

Sustainability of Societal Peace and the Paradox of Nation Building in Apartheid South Africa and Its Contemporary Relevance

By

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Introduction:

The theme is Linking Policy, Operations, and Workforce toward Meeting Global Health Goals. There is no doubt that global health would remain elusive in the face of intractable conflicts where global health refers to the total wellbeing of society. Thomas Hobbes in the Leviathan argues that not only will such welfare be unattainable, in a community ridden with conflicts, but that development and economy, as well as commerce, would all be casualties of such a state. The result will be a general low life expectancy. Hence, our concern in this paper is not just the attainment of societal peace after such a long history of insurmountable conflict, but also its sustainability after is quite crucial.

The first question to ask is that the apartheid conflict had effectively ended since 1995, why then are we still studying it? The reason is simple; the gullies created by its erosion does not seem to have been filled by the passage of time. Why is this? The reason is equally not far-fetched: apartheid was not just a regular system of creating inequality, imbalance, oppression and repression of its victims, it involves a systemic dehumanisation and institutionalised segregation whose multiplying effect would probably remain potent for centuries to come. For example, the creation of Bantu education that had existed for about 48 years had not only produced over 48 years of unemployed youths but also unemployable youths, who would remain so for years to come, but sadly must engage in something that they knew. However, what is it? It is a culture of violence and the harsh reality of oppression, repression and inequality that lends credence to violent resistance. The sudden end of apartheid does not immediately obliterate this. Poverty, hunger, unemployment in the life of a career Jobseeker, will probably produce nothing short of inexplicable anger, frustration and violence, as the end of apartheid only seem to redirect who the opposition is. At the slightest provocation, these elements manifest in forms such as xenophobia, lands expropriation, and “Malemaism” in all its ways. Besides, impossible, contradictory mutually exclusive narratives produced the fragile peace in South Africa. The principle of excluded inclusion was classically that of an unfinished business in which certain catalytic elements had to be temporarily and consciously suppressed and stepped down so that an immediate peace and stability was attained. However, its sustainability depended mainly on continuous recognition of this rhetoric and its careful management to continue to hold down the deconstructed element; otherwise, if allowed to rear its ugly head, it is capable of laying waste the dividends of peace that was achieved through rigorous theoretical and philosophical expedition.

Problem, Aim and Objective:

This paper is an offshoot of a PhD thesis whose original aim was to identify the underlying theoretical principles, means and strategies through which South Africa crossed the hurdle of the intractable apartheid conflict. After 48 years despite being regarded as one of the world’s worst intractable conflicts in human history, that is predicted to end in a civil war of unprecedented magnitude.

Rather than for these predictions to happen, the conflict became resolved through an internally grown negotiation and the institution of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Our concern immediately shifted to identifying what South Africa did differently after 48 years that brought about the so-called miracle of societal peace because South Africa resolve its conflicts with minimal or no hostilities at all. Our concern in this paper goes beyond identifying the theoretical

elements underlying the sudden attainment of peace, but also the extent to which such order would remain enduring and sustainable.

Literature Review:

It is interesting to know that most contemporary literature on intractable conflicts are unanimous in maintaining that modern approaches to conflict mediation have been mostly ineffective which is why the need arises for the search of a new approach that transcends the existing systems. However, the fact that as at this moment, the existence of conflicts considered intractable by the world, still exist on the globe, is an indication that, new approaches to disputes are still largely ineffective. Moreover, we have the case of South Africa that seem to have been able to surmounted and cross that hurdle. What we are trying to do in this work is to identify the essential elements behind the success of the South African peace process. Some of the conflicts that have not been able to get to the point that South Africa got to today include those of Israeli /Palestinian conflict dating as far back as 1948 still exist today, Pakistan/Indian, Kashmir conflict, also at about the same time, 1947 is far from being over. Colombian civil war, 1948, Democratic Republic of Congo, multiple wars, 1997, is not also over, Cyprus, Greek-Turkish conflict, 1974 are not over to mention just a few. This same fact is what Dan Jones (2015:148-149) was affirming when he says “

“Colombia’s long history of strife is a classic example of ‘intractable’ conflict — a self-perpetuating cycle of hostility that can grind on for decades. Such conflicts are relatively scarce — only about 5% of the world’s myriad wars qualify — but their longevity means that they exert a huge toll on societies. Their tragic poster child is the 68-year-long Israeli–Palestinian conflict. But the list also includes India and Pakistan’s equally long battle over Kashmir, and Sri Lanka’s 26-year civil war. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has been riven by conflict since 1996, as has South Sudan since its inception in 2011. Any number of intractable conflicts may now be emerging in the Middle East as Libya, Syria and Iraq are ripped apart by sectarian violence and with the rise of the Islamist group ISIS (see ‘Intractable conflicts’). The intensifying civil war in eastern Ukraine may eventually join the list as well.”(Jones,2015:148-149)

Nevertheless, the fact remains that because Conflict experts and scholars have continuously generated new approaches that have not been effective either, compels this research. It is observed that most of these approaches begin with some kind of inductive methods, which is like speculatively seeking new approaches to conflict mediation, which unfortunately has produced little or no result.

