## **OVERCOMING APARTHEID:**

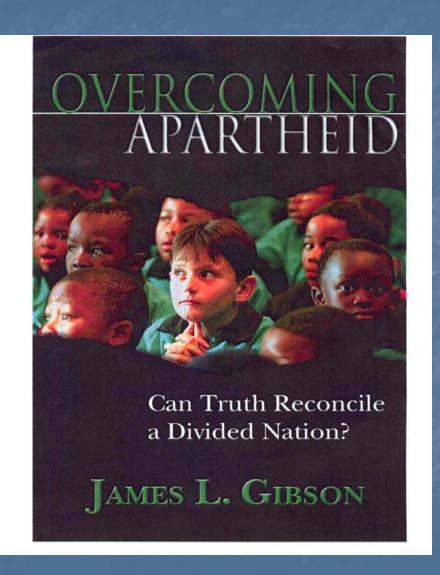
#### CAN TRUTH RECONCILE A DIVIDED NATION?

James L. Gibson

Washington University in St. Louis

Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (Cape Town)

Stellenbosch University





| Tetlock Findings on the Accuracy of Expert Forecasts |                    |    |
|--|--------------------|----|
| Issue Domain   | Status of Forecast | N  |
| Soviet Union   | Inaccurate         | 27 |
|  | Accurate           | 11 |
| South Africa   | Inaccurate         | 15 |
|  | Accurate           | 11 |

Source: Tetlock, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1998

The goal "of the Commission shall be to promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflicts and divisions of the past."

- (National Unity and Reconciliation Act, Section (3) (1)).

# Assumptions of the Truth & Reconciliation Process

**Amnesty** 

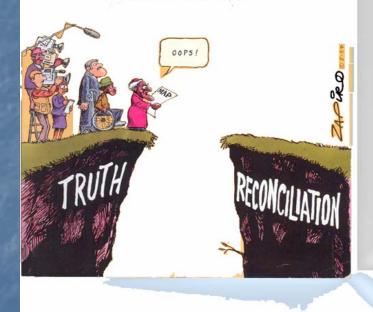
Truth

Reconciliation

Democratic Consolidation Edited by Wilhelm Verwoerd & Maḥlubi 'Chief' Mabizela

# Drawn in Jest

Commentary on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission through Cartoons





## Research Design

- Survey Dates: Nov 2000 Feb 2001
- 3727 Adults (18yrs and older) South Africans interviewed
- Survey translated into 8 languages
- Face to face interviews
- Rural/urban stratification
- Questionnaire based on extensive focus group research across the country

## Elements of South Africa's Collective Memory

Apartheid was a crime against humanity. (True)

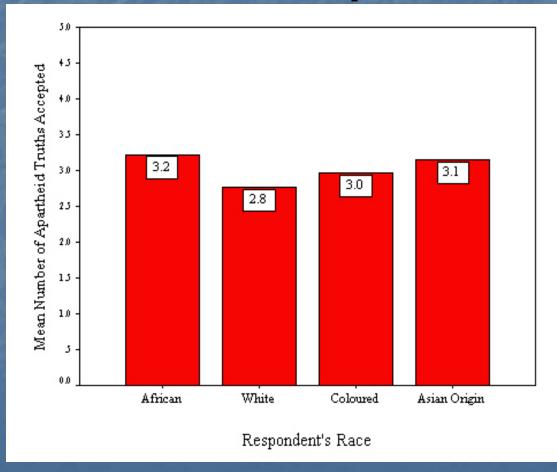
There were certainly some abuses under the old apartheid system, but the ideas behind apartheid were basically good ones. (False)

Both those struggling for and those struggling against the old apartheid system did unforgivable things to people. (True)

# Acceptance of South African Collective Memory

|   | % Accepting as Truth |        |
|---|----------------------|--------|
| Statement   | Blacks               | Whites |
| Apartheid was a crime against humanity*                           | 94                   | 73     |
| Despite abuses, apartheid ideas were good ones                    | 36                   | 51     |
| Those struggling for & against apartheid did unforgivable things* | 76                   | 74     |

# Figure 3.1 Acceptance of the TRC's Collective Memory—Average Number of Truths Accepted



Note: Interracial difference of means: p < .001, Eta = .15.

