beloved Country* and *Naught For Your Comfort*, as if something pristine and beautiful has been lost because of the white invasion and therefore the task is somehow to turn the clock back to the time before the whites arrived (see Allan Boesak). I sense that the heart dynamic of *St. John's Wynberg* is also fixated loss focussed around dynamics as Bruce Evans left. *Deep River* also handles loss in the sense that the Coloured community has lost its home, its land and is clinging on to the old church as a defence against dealing with the change and the loss that has been enforced upon it. Such political restimulations must reach very much deeper into the unconscious, dealing with pre and perinatal loss and deprivation of maternal bonding, ultimately loss of the idealised womb world itself. This underlying sense of *Paradise Lost* generates a regressive, religious drive, which is totally unrealistic and is a compensation and denial of the real losses that have actually occurred, which have to be worked through if the realities of the present situation are to be engaged with any sense of effectiveness.

I wonder how far terror of retribution for rape forms an unconscious core within the white community in South Africa? My sense is that miscegenation is not simply the responsibility of the English-speaking garrisons but also of the Afrikaner white population, in which case the knowing the African only as a maid, with all the rape and forced sexuality that is involved in that history, out of which has come the Coloured population, must raise the most

phenomenal Oedipus complex and primal guilt in the white population, particularly when they have to unpick that history and recognise that the people that they took and used in this way were equally human beings as themselves. They were not animals, they were not lesser beings, for whom there were no moral sanctions against this kind of behaviour and the anger of the black male at the misuse of the black female by the white overlords is somewhere intensely deep and centres around this issue of rape and primal intercourse. Alongside that goes the issue of the guilt about massacre and theft of land from comparatively defenceless indigenous peoples. The unconscious spectre is that if these peoples re-emerge with power they will do back to us what we did to them, which was act out our primal talion on a defenceless environment. This is the psychotic rage of the foetal impingement writ large into the social system and now, because projected outwards, is faced on the boundary as a danger of re-introjected talion rage, as the environment acts out against the laager in parallel dynamic. I think we can apply Lloyd DeMause material on the Foetal Origins of History, and in particular on the dynamics of war to this situation.

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Another thought on transformer groups: If each transformer is a triad of triads, then those triads could then inter-relate and swap membership with other transformer groups in their neighbourhood or indeed with other groups in other cultural or racial areas so that you are cross-fertilising the projections and dealing with deconstruction of phantasies at boundaries in the transformer network.

Transformers of course also bring into question the direction of energy flow and where the power is coming from. Normally there are generators in the system and then a large grid with a series of transformers taking the power down level by level. The question of course is where does the energy come from, where are the generators in this system? The phantasy is that the generator is God and that the power lines kind of transform the voltage down until it is tolerable for the people and it is power to the people from some other source of power down the lines of transmission. Next is the idea of course of power to the people being an internalisation of power from a source into which it has been previously projected, which means a re-internalising of power, a taking of power to the people, which slowly empties the object which had previously carried the projection and de-energises the system, so bringing it to instability and change as the power base shifts from those in power to those out of power and those who were powerless then become the powerful, so emasculating those in power and we have a revolution, a flip/flop. This kind of conversion of course does nothing for the health of the system, it simply rearranges the deckchairs. The third way is to recognise that power has to be re-introjected from the places where it has been projected, owned as our own and that the generators are the individuals within their families, in their neighbourhoods and that as you link generators into transformer groups you can step up the power and we have then the process and energy flow of power from the people and the power of the people generated continuously upward in level, not by projection and dissociation which leaves the people impotent, but by the sharing of common people power throughout the social system in a balanced transformer network - bringing whatever level of power is appropriate to bear for problem-solving within a particular context.

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One of the main problems we face within religious systems is that they are precisely constructs of impotence. They facilitate the projection of power and of omnipotence into the Godhead and therefore perpetuate the sense of impotence and vulnerability, alienation, within the member. In so far as the power is the environmental power of the foetal boundary, this convulsing omnipotent womb in which we live and move and experience nascence of being, just so far does religion itself become the construct of castration. I don't think there is any way that the fundamental transformation of re-introjection and ownership of power among the people can actually be facilitated by a religious system, which in its fundamental structure, denies power to the people, places it in the Godhead and regulates re-introjection, while denying projection. We have to recognise that our experience of alienating and overwhelming power, both positive and negative, is a common experience of our primal history - it is not a metaphysical characteristic of our cosmos. The converse of this is that in our present situation we are not impotent foeti, nor are we omnipotent dictators, but we have some power in the context and acting corporately quite a lot of power to manage the reality of the boundary between the being and its dependence base in the geo-solar energy and chemical context in which we have evolved. Clearly if the transformation that we are seeking in human character is complete then the church itself will be transformed out of all recognition. Not only are we looking at the demythologising of its theology, but the deconstruction of its dynamic, the grounding of its psychotic symbol structure and the recovery from religion as a necessary precondition for the recovery from our politicisation.

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I think we could apply catastrophe theory to the process of change in the Province, though the parameters would have to be very carefully sorted out. If you treat them as apartheid and non-apartheid, or the power of the Afrikaner group versus the power of the black group, then the task is to shift upwards from the power of the black group to becoming powerful, instead of being impotent, which coincides with the destruction of apartheid, so the two parameters are very closely inter-linked. Now from our study of catastrophe theory, the application of increased pressure to move across the discontinuity between the catastrophe surfaces takes an enormous amount of energy and leads to an unstable condition on the second surface. However, a different strategy would be to move off the folded surface of the catastrophe to the pre-folding phase and then move back on the upper plane, which does mean some kind of regression and egression strategy, an unpicking of apartheid from the point before the split at an ideological and process level, which then allows the thing to move forward in an annealed way. My sense therefore is that the whole issue of sanctions, violence and pressure is an inappropriate strategy for the generation of social change other than by a major catastrophic discontinuity within the social system. There is an alternative.

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At some level within the Afrikaner unconscious is the terror of the virility of the negro male. Myths of the sexual prowess of the black man are common and I sense that there is some way in which the white male projects the repressed and denied areas of aggressive sexuality into the other race. Back behind this may well be the guilt-laden awareness that it was the unbridled extra-marital sexuality of the white males using the women captured as slaves which generated the majority of the Coloured population in the first place. The retaliation is both feared and desired. The disarming, emasculation, rendering impotent of the black male population so that they could not defend their females from such exploitation is institutionalised in the apartheid regime. It is epitomised by the unwitting comment of a

white clergyman in reference to the black population "We only knew them as our maids". It is hardly surprising that fears of rape are currently being fanned by the ultra right wing Afrikaner groups. The video of black men sunning themselves on the grass in houses they have bought within a white suburb is used to stir up all kinds of fears for the safety of the white women in the surrounding houses.

Taking the usual path of reading symbolism of the part standing in for the whole, the deeper unconscious fears would appear to be something to do with breach of the common foetal unconscious boundaries, the rape of the womb by the whole person by the social group with all the intolerable crushing, implosion, violence, tearing, burning talion that is associated with that particular impingement when it is released uncontrollably into the social behaviour. I don't think there is any way we can deal with the presenting symptoms without digging right down to the roots of the unconscious causal core.

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An adaptation of the Cantonment or federated system that is being proposed for South Africa would be the setting up of a federal constitution of the United States of South Africa, the USSF. This clearly would be a two-level system with a network of interdependent sub-states, each with its own legislature, dealing with local affairs, each in name and process bound by the overall constitution to be non-racial and on the positive side actually intentionally inter-racial, encouraging mobility between areas and setting in place a long process of integration across conflicted boundaries, deconstruction of the reified and conflicted polarities. It would need norms which in the long term tend to the more equal distribution of wealth and privilege, resources, education, health services etc. It would probably need a philosophy not simply geared to equal opportunity for all but to equal provision for potential fulfilment. This weighted policy would overcome the present discrepancies in the levels of achievement on the basis of which continued stratification and racial segregation and disempowerment would tend to continue. I think some such vision of the United States of South Africa could provide a positive nucleus of realistic hope, allowing rigidity to be withdrawn from the present polarised systemic conflict. The opportunity to draw up a new federal constitution provides the potential for change without the threat of disruption of the status quo while the change is in process. The process should allow dialogue at all levels and a synthesis based on a non-religious, non-racist foundation of commonly acknowledged human rights, of equal persons within the global village.

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Both the English and the Dutch represented the boundary managers or resource seeking agents of expanding colonial powers, maritime trading nations, scouring the world environment for the resources required to sustain the exponential growth and incorporation of their back home populations. As such they are essentially paranoid projection carriers. Taken as a whole the whites, i.e. Afrikaner and English, collude precisely in their exploitation of the environment, i.e. Coloureds, Blacks and Ecology. However in relation to each other each sees the other as part of the environment and so enters into a mutually exploitative struggle group across the balance of power, but dealing essentially with the issue of resources, seen in the labour market of the environment, the agricultural, energy and mineral resource wealth etc.

In this sense the whites are fundamentally different from the tribal black presence, since the black tribes do represent total systems in place, while the white groups represent boundaries of European systems, whose dynamics are determined by the back home systemic dynamics of the international relationships of Europe.

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I do not find it at all surprising that the most fundamentally conservative core institutions of both the English speaking and Afrikaans speaking white minorities, bitterly opposed to each other during the Boer War, when the black presence was not threatening, become mutually collusional in the present situation facing a common threat from the environmental majority. If this analysis is correct then I do not believe that South Africa has access to the causal parameters that determine the dynamics of its intra-national behaviour, splitting off of relationships between South Africa and the rest of the world deprives the sub-system of South Africa of any access to power for significant change. Conversely, it protects the rest of the world from having to own and deconstruct its projections into the colonial context of South Africa. The splitting off and denial of the shadow prohibits the integration of the whole.

David Wasdell,
May 1987

The South Africa Collection No.2: Kairos in Question

The South Africa Collection

is a series of background and position papers written in preparation for and as an outcome of a six-week period of community consultancy in the Western Cape in May and June 1987

By
David Wasdell

The 'KAIROS Document' is one of the most significant contributions to the South African debate to emerge from grassroots theological reflection in the Province. This analytic response exposes some of the logical, theological and psychological fault lines in the document. The serious question is raised as to whether the church's response to apartheid is not in itself a mirror of the same system. A higher level of systems analysis is called for, one which resolves the roots of splitting in the social process rather than simply shifts the pain in conversion reaction from one side of a split to the other.

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KAIROS IN QUESTION

Response to "THE KAIROS DOCUMENT" published by The Catholic Institute for International Relations, London 1986]

"The Kairos Document" is part of a process, an evolving product of catholic reflection, the growing point of black theology, of liberation theology forged in the crucible which is South Africa today. It describes itself as:

"a Christian, biblical and theological comment on the political crisis ... an attempt by concerned Christians ... to reflect on the situation of death ... It is a critique of the current theological models that determine the type of activities the Church engages in to try to resolve the problems of the country. It is an attempt to develop, out of this perplexing situation, an alternative biblical and theological model that will in turn lead to forms of activity that will make a real difference to the future of our country." [p.vii]

This response indicates that the Kairos analysis is fundamentally flawed. Its position is an unwitting mirror of the self same construct it seeks to criticise. The way forward to which it points is a path of convulsive conflict leading to a reversal of the power base and a perseveration of the underlying problem. Effective political solutions will require breakdown of the collusional assumptions of religion and an analysis at a far more radical depth. Such deconstruction is costly, failure will be catastrophic.

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The second chapter is taken up with a penetrating critique of 'state theology', that theologically undergirded ideology which justifies the oppressive apartheid regime in South Africa. In passing, the Kairos theologians highlight a truism of their own and all other theological systems in the words:

"'State Theology' like every other theology needs to have its own concrete symbol of evil. It must be able to symbolise what it regards as godless behaviour and what ideas must be regarded as atheistic. It must have its own version of hell. And so it has invented, or rather taken over, the myth of communism. All evil is communistic and all communist or socialist ideas are atheistic and godless. Threats about hell-fire and eternal damnation are replaced by threats and warnings about the horrors of a tyrannical, totalitarian, atheistic and terrorist communist regime - a kind of hell-on-earth. This is a very convenient way of frightening some people into accepting any kind of domination and exploitation by a capitalist minority." [p.7]

If theology is the reified construct of a paranoid schizoid defence, then such fundamental idealisation between the inside and the outside is inevitably a common characteristic. Here is a product of that fundamental dynamic which gathers up all the repressed negativities of the human psyche and projects them onto the outside of the in-group boundary, then as a secondary measure, reifies that boundary into an armed defence, justifying massive

expenditure in order to keep out the threatened invasion of the projected elements. The split can only be maintained by the concomitant repression in the core of the society of the same mirror material. In this sense salvation rules within while damnation rules without. The ideal good field on the outside is totally annihilated, the ideal bad field on the inside is also totally annihilated and the religious ideology reifies both sides of the construct, it is not simply to do with one side only. And this fundamental denial of the two sides of the coin is one of the most devastating fallacies of the Kairos document. There is a fundamental splitting of the human psyche and a denial of the internal bad parts. The in-group, which in the Kairos construct are the oppressed, the poor, are represented as in no way responsible for the generation of the badness on the outside. There appears to be no awareness of the fundamental projection mechanisms which make society behave the way it does. I find the Kairos document is in massive collusion with the psychotic social defences - one symptom or syndrome of which is the apartheid-driven oppression of certain sectors of that society.