This work differs significantly from all these others in the sense that these other intractable conflicts continuously seeks new approaches that would help in surmounting the disputes that are already tagged irresolvable, while on the other hand, this works seeks to understand what South Africa did differently after 48 years to achieve success in resolving its own hitherto intractable conflict. Other intractable disputes are operating a-priori, while this work is operating a-posteriori. Hence, in this work, we are performing at the level of deduction, while other intractable disputes seeking means of resolving its intractable strife are operating inductively. The success of the conflict de-escalation in SA was considered a miracle primarily because it defies famous prediction. However, SA resolved its intractable conflict amicably, without a third-party mediator. (Adrian Guelke, 2005:188)

What are intractable conflicts?

Intractable conflicts (ITC) are those conflicts that have remained with the world for so long, having failed to succumb to mainstream conflict mediation approaches particularly that of third-party diplomacy. In simple terms, it refers to unresolvable conflicts. There is no one universally accepted definition of intractable disputes amongst scholars because they come in different shades and proportion with different traits. However, various scholars define it as it does appear to them, but the common denominator of resistance to resolution is continuously and consistently recurrent. Perhaps a few of such conception would help us with a clearer grasp of what intractable conflict entails.

Bercovitch argues that intractable conflicts are amongst the most dangerous conflicts in the world today because they threaten not only their immediate environment but also entire globe and have been responsible for much of the violence and terrorism that we witness today. Bercovitch (2003:1) Hence the need to understand these conflicts, and more importantly, learn how best to manage them before they degenerate further becomes necessary. (Bercovitch, 2003:1) SA seems to have gone beyond this level. What we are doing is to understand how it succeeded in achieving this feat.

Furthermore, Colman (2006:1) argues, *“Conflicts that endure despite repeated good faith attempts to resolve them are considered intractable. Such conflicts can exist at the family, organisational, community, and international levels and present conflict resolution practitioners with extraordinarily difficult challenges. Over time, they can become highly complex, mercurial, and malignant, and render standard methods of conflict resolution such as negotiation and mediation less effective”*. (Colman, 2006:1)

However, in this work, the author identifies the complexity of the contemporary world order and development as a key catalyst in evolving an effective approach that can cope with modern conflicts and as such concluded that,

“Our world is becoming increasingly complex. Due in large part to physical, biological, and human cultural evolution, we are confronted with progressively more complex ecological, political, economic, and social problems. These problems place extreme demands on our capacity to comprehend and react adaptively. Thus, our work for peace and constructive conflict resolution in this emerging world will require new methods” Coleman, 2006: 346)

This assertion no doubt is entirely accurate, and it further confirms the need for this research given that contemporary approaches to conflict resolution have been incapable of handling intractable conflicts which is why they are tagged intractable in the first place. Although Coleman identifies what he thought were the solutions: a set of new Meta- frameworks, yet they still operate within the same geometry of traditional third party, mediational approaches that is inductive and which had hitherto been ineffective. Coleman did not identify some of the radical flexibility and unconventionality that were seen in the SA experience, as it manifests in the working of the TRC, in this work, which technically means that the inductive approach may still be far from cracking the nut of intractable conflicts. This explains why learning from what South Africa did to achieve success was worth researching.

Furthermore, a set of conflict experts, Vallacher & Co (2010:262) equally identifies the negative consequences and traits of intractable conflicts. According to these scholars, intractable conflicts are demoralising apart from the fact that ITC destabilises communities and families, it also affects international regions in which they occur, they tend to perpetuate the very conditions of misery and hate that contributed to them in the first place. Arguing further, they maintained that the common factors and processes associated with intractable conflicts had been identified via research. They are said to represent an embarrassment of riches for theory construction and to that extent, Conventional wisdom, enshrined in scholarly analyses as contained in **Deutsch, Coleman, & Marcus, (2006)**, has it that conflict arises when people feel that their respective interests or needs are incompatible. Hence, defusing such a conflict, then, is tantamount to eliminating the perceived incompatibility and creating conditions that foster common goals and values. However, what we observe in the South African situation was a reverse, in which saw variance was not eliminated, yet, creating conditions that foster common goals and values. It is a weird situation of contradiction or paradox that could only be

understood the light of the theoretical framework upon which the work is based. This assertion is a significant contribution because

“A conflict that has become intractable should be especially easy to resolve through such interventions. After all, a conflict with no end in sight serves the interests of very few people, drains both parties' resources, wastes energy, and diminishes human capital in service of a futile endeavour. Even a compromise solution that only partially addresses the salient needs and interests of the parties should be embraced when they realize that such a compromise represents a far better deal than pursuing a self-defeating pattern of behavior that offers them nothing but aversive outcomes with a highly uncertain prospect of goal attainment” Vallacher, R. R., Coleman, P. T., Nowak, A., & Bui-Wrzosinska, L. (2010: 262)