## The Dimensions of Reconciliation

Interracial Tolerance

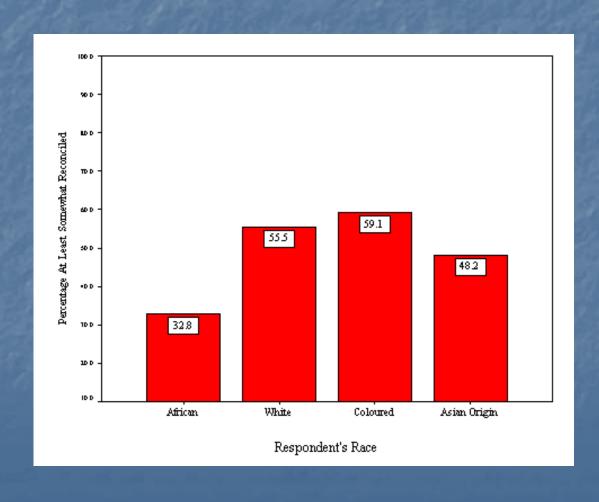
Institutional Legitimacy

Reconciliation

Support for Human Rights

Political Tolerance

# Racial Differences in Overall Levels of Reconciliation

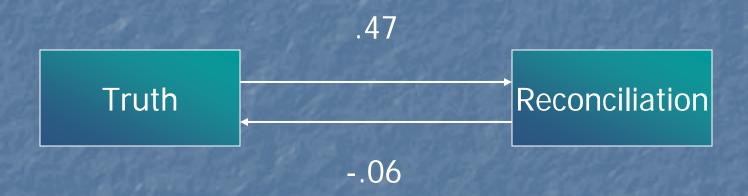


# Truth Acceptance and Overall Reconciliation Index

| African      | Truth Acceptance ———— .23 ——> Reconciliation          |
|--------------|---|
| White        | Truth Acceptance ———— .53 ——> Reconciliation          |
| Coloured     | Truth Acceptance ———— .34 ——> Reconciliation          |
| Asian Origin | Truth Acceptance ———————————————————————————————————— |

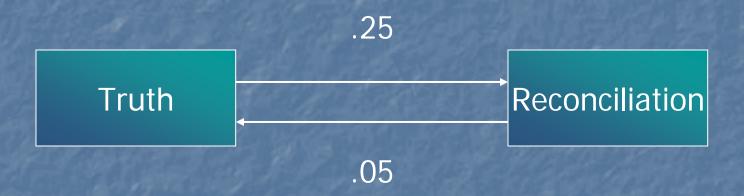
# The Causal Relationship

### Coloured South Africans



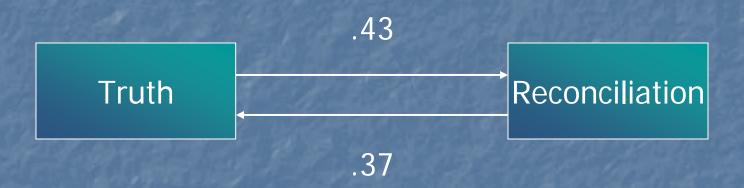
## The Causal Relationship

South Africans of Asian Origin



# The Causal Relationship

## White South Africans



Yes, all these things when they came out at the TRC, I thought, my God, where was I living? Was that in South Africa?

The whites, you didn't know any of that was going on. You looked on apartheid and you were comfortable because you could go to the shops and go where you liked.

Yes, they were happy. We were ignorant in a sense of knowing what actually really went on.

Q. Those struggling for and against apartheid did terrible things to others. What do you think of that?

It's very true, both sides have blood on their hands.

Even the so-called liberators had very inhumane methods that they used when they wanted to put through a message . . . . A lot of people were hurt in the townships.

It's true, both sides did bad things.