The in-group always claims the endorsement of 'God' for its paranoid construct. The out-group perceives the god of the in-group as an 'antichrist', a demonic force. Conversely, the in-group perceives the god of the out-group as a demonic antichrist. The Kairos document calls for a reversal of 'god' and 'antichrist' which is concomitant with the reversal between in-group and out-group ideology. It is a conversion reaction, not a resolution of the conflict. Within their construct the same fundamental splitting would emerge, it is simply that there would be others in power.

The use of religious assumptions to undergird the political process of the state is very revealing, but perhaps:

"... the most revealing of all is the blasphemous use of God's holy name in the preamble to the new apartheid constitution.

'In humble submission to Almighty God, who controls the destinies of nations and the history of peoples; who gathered our forebears together from many lands and gave them this their own; who has guided them from generation to generation; who has wondrously delivered them from the dangers that beset them.'

"This god is an idol. It is as mischievous, sinister and evil as any of the idols that the prophets of Israel had to contend with. Here we have a god who is historically on the side of the white settlers, who dispossesses black people of their land and who gives the major part of the land to his 'chosen people'.

"It is the god of superior weapons who conquered those who were armed with nothing but spears. It is the god of the casspirs and hippos, the god of teargas, rubber bullets, sjamboks, prison cells and death sentences. Here is a god who exalts the proud and humbles the poor - the very opposite of the God of the Bible who 'scatters the proud of heart, pulls down the mighty from their thrones and exalts the humble' (Lk 1: 51-52). From a theological point of view the opposite side of the God of the Bible is the devil, Satan. The god of the South African State is not merely an idol or false god, it is the devil disguised as Almighty God - the antichrist." [p.7f.]

There is very little to choose between basic Jewish nationalism, reified into the construct of the theocracy, or Islamic fundamentalism, or the laager deity of the Boers. The problem is, of course, that the protests of the Canaanites could well have been couched in the language of black theology. The great god of Israel, Yahweh himself, apparently required the racial

extermination of the indigenous population so that the land could be given to His people. It is the same problem.

The point at issue here surely is not that one god is the idol and another god is right, but that both sides of the projection are precisely that, psychotically reified projections. It is this systemic characteristic of the reification of paranoid dynamic into ideological construct, which then justifies precisely the behaviour which has given rise to it, that lies at the heart of the problem. Both sides have the same idolatrous, i.e. psychotic, ideology. It is just that one side had the guns and the other side did not. One side has the power of economic exploitation and the other side is impotent. In a society in which aggrandisement of the sub-system at the expense of the whole system is the rule of the day, the most powerful sub-system dominates. If the power balance had been the other way round then the plea would have been reversed and the oppressed would have been the other group. Where the balance is fairly equal in terms of armaments, there is an uneasy truce, with each side calling the other demonic, as in Northern Ireland. If the Catholics were black and unarmed and the Protestants were white and well armed, we would have a South African situation in Northern Ireland. It is no answer simply to reify the god of the out-group into God Almighty and to denigrate the god of the in-group into the Antichrist and then to set out so to generate an ideological conversion reaction that shifts power from one to the other. That may be good revolutionary ideology, it is utterly inadequate in terms of the solution of human problems.

Moving on to a critique of 'church theology' the document examines the concept of 'reconciliation':

"The fallacy here is that 'reconciliation' has been made into an absolute principle that must be applied in all cases of conflict or dissension. But not all cases of conflict are the same. We can imagine a private quarrel between two people or two groups whose differences are based upon misunderstandings. In such cases it would be appropriate to talk and negotiate to sort out the misunderstandings and to reconcile the two sides. But there are other conflicts in which one side is right and the other wrong. There are conflicts where one side is a fully armed and violent oppressor while the other side is defenceless and oppressed. There are conflicts that can only be described as the struggle between justice and injustice, good and evil, God and the devil. To speak of reconciling these two is not only a mistaken application of the Christian idea of reconciliation, it is a total betrayal of all that Christian faith has ever meant. Nowhere in the Bible or in Christian tradition has it ever been suggested that we ought to try to reconcile good and evil, God and the devil. We are supposed to do away with evil, injustice oppression and sin - not come to terms with it. We are supposed to oppose, confront and reject the devil and not try to sup with the devil." [p .10]

I think we need to study the three words of 'reconciliation', 'synthesis' and 'integration'. In Hegelian terms, we are faced with a thesis and antithesis, a mutually exclusive opposition. The emergent solution is the synthesis of the two which then becomes the thesis for the next generation of conflict. In developed Marxist ideology, however, the thesis is faced with the oppressed antithesis, which then takes over power, so overthrowing the thesis and generating a revolutionary conversion reaction in which the antithesis takes up the position of being the thesis. Similarly, the domination of the new thesis generates a new antithesis, which in turn has to go through some kind of revolutionary process or reversal of the power balance, and so on. In such revolutionary ideology society progresses through a series of conversion reactions in which white is called black, is called white, is called black, is called white, is called black.

On the other hand reconciliation involves the recognition of wrongs on both sides, of fears and anger on both sides, of resentment, greed and retaliatory rage on both sides. If we press below the surface of the confrontation in South Africa we do find precisely that situation. The difference is one of economic and military power, which has given to one side of the confrontation the actual physical edge over the other, but in no way has that accident of history generated one party innocent and the other party guilty. Surely even within the terms of Christian theology the totality of the system is seen as under judgement and in need of salvation, grace, repentance, conversion, call it what you will. Historically, if the Zulu impis were in a position to annihilate and massacre a beleaguered laager, or an overwhelmed encampment of British forces, they did so. The Kairos document's analysis is too superficial. It represents an intensification of the idealisation process and an attempt to annihilate one pole of the split, as if that is somehow a solution to the problem. In so doing, the dynamic endorsed within this document is precisely the dynamic endorsed under Hitler and under the most fundamentalist of the apartheid supporters. You cannot propose a solution in this situation by dehumanising one side. Again, even within the terms of Christian theology itself, one has to generate a critique of the Kairos document at precisely this point. Reconciliation does not come from blurring issues but it does come from the bearing of suffering, the re-internalising of the projection, the absorption of the poison from the other, without counter-transference, without retaliation, but with all the utter costliness of loving and courageous interpretation of what is going on. Christian theology has no room for the words 'do away with', 'oppose', 'confront', 'reject', 'split off from'.

Pressing deeper behind the mandala of split forms in the here and now we move to the psychodynamic roots of the psychotic construct. We may call the process centration, or regression/integration/egression, or even, using the terms of Catastrophe Theory, as a movement back off the split surface, in order to move up level. The task is not to move from one side of the split to the other, so reversing the supposed injustice in the here and now. The task is to unpick the social proclivity for splitting in the first place. It is not instinctive, it is learned. It is not an inevitable concomitant of human civilisation. It is a collusionally maintained systemic psychosis from which it is possible to recover. We now face the point at which the costliness of the recovery is preferable to the catastrophe of its perseveration. In that I believe are the seeds of realistic hope, but most certainly not in the task of construct conversion.

The starting point for the integration of human psychosis requires regression to the arche of human being, and the reworking of psychic development. However, the starting point for the Kairos document remains in the cross-section, the presenting topology of the here and now. So as the authors begin to expound the basis of prophetic theology they say:

"... the starting point for prophetic theology will be our experience of the present KAIROS." [p.17]

The approach is paralleled by the work of Carl Jung. The starting point is the experienced here and now of split off parts. However in Jungian therapy the task is not the conversion reaction from the self to the shadow, but the raising to consciousness of the shadow and the enabling of both parts to relate to each other. The Kairos document appears to prefer a reversal of light and shade, self and shadow. It is simply that the light has condemned itself and shown itself to be darkness, while from the light's perspective that which was dark is now affirming that it itself is light. The battle is, as always, between light and dark. However the problem is that both sides assume themselves to be 'light' and in the 'right' and the other to be 'dark' and in the 'wrong'. The Kairos document is a mirror image of the ideology of apartheid. There is no solution when the starting point is limited to the here and now. There can be uneasy truce and increased communication between split off parts, as in a Jungian

approach, but there cannot be resolution. The topology doesn't change. What is required is an analysis and a proaction that shifts the level of systemic variable back to the point at which-we can enclose within the whole system the parameters which generate the topology of the presenting surface. The temporal sub-system is inadequate in that it does not contain within itself the parameters which are generating causally the surface which is being experienced. We have to add to the experience of the present the breadth of historical development and the depth of psychodynamic generation.

The authors very accurately describe the process of increased idealisation to the point of catastrophe within a social system. Idealisation subjected to intense feedback loops can split apart into psychotic acting out. So they describe:

".. the present impasse. As the oppressed majority becomes more insistent and puts more and more pressure on the tyrant by means of boycotts, strikes, uprisings, burnings and even armed struggle, the more tyrannical will this regime become. On the one hand it will use repressive measures: detentions, trials, killings, torture, bannings, propaganda, states of emergency and other desperate and tyrannical methods. And on the other hand it will introduce reforms that will always be unacceptable to the majority because all its reforms must ensure that the white minority remains on top." [p.24]

In so far as the impasse is set up between the opposed forces of crushing constriction and survival drive met in the birth canal and repressed and denied behind the common social defences ever since, just in so far as this common impasse found to be supremely unresolvable. The dark side of the human unconscious remains whatever the solution adopted, unless the psychodynamic roots of the construct are themselves laid bare and resolved. That solution, however, inevitably leads to the deconstruction of the church, the deconstruction of prophetic theology, as well as the deconstruction of the Afrikaner ideology embedded in the state theology of apartheid. If South Africa moves to this point of resolution, then the world will have to move this way, and it is important to the world to preserve its psychotic defences, even at the expense of catastrophic destruction of one sector of its society. It may even prefer racial suicide to this level of the recovery of psychosocial wholeness.

Just in passing the images of primal impasse are writ large in the words and symbols on both sides of the divide. Each in-group sees the out-group as the omnipotently persecutory cervix and seeks to arm itself in order to get through, to survive, to drive across into life. The terrified heart at the centre of the laager is mirrored in the terrified heart of the encircled township. It is hardly surprising that the Voortrekker Monument is a symbolic mirror of the ka'aba.

Dependency and metaphysical mythology become the only ground of hope, since the ultimate ground of hope has been buried behind the defence construct of the ideology. So the document speaks of peace and hope:

"True peace and true reconciliation are not only desirable, they are assured and guaranteed. This is our faith and hope. We believe in and hope for the resurrection.

"Nothing could be more relevant and more necessary at this moment of crisis in South Africa than the Christian message of hope. As the crisis deepens day by day, what both the oppressor and the oppressed can legitimately demand of the Churches is a message of hope." [p.26]

The dim foetal recollection of a paradise lost in the trauma of birth is projected in reversed time beyond death, beyond the physical realities of the here and now, into some metaphysical space. This schizoid displacement of the idealised womb world is then epitomised as a goal towards which we move, rather than a distortion of the past from which we have come. Regression to idealised space becomes the order of the day and in that psychotic reversal lies the attenuation of the species. It is the myth of the phoenix. It is the myth of Osiris. In so far as the church, in this crisis, offers this sign of hope it is proclaiming a sentence of death, for when this paradise is reached for the in-group, the out-group is precisely in hell and that situation makes the context of apartheid look like a Sunday school picnic. The church in this context is called to provide the promise of a future in which the present is reversed while at the same time reinforcing and sustaining the fundamental defences of the human psyche in such a way that the possibility of human wholeness is fundamentally denied. It can only be reached over the dead body of God.

Within the Kairos document hope is schizophrenic:

"There is hope. There is hope for all of us. But the road to that hope is going to be very hard and very painful. The conflict and the struggle will intensify in the months and years ahead. That is now inevitable - because of the intransigence of the oppressor. But God is with us. We can only learn to become instruments of his peace even unto death. We must participate in the cross of Christ if we are to have the hope of participating in his resurrection."
[p.27]

There is a difference between realistic hope and the future of an illusion. Let us look at the grammar of the structure here. 'All of us' is the phrase that is used. But does that include every person in the society, or does it refer to the oppressed only? Initially one's reading is drawn to the thought that it may refer to both sides of the problem. However the wording later on would appear to make it very clear that 'us' is exclusive. That here is a counter-apartheid in which 'they' - the out-group - are now the oppressors and 'we' - the in-group - are the oppressed. There is no hope for the oppressor in the construct and in that sense there is no hope for systemic wholeness. Apparently 'God is with us' not with the oppressor. The oppressed is the righteous remnant to press through the boundaries of oppression into God's peace. Armageddon is made of this. I suggest that realistic hope, as distinct from psychotic illusion, lies in the direction of the unpicking, the deconstruction of all theology, all the 'ologies', as we come to realise that they are reified constructs of the human unconscious and as we come to the point in human history at which we acknowledge that the human species can no longer afford its defences.