It may suffice at this point to mention that this phenomenon of compromise and partial fulfilment, which we refer to, as a deconstruction of absolutist ideas, seem to be at the base of the SA TRC. One interesting bit is that if research has not been able to identify directly, the key to the effective de-escalation of intractable conflicts so far, It can do the same thing by going the other way round to determine what elements were responsible for this, at least in the proven case of SA. Hence, knowing the ingredients at the base of the de-escalation of the SA intractable conflicts is the same as knowing what factors are responsible for the de-escalation of intractable conflicts in SA. This is why we embarked on this research. If we look at the narratives and the paradoxes that emerged in the de-escalation of the South African conflict, it boils down to the fact that, consistently, simple ideas and principles either negatively or positively could not deescalate apartheid. What did the magic is probably a stepdown of the ideal, a negation of perfection, a midway philosophy, a moderate kind of ideology that is neither of two extremes but a combination and compromise of both? Hence, absolutist ideas were deconstructed to achieve societal peace and transformation in SA. It was not superimposed. From the dominant narrative, it was crystal clear that this was what was happened.

Further justifying the need for this research, Scholars gave a statistical overview of how enormous the problem of intractable conflicts can be. They argue elaborately that ‘as the world enters the 21st century, protracted social disputes represent pressing problems undermining the security and well-being of societies worldwide. According to them, Today, there are over 30 wars and violent battles being waged around the globe; approximately 40% of intrastate armed disputes have lasted for ten years or more, and 25% of wars have continued for more than 25 years (see <http://globalsecurity.org/military/world/war> and Marshall & Gurr, 2005). Arguing further within the same geometry, they maintained that the enduring conflicts in Israel–Palestine, Kashmir, Cyprus, Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of Congo are just a few examples. Hence, a study of international conflicts between 1945 and 1995 identified 18 cases

of intractable interstate relationships that produced 75 militarized and violent disputes that resisted hundreds of attempts at resolution and posed severe threats to regional or international security (Bercovitch, 2005; Vallacher, Robin R.; Coleman, Peter T.; Nowak, Andrzej; Bui-Wrzosinska, Lan, 2010: 263)

The consequences of all these are that 'entire generations of youths are socialised into conflict, a condition we know to entrench destructive conflict. These circumstances often lead to incalculable human suffering, including destruction of vital infrastructure, division of families and communities, and extreme violence, dislocation, and trauma to individuals (Cairns & Darby, 1998; Coleman, 2000). It is just impossible for the world to be satisfied with such a debacle, which again compels us to embark on this research. It is interesting to know that; scholars have linked the events of September 11th, 2001 to the sociopolitical conditions that fester in hot zones of intractable conflict (Crocker, Hampson, & Aall, 2005). Indeed, enduring conflicts have been linked to one-half of the interstate wars since 1816, with 10 out of 12 of the most severe international wars emerging from protracted destructive relations (Bennett, 1996). The seeming immunity to resolution has led many scholars to label such conflicts *intractable* (cf. Coleman, 2003). The need to be on top of this necessitated this research.

Methodology

[What is Critical Discourse Analysis? \(CDA\)](#)

The methodology chosen for this research is the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) This methodology falls under the ambit of Qualitative Research Methodology. It involves a situation where “a researcher generally selects a wide range of possible data sources including transcripts of recorded interviews, movie scripts, advertisements, or a company’s internal documents” Carla Willig (2008) Discourse analysts usually select texts that are as complete as possible – an interview transcript may be written up including all of the pauses, errors, and corrections argues Carla Willig (2008) They further maintained that “discourse analysis is based on the understanding that there is much more going on when people communicate than simply the transfer of information. It is not an effort to capture literal meanings; rather it is the investigation of what language does or what individuals or cultures accomplish through language. This area of study raises questions such as how meaning is constructed, and power

functions in society” Carla Willig (2008) In other words, it goes beyond descriptive analysis to evaluation and extrapolation of unapparent facts that are underlying the phenomenon of investigation and interpretation which is a departure from the traditional descriptive approach to conflict resolution. The main tenets of CDA include; 1. That CDA addresses social problems, 2. Power relations are discursive, 3. Discourse constitutes society and culture, 4. Discourse does ideological work, 5. Discourse is historical, 6. The link between text and society is mediated 7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, 8. Discourse is a form of social action. (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 271-80)

Throwing more light on what CDA entails, Jaffer Sheyholislami (2001) in an article titled, “Critical Discourse Analysis” he vividly presented *the* views of van Dijk (1998a) who conceive Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an academic discipline that is “concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. It examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts”. Van Dijk (1998a) Equally presented is Fairclough’s conception of what CDA entails. According to him, Critical discourse analysis aims at systematically exploring often opaque relationships of causality and the determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (p. 135) This is why Jaffer Sheyholislami simply argue that “ CDA aims at making transparent the connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures, connections that might be opaque to the layperson.” Fairclough, (1993:135) It is interesting to note at this stage that what we have done with CDA in SA is precisely this, showing the unapparent theoretical relationship between the underlying philosophical theories of Agamben and the emerging paradoxes as they reflect in the ensuing narrative that was at the base of the resolution of the SA apartheid conflict.

