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Antjie Krog, Self and Society: The Making and Mediation of a Public Intellectual in South Africa

Doctoral thesis by Anthea Garman

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The Constitution of Public Intellectual Life Research Project
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This thesis is submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

I declare that this research is my own work. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

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Note on the organisation of the thesis supporting documents

In order to be able to consult all the texts on a particular issue at once I have gathered the following into appendices, references to which appear in the footnotes of the thesis:

- Media coverage of plagiarism accusations against Krog (Appendix A)
- Texts dealing with the debate on public intellectuals internationally (Appendix B, these also appear in the main bibliography)
- South African media debates about types of intellectuals (Appendix C)
- Reviews of *Country of My Skull*, excerpts and interviews (Appendix G)
- Blog postings on Antjie Krog (Appendix H)

I have also included two sections on Krog called Antjie Krog Biography and Antjie Krog's Awards and Accolades.

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2007. "Antjie Krog and the accumulation of 'media meta-capital'" in *Current Writing* 19(2): 1-23.

2008. "The mass subject in Antjie Krog's *Country of My Skull"* in Hadland, A. et al (eds) *Power, Politics and Identity in the South African Media*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

2008. Book Review of Xolela Mangcu's *To the Brink: South African Democracy at the Crossroads* in *Safundi* The Journal of South African and American Studies, 9(4): 475-485.

Forthcoming:
'Global resonance, local amplification: Antjie Krog on a world stage" in *Social Dynamics.*

"The new South African citizen, a transnational, affected, damaged subject" in *Critical Arts.*

Papers out of the thesis research were presented at these conferences:

"The Mass Subject in Krog's *Country of My Skull* at the "At the End of the Rainbow: Power, Politics and Identity in Post-apartheid South African Media" conference, organised by the HSRC Society, Culture and Identity Research Programme in Stellenbosch, 6-7 July 2006.

"Rethinking the Media-Public Sphere Relationship" at the Media Change and Social Theory Conference hosted by the Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change at St Hugh's College, Oxford, 6-8 September 2006.

"Antjie Krog, the TRC, and the Ethical Performance of Listening" at the Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness Conference at UCT, Cape Town, 22-25 November 2006.

"Global resonance, local amplification: Antjie Krog on a world stage" at the Paradoxes of the Postcolonial Public Sphere: South African Democracy at the Crossroads Conference at University of the Witwatersrand, 28-31 January 2008.

"The new South African citizen: a transnational, affected, damaged subject" at the CRESC Conference on Cultural Citizenship St Hugh's College Oxford, 3-5 September 2008.

"Antjie Krog, the 'African', Afrikaans, South African Intellectual" at the African Intellectuals and Decolonisation Conference at Ohio University, Athens, US, 2-5 October 2008.

Preface

It is a great privilege in academic life to work in a research group instead of in splendid, but terrible, isolation, as is the usual practice in the humanities. This individual research project was located in a larger project set up by Prof Carolyn Hamilton in the Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand in 2004. The project set out to investigate the "Constitution of Public Intellectual Life" in response to a growing literature about intellectual activity in the public spheres of democracies all over the world. South Africa, itself a new democratic nation, had no shortage of interest in the subject and, in the news media as well as in academia, the subject was hot and topical.

I came into the project as one of two people located in a journalism and media studies department; the other was Lesley Cowling. Both of us had been practising journalists and were now located in universities teaching both journalism practice and media studies theory. We both bore a particular interest in the media's power in the world and their complex and very fascinating effects on public life. We joined two philosophers (Windsor Leroke and Pascal Mwale), two art historians/art theorists (Rory Bester and Yvette Greslé), and a film studies theorist (Litheko Modisane), as well as Hamilton, a historian and anthropologist now increasingly exploring the role of archives in the public domain. With that combination of interests and theoretical locations, our initial conversations about our shared reading material were full of contestation and challenge. But we also found ourselves using our reading material to engage with the media, our interactions with daily public life in South Africa and to reflect on our location in a new democracy at the bottom tip of Africa. As the project evolved with some researchers leaving (Leroke and Greslé) and others joining us (in particular Alan Finlay, located in literary studies), our artistic, literary and media influences and interests meant we started as a group to have particular questions about how the visual, the artistic, the affective and the performative found space and were allowed into the public domain. We were most interested in the practices that are not easily absorbed into public, the activities that draw censure, contestation and debate. We questioned under what conditions they operated best, and what particular kind of work they did in public. At points we drew on Wits' very rich resource of other researchers and invited many other academics from a variety of disciplines to join us to think through these issues. The Public Intellectual Life project became a wide, collegial, inspiring and stimulating space in which to work. This is the matrix out of which my own particular project emerged, and which coalesced into an investigation of personal agency and performance in the public domain.