The myth of death and resurrection may serve to sedate psychotic anxiety in the face of apparently intolerable despair. As a concrete programme of political process it is catastrophic. It drives towards total conflagration in the delusion that new life rises, phoenix-like, beyond the ashes. We need the courage to face the fear of death, to withdraw the anxiolytic construct of resurrection, and to face the realities of human mortality and ultimate responsibility. Such "real-isation" requires the deconstruction of the foetal unconscious, the withdrawal of the reified birth trauma from the boundary of death, from the boundary of the group, the boundary of the race, the boundary of the nation and above all from the boundary of time.

Inevitably, the document looks towards church unity, not in the terms of the coming together of disparate parties, but of the annihilation of one part and its removal across the boundary into the opposing camp.

"As far as the present crisis is concerned, there is only one way forward to Church unity and that is for those Christians who find themselves on the side of the oppressor or sitting on the fence, to cross over to the other side to be united in faith and action with those who are oppressed. Unity and reconciliation within the Church itself is only possible around God and Jesus Christ who are to be found on the side of the poor and the oppressed." [p.28]

So thesis and antithesis are opposed. The task is to overwhelm the antithesis and to remove its content into the thesis. So in the defence structure we have the idealisation into good and bad, the attempt to deny and overwhelm the bad and to convert it into a completely good pole. The intensification of denial leads to an intensification of projection and displacement, and a dynamic acting out of the bad material into the boundary structures of the society. It does not lead to the annealing of the splitting which sets up the problem in the first place. Deconstruction of systemic defence is a fundamentally different approach from the intensification of the process of idealisation, joined to a conversion reaction and a reversal of the balance of power. I am sadly driven to the conclusion that the way forward suggested in the Kairos document is a dead end, in every meaning of that term.

David Wasdell,
20th March, 1987

The South Africa Collection

No.3: Response to 'Black and Gold' by Alan Sampson

The South Africa Collection

is a series of background and position papers written in preparation for and as an outcome of a six-week period of community consultancy in the Western Cape in May and June 1987

By
David Wasdell

Powerful parallels are drawn between the Jew and Nazi, Black and Afrikaner. The emergence of perinatal dynamics in social process is noted at the boundaries of complex racial and political groups suffering resource lack, and external threat. International capitalism drives and reinforces the bifurcation in wealth distribution which cuts even more deeply than apartheid into the South African culture, so calling in question the potential contribution of big business and multi-national corporations. Afrikaner religious ideology justifies a regime which has become an intra-national mirror of inter-national dynamics. Systemic interventions in psychodynamic and ideological levels are likely to have a more profound and long-lasting positive effect than can ever be achieved by revolutionary confrontation.

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Response to 'Black and Gold'

by Anthony Sampson

[published by Hodder & Stoughton, 1987]

"... a remarkable group of descendants of Jewish immigrants who had nearly all been refugees from the same region of Lithuania on the edge of Russia in the late nineteenth century." [p.91]

See also page 187:

"There were special agonising among the Jewish community whose families had first come to South Africa to escape racial persecution in Tsarist Russia or Nazi Germany. As Mendal Kaplan put it, in his history of Jewish entrepreneurs:

'Businessmen as a group, until the second half of 1985, have been often mere spectators in the battle to remove, not only general discriminatory practices, but those specifically affecting the economy of which their companies are a part. If Jewish businessmen, in particular, fail to give leadership in the movement to abolish all discriminatory practices, they will be betraying their heritage in the country which gave the Jewish people their freedom and opportunities.' [Mendel Kaplan, Jewish Roots in the South African Economy, Cape Town, C. Struik, 1986, p.389]"

I think the Jewish community itself might be a very significant yield point in the system, they have been through it all before and can see the racist dynamics, the shift towards a Nazi-style, far right military state. Even the words 'apartheid as the final solution' looks to be some kind of parallel to the extermination of Jews. There is an annihilation of blacks from within the South African consciousness in an attempt to preserve the ethnic purity and affluent wealth retention of the white minority, which is not dissimilar to the Nazi movement in Germany. The question is, although Jews may have the insight they may not have the power to do anything, particularly in view of their racial characteristics as castrated victims and scapegoats within the international dynamics. If the Jews as a community were to take decisive action they have such power in South Africa that it would be quite effective, but I think it would require the unpicking of the ideology of Jewishness which is in a sense right at the root of the Judeo-Christian, Islamic, cultural tradition of which apartheid is simply one dynamic expression. The distinction between Jew and non-Jew, the pushing out of the Palestinian, the purification of the chosen people within the Promised Land, the attitudes to the indigenous residual populations throughout the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, these are fundamentally apartheid-style nationalistic dynamics, underwritten by the construct of a theocracy. I really fundamentally think the Jews may be in ultimate collusion with the apartheid regime and match the system very deeply indeed.

Sampson shows awareness of pre and perinatal dynamics in institutional process :

"Inside Anglo's spacious womb the white executives could easily believe that their benign expansion was resolving the racial problems, like booming companies in the American Deep South." [p.95]

This is followed by a few key words in the next sentences like: 'radiated, lush, spread out, virgin', which indicate the underlying sexual and prenatal imagery being used in this particular institutional mapping.

Sampson shows awareness of the impingement as limits to growth are met, which I think indicates the potential dynamic of perinatal constriction and impingement emerging again within institutional process.

".. the historical analysis, written by an Anglo executive Michael O'Dowd, which insisted that South Africa's political and social development was not abnormal for a country just emerging from the first stage of industrialisation - like contemporary Mexico or like Britain in the 1850s ... He explained that 'a watershed is reached when the supply of unskilled labour ceases to appear inexhaustible and the ruling minority starts to find it actually needs the rest of the population'." [p.95]

Fascinating to see that the watershed occurs not as the unskilled labour pool is exhausted but when it begins to appear exhaustible. In other words when the industrial base begins to perceive limits to growth in the environment, not necessarily when those limits are actually engaged. It is this perception of limitation that triggers off the watershed experience of containment and oppression and so forth. With the myths of eternal exponential expansion blown, the whole growth process begins to decelerate and eventually stabilise and it is that deceleration and stabilising period that is so intensely difficult to live and work through. The patterns of high defendedness and repression which emerge during this period then become endemic within the stable status quo unless qualitative interventions can be made which allow a culture to emerge with freedom and at a stable level instead of attempting to sustain exponential growth at the expense of increasing oppression and exploitation of population base or environment or limited resources or energy or whatever it is.

In the second half of 1985,

"Botha's main emphasis was on defying foreign pressure: 'Don't push us too far ...'

"The blacks were outraged: 'He has pushed us too far,' said Winnie Mandela: 'He has pushed the rest of the world too far. It's incredible - not even Hitler would have done that. That peculiar Afrikaner tribe, they get themselves into their corner and then ask people to negotiate to get them out of that corner.' [p.188]

Impacted, no exit, does appear to be the position that the Afrikaner group are getting themselves into. Crossed perinatal restimulation would be another way of describing it. Each sees the other as the cervix through which they have to be born. Each group sees the other group as an outside environment, potentially destructive and therefore to be contained, repressed, retaliated against in some way. Repetition of the word push, push, push and pushed too far resonates with this stage of the struggle. We are into transmarginal pressure.

Gavin Relly, executive of Anglo, was one of the businessmen involved in conversations with Oliver Tambo of the ANC.

"There are important areas in which one should be able to find fundamental agreement, starting with the recognition that we are all South Africans ...', he said in London soon afterwards. 'All of us in that meeting wanted to see a new coherent society in South Africa based on demonstrable justice and a court-monitored bill of rights.' And he later explained:

'Predictably there remained great gaps between us. Businessmen do not embrace the prospects of nationalisation, either in practical or philosophical terms; they know as a matter of fact that economic thinking which derives from the shadowy, incompetent world of worn-out Marxism does not create wealth. On the other hand, who can deny that there are inequities in the generation and distribution of South Africa's wealth? A new society, reformed or revolutionary, would have to apply itself more diligently to the alleviation of deprivation in education, health and feeding.' [Article in the Guardian, London, October 7, 1985]" [p.195]

What the question really begs is that really fundamental one, 'who is a South African?' and if the answer is given by the people in power as 'those who have white skins' then apartheid follows. You have intra-national boundaries excluding those who are not belonging to the state of South Africa but who happen to live within its territory, so what do you do about them? Now justification for that is very deep and fundamental in the ideology and religious and philosophical and symbolic construct of the white minority. It is historically rooted and psychodynamically reinforced. It seems to me that we have to look at a new definition of 'citizenship' or 'nationhood' which is inclusive as an axiomatic starting point, and that probably requires an international change in the way we view what is meant by 'nation'.

You note also the intense awareness of international capitalism as thriving on, and indeed requiring, exploitative labour policies in order to aggrandise and accumulate wealth in the hands of the entrepreneurial powerful few at the expense of the labour force and the environment, from whom the resources are actually mined. Again we see the use of capital, wealth, money as a symptomatic parameter indicating the dynamics of the power struggle underneath it and in an essentially paranoid culture the most powerful accumulate the most wealth, since the struggle is to aggregate more than one has at the moment, since simply to remain stable and static is to be exposed again to the psychotic anxiety that whatever one has is not enough. Exponential increase and a fairly significant percentage exponential increase is alone sufficient to suppress the emergence of psychotic anxiety - absolutely destructive in terms of national and international, and intra-national and inter-person trading transactions. The dynamics and laws of the market place are indeed the destructive laws of a paranoid jungle warfare and it is only when we recognise the dynamics of the capitalist free market as themselves expression of psychotic human behaviour that we will see significant ideological changes within the transaction base itself. To attempt to conflict at the inter-ideological level is quite inappropriate - one has to dig deeper into the causative and normative matrix out of which the ideology and the trading base is a projectional reification.

By early January 1986:

"The political pressures were now pulling both sides further apart, as extremists thrived on the confrontation: the ANC dreaded the emergence of a military state, while the businessmen foresaw a black anarchy ruled by a

Khmer Rouge of ruthless schoolboys. But they both faced a common nightmare of a chaotic country in which no one could do business." [p.200]

I think you can pick up the stages from prenatal, through perinatal into BPM II/III [see Stanislav Grof: Realms of the Human Unconscious] and the myths of descent into the abyss, of ultimate chaos, the splitting apart of left and right, black and white, the anarchic armouring of boundaries and the increased pressure leading to splitting, fragmentation - the schizoid defences of the society emerging as pressures increase. Again, the intuitive reaction of the international community is to increase pressure, rather than to resource a paranoid community in such a way that it can move back off the confrontational catastrophe surface to a point of renegotiating its axiomatic foundations. No radical rethinking will be done under this level of hyper-stress and the country appears to be condemned to a psychodrama of acting out of the ritual of birth struggle at enormous cost to the fabric of the holding environment.

Comments on the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust and the Rowntree Mackintosh chocolate company:

"... whose Quaker roots were still evident in the two trusts which were its biggest shareholders, one of which, the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, was specifically committed to 'promoting peaceful change and development' for blacks in Southern Africa. The company's South African subsidiary in East London, Wilson Rowntree, had a record of low wages and poor labour conditions in the early 'eighties, and left-wing groups in Britain began boycotting their bestselling chocolates, Kit-Kat. Then a security policeman gave evidence in a trial that Wilson Rowntree with other companies had arranged to call in the police if workers threatened to strike; and the Charitable Trust was still more concerned when Wilson Rowntree decided to join Sir Leslie Smith's BICSA and its anti-sanctions campaign. In July 1986 the trust's secretary Steven Burkeman went out to South Africa, and on his return publicly attacked the company's association with BISCA, warning that by apparently aligning itself with Pretoria it would 'make it very much more difficult to operate under majority rule'." [p.207f.]

This kind of information makes it extremely difficult to see how one could operate with integrity if funded by people like the Rowntree Charitable Trusts. My problem is that it looks as if it is not possible to work with integrity if funded by anybody and if funded by nobody it is still impossible to work, so what does one do? It is a Catch 22. Again the self-interest rather than the total system's concern of big business becomes very clear when the only reason that Rowntrees might take some different attitude is that it would be 'difficult to operate under majority rule', and if politically that is about to happen then obviously their economic survival and aggrandisement policies demand a different political alignment, so sub-system business policies of the trans-national corporation have nothing to do with systemic health or wholeness or advancement of the general health of the system. They only have to do with advancing the interests of the sub- system concerned. We can no longer afford this kind of sub-system optimisation drive, which is the heart of capitalism, and is precisely the reified paranoid behaviour of the psychotic resource struggle that is quite unrealistic, yet stems from deep in the roots of the human unconscious.