[How CDA Has Been Practically Applied in This Research.](#)

In applying CDA to this research, access to original materials was paramount. In other words, books, journals, periodicals, etc. that are the product of interpretations on the subject matter were stepped down to a regular literature review. Not only was the original report of the SA TRC relied upon, but it was also further scrutinised such that interpretations and reported

speeches, contained in the documents were largely disregarded for direct expressions of the individual vital players where they are quoted verbatim. This is necessary to avoid any form of misrepresentation or misinterpretations that could affect the fallibility and reliability of this research by leading to errors of omission or commission.

Furthermore, this method not only compels us in the course of our analysis and interpretation of discourse, to quote verbatim but do so extensively, making it possible for every argument to be scrutinised for accuracy by the excerpt that is being interpreted. This is because, CDA goes beyond just the literary words and their meanings to insinuations, innuendos, metaphors, paradoxes and contradictions that may reside between and within the lines of the excerpts. It includes the context within which confident pronouncements were made, the dominant, tune, tone, mood, mode, gestures, attitudes and general idiosyncrasies which combines to give meaning as that could be inferred from both the spirit and the letter of the research. Hence, for the credibility of assertions, and accuracy of judgement, the quoting of extensive passages are unavoidable for this methodology. Hence paraphrasing which is often favoured over extensive direct quotations in conventional research becomes a second order approach.

Hence, what we did in this research, is to download and print the seven volumes of the TRC report. Read them, and subjected them to critical analysis and evaluation. We then found out that there were dominant themes and sub-themes running across the volumes. These themes were individually captured and written down and further subjected to more rigorous analysis, and classifications that helped to prune-down the list as we avoided repetitions both structurally and thematically following closely the ensuing narratives that were interplaying between the constitution providing the enabling act, between the members of the TRC who were listening to the petitions and of course the victims and petitioners themselves.

For rigorousness of analysis we inclusively excluded, mostly, reported and interpreted statements and we stuck to only direct statements and pronouncements made by the key players at different stages of the hearings. Our analysis went beyond the lines to the underlying emotions and passions that were revealed, the spirit and letter dominating the narratives right from the aims and objectives as well as the discoveries and confessions that were at the base of the work of the commission.

In the course of these we found out that there seem to be a kind of shift at various stages as the paradoxes reveals themselves; First the zeal to bring about peace and stability on the part of the members of the TRC tend to produce a sort of binary fusion of complements, but that soon

changed with the reality of pain and trauma of years of violations of human rights to binary fusion of opposites and it became apparent that a better understanding of the dynamics at play could better be understood within an Agamben's philosophy of homo sacer which at any rate seem to be an extension of Derridean supplementary logic. This informed the next level of rigorous analysis against which the derived frameworks were examined.

Theoretical Framework

The theory underlying this research is the Agamben's exclusive, inclusive philosophy of the Homo Sacer. The question is what does this entail?

The essential thing that Agamben focused on is an obscure figure of archaic Roman law in which as a consequence of some judicial decisions, a citizen, is put under a ban and as such exiled from the society. This development transformed the citizen from being a citizen to what he calls the Homo Sacer. While within the community, he is a citizen and following the ban that ostracised him from society and he now exists outside the community as Homo Sacer. Our interest is in the consequences of the travails of this individual and his relationship with the state or power that banished him. This transitional circumstance creates a kind of paradoxical double identity that is mutually exclusive for the personality of the Homo Sacer. Interestingly, it is within this ironic contradiction that lies the key to societal peace. Agamben used some terms in explicating this transition. From being a free citizen in the polis to being bare life in exile. What we have found out in this research, is that there seem to be a kind of parallel between the ideas underlying the transition of apartheid to democratisation in South Africa and what transpired in the life of the homo Sacer during his transition from being a free citizen in the polis to being a bonded person in exile. This parallel is seen in the logic of ideas that were at the base of the resolution of the South African apartheid conflict in the course of its transition from a deeply divided conflict-ridden society to a peaceful and stable one. Our goal in this paper too is to identify these parallels.

The logic of the Homo Sacer involves a kind of dualism between what we may describe as nature and nurture. Whereas the logic in Agamben requires a deconstruction process in which nurture is excluded for nature to exist. It is an incomplete and defective state but has the advantage of fluidity as the imperfection leaves room for manipulation and control to suit the purpose of the goal. The exciting bit in Agamben is that nurture was excluded, yet included in some shape in the form of traits which significantly determines the resolution. The basic idea

with the complexity in the ideas presented by Agamben is that true and plausible or realistic solution to any phenomenon lies in imperfection and incompleteness: the deconstruction of absolute. Hence absolutist ideas in all its ramification would only lead to catastrophe. There is no gainsaying in affirming that this seems to correctly explain what underlie the success of the South African peace process.