It is difficult to locate myself in a discipline or even theoretically, and I suspect this might also be the case for this research project. As a practising journalist and writer myself, I have a great interest in media products and the role the media play in our world, but I am not solely a media studies theorist. My undergraduate work was in English literature, my honours and masters degrees in feminist and poststructural theory and I draw strongly on all those for my academic roots. While the label "inter-disciplinary" is certainly true of our project and the research in this thesis, the word is too easily used as a catch-all, and therefore often means little. I have endeavoured in this work to combine an interest in media power, with an interest in the ongoing value of the literary and a location in the public domain, as well as a connection with

altering subjectivity formation. I have drawn widely on literature and theoretical work which seemed most appropriate to achieve a satisfactory answer to my question. Perhaps the best way to describe my resulting theoretical location is as working from within media studies – and in particular, journalism studies – with connections to literary studies and political sociology.

I do hope I do our project justice by adhering to the very rigorous and self-questioning norms set by our group in all our conversations and critiques of our progressing work, and that the resulting thesis is a coherent and convincing piece of research that makes a valid contribution to investigations of the public domain, to understandings of the media, and to considerations of agency and subjectivity.

Anthea Garman
Grahamstown
23 February 2009.

Antjie Krog, Self and Society: the Making and Mediation of a Public Intellectual in South Africa

Abstract

In post-colonial, post-apartheid South Africa, the avowedly Africanist, nationalist government has taken seriously that as part of the functioning of democracy, this new nation needs a vibrant public space for the airing of ideas and the formation of public opinion. Thus, a crucial priority for the functioning of the public sphere is the widening of the public domain, beyond the participation of the bourgeoisie, to facilitate the inclusion of the voices of the black majority. But, an interesting – and volatile – dimension of the South African public sphere is the rhetoric about its parlous state, and a strong concern with who populates this public sphere and what ideas they put into public. A great many "calls" have been made for various types of intellectuals to take up public positions and contribute to the healthiness of public life. Coupled with these calls are statements invoking Edward Said's style and ideas about public intellectual representation, and the phrase "speaking truth to power" (with a multiple interpretations) has become a familiar one in these debates in South Africa. There are furious discussions about styles of engagement, suitable subject matter, sources of authority, vested interests and arguments about degrees of independence. A notable feature of these debates is that they are often couched in the language of "crisis" which, I argue, points not to the overt dangers being espoused, but another one entirely – a crisis about what constitutes authority to speak in public and to be a proxy for those who cannot or do not speak. This sense of "crisis" in the South African public sphere has echoes all over the world where similar debates about the public domain and public intellectuals are also taking place. Asserting that these debates are evidence of a deep anxiety about authority and legitimacy, I have chosen to focus on one particular public figure in South Africa, Antjie Krog, the poet, journalist and book author, who for four decades has found a public and a hearing for her ideas. In a time when white Afrikaners have been dispossessed of social and political power, it is remarkable that Krog has both platform and voice, when who speaks for whom and on what issues in the South African public space is so fraught. I argue that the study of Krog shows that the ability to speak in public is more than simply a matter of agency and the acquisition of skilled speech and the facility of representation (as in Said's formulation of what makes a public intellectual). This thesis asserts that the agency to speak is powerfully connected to accumulated authority and that an investigation of the makers and markers of authority enables an understanding of how a particular person comes to have a platform in public, despite dramatically shifting social and political circumstances. The case study of Krog shows that the literary aesthetic, and an adaptive subjectivity responsive to the ethical, combined with accumulated authority acquired across fields and married to the power of media attention, is what gives this white, Afrikaans-speaking woman poet her voice and hearing in South Africa today.

Chapter One

Who Speaks? Or: Who can Speak?

In his State of the Nation address for the opening of Parliament on the 8th of February 2002, President Thabo Mbeki said: "Urging us to start anew as one people, 'to shiver in the colour of human', the poet and writer Antjie Krog has written…

Hoe word jy heel
Hoe word jy vrygemaak in begrip
Hoe maak jy goed
Hoe sny jy skoon
Hoe na kan die tong tilt aan teerheid
Of die wang aan versoening
'n Punt
'n lyn wat sê: van hier af
van die moment af
gaan dit anders klink
want al ons woorde lê naas mekaar op die tafel
bibberend van die kleur van mens
ons weet nou mekaar
mekaar se kopvel en reuk, mekaar se bloed
ons weet die diepste geluide wat mekaar
se niere maak in die nag
ons is stadig mekaar
opnuut
nuut
en hier begin dit[1]

[how do you become whole
how do you get released into understanding
how do you make good
how do you cut clean
how close can the tongue tilt to tenderness
or the cheek to forgiveness?
a moment
a line which says: from this point onwards
  it is going to sound differently
because all our words lie next to one another on the table now
shivering in the colour of human
we know each other well
each other's scalp and smell each other's blood
we know the deepest sound of each other's kidneys in the night
we are slowly each other
anew
new
and here it starts][2]

[1] A fragment from "Land van genade en verdriet" in *Kleur Kom Nooit Alleen Nie* 2000: 43. See the Antjie Krog Bibliography for her published works.