Perhaps the only significant business challenge to the in-house aggrandisement motif came from the Sullivan initiatives:

"Sullivan himself was pressed to more open confrontation. In May 1986 he issued a sensational edict: he told the 192 American companies that had signed the Sullivan code that they must now adopt a 'stringent course of corporate civil disobedience to challenge actively all apartheid laws'. He asked them to 'assist blacks in the equal use of all private and public amenities, such as parks, beaches, hospitals, theatres, public transport, schools and housing'; and he warned them again that unless apartheid was completely dismantled by June 1987 he would endorse total economic sanctions." [p.213]

Hardly surprisingly his initiative did not meet with very much implementation and was swept aside in the sheer tide of events of the following months.

Economic titivation is hardly going to make any impact on the underlying mystical ideology of the Afrikaner group, reflected in the speech of President Botha in August 1986:

"He [Botha] ended his speech by reasserting the mystical role of the Afrikaners to lead the subcontinent: 'I look at the constellations in the sky at night and what are the words I see written there? Southern Africa for Christendom'." [p.244]

The problem here of course is that by 'Christendom' he means 'White, Dutch, Reformed' Christendom and the identification of apartheid as 'the Christian' way of seeing things has now led to an identification of the Afrikaner governing party as the 'Christian' way of ruling and when you have the ideological and theological identification of church and state, with state actually acting as an oppressive nationalistic autocracy, then there is no recourse to criticism of the situation from within, since the axiomatic ideological grounds upon which the policies are formed are already claimed as being 100% on the side of the oppressor. Any questioning of the axiomatic base is therefore treason against the state and to be repressed, on the very basis that the state is the divine rule. Critique of this kind of system has to move to a meta-level of debate and dynamic engagement. Left to itself it is a self-perpetuating, and indeed self-reinforcing, circular tautological ideology.

There is considerable awareness that South Africa is a paradigm of the world situation, so,

"South Africa was now more than ever the caricature of the world's problems, reviving dormant fears about race and chaos and bringing back the old arguments about poverty and inequality and the conflict between business and morality." [p.247]

I think what we see in South Africa operating at an intra-national level is precisely the international dynamic of the global village. The problem here, of course, is the international dynamic allows the drawing of armed boundaries and immigration control and maximum power/trading relationships in which each nation competes to the death with every other nation, there is no sense of corporate responsibility across national boundaries. In South Africa this dynamic is applied at an intra-national level between ethnic groupings on the same territory, with devastating results. Conversely seeing what is going on in South Africa actual reveals the potential dynamic of the global village as we approach the interface of the holding capacity of Island Earth and the exponential explosion of the human species. In a sense South Africa is a cauldron, a crucible, a learning lab, an experimental situation in which the world can either dump its problems and try to re-repress them and alienate and isolate them and say they don't belong anywhere else, or conversely it can be seen as a creative matrix in which the world is learning how to resolve the problems that it has on a generalised basis

across the global surface. My sense is that that is not an either/or polarisation, but that both are actually operative at the same time.

In the light of perceived economic instability in South Africa and increased consumer pressure and attitudinal deterioration at home we have certain movements of disinvestment which were purely economically motivated by the companies concerned, without any sense of an attempt to intervene in the system to change it for the better. Again we have the unacceptable face of capitalism, supremely illustrated by the reference to Barclays Bank:

"The most far-reaching of all disinvestments came from Britain, when the chairman of Barclays Sir Tim Bevan, after visiting Johannesburg, announced on November 24 that Barclays was selling out the whole of its 40 per cent interest in its South African subsidiary Barclays National, to Anglo-American, together with De Beers and the Insurance group Southern Life. Sir Tim still publicly insisted that it was primarily a commercial decision that 'it was not the job of businessmen to get involved in politics', and that the bank was neither for nor against sanctions. The directors had in fact decided to sell out at a board meeting the previous May, largely because they had been losing business from protesting depositors in Britain: the anti-apartheid campaigners and students in Britain could rightly claim a victory after sixteen years of campaigning. Barclays' disinvestment, like General Motors', caused no immediate economic damage: the London board had to sell its 40 percent interest for about £82 million, at the low exchange rate of the financial rand; the new owners would be glad to maintain the profitable network of branches, still keeping a 'working relationship' with London; and the London board was still saddled with its billion dollars of South African debt. But the Barclays withdrawal, following its decision a year earlier to stop all lending - and coming in the same week as the disinvestment by two more North American groups, Kodak and Bata shoes - was the most significant of all the West's gestures of its dissociation from apartheid policies. For it marked a withdrawal not so much of technology or management but of confidence and credit, in the literal sense of trust, which is the bankers' life blood: it discouraged other foreign corporations, including Barclays' many clients; and it left the remaining British companies, including the rival bank Standard, more exposed to attack. The argument continued about the political impact: Chris Ball of BarNat was worried that it 'would remove the leverage of foreigners' and that 'creeping strangulation' would only change perceptions slowly. But if Western capitalists had wished to show that they had finally written off Pretoria, they could hardly have made it plainer, after sixty years of investment and lending, than by selling their stake in the biggest bank in the country." [p.255]

However, in no way were Barclays operating in a disinterested fashion. The decision was taken purely on economic grounds. Secondly, it was a one-day wonder and the situation in South Africa restabilised almost instantaneously, as a complex social system always does under multidimensional stable dynamics. It was like the tweak of one parameter in a multidimensional stability, which is a stable equilibrium, and the equilibrium returns to base very quickly indeed, after the transitional disturbance. So one of the Barclays staff said to me in a telephone interview that he was surprised how little effect the Barclays disinvestment had had in South Africa itself. Another point that must be made here is that Barclays has now stopped making any money available whatsoever for work in South Africa of any kind and I see disinvestment as a 'pilate scheme', a kind of hand washing which says when the blood bath comes we have no responsibility for it. All they are doing at the moment is making

certain that they are recouping their £1 billion owed them by South Africa and being renegotiated by NatWest and the other banking consortia, which have already managed to reduce the outstanding debt to £780 million. Barclays has no intentional desire to do anything about the situation in South Africa, only to look after its own skin.

"Many Afrikaners were now depicting themselves as 'a first world inside a third world' and liked to believe that their white islands could survive securely and prosperously, while drawing their labour and servants from townships which could be fenced-off in their own separate world of anarchy, repression and black-on-black violence. But could these white bastions remain immune from black-on-white violence, when their factories and homes depended on them? The Afrikaners still clung to the mythology of their tribe, in the midst of their industrialisation: and many conservatives abroad liked to admire the toughness of this 'white tribe of Africa' and to predict that, in a continent of tribes, the strongest would win. But South Africa's unique industrial development had already forged a much more integrated economic system than anywhere in Africa, which was drawing both blacks and whites away from their tribes; and no amount of fencing off could remove their basic interdependence." [p.261]

The Afrikaner ideology of islands of sanity in a sea of black insanity is so close to the Islamic ideology: the company of the saved have a boundary between themselves and the sons of the devil. There is the task of purifying the internal, dumping into the outside all the impurities and the maintenance of the boundary with whatever armour is needed to stop the implosion from the externalised badness. These are archetypal patterns of human behaviour - they have nothing at all to do with Afrikanerism. They are there at all times and in all societies, validated by all the major world religions. If these symptoms of behaviour are intolerable, then we have to intervene in the system at a level far deeper than simply the socio-economic or political problems of South Africa. The movement towards collaborative global interdependence requires an integration at an intrapersonal level which is at a far deeper point than that reached by religion and ideology. We can no longer afford the acting out of psychotic defences in social systems. Unfortunately change in the theological or ideological and symbolic constructs underlying social process takes an awful long time to bring about, particularly when the fundamental dynamics which generate and reify those constructs are still in place and uninterpreted. Even so there has been a certain amount of shift within the Dutch Reformed Church which is worth noting:

"The theological basis for apartheid was itself crumbling under both internal and external pressure. In October 1986 the Dutch Reformed Church, which still claimed 38 percent of South Africa's whites among its members, reached a muddled compromise by which they would admit all races to membership, while still not merging with black or coloured reformed churches; and they also accepted a policy document announcing 'racism is a sin, which no person may defend or practice' which effectively undermined the religious basis for all past apartheid laws." [p.262]

If Karl Marx commented that religious criticism was the sine qua non of all social criticism then it seems to me that one does have to mount a fundamental critique of the religious ideology which undergirds apartheid, the actual symbolic structures, the theology that generates a world view that operates in this particular way - that needs doing in much greater depth. However, there is also the issue that such a working through even up to the levels of major theological declaration by ruling bodies in churches does not change the dynamic significantly at a national level. What it does is remove the sanctions and the symbol

structure, to a certain extent, leaving exposed the dynamics in all their naked barbarity, so it is not surprising that Sampson goes on:

"The whites no longer have any grand design to maintain white supremacy over a fast-growing black majority, no new blueprints to replace the tattered schemes for tribal homelands; while Botha has discredited his own tri-cameral parliament by overruling it to declare the emergency. Pretoria still clings to the strategy of dividing black tribes, which enables Afrikaners to argue that there is no real black majority; but the revolts within the homelands and the defection of their leaders are already undermining those assumptions. The Afrikaners' special language of power-sharing, group rights and consultation looks more obviously bogus as the government becomes more desperately pragmatic, determined to maintain its power with brute force like any other police state." [p.262f.]

Paranoia, power and the emergence of police-state tactics at an intra-national level as the Jihad begins to show its ugly head at the boundary of an ethnic group, deemed by those in power to be a threatening out-group. These are feedback loops operating both sides of the boundary, so that the system as a whole moves to confrontational chaos. Again it is vital to look at the systemic variables rather than the sub-system variables of an idealised side of a boundary. So fairly clear progression of DeMause's tracing from the condition of national politics within the happy womb, towards placental failure, strangulation, cracking apart, fragmentation, pressure, whirlpool, war, followed by the reassertion of boundaries, for the victor at any rate, and the recovery of some stability within which the regression to an idealised womb can be regenerated, before the next level of political breakdown and conflict breaks out. I think within South Africa you can see this kind of progression, through idealised intrauterine regression, with exponential growth, to the watershed of limits to growth, boundaries of power, conflict, pressure, increased pressure, crumbling of the ideology, conflict across the boundaries, splitting apart, fragmentation, and then the feedback loop of the vortex as each side arms against the other. What makes the difference in this situation, of course, is that one side actually has very little military power, and the other side is very, very militarily armed, so that the power is unbalanced in favour of the minority. I do not think increasing the armour of the majority would solve the problem, but I do think decreasing the defensive splitting and projection into the boundary from both parties, i.e. a systemic understanding of the dynamics involved, is absolutely crucial. That is a sentiment which appears to echo the warning of Keppel-Jones about 40 years ago.

""The salvation of this country can lie only in a reversal of historic tendencies so thorough as to constitute a revolution' [Arthur Keppel-Jones, *When Smuts Goes*, Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1950, p.xii]. The interest of the West must lie in making that revolution as bloodless and manageable as possible: in preserving the continuity of human rights, the respect for the law and civilised values; and in making their own links with a future non-racial or black government." [p.263f.]

It is as if we are inevitably moving into a perinatal convulsion, so that 'salvation' is the next word to be mentioned, and since we would argue that salvation is precisely that which is applied to the foetal unconscious as it approaches intolerable stress at BPM II/III, I think it is probably absolutely right. The problem there, of course, is that salvation represents a retreat, a re-containment, a moving back into the safety of idealised known space, rather than a movement through the compression into a new world beyond it. Salvation is not a solution - it is an avoidance of the solution, a distribution of the pain to other areas at the boundary and a displacement of certain victim areas to handle the stress on our behalf so that we can feel

better. That is not a solution. And I think it is quite significant that Keppel-Jones talks about the salvation lying in a 'reversal of historic tendencies' - unconsciously he understands that salvation has to do with a time reversal at a boundary. The reversal of historic tendencies - a moving backwards into a condition before the problem was met, as if that itself represents a solution to the problem. This time reversal, mirroring, or bounce at the perinatal boundary is absolutely clear here in the construct. And again in Keppel's wording, that reversal constitutes a 'revolution' - another word I presume for going full circle back to the beginning and starting all over again. Revolutionary society goes round in circles, it does not get anywhere. Conversely a revolution represents an engagement with a primal psychodrama at the intra-national level, whereas war represents an engagement with the primal psychodrama at the national boundary - international level (see DeMause). Sampson himself appears to be in opposition to the quoted author's tendency to reverse in the second part of that paragraph, noting that the West's interests probably lie in making the revolution as bloodless and manageable as possible. It is fairly obvious that there is a birth to go through, but that the medical management of the birth must make certain that there is as little damage to the mother and the new-born child as possible. In other words what is required is a non-traumatic transition, preserving continuity, human dignity, human rights, respect for law, civilisation, a transition without instability, a non-discontinuity. In other words precisely not a movement through a catastrophe surface. The problem is that I question Sampson's motivation here and wonder whether underlying these might still be the selfish interests of Western capitalist business institutions, requiring to stay in touch with the resources of South Africa and to go on bleeding the tip of that continent dry without redeploying the resources of international capital within the global system.