Discussion and Findings:

In this section, there is a need to briefly refresh our memory about the link between Apartheid South Africa and the connection with Agamben. Before Mandela became President in 1994, The South African white minority National Party had been in power for 46 years. (Philip, 2008) It held on to power through naked brute force of repression, oppression and victimisation of all sorts using state machinery to perpetrate all kinds of racial discrimination, segregation and multiple violations on the majority of black South Africans. The situation was so fierce that it was on the verge of tearing the nation apart. All local and international efforts at brokering peace in South Africa for these 46 years proved abortive. The consequence was that South African apartheid conflict was listed among the world's worst intractable conflicts. (Jones,2015). However, there was a turn around when in 1994, through internally grown negotiation and the institution of a new constitution and the emergence of the TRC, South Africa amicably resolved its over 46 years intractable conflict with a transfer of power from white minority to black majority South Africans.(Guelke,2005). This research aimed to identify what underlying theoretical elements accounted for this successful brokerage of peace after such an extended period. Through CDA we were able to isolate some themes, which underlie the mediation processes and the emerging rhetoric and narratives appeared in couplets of paradoxical complementary and contradictory forms which was a pointer to the hypothesis that there must be some rigorous theories that were beneath this success. Further research reveals that it is only within Agamben's philosophy of the Homo Sacer that a plausible explanation for the peaceful transition in South Africa finds parallels.

Agamben's homo sacer is about the individual personality in the polis whose relationship with the Sovereign, society and law determined his life history from birth to death. What we found out is that within the same geometry and logic of analysis, Agamben's principles could also apply to those ideas at the base of South African resolution as much as they were with the Homo Sacer. Hence, what we shall be demonstrating in this section is to show those parallels.

Beginning with life in the Polis, in Agamben's philosophy, it was the ideal. Every citizen was under the protection of the sovereign. Citizens were full individuals who had both their natural traits of zoe and their acquired social traits bios. It was a perfect state of harmony governed by both the human law and divine law before things went wrong and change came. The parallel to this in the ideas that were at the base of peace in South Africa is that of the ideal. They also have two elements that are somewhat complementary. Seven of such original ideas emerged, and they are; 1. Peace on the basis of reconciliation, 2. Healing as a result of forgetting, 3. Tolerance resulting from friendship, 4. Unification founded on harmony, 5. Confession done with Remorse, 6. Amnesty flowing from forgiveness, 7. Truth leading to justice. Each of these set of ideas had its zoe and bios.

There was a transition from this stage, both with the perfect and complete citizen in the polis and the ideas at the base of the South African peace process. Just as the citizen some sort of conflict and violation, ran foul of the law and the consequence was a sovereign ban which exiled the citizen and thus changed her from being a citizen to the homo sacer during which she moved into a state of incompleteness and imperfection. It entered into the realm of the unideal. It is the realm where the citizen loses his bios and have just zoe. It is the state of exception and indistinction. The same fate befell these ideas in South Africa. As a result of conflict, and ban, the perfect and excellent ideas. Here the perfect complete idea became deconstructed and pushed into the realm of imperfection. This realm is where the "Pure idea" became "**Idea Sacer**" which in this case is the "sacred Idea" and just as the citizen lost its bios, to become "**homo Sacer**" the "pure ideas" lost their bios, leaving them with zoe, an inferior trait. In the first idea, reconciliation was lost, and it became peace without reconciliation. Forgetting was lost, and it became healing without forgetting, friendship was lost, and it became, tolerance without friendship, harmony was lost, and it became unification without harmony, remorse was lost, and it became confession without remorse, forgiveness was lost, and it became Amnesty without forgiveness, and finally, justice was lost, and it became truth without justice.

This is the realm of the Homo Sacer. Or that the "idea Sacer" The characters in this realm, also largely defines the characters of the ideas at this stage. Agamben defines the life of the Homo Sacer as bare-life that is an ordinary life; the same fate affects these South African ideas that are no longer perfect and sacrosanct. They are like half measure ideas which are "**bare-ideas**" an **imperfect idea such as peace without reconciliation is bare-idea**. Because the complete

or “pure idea” would have been the kind of peace that was dialectically derived from the successful reconciliation of the aggrieved parties, unfortunately, this was not going to be.

Besides, the ban or transition turns the homo sacer to sacred. That is he is nonetheless permitted to be sacrificed, yet can be killed with impunity. This seeming contradiction also affects the South African Peace ideas as they are vulnerable to attacks to the point of destructive criticism because they do not conform with norms and conventional expectations. For instance, how can you talk about peace without reconciliation when common sense has it that there can never be peace without reconciliation because in fact that, it is peace that leads to reconciliation. Though the ideas can be attacked and killed for appearing incongruence, to common sense at the layman’s level, it cannot be jettisoned under rigorous theoretical analysis or intellectually ritualised thought system that is philosophically and analytically based. Hence the sacredness of the idea means that the ideas cannot be sacrificed, killed, desecrated, jettisoned, repudiated or annihilated on a platter of rigorous intellectually ritualised circuit for being illogical, irrational or inconsistent without being guilty of intellectual bankruptcy and lack of criticality. Whereas on the other hand, the “Idea Sacer” can be thrown out, ejected, repudiated and annihilated for being inconsistent and incongruence with common sense expectation and logicity.