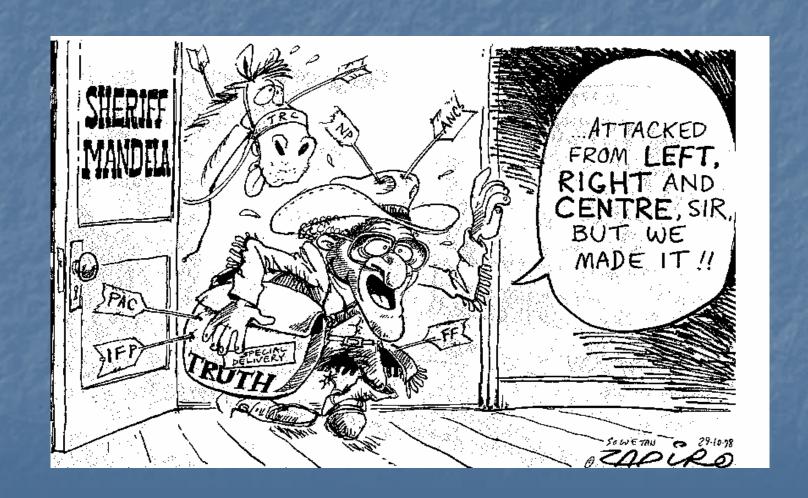
Two wrongs don't make a right.

"All that a truth commission can achieve is to reduce the number of lies that can be circulated unchallenged in public discourse."

- Michael Ignatieff 1996, 113.

# Factors Contributing to the Success of Truth and Reconciliation

- Penetrated society
- Impartiality



# Factors Contributing to the Success of Truth and Reconciliation

- Penetrated society
- Impartiality

■ The Message -- Blaming all sides

## The Success of the TRC

**Impartiality** 

Legitimacy

Credibility

Rethink Apartheid

# Factors Contributing to the Success of Truth and Reconciliation

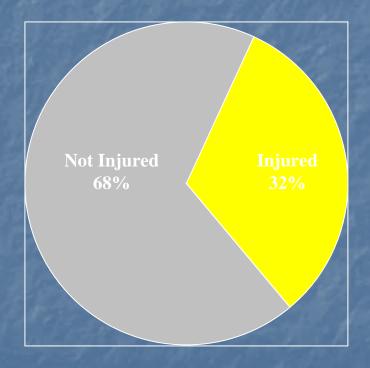
- Penetrated society
- Impartiality
- The Message -- Blaming all sides
- Overcoming the Justice Deficit
- Leadership

# System Characteristics Contributing to the Success of Truth and Reconciliation

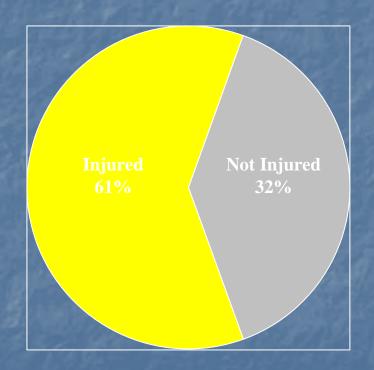
- Support for the rule of law
- Political pluralism
- Amnesty
- Extent of injuries

#### The Injuries of Apartheid

#### General



#### Specific



# System Characteristics Contributing to the Success of Truth and Reconciliation

- Support for the rule of law
- Political pluralism
- Amnesty
- Extent of injuries
- Leadership

### Macro Model

Rule of Law

Political Pluralism

Amnesty

Extent of Injuries

Truth and Reconciliation Process

Evenhandedness

Leadership

Societal Penetration

<u>Impact</u>

### Connecting Reconciliation and Civil Peace

| Component of Reconciliation | Mechanism for Mitigating Intergroup Conflict |
|-----------------------------|--|
|                             | and Enhancing Democratic Consolidation       |

- Reduction of political intolerance Expansion of individual freedom and the marketplace of ideas
- Reduction of intergroup prejudice
  Increased intergroup trust and cooperation
- Support for a human right culture Increased constraints on the ability of authorities to suspend/manipulate the rule of law
- Institutional legitimacy Expanded capacity of institutions to make unpopular but necessary decisions; increased acquiescence
- Collective Memory
   Redirecting political debate from the past to the future