The next paragraph is also quite crucial.

"To achieve that, Western governments must follow their own road-map and ignore Pretoria's dead end. Western businessmen and diplomats talk about the precipice and the abyss, but prefer not to contemplate how they might cross over them: with all their protestation against apartheid, they try to avoid the question of 'one man, one vote', or who will hold power in the end. Yet the character of the future black government, and its relationships with Western governments and corporations, will depend crucially on the nature of the transition, and on the bridges that the West can build across the ravine. The longer the West refuses to face up to a future black majority, the more anti-Western it is likely to be. The complaints that the black opposition is communist can all too easily be self-fulfilling, if the West refuses to provide its own support; but the evidence inside South Africa suggests that it is the home-grown nationalism and anti-capitalism which present a much greater force than external communism." [p.264]

Again, the underlying load carriers at this particular point in the argument are so clearly perinatal. There is a 'dead-end' - no exit, the cosmic bottom. Pretoria reaching the 'end of the road'. Others talking about the 'precipice', the 'abyss', which is 'not able to be contemplated', they try to 'avoid the question', 'bridges', 'ravines', 'refuse to face up', indicating that the 'home-grown' content in South Africa can 'present a much greater force than external communism' and so you have this container/contained, inside/outside, home-grownness, moving to some kind of irresistible force moving across the boundary which generates images of abyss and catastrophic descent into the void. Again, in the dynamics there is no way of defusing this apparently, the only way to handle it is to build a bridge, to by-pass and here again you get the impossibility of dealing with what are seen to be instinctive or just inevitable elements of human behaviour. As soon as you include the

psychodynamic of pre and perinatal projection into social systems you have a whole new way of looking at this kind of transition.

Picking up the emotional load carriers in the next few paragraphs is a fascinating exercise. For instance: 'decisive actors', 'crucially threatened', 'act decisively and quickly', 'disinvest', 'endure attacks', 'unpromising future inside', 'disinvestment preferable to passive playing-in', 'writing off of the future', 'undermining future by assuming political impotence', 'not daring to pursue long-term interests', 'breaking down', 'fear of reprisals', 'white backlash', 'necessity', 'urgent', 'need to distance from short term pressures which push them towards Pretoria', 'need to look ahead to future black government'.

These sort of words indicate the primal saga being worked out, certainly in Sampson's unconscious as he writes this section of his book. The options are 'to disinvest' - to back off, to get out of the situation - passivity and simply impotent being done to, which is the essence of being traumatised in the situation by the pressure of the environment - rendered impotent. The alternative is to produce an active participant role inside it as the pressure 'pushes you towards' Pretoria. I think there is some sense of movement for the active participant going through this tunnel effect. Then come the schizoid defences of public dissociating, 'distancing', 'looking ahead' - as if the actual trauma itself has to be undergone with anaesthesia and schizoid tunnel through to the outside and then a looking on the other side as if the trauma has not actually happened. There is very little continuity in Sampson's projection. But then again, there is only the continuity afforded by 'catastrophic impingement' within the primal psychodrama, as he rightly indicates in his next paragraph:

"With South Africa the military political offensive and the polarisation on both sides will lead to a still more ferocious confrontation, which will make it harder for companies to change sides ... becomes more difficult ... more ruthless action." [p.265]

As the pressures build up to some kind of climactic confrontation you then get the massive containment that refuses to allow birth, since all boundaries are an actual denial of perinatal movement and an attempt to sustain the dynamics of the foetal unconscious in the intra-national dynamic. So the containing ring reacts violently:

"The government is once again determined ... to permanently crush the opposition with their counter- revolutionary offensive ... the severity of emergency laws ... effective clampdown on news ... the government's military obsession." (p.265)

So highly armoured sphincter control emerges as the crisis approaches. Again if we are looking at it in primal terms as a psychodrama then what is required is the dilation of the cervix, the widening and easing and lubricating of the orifice, the birth canal, and the emergence of the new through the resistance of the old in such a way that both mother and child can be said to be 'doing well' without hyper-stress and death to one or the other. It is not a life or death situation, it is not a win/lose, or a lose/lose, it can be a win/win confrontation. Unless you allow that interpretation of the dynamic, it seems to me, you rule out the possibility of collaborative creativity in the construction of a new way of being, the integration into the post-natal, adult family of persons, of citizens of a world village, a global society, of those who have left behind the repetitive fixated dynamics of the primal psychodrama.

The ripples of the confrontation, of course, spread outwards, so he notes that:

"The context of the conflict is now rapidly extending to the neighbouring countries as Pretoria takes reprisals against them: ... the two ex-Portuguese states, Angola and Mozambique, are rent by civil wars in which the rebels are supported by South Africa." [p.265]

There is a destabilising and a rendering impotent of other areas around South Africa to prevent South Africa itself becoming impinged by an encircling black horde which is on the outside of the white encirclement of the black enclaves within South Africa, so you have this inside/outside/inside restatement of the primal psychodrama.

Sampson's final statements are worth quoting in full:

"No one should underestimate Pretoria's scope for destabilizing the whole region, thus both extending their influence and appearing to prove their point that blacks are incapable of self- government. But the wider conflict presents an opportunity as well as a danger for the western governments and corporations: for the solution to many deadlocks can be found by changing the context (as Jean Monnet insisted when he overcame the deadlock between France and Germany in 1950 by taking the first steps towards a European Community). The western nations can only begin to resolve the South African deadlock, and to intervene effectively to reach a peaceful solution, in the wider context of the surrounding states which are beyond the reach of the apartheid system: and they will have to pick up this challenge in the most positive way. For the front-line states will become the real bases of opposition, through which the West can maintain its presence and continuity untainted by Pretoria; and they will desperately need to build up their alternative infrastructure of air, rail and road links independent of Pretoria's control, if they are not to become dragged further into the South African disaster. Only by providing support in this wider region can the western governments and companies break away more completely from the fatal associations with apartheid which have so seriously damaged their future prospects of maintaining their influence in a black South Africa." [p.265f.]

This issue of the wider ring around South Africa is now becoming quite crucial and the national boundary is beginning to reflect the intra-national boundary in its dynamic armour. Just as the intra-national boundaries are starting to invade the homelands and the coloured townships and actually work destructively to destabilise and disempower the black enclaves in South Africa, so also at the international level the national boundaries of South Africa are being armoured and crossed by armour into the surrounding states. This invasive and explosive pattern is reached as the construct breaks down and moves towards the culmination of the psychodrama in outright armed conflict.

Sampson's comment "that the solution to many deadlocks can be found by changing the context" is a very important clue. It is important in terms of moving one's perception of systemic variables up level so that one actually includes within the system under intervention the parameters which can mobilise change which are often not accessible from the subsystem level at which normal analysis takes place. Secondly I would see the application of catastrophe theory here absolutely crucial, that you can change the context by looking at other solutions to the problem other than simply a flip-flop of power from one set to another. Thirdly, also changing of the context from the politico-socio-economic to the psychodynamic and ideological matrix which underlies the dynamics in place. I wonder if it would be possible for, say, the Institute of Psycho-History in the States and ourselves to mount a joint exercise with the University of the Western Cape or something like that to monitor the

psychodynamic parameters within the South African context and to reflect back and interpret and bring to global attention that kind of interpretation of international behaviour, which could then become a paradigm study for intervention within the world system itself.

Sadly, right on the end of the book, the bottom line shows again. It is only by providing support in the wider region that the western governments and the companies can get rid of the fatal associations with apartheid which have "seriously damaged their future prospects of maintaining their influence in a black South Africa". I think what he means by 'influence' is profitability, trading relationships and the ability to go on bleeding out of a very rich area of the world resources which leave it poorer, but leave the international companies and the powerful western capitalist trading nations in a richer position at the expense of the South African continent. That dynamic is not adequate as a *raison d'être* for action and represents a perseveration of precisely the dynamics which set up the problem in the first place and will therefore reintroduce the same conflict but at a different level, at a later date. Sampson's task is not to pull down the pillars of the temple, but to reinforce them. Great is Diana of the Ephesians!

David Wasdell
16th March, 1987

The South Africa Collection

No.4: Response to 'Black and Reformed' by Allan Boesak

The South Africa Collection

is a series of background and position papers written in preparation for and as an outcome of a six-week period of community consultancy in the Western Cape in May and June 1987

By
David Wasdell

Boesak's brilliant exposition of liberation theology in the reformed tradition is sharply interfaced with a dynamic analysis of the psychotic elements implicit in the very ground of religion itself. The suggestion is made that the Christian religion and the inter-group strife in South Africa are mirror codifications of the same primitive processes of psychotic human defences..

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Response to 'Black and Reformed'

by Allan Boesak

[published by Orbis Books, 1984]

In a review of Allan Boesak's book "Farewell to Innocence" on one of the fly leaves of this particular volume the reviewer notes that Boesak

"urges a reversal of much 20th century materialism 'to recapture what was sacred in the African community long before white people came - solidarity, respect for life, humanity, community' ."

The reviewer seems to indicate that Boesak is offering a regressive reversal to idealised dream-time as some kind of pseudo way forward into the future. If we read the construct as itself a psycho-dynamic symbol, psychotically dissociated from its ground, then it makes more sense. If we wish to move towards a position of higher level integration we need to regress to pre-trauma levels of unification and then rework the impingement which leads to the defensive splitting in the human psyche, so egressing into the here and now with a higher level of consciousness than heretofore. The process of centration, of primal integration is precisely not carried through by a quasi-historical return to the time of innocence as a species. It is as if a Freudian preacher suggested that what was required was a return to the primal horde before the death of the first father, followed by a living as if our history had not happened.

"... white anxiety increases. Whites think they can consolidate their own safety by neutralizing and oppressing the symbol of their anxiety: blacks. This oppression, however, creates hate and bitterness that become visible in society. These, in turn generate increased anxiety and confusion among whites. But this is not a vicious circle. It is, rather, a plunging spiral." [p 5f.]

If colonisation represents the imposition on other populations of the defence structures inherent in the psychosis of the dominant race, then de-colonisation demands, follows, and necessitates the deconstruction of the defence system of the dominant. In so far as that progresses just so far is the dominant group subjected to the irruption of psychotic anxiety from the roots of its repressed psychic core. Initially as that psychotic anxiety rises so the old projection mechanisms are reinforced and the carriers of the anxiety defence victimisation become even more deeply victimised, alienated, repressed, oppressed, cut off, denied, exported across the boundary in some scapegoating carrier-ship. The reinforcement of the defence structure is a sign of the weakening of the construct. So increased defences actually belie decreased effectiveness of the construct and actually increase the anxiety unleashed within the social system. Fascinating that Boesak takes the symbol of the plunging spiral, the vortex, the whirlpool, that terrifying whirlpool of blackness sucking down into the abyss, to fall into which is to risk chaos and annihilation, in withdrawal from which stands the direction of the religious community, in plunging through which lies the hope of our birth.

"... the struggle in South Africa is not merely political; it is also moral. The struggle is not merely against an oppressive political and exploitative economic system; it is also a struggle for the authenticity of the gospel of Jesus Christ. The struggle is as much against a political philosophy and practice as it is against a pseudo-religious ideology." [p.23]

There are always two participants in a struggle and a struggle is never seen as a one-sided event. They struggle together and in that sense the struggling going on between black and white, the struggling of the system is precisely a struggle for the authenticity of the gospel of Jesus Christ. The battle is about the preservation, or otherwise, of the defence structures embedded within the religious gospel. The defences of splitting into black and white, life and death, good and bad. The structures of the gospel which involve the alienation of an out-group and their condemnation to hell, the elevation of the in-group and their certainty of heaven. The structure of the gospel which implies the psychotic projection of hurt parts of humanity onto some scapegoat carrier on the boundary, so that the actual sufferer never has to deal with those parts from which they are now distanced in the ritual. I suggest that the whole system in struggle is precisely wrestling with the issue of the preservation or breakdown of the psychosis of the gospel.