For Agamben, the most turbulent concept that continues to disturb the stability of the other is excluded and pushed outside the realm of bios. Not totally annihilated, but held out there because its absence is still present in the overall scheme of the objective. This bit is what Derrida, for instance, refers to as a “trace” It helps to explain the Agamben’s exclusive inclusion. Which is *“what a sign differs/defers from. It is the absent part of the sign’s presence. In other words, We may now define trace as the sign left by the absent thing, after it has passed on the scene of its former presence. Every present, in order to know itself as present, bears the trace of an absent which defines it”* in Western thought, the main substance, *“necessarily contain traces of other (absent) signifiers, the signifier can be neither wholly present nor wholly absent”*. The Derridean Phrase, **“wholly present nor wholly absent”** implies that nothing is absolute, It means partiality, it connotes, imperfection and aperspectival philosophy. All these were indicative of the philosophy on which the South African peace was founded. (Derrida, 2016)

This is precisely what happens to the binary fusion when deconstruction takes place, and one of the terms has been pushed out, it nonetheless remains within some fold. This is what

Agamben refers to when he is talking of excluded inclusion. The disturbing parameter is excluded, yet still included outside of the bracket which is the position of the Homo Sacer for whom the paradigm of the bare life is captured in the sovereign ban which Agamben finds in the figure of *homo sacer* of archaic Roman law. Here Agamben argues that the *Homo sacer* has been excluded from the religious community and all political life and as such, he cannot participate in the rites of his *gens*, nor can he perform any juridically valid act. And to that extent, his entire existence is reduced to a bare life stripped of every right by virtue of the fact that anyone can kill him without committing homicide; he can save himself only in perpetual flight or in exile to a foreign land after being made vulnerable by being stripped of his legal status and expelled from the political community, The *homo sacer* is exposed unconditionally to the potentiality of being killed by anyone. The *homo sacer* 'is in a continuous relationship with the power that banished him precisely insofar as he is at every instant is exposed to an unconditional threat of death' which is why it is excluded and yet included. (O'Donoghue, 2015, Southerland, 2016: Agamben,1998,).

Furthermore, the basis of this distinction is addressed by Agamben with recourse to the two terms used by the Greeks to distinguish between forms of life: *zoē*, 'natural reproductive life' confined to the private sphere, and *bios*, 'a qualified form of life', political life. Those who are banned from the domain of political beings are reduced by the sovereign to life defined only regarding *zoē* which is recognised by the sovereign only as biological beings. Whereas, the separation of *zoē* from *bios* and the production of bare, human life as a product of sovereign power can be said to transform modernity as *zoē*, or the biological life, is repositioned inside the *polis*, becoming the focus of the State's organisational power. This process, rooted in classical politics and extending into the present, indicates, for Agamben, a Western politics that has constituted itself from its beginnings as a biopolitics. Hence, every idea again has the binary element of bios and zoe; but to achieve its objective, they have to be stripped of their bios and left with only zoe which is much more easier to manipulate and recondition. , (O'Donoghue: 2015, Southerland: 2016, Agamben:1998)

However, to understand how all these manifests itself in South Africa, we must realize first that the architects of the TRC did not intend to base the de-escalation of the South African Conflict on the binary fusion of opposites but that of compliments. Unfortunately, it was a tall dream given the extent of damage and rot that had already divided the society to breaking points. The narratives and rhetoric that emerged could not be manipulated otherwise. Hence,

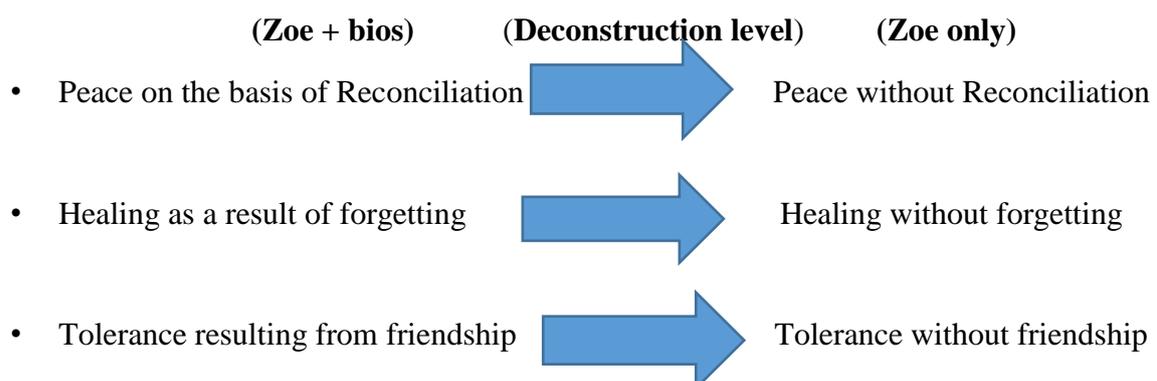
the binary fusion of opposites, which formed the bedrock of the de-escalation of the conflict in Apartheid South Africa appeared.

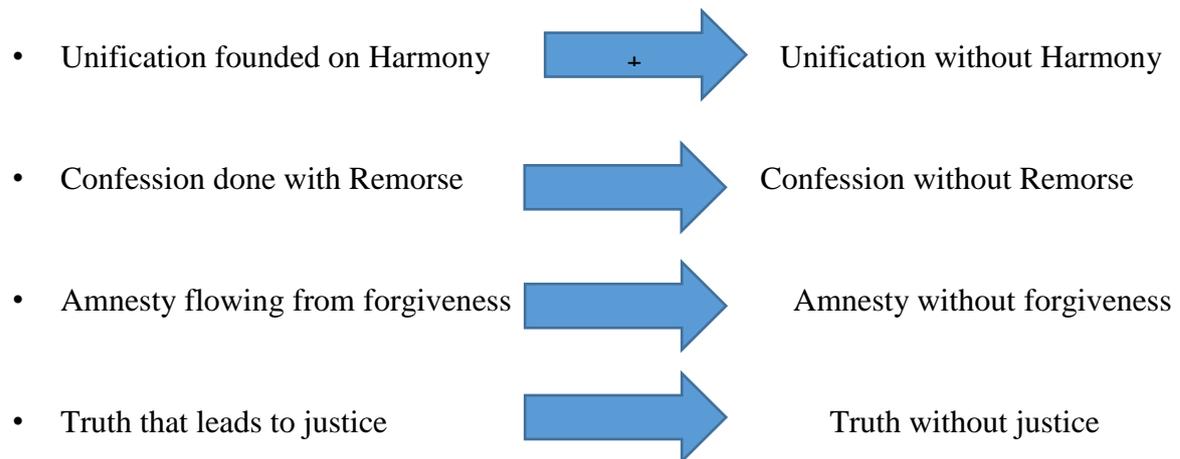
However, what we have done here is to move the Agamben's idea from the realm of the person or personality of the homo sacer to those of ideas and this time around, they are the ideas that were at the base of the success of the TRC in South Africa.

However, there is a logical principle here, that determines the deconstruction and remedy or panacea for peace. It is the principle of reductionism from any absolute idea to those that are partial. The belief is based on reducing the ideal idea to unideal one. It involves scaling down perfection to imperfection. It is a movement from completeness to incompleteness. The fundamental underlying principle guiding all these is a principle in which compromise is upheld at the expense of legality. This is why in the polis, there was a transition from the complete citizen that has two elements of zoe and bios into an incomplete personality called Homo sacer who had only one aspect, which is the zoe. Same for the perfect ideal ideas that were at the base of the South African peace process. They were by this principle, reduced from an idea with two elements to that which has lost one of the components such as peace with reconciliation becoming peace without reconciliation and the same geometry of analysis affects all the elements in the set.

We have observed that there is a logical principle behind these pairings. It is a situation where the ideal gives way to the unideal, and the unideal becomes the standard for societal peace and stability. In other words, an absolute, perfect and complete idea is repudiated and replaced with a relative and perspectival one. Better still, it is replaced by an imperfect, incomplete and defective form while the new aberration is rhetorically and narratively projected as usual standard. The overarching underlying principle that determines this is that of compromise at the expense of legalism.

Theoretical Model Underlying the TRC's Report of South Africa





A summary of emerging results from the theoretical analysis.

- The emerging results from this theoretical stage, reveals that under the criminal justice system, “truth” often lead to justice , but in SA, the truth was volunteered in anticipation of amnesty which makes it **truth without justice** because confessing the truth could not lead to punishment or prosecution that was already negotiated out because amnesty is no justice.
- Also emerging is the confession of gross violation, **without remorse**, as a result, such truths could only elicit state **pardon called amnesty**, but it is **amnesty without the victim’s forgiveness**.
- Another emerging result is the fact that confessing to gross violation itself helped in **healing wounds of the heart**, but not without creating permanent impressions that remained indelible in their hearts, **never to be forgotten**.
- Also emerging is the fact that such un-forgetfulness only leads to elastic **tolerance but not friendship**.
- It has equally emerged that such artificiality could only promote **societal unification** to the extent that SA remains one indivisible political structure but **lacking sustainable harmony**.

Such is the character of the fragile peace delivered in South Africa on its way towards nation building. Perhaps it was a choice of a better evil **to accept the current injustice to be able to lay the foundation of a much more solid futuristic societal justice**.

Conclusion:

Theoretical Lessons of Nation Building, Societal Peace and Stability in Apartheid South Africa.

A detailed analysis of each of these seven elements would probably require seven different papers in the series for justice to be done to it.