"That all may be whole' - these are very beautiful words, not only because they echo so much of what the gospel of Jesus Christ is all about, but also because they echo so much of the African understanding of life. This is indeed a very fitting and gripping theme. We know from the gospel that wholeness of life is with Jesus Christ; without him, life is somehow just not worth living. Life is somehow empty. Without him, human fulfilment cannot be achieved." [p.42]

Boesak rightly endorses wholeness as the goal of the struggle. The problem lies in the origin of wholeness and the paradigm of wholeness which are themselves the holders of brokenness. First the paradox. The concept of wholeness as an echo of so much of the African understanding of life, which has echoes with the comments about that which was sacred in the African community long before the white people came, solidarity, respect for life, humanity and community. There are certain facets of pre-white African ideology which are quite different culturally from the post-white construct but to hold that culture up in itself as an epitome of wholeness is a deluded dream. I was certainly not aware that the Bushmen were afforded any better deal in the face of the invading Zulu and Xhosa than were the latter when faced by the white invasion. Perhaps the Kalahari desert was the appropriate homeland for the Bushmen in the apartheid system that was already in place in the Cape before the whites discovered it. Inter-tribal conflict was as acute in those days as it is today. We do not have a time in human history in which innocence, solidarity, wholeness, community ruled. The myth of unfallen humanity, living in some Garden of Eden in a state of innocence affords a psychotic delusion when it is held up as a goal or objective towards which man in his brokenness is somehow urged to progress. If only the Dutch Reformed Church repudiated apartheid, if only the whites hadn't come, if only, if only, if only we could return to the womb then everything would be all right. Religion as the reified ritual of the 'if only' diverts all our energy from the problems of solving the situation as it is. Hypothetical constructs are a flight from reality.

Then in the very next sentence Allan Boesak unmasks a paradox. Wholeness was apparently to do with the African understanding of life before the whites came who brought the gospel of Jesus Christ, but we know from the gospel that wholeness of life is life with Jesus Christ, without him there is no wholeness. Strange that African society, which was so whole was obviously not whole, since wholeness came in the gospel of Jesus. So wholeness came to Africa in the construct of the white invader, but the invasion of the white with his construct destroyed the wholeness which was Africa - so Boesak is trying to have his wholeness and eat it. The problem is that by asserting that without Him human fulfilment cannot be achieved, is to lay down axiomatic assumptions about the way forward into wholeness which do not in fact bear scrutiny, since the unwholeness of the Christ is precisely matched to the

psychotic unwholeness of homo sapiens, who in his wisdom generates the brokenness which is apartheid. The Christian religion and the inter-group strife in South Africa are codifications of the same primitive psychotic human defences. One is not the antithesis of the other. Rather they are mirror images. No solution to the problem can possibly be found by moving from one side of the mirror image to the other, from one pole of idealisation and repression to its antithesis. This kind of revolutionary behaviour is simply a rearrangement of the dynamic, a movement in a circle, a redistribution of pain. The resolution of the problem of South Africa, and in parenthesis the problem of the world, does not move and progress through conversion reactions.

Next we have two quotations illustrating some of the unjust dysfunctionality of violence in South Africa.

"... violence that means, for example, that a black man who takes a bride today will be forced tomorrow to leave her behind in some desolate homeland if he finds work in a white city. He will not be able to take her with him without contravening the law, and will see her only for a couple of weeks at the end of the year when he returns for vacation. This systemic violence breaks up black family life." [p.44]

"This systemic violence operates in an educational system that, if it allows black children to go to elementary and high school at all, then permits the government to say, 'These children cannot go to a white university, because they lack the competence'. That is not merely a racist statement, but a statement of fact, because 'Bantu' or black African education is so inferior that it does not prepare one for university education. The basic dictum underlying black education in South Africa, as maintained by Dr. Verwoerd in the 1950s, is still true: black children must not get the kind of education that will give them the idea that they can have the same position as white children in South African society." [p.44]

My sense is that while in South Africa we have these social attitudes elevated into the reified position of legal statutes the same processes are also observable in other cultures, for instance in the class structure. Pressure on someone from one class to marry within the class is quite massive and if they marry outside the class then they are either alienated from their own class or have to cut off the parts of the spouse which are non-culturally coherent. They have to be left behind in some other place. The processes of group matching are universal. They are also epitomised in certain religious structures, not least within the Islamic tradition.

With respect to education again we have the same kind of problem in the working class communities of East London where the state has said quite clearly that we will not educate the working classes above their status lest they think that they can take up a position within the society of the British nation which is above their position in life. At times this has been an intentional and articulate policy, at other times it has simply been a way of working that has gone unnoticed. The effects are devastating. The child, educated and brought up in a working class area, has very little chance of getting a high place at university, whatever their ability, simply because the educational standard of the schools from which they come cannot equip them to compete effectively for places which they by dint of innate ability actually deserve. So the working class ethos and its aspiring leadership are contained by educational deprivation. Now I am not going to say that the situation in East London is anywhere near as severe as it is in South Africa, I am simply saying that the same tendencies are observable. The South African context is one in which the psychoses of the world are writ large, it is not unique.

"African churches all too often still cling to a pietistic, other-worldly religiosity that has no bearing on the present situation in the world. In doing this we not only deny the lordship of Christ, but forget that this is the kind of theology that justified our slavery and oppression right through history to the present. The church in Africa needs liberation in order to become an authentic healing agent of God in the world." [p.75]

Elsewhere Boesak indignantly proclaims that integration is not simply holding hands and saying black and white together. Regression within a pietistic cultus to a condition of psychic unification in which splits and alienation are denied is itself a fundamental defence and flight from the realities of the here and now. The problem is that the lordship of Christ is precisely a construct that facilitates this kind of regression. To re-enter and recover paradise, to go back into the womb of our dream-time may, for those who go back, generate some sense of anxiety release and euphoria and a sense of unity and all being together but it is at the expense of the maintenance of the boundary of persecutory scapegoating, epitomised by the Christ. It is at the expense of the differentiation between the in-group and the out-group and one goes to hell, and provided the in-group knows that it is in heaven it doesn't care a damn. The lordship of Christ leads to the perseveration of splitting in the social process. It blocks the very possibility of integration, liberation and humanity, wholeness and healing, for in the insidious spread of the systemic psychosis from the middle Eastern basin, man's inhumanity to man is reified and perpetuated. I sense that the solution of the problem of South Africa will involve the dissolution, the de-construction of the world religions and their fundamental ideologies, the unpicking of systemic psychosis and the emergence of human wholeness on a totally different level, integrated as world citizens, withdrawing from the psychotic objects of deification their power, their dependency, their responsibility. Daring to be whole persons in a whole world.

I find myself endorsing Boesak's objectives yet standing over against him in ultimate antithesis to his direction, his ideology and his methodology. The re-reformation of the church is a displacement, a distraction, a false trail in the desperate search for the path leading to the re-formation of humanity.

David Wasdell
13th March 1987

The South Africa Collection

No.5: Response to 'Rich Man, Poor Man' by Peter Lee

The South Africa Collection

is a series of background and position papers written in preparation for and as an outcome of a six-week period of community consultancy in the Western Cape in May and June 1987

By
David Wasdell

The book is a searching Christian analysis of the South African situation and the role of the churches in its resolution. It is written by a white, English-speaking clergyman recently appointed as a Bishop in the Church of the Province. This response homes in on the assumptions, dynamics, splits and paradoxical contradictions embedded in the heart of the Church. South Africa is described as a microcosm of the global process used as a scapegoat in the dynamics of international apartheid. Change processes, defences and regression in the church parallel similar dynamics in its social context. Increasing the levels of anxiety and terror is seen as a counter-productive strategy in an attempt to move towards greater human wholeness.

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Response to 'Poor Man, Rich Man'

by Peter Lee

[published by Hodder & Stoughton, London 1986]

The foreword was written by Bishop Desmond Tutu before he became Archbishop and it indicates some of the directions of his thinking, for instance:

"It is refreshing, especially in the South African context, to have a white evangelist who realises that the gospel of Jesus Christ is a whole gospel for the whole person and that it does not tolerate false dichotomies between the secular and the sacred, between politics and religion, between contemplation and action." [p.9.]

The move is towards integration without the dissolution of differences, in other words the removal of the conflictedness from boundaries described in this extract as "false dichotomies". What is important of course is to study the "false dichotomies" or conflicted boundaries still remaining in Desmond Tutu's own construct and to see those as handling the residual, unresolved core of splitting, projection, dissociation and denial which will generate collusional behaviour in the Archbishop and perpetuation of the system against which he so fervently struggles.

The next extract indicates Tutu's response to the charismatic movement, and in particular to Bishop Bruce Evans of Port Elizabeth, who was of course Rector of Wynberg before David Prior:

"What is even more impressive for some of us is to have someone in the renewal movement in South Africa, and one who is white to boot, who has not given the suspicion that involvement in the so-called charismatic movement has been a respectable cop-out. People for whom I have a great deal of time such as Bishop Bruce Evans of Port Elizabeth, one who is involved in the same movement as Peter, has told me that most of the 'white' parishes in our Anglican church that have shown any significant concern in the harsh socio-political and economic issues of South African have been 'renewed' parishes." [p.9f.]

It is clear that we must examine both the role and limitations of 'renewal' in the life of the church. Peter Lee himself gives a key to this in the closing pages of the book (see comments on p.202).

Peter has a fascinating thumbnail sketch of the Jewish community in Johannesburg:

"... the 50,000 or so Jews in the city's half-million strong white population, a group whose social and economic impact is strongly felt (and quite widely resented). They have stimulated the economy, brought in skill and energy, and plunged into philanthropy; formed a high-profile block of Jewishness with synagogues, special schools, a rabbinic academy and an intensely 'us and them' mentality." [p.16]

The Jewish community represents a flight group. Essentially a refugee mentality in retreat from the pogroms of Russian influence in Lithuania and also of course from emergent fascism within Nazi Germany. There is a sense in which the experience of the Jewish community has prepared them precisely for a leadership role within the present situation in South Africa. However the fundamental psychodynamics of Jewishness as such [see D. Wasdell 'The Jewish Repression', 1982] and the psycho-social dynamics of a flight group reinforce the paranoid behaviours, the tight social boundaries, the 'us/them', inside/outside conflictedness, the good/bad idealisation, etc. and in this group also we will find an identical set of matching dynamics to that within the Boer laager.

The dynamics of South Africa are common global dynamics - it is not a special case. If it can be treated as a special case then it can be isolated and dealt with at distance as a defence against dealing with the similar psycho-dynamics, both individually and corporately, at every point within the global matrix. Thus a particular nation state, like South Africa, becomes a scapegoat within the community of nations, to be cast into outer darkness, bearing the sins of the world in such a way that it is hoped that by its starvation and destruction, the rest of the world will somehow be made clean and pure. This is the Christian way of dealing with psychosis and it is utterly inhuman. Peter Lee recognises the commonness of the South African situation and also highlights the sense of South Africa being a global microcosm:

"... illustrations of human need and of the churches' response could be multiplied with different local colour in every country in the world. Sure, the South African colours are vivid, which makes it a good place to grapple with the issues - at least one can see them clearly. South Africa has the distinction of holding in itself the same racial proportions, numerically speaking, as the world; and it is the First World-Third World economic relationship which characterises the world as a whole within its boundaries." [p.21]

It would appear that South Africa is itself a paradigm presentation of global dynamic. As such it also offers a paradigm context in which to study the fundamentally common psychotic responses of the species and beyond that a point of integration and intervention which could have global impact on every level of the human strata. It could well be said that South Africa represents a vital key to the health and survival of the world community. In that case, Cape Town represents the core presentation of the situation in South Africa and Wynberg the core presentation to the behaviour of Cape Town. St. John's Wynberg, it is said, represents precisely the core of Wynberg, of Cape Town, of South Africa, of the World. We can expect here to meet global level defence maintenance dynamics, holding that congregation rigidly in a defensive enclave. Clearly in South Africa we have inter-group dynamics in a paranoid context raised to a level and an intensity and a clarity unmet elsewhere. As Lee rightly notes there is also the First World/Third World economic relationship held as intra-national, while in the wider global matrix apartheid applies at an inter-national level, and the First World/Third World boundaries are held at a distance and by the splitting of state from state. There is a sense in which the Isle of Dogs in East London here in the UK represents at a slightly lower level the same situation as South Africa in that we have the First World/Third World confrontation neighbourhood by neighbourhood, road by road, family by family, district by district. If South Africa represents the crystallising of the structure of conflicted empires at the apogee of projection, then the Isle of Dogs represents a holograph of the internalised retrojection of empires and of First World/Third World injustice, mirrored back into the core of the matrix of power. If South Africa presents the surface, the Isle of Dogs presents the centre. South Africa presents the symptoms, the Isle of Dogs holds the cause. The East/West meridian, the origin of time, measurements of length, the split between the hemispheres, both east and west and north and south in the trading relationship and the power

base, the economic laws and the navigation and communications functions sustained in collusion by the Christian capitalism and plundering brutality of the trading companies.

The core of Lee's book is an exposition of the teaching and life of Jesus applied to the contemporary South African situation. Towards the end of the book are some important sections on the processes of change and the resistance to change within Christian institutions, so:

"The worshipping boundary needs to be addressed in another way. Alvin Toffler has provided a classic treatment of the culture shock which people undergo when overexposed to rapid change in his book entitled Future Shock. One of his shrewd observations is that when people are battling with the culture shock of moving house or country, or when they are having to manage their response to unusually rapid personal or social change, they will tend to create refuges of stability into which they can retreat to a feeling of how it was in the good old days. Some turn their home or their favourite club into a kind of museum where this tranquillity can be experienced. Unfortunately, though entirely naturally, the church is an obvious candidate for that treatment. It claims anyway to represent certain unchanging realities in which man can find security, and so easily the furniture is also rendered unchanging to reinforce the deeper things. The effect is to give the local church a far more tenacious interest in the conservation of liturgies, decorations, and practices than society at large experiences. Churches often feel like last Sunday's flowers just because they cannot throw anything away; congregations become more inveterate hoarders of habits and ways and behaviours than their members are of old golfing hats and courduroy jackets. Change for its own sake has no value; but change for God's sake hits undue opposition for this reason.

Worship hits a cultural boundary at this point. The missionaries who imported Christianity into the colonial world of the nineteenth century imported a good deal of European culture with it. As we have seen, that culture was likely to be highly tenacious, especially when expatriate Englishmen were using the Anglican Church as a museum of Englishness in the culture shock of foreign climes."[p.183f.]

This section exposes Lee's assumptive boundaries. Regression and defensive resistance are seen in the churches as responses to culture shock and future shock. That is change of culture from one setting to another, experienced for instance by the expatriate missionaries, and also response to change within a context over time, so that the culture shock of tomorrow's different world is somewhat similar to the culture shock of moving from one context to another. The context may be geographical and cultural, or the change may be temporal. Lee is correct as far as he goes. The problem is that the anxieties generated by culture shock and future shock are comparatively small when compared to the psychotic anxieties which generate the religious institutions in the first place. We have to probe deeper, to understand the whole nature of religious institutionalisation as itself a defence against psychotic anxiety. The symptoms he describes are pointers to a deeper core which requires further analysis. Lee's own collusional assumptions prevent and in fact render taboo any such probing and therefore sustain the psychotic defensive behaviours within the church and therefore also collusionally within the society it serves. His insights are necessary but not sufficient for the generation of significant social transformation.

Lee then takes his imagery further from culture shock and future shock into simple culture differentiation as in class differentiation, or educational differentiation between the church and its catchment area, or between the ministry and the church congregation.

"One corollary of this is that if the worship of the church is utterly culturally alien to the one in which it is offered, that community will not relate to it and may never enter into worship at all. That has been the church's experience (and fault) in many parts of the world. It can easily apply in inner-city Britain, where the essentially bookish and cerebral format of middle-class liturgies cuts no ice at all; and the only way ahead is to freshen up the format in the style of local life. But if the minister is himself a product of an outside culture, and especially if he needs to take refuge in the forms of the church as a refuge from the culture shock of the community where he is working, he will all the more disqualify his ministry from making the cultural leap that is needed. And all sorts of doors, not least the trap door between man and his God, will stay closed." [p.185]

The dependency and parallelism on and with Bishop David Sheppard is quite marked and indeed overtly recognised. The analysis has the same strengths and suffers from the same fundamental flaw as Sheppard's analysis of working class and inner-city Britain. However the most fascinating comment that Lee makes is in that last sentence: "All sorts of doors, not least the trap door between man and his God, will stay closed". There is some incredible unconscious symbolism hiding behind those words. There is an awareness of a variety of openings, doors, entrances, which somehow relate to the boundary between the church and its society, or culture, or community. But also this issue of the trap door between man and God. Trap doors, doors as a trap, a trap that holds in or holds out, it is a door between two storeys, with God presumably in the upper storey and man in the lower. God in the safety of the womb in the roof, man excluded from Eden, cast out into the lower storeys of terrestrial being, dropped from between the celestial legs, unable to get back up through the trap door into the safety of sacred space. Is man in danger of dropping through into God in the depths? Or does he have to climb up to God in the heights? Does God come down through the trap door to reach man? Or up through the trap door to invade his space? What is the distinction between the inside and the outside, between one side of the trap and the other side of the trap and for whom is it a trap? Conversely, what are the trappings with which the door is attended and at what point in his history has man experienced going through the door as getting trapped? It seems to me that we are talking about the boundary between the womb-world and the post-natal environment, between dream-time and waking-time, between sacred space and secular space as differing constructs of one and the same fundamentally experienced primitive reality in the psychodynamic imprinting and history of every person.

Within Lee's understanding of the nature of the church and his collusional assumptions setting, he describes one of the essential structural attributes of the growing and effective church:

"For most growing churches around the world, some pattern of midweek groups - whether called home groups, house churches, prayer fellowships or what - has been an essential system for fostering that growth in understanding ... Home churches of this kind need to be a microcosm of the body of Christ, worshipping, studying, interceding, caring for the members and undertaking acts of service and witness in the community." [p-187]

I think Lee puts his finger rightly on the growth point of the structural intervention point, the human engineering entry point, within the system. In so far as we can structure in facilitative

contexts for people to become more whole, and in their wholeness reach out and transact an open boundary to the society around them, just so far are we fostering health within the social system. The issue then, of course, becomes how defensively collusional the little groups become and whether those collusional defences can then be worked through layer by layer, step by step until people can recover from religion and grow out of the church into the wholeness of what it is to be human in a whole society, in a whole world. It is a place in which holiness has to have worldliness added to it, so that the metaphysical is demythologised and recognised as the ground of our being, physical, chemical, biological, psychological, sociological.

Lee also notices the schizoid characteristic of social structure in South Africa - not that it is necessarily different, though it may be more intense than elsewhere - and the necessity of iterative learning through reality testing and reality relationships as a way to counter the schizoid fantasy structures, so:

"South Africa is designed to keep people from knowing each other, so that prejudice and the laager mentality reinforce each other. We live and react out of images, not realities. So anything which helps us to encounter reality in the flesh, and not via others' opinions or the distorted media, is of value." [p.187f.]

The problem is, of course, that Lee does not get down to the diagnosis of the original causes of schizoid behaviour in social systems and sees them as being facets which can be overcome by right relations to reality, by effective communication patterns and so forth. In fact the schizoid presentation in social systems is itself the symptom of fundamental causes relating to anxiety and anxiety defences. Any attempt to shift the symptoms around without dealing with the underlying causes merely redistributes the pain and the splitting emerges in other contexts. We have to move beyond this naivety. The integration of schizoid presentation in the heart of the human psyche is not achieved by attempts to bridge the splits within the communication pattern, which emerge on the surface structure of that society. Such an approach is essentially Jungian, or religious, and does not deal with the psychodynamic roots of the problem. Collusion with the causal core is no more clearly stated than in Lee's comment :

"When intimidated they need to see that there is so much that can be done before serious confrontation with state authority even begins - and start doing it. But of course they also need to learn that the state can become a beast in the eyes of God (as in Revelation 13) and be more afraid of God than of it. Only that way will they find the courage to confront the authorities when they are disobeying God." [p.201f.]

So fear rules in the heart of the church. Terror, psychotic anxiety, are the roots of motivation both inside and outside the Christian congregation. So when fear is experienced in relation to the outside, the Christian is urged to see that there is much that can be done before serious confrontation begins. So we move off the boundary into non-confrontation, as a result of intimidation and work in those areas in which the fear is manageable. Next is to see that the state itself can become the idealised bad object - the beast - the ultimate source and presentation of evil, and concomitantly therefore the ultimate source of psychotic terror and then the Christian has to learn to be more terrified of God than of this presentation. And in that overwhelming terror of his maker, lesser terrors of the made fade into insignificance, so that courage is evidenced, and evidence of, displaced terror. I will face an enemy because I am more terrified of a greater enemy, so the Christian is apparently caught between Scylla and Charybdis, between the terror of a holy God and the terror of the beastly state. This is no

way forward. The analysis is utterly flawed at this point. What we need to see is that the construct which generates God in the first place, as also in parallel process the machinery and psychotic presentation of the state, comes from one and the same causal matrix in the psychotic terror of the foetal unconscious, projected onto the cosmic boundary. To hold up God as the holder of psychotic projection, which therefore takes the projection off some other part of the system, is in no sense a movement towards wholeness, it is simply a redistribution of the psychosis - a redistribution moreover in which the dynamics persevere, that is tight boundary controls, paranoid projection, psychotic behaviours, scapegoating, denial, inside/outside polarisation, and above all regression away from the conflicted boundary into some kind of safe space on the other side of the trap door, rather than integrated and annealed and courageous working through of the boundary into a reality related space in the here and now of our world crucible.

David Wasdell
17th March, 1987

The South Africa Collection

No.6: Response to 'South Africa Without Apartheid' by Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley

The South Africa Collection

is a series of background and position papers written in preparation for and as an outcome of a six-week period of community consultancy in the Western Cape in May and June 1987

By
David Wasdell

In this response paper, the sharp sociological, social, economic and ideological analyses of the authors are taken to a new level as the psychological roots of the social dynamics are exposed. Alternative strategies for catalysing change in conflicted complex systems are explored and the importance of access to the core symbolic levels of ideology (racial, political and religious) is stressed.

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Response to: 'South Africa Without Apartheid' by Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley

[published by University of California Press, London, 1986]

In their Introduction the authors indicate that the book:

"... addresses three fundamental questions: How has the morally reprehensible apartheid order in South Africa survived so long? What will bring about its demise and how will it vanish? What kind of society, state, and racial relations can be expected beyond apartheid?" [p.1]

The strength of this book lies in the breadth and scope of its analysis of the status quo, its survey of the different trends and tensions, splits, divisions and interactive policy relations within the present political, social and economic matrix of the province. This intense study of the presenting topology of the here and now is clearly based upon historical analysis and awareness of the patterns which have led through a prolonged process of social evolution over time. The historic treatment, although not overtly represented in the structure of the book, is continuously present as a further dimension of the analysis.

However, there are other fundamental questions which are not addressed, perhaps the most important of which concerns the psychodynamic processes which generate the particular topology at any point in time. It is not sufficient simply to refer to ideology or religion, or belief systems, as if they were some kind of instinctive datum of the human species. The addition of psychosocial analysis to the study would render it much more powerful, both in its diagnosis and in its prescriptive potential.

In contrast to 'The Kairos Document' and certain radical and revolutionary posturing, the authors look for an evolutionary process of reform with continuity, rather than a convulsive, catastrophic process of revolution and possible resurrection. In this they face the fundamental agenda of enabling significant social change under conditions of very high stress, low resource and rapid time pressure. It is precisely these conditions in which the psychodynamics of the situation become predominantly important and in which the more superficial layers of socio-political and economic analysis, while necessary, are not in themselves sufficient.

"We unashamedly confess a reformist bias: the minimization of suffering here and now seems to us a worthy goal even though it may occur at the expense of a more noble dream; to postpone small-scale reform in the hope that present misery will accelerate a more fundamental transformation to us smacks not only of cynicism but of immorality. Indeed it is true that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be eradicated. Yet this dismantling of a political system does not necessarily require the destruction of a society. It is an illusion that the alternative can only emerge from the ashes. If this were so, it would hardly be worth the price." [p.8]

The application of catastrophe theory to social change, and the understanding of conversion reactions in social systems placed under massive pressure would be useful tools at this point.

Just as social monitoring within the culture of a prison can give indications of the imminence of social breakdown, so monitoring of the kind of incidents which occurred at Sharpeville and again in Langa, Soweto et al, can be used to indicate how close to the discontinuity on the catastrophe surface a particular society has come. As negative feedback loops in the system shift the presenting equilibrium nearer to its point of disequilibrium, little shifts over the edge occur at key points, for instance:

"On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the infamous Sharpeville incident of 21 March 1960, South African police, without provocation or warning, killed twenty unarmed Black marchers at Langa township in the Eastern Cape. Most were shot in the back. The outnumbered contingent of White and Black police with two armoured vehicles felt that the Blacks, on their way to a funeral, would threaten the White township.

The repetition of this crudest form of state violence against politicized youngsters and workers threatened by recession after two and a half decades of anti-apartheid opposition suggests that little has changed in the repression by a minority regime. The rulers command the guns, and the subordinates are left with no alternatives but to submit or perish." [p.9]

While a certain amount of pressure in a system is a prerequisite for precipitating social change, undue pressure allows the flooding of psychotic anxiety and paranoid imagery and the unstable escalation of chaos and brief psychotic episodes within the system. At this point the polarities in fact idealise and entrench into more and more sharply defined conflict, which heads towards a win/lose or lose/lose scenario, rather than a negotiated win/win outcome.

The authors are clearly aware of the formative role of symbolism and construct reification in generating the group consensus which then legitimised the Afrikaner regime.