However, the fact that apartheid South African conflict had been classified as intractable and it became tractable after 48 years is enough reason to want to investigate how this was achieved. It will not only help in its management and sustainability but borrow significantly elements of nation-building and transferable skills of societal peace from the South African experience to others that are awaiting plausible direction because of their complexity.

There is overwhelming evidence from the literature to support the ripeness theory in international relations as one of the major indices that accounted for the success of this peace process after 48 years.

Similarly, scholars argue that the lack of an external mediator could have significantly contributed to its success.

There is also the role of rigorous theoretical analysis upon which the peace process was built: exclusive inclusion, deconstruction of absolutist ideas etc.

The sincerity of purpose, genuine commitment to negotiations, highly democratic and transparent selection and conduct of the TRC processes.

Prescriptively, the following lessons can be said to have emerged from the South African experience;

General Key to Sustainable and Enduring Societal Peace in Intractable Conflicts.

From the bulk of literature available to this research, especially as it applies to the intractable apartheid conflict, it is reasonable to conclude that the emerging key to sustainable and enduring societal peace far away from intractable disputes requires primarily, the following;

1. Careful and rigorous study of all original materials documented about the conflict and emphasis must be based on direct imputes of key players and stakeholders rather than interpretations and reported accounts.
2. It must be mainly homegrown or at least made to look so even if externally inspired, and motivated

3. It must be precipitated on principles that are theoretically rigorous.
4. The conflicts must be adequately dissected and understood in all its ramifications, while all prevailing themes must be identified, collated, isolated and synthesised for categorisation and analysis.
5. It must be based on the sincerity of purpose, honesty willingness for peace on all sides.
6. Key players must be of high calibres intellectually, morally, and publicly acceptable to all sides by being transparently and democratically selected meritoriously.
7. The ripeness theory must be carefully considered and brought to bear despite its limitations.
8. The principles of mutually exclusive contradictory wants and opposing demands should not be understood as tending towards stalemate but that of resolution within theoretical narratives as evident in Agamben , Marx, and Derrida to mention but a few.
9. Proceedings must be in public and televised live with documentations that are available in public domain.
10. It must be precipitated on the principles of deconstructing absolutist ideas.
11. The tools of legal justice system could be applied to the extent of its compatibility with morality and ethics, over and above legalism.
12. Exclusive inclusive, contradictory and complimentary inconsistent consistencies must be harnessed together in manners that are reflective of deep understanding of infinite possibilities and manifestations of divergent ideas in convergent manners that generate peace within war and unity within disunity.
13. Complexities and complications must be constructed in manners that converts impotency to potency within theoretical narratives that achieves peace outside the box.

How Fragile is the Attained Peace and How Sustainable or Enduring Could it be? In other words, To What Extent is its Sustainability and Stability or Longevity.

It may be disappointing to say that there is a high degree of probability that such narratives can most probably guarantee immediate peace, but the extent to its sustainability is suspect and not immediately determinable.

The fact that it is a kind of sophisticated peace founded on antagonistic realities within the ensuing paradoxical inconsistencies, where one part of the narrative couplet upon which peace was founded, was deconstructed to accommodate peace at all cost. This amounts to some compromise of some sorts in which the disturbing elements are superficially and prescriptively but discursively and systematically suppressed to accommodate the mutual inclusivity within the exclusivity.

Hence, the futuristic fate of such peace would largely depend on the continuous recognition of the fragility of the concoction with which peace was attained and as such, serviced regularly with that consciousness that must be tailored towards national policies of the state. A deviation from this would probably spell doom. The reason is that those disturbing elements that were swept under the carpets are not dead. Any atmosphere that tends to create enabling conditions for them would see them blossom. Why? The reason is that apartheid was not just a regular system of creating inequality, imbalance, oppression and repression of its victims, it involves a systemic dehumanisation and dichotomy whose multiplying effect would probably remain potent for centuries to come. For example, the creation of Bantu education that had existed for about 48 years had not only produced over 48 years of unemployed youths but also unemployable youths, who would remain so for years to come, but sadly must engage in something that they knew. However, what is it? A culture of violence, harsh reality of oppression, repression and inequality that lends credence to violent resistance. The sudden end of apartheid does not immediately obliterate this. Poverty, hunger, unemployment in the life of a career Jobseeker, will probably produce nothing short of inexplicable, anger, frustration and violence as the end of apartheid only seem to redirect who the opposition is. At the slightest provocation, these elements manifest in forms such as xenophobia, lands expropriation, and “Malemaism” in all its forms. Besides, impossible, contradictory mutually exclusive narratives produced the fragile peace in South Africa. The principle of excluded inclusion was classically that of an unfinished business in which certain catalytic elements had to be temporarily and consciously suppressed and stepped down so that an immediate peace and stability was attained. However, its sustainability depended mostly on continuous recognition of this rhetoric and its careful management to continue to hold down the deconstructed element; otherwise, if allowed to rear its ugly head, it is capable of laying waste the dividends of peace that was achieved through rigorous theoretical and philosophical expedition.

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