"Afrikaner nationalism achieved its goal of securing control of the South African state through an initial skilful use of the group's symbolic resources rather than by use of any material advantages. Ethnic entrepreneurs manipulated language and religion and manufactured historical myth until a relatively strong sense of unity was forged. After this gradual, cumbersome process of identity formation under the influence of a few professionals and clerics, in the 1920s and 1930s the movement laid economic foundations for a prosperous ethnic bourgeoisie." [p.44]

I suggest that it is the reified symbolic structures of the Afrikaner ideology which now require careful reanalysis and resolution if a deconstruction of apartheid is to be successful, rather than simply an armed conflict between ideologically secure camps. My own understanding of the psychodynamics involved would indicate that this kind of programme of analytic deconstruction, symbolic reinterpretation and a dynamic withdrawing of the paranoid projection mechanisms which elevate the construct in the first place, offers an extremely powerful point of intervention into the otherwise fixated and conflicted system. That suggestion is undergirded by the authors' further statement:

"Ethnic entrepreneurs used religion, in addition to language, as a crucial tool for mobilization [D.T. Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*; Andre du Toit and Hermann Gilomee, *Afrikaner Political Thought, 1780-1850*]. Without the predicants of the Calvinist churches to give impetus to the ethnic movement, Afrikaner nationalism would be inconceivable." [p.49]

Although the religious dynamics do not appear to be very powerful in the equilibrium of apartheid as it is at the moment, any attempt to lift the web, as it were, will reveal the religious roots of the dynamic, and the critique of religion is the sine qua none of social criticism in this context, even though that critique may itself require an analysis of the psychodynamic core of Christianity and the other main world religions, and a new and more profound understanding of the systemic psychosis which such ideological constructs and symbolic structures represent.

"In the absence of an unconstrained political leadership, it remains for Black clergy to articulate Black grievances authentically. But this 'cleritocracy' becomes divisive as soon as these leaders focus on their religion. The worldwide Islamic revival, and some Hindu factions, for example, fragment the Indian community, which had been much more united in a secularized political front. Divided religious, even more than linguistic, ethnicity ultimately serves to fracture rather than bond." [p.50]

The socio-historical dynamics of religion are quite clear, in that it establishes very sharp in-group/out-group boundaries, with reified paranoid projection and intense systemic splitting. The process is backed by the depersonalisation of the out-group and the raising of ideological assumptions to the realm of absolute truth, which brooks no possible questioning, and therefore fixates the system. While the authors are quite aware of the effects of this process, which is quite fundamental to the dynamics of the South African social system itself, they do not appear to have penetrated the psychodynamic core which gives rise to the phenomena of religious structures in the first place. As such their analysis lacks access to the causal parameters which set up the dynamics of the social system in question. In effect, their analysis is a subsystem analysis, requiring a widening of level to take in the total system and thereby incorporate the causal parameters that generate sub-system behaviour.

The role of the symbolic in mobilising unconscious emotive group energy around particular goals is well illustrated in the paragraph:

"The discourse among Afrikaner nationalists is best summarized in party posters at the October 1985 by-elections. The National Party (NP) poster said, 'Don't shoot. Think'; the HNP reversed it to proclaim, 'Shoot. Don't think'. The CP leaders Treurnicht suggested that the security forces should be 'unleashed'. He portrayed half-hearted repression as the cause of continued unrest. Another poster with a young blond girl admonished: 'Don't repeat Rhodesia for her sake', equating majority rule with child molesting." [p.61]

The more extreme ideologically and religiously motivated group requires the decephalisation of its constituency. If action can be based upon hypothalamic triggering of pituitary gland adrenal release, then the moderating influence of rational critique can be outlawed. Mobilisation for acute fight/flight and paranoid posturing is again reinforced by fears of rape and sexual retaliation, which resonates deeply with the repressed guilt of historic Afrikaner miscegenation. The sexual and primal roots of the psychodynamics of the core Afrikaner ideology demand incisive analysis and clear public communication as a prerequisite of deconstruction and de-energising of the polarisation process.

The limitation of the authors' analysis is indicated by their comments:

"The South African conflict does not concern the eradication of prejudice and fear; this will always exist among mobilized competitors. How the conflicting claims and perceptions can be channelled into mutually acceptable

compromises remains the fundamental issue of successful constitution-making." [p.71f.]

One of the assumptive parameters of the study does appear to be that changes in the fundamental psychodynamic structures of society are impossible. The scenarios of intervention and conflict resolution therefore represent some way of redistributing the pain and generating a more or less stable set of compromise negotiations. There is some grammatical unevenness within this passage and it is difficult to make any real sense out of the phrase "the South African conflict does not concern the eradication of prejudice and fear". Perhaps it makes more sense if you say that the authors believe that "resolution of the South African conflict does not depend upon the eradication of prejudice and fear". However the grammatical lacuna seems to indicate preoccupation, or disruption by some kind of associated material around this area. My own sense is that the conflict is intensified by the perseveration of prejudice and fear and in so far as the feedback loops within the present situation enhance and polarise and intensify prejudice and fear, just so far does the conflict move to a more and more intransigent and fixated position. Intervention, therefore, within the structures of prejudice and fear and the paranoid psychodynamics at an individual and social level on which they are based, is precisely a very powerful point of intervention, and I would argue a necessary prerequisite for conflict resolution. The authors are clearly aware of the danger of the opposite tendency, namely the increased prejudice and fear leading to chaoticisation and total anarchic paranoia, fragmentation and social collapse:

"Making South Africa 'ungovernable' in order to facilitate liberation risks having a post-apartheid society that also will be ungovernable, as a result of irreparable damage done to the country's economy. " [p. 89]

Intensification of the revolutionary struggle, leading to a catastrophic discontinuity and period of costly reconstruction is probably the most dysfunctional way of achieving the desired goal of social change. However the achievement of significant social change in an evolutionary capacity, sustaining win/win options for all parties and maximising the resource base of the system, requires the twin initiatives of deconstruction of the conflicted constraint dynamics, whilst sustaining high levels of motivation in the desired direction.

The authors recognise the dysfunctionality of increased polarisation, even though it is the policy apparently being adopted by Black theology and 'The Kairos Document'.

"The more each side defines the other as evil and engages in what Allan Boesak has called 'holy rage', the less politics works." [p.109]

If the process of idealisation is pushed to its absolute, in which the in-group perceives the out-group as some reification of Satanic evil, the conflict to the death appears to be the only way of resolving the situation, other than a deconstruction of the paranoid ideology.

The issue of legitimisation is quite central here, and the authors note:

"Only if the dominant group suffers from the illegitimacy of its racial domination will a consequential legitimisation crisis arise. Herein lies the simultaneous vulnerability and strength of the present South African system." [p.142]

The Achilles heel of any ideological system is the reified construct of its legitimating ideology. An intervention consisting of a very clear and incisive analysis of the construct serves to generate a legitimacy crisis, which again is a precondition for significant change.

Without such intervention the dynamic conservatism of the religious ideology, while not obvious until significant change is actually attempted, emerges with immense power as soon as the change initiative is attempted. So where cultural and religious constructs coincide with racial group boundaries we have an intense collusional paradigm sustaining the equilibrium of the status quo at all costs.

"Societies where racial divisions coincide with cultural differences are unlikely to eradicate racial divisions. Differences in religion or language reinforce visibility. Cultural heritage maintenance then becomes at the same time a perpetuation of racial group cognition. In South Africa, however - fortunately - races and cultures overlap greatly. Most people in the urban sector speak one of the official languages, the major Christian churches have members of more than one racial group, and the educated of all racial groups share a common cultural outlook and aspirations. This allows class divisions that cut across racial boundaries. [p.197f.]

The attempt to generate new bonded, ideologically uniform, in-groups as a way of overthrowing the dominant Afrikaner ideology actually destroys one of the strong points of the South African situation, namely that religious and racial boundaries do in fact overlap. In that sense the South African situation is seen to be a fossilised, or outdated, racist and religious fragmentation, passing through a slow but sure legitimisation crisis, towards an emergent inter-racial class structure. However, if the underlying dynamics of paranoid projection and boundary fragmentation are not annealed in the long term, we will find the class warfare structure that emerges in the secularised de-racialised state to be quite as incisive and divisive as the present racial boundaries within the religiously undergirded state. Construct conversion would move the splitting from racial lines to class lines. The intensity would still remain.

There is indeed a common Christian culture across the racial boundaries, but the common Christian dynamics of reified boundary construct, scapegoating, denial of negativities, displacement, projection, do not necessarily constitute a resource in the situation, in spite of the authors' comment to the contrary:

"When popular spokespersons for the oppressed affirm the common Christianity of the oppressors, they cannot be seen as a dehumanized personal enemy to be eliminated with callous ruthlessness - as happens in religious violence from Belfast to Lebanon, India, and Sri Lanka. The racial outsider remains simultaneously a Christian insider who must be enlightened, cajoled, or even threatened but who cannot be destroyed." [p.198]

The bankruptcy of the Westernised Christian model leads some people to seek a more primitive and universal religious construct. Regression, however, is no way forward into the future. It is impossible to turn the clock back to the pre-Christian, African culture, romanticised into some kind of uniform socially cohesive pattern. On the contrary we have to push through the constraints of the Christian construct, unpicking it as we go, moving with courage into the more vulnerable, less defended, realities of deconstructed post-Christian humanism.

"The hope is expressed that African religion could substitute for the ideological hold that Christianity has acquired over the African mind. Ancestor worship, Mphahlele hoped, could assist Blacks to 'snap out of the trance into which we were thrown by Western education' [E. Mphahlele, cited in Ursula Barnett, *A Vision of Order*, p.256]. In fact, however, a fundamentalist religious

dynasty has successfully synthesized traditional beliefs and colonial Christianity into a far more enduring brand of status quo support than the unfulfilled promise of mainstream Christian equality has ever been." [p.202]

Social systems under stress tend to revert to more fundamentalist and more deeply defended structures, in order to contain the anxieties being released in the face of threatened restructuring and change.

Analysis, deconstruction and education go hand in hand.

"And a precondition for serious deracialization must be a massive public reeducation effort, primarily of Whites in the civil service. Their ideological confusion, vested interests, and anxiety about the future block fundamental progress. ...

"If the nature of the post-apartheid society could be convincingly clarified, apocalyptic fantasies and illusions would give way to realistic hope. A justified belief in a secure future can in itself free energies submerged by a stubborn determination merely to hold out." [p.209f.]

As Eliot Jaques so sharply pointed out, the viability of a social system depends upon the mechanisms used to contain psychotic anxiety and in so far as the primitive paranoid-schizoid defences of splitting, denial, projection, reification, symbolisation, dissociation, scapegoating and so forth are the norm, just so far is that social system dysfunctionally resistant to realistic social change. Not only group boundaries, between the inside and the outside, but also temporal boundaries between the present and the future are invested with the most intense levels of anxiety, leading to paranoia, not only about invasion from without but of confrontation with a future which appears to be too terrible to contemplate. We have to recognise that much of the emotional energy vested in structures and ideologies emanates from these primitive levels of anxiety defence and from the psychotic anxieties pent up behind them. Annealing of the underlying levels of primal anxiety, the deconstruction of the individual and social defences, and annealing of the concomitant splits within the social topology, enable the system to respond much more flexibly and realistically during the process of transition.

The primal mythology of heaven and hell, paradise lost, paradise regained and all the other symbols of the corporate foetal unconscious, reified into the religious and ideological construct, which then undergirds the totalitarian state are poignantly expressed in the paragraph:

"It has been said that the dreams of paradise are the seeds of totalitarianism. Milan Kundera has warned about glorifying the alternative utopia: 'People like to say: Revolution is beautiful, it is only the terror arising from it which is evil. But this is not true. The evil is already present in the beautiful, hell is already contained in the dream of paradise and if we wish to understand the essence of hell we must examine the essence of the paradise from which it originated. It is extremely easy to condemn gulags, but to reject the totalitarian poesy which leads to the gulag by way of paradise is as difficult as ever' [Milan Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (New York: Penguin, 1981, p.234)". [p.213]

Although African nationalism is not itself idealist in this sense, the profound strength of the underlying idealising drives and defences should not be underestimated. Rhetorical and

charismatic attempts to mobilise mass emotion, using the symbols of paradise and the fear of hell emerge in this meta-stable context all too easily.

If intervention at the level of the psychodynamic roots of the construct is an essential prerequisite for the enabling of significant social change in the system, then in geography and institution there is also need to intervene at the symbolic core. So that the interpretation of the symbolism of the Voortrekker monument and dynamic intervention within the key universities and the heartland of the Dutch reformed theology are indicated as important points for critical interface. Fascinatingly the authors describe Stellenbosch as

"the academic cradle of the tribe" [p.252]

Perhaps we have to go back behind the cradle to the womb, or even to the preconceptions if we are to understand the tribal structures of apartheid.

David Wasdell,
24th March, 1987