Mbeki said: "It is as South Africans, who share a common nationhood and destiny, that we have to continue to address the issue of national reconciliation and the building of a non-racial South Africa…". This rhetorical tactic – an anointing of a poet laureate of the moment[3] – to speak the words a nation needs to hear, at points of consolidation of the past and forging of the future – is one that South Africa's politicians have employed again and again at times of heightened political sensitivity and media attention[4]. But, it is this choice of poet/journalist/author Antjie Krog, as the voice to put into public a set of words to carry the freight of a political intention at this point in South Africa's ongoing, complex transition to democracy, that I am interested in investigating.

This thesis examines why Krog, a white woman poet, journalist and book author, of Afrikaans descent, is often positioned and used as the voice of ethical response in the context of the nation-building and democratising project that is South Africa since the end of white domination in 1994. My focus on a single person, a writer, and her words, is a deliberate attempt to understand why certain public figures (loosely "intellectuals"), with speaking powers, play a key role in society. What is their relationship to democracy, the imagined national public sphere and the interplay of ideas in public domains? What is the influence of the literary as an enabling background? Why are so many who are considered "intellectuals", also writers? How is a platform to speak with authority in public crafted? By what means does a person come to have the capacity to take on such a role? What role does the news media play? How is a public generated for a speaker's words? By what authority does a "public intellectual" gain a sympathetic hearing, that weighs and takes account of her statements? And finally, in a country that has undergone enormous political and social

---

[2] From Krog's English translation "Country of grief and grace" in *Down to My Last Skin* 2000: 100.
[3] The South African government has since instituted an official system of poets laureate. In 2005 the Department of Arts and Culture held the first South African Literary Awards and Mazisi Kunene received the National Poet Laureate Prize. In December 2006 Keorapetse Willie Kgositsile was named Poet Laureate.
[4] At the very first State of the Nation address of the new democratic South Africa on 24 May 1994, President Nelson Mandela read Ingrid Jonker's poem *Die Kind is nie dood nie,* and then urged the nation to "define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny". Mandela was understood by journalist commentators to be making "conciliatory" gestures towards white and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. See the *Cape Times* report of 22 July 2005 at www.capetimes.cp.za/general/print_article.php?fArticleId=2634516 accessed 27 September 2007. Krog has been used this way to heightened, dramatic effect more than once.

upheavals, how does such a person traverse dramatically-changing situations and continue to speak into the public space with authority?

Krog the public figure

Krog, a white, Afrikaans woman born in 1952 in Kroonstad in the Free State into the heart of Afrikaner privilege, burst into the Afrikaans literary world in 1970, with a set of poems in her high school year book. The sexual and political content of the poetry caused a furore among the parents at the school and this drew the attention of an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper and then the English-language papers. The Afrikaans paper and then the publisher Human&Rousseau drew two major poets (Etienne van Heerden and DJ Opperman) into the fracas who commented approvingly on the standard of the poetry, and this resulted in her first volume of poems (*Dogter van Jefta*) being published at the age of just 17. At university Krog continued to produce more volumes in quick succession (*Januarie Suite* in 1972, and *Mannin* and *Beminde Antartika* in 1974) and to win awards for this work[5]. By 1975 she was married with a child, living in Cape Town and studying with acclaimed poet DJ Opperman at Stellenbosch University, who had become her mentor. By this time the Afrikaans press had her firmly on their radar and, like a very few who actually achieve this, Krog was set on a trajectory to become a career poet. Over the next seven years Krog divorced, remarried (to John Samuel), had two more children, moved to Pretoria and continued to write attention-getting poetry (*Otters in Bronslaai* in 1981), which showed a distinctive use of colloquial language with emphasis on experiences of sexuality and the body. By this time literary academics were taking note and beginning to study Krog. In the Afrikaans newspapers her every shift in personal life and her growing progress poetically were recorded with detail in news reports, in reviews of her work and in interviews about her life, family and career.

In 1980 the Samuel family moved back to Kroonstad. In the coming years Krog enrolled for a masters degree through Pretoria University, focusing her thesis on family figures in DJ Opperman's poetry. She also started teaching at the Mphohadi Technical College in Maokeng, the township, as she was unable to get work in a white school as a teacher because she was unqualified. Her stature as a poet grew (in

[5] In 1977 she won the Reina Prinsen-Geerlig Prize for Literature for *Mannin* and *Beminde Antartika*.

1985 she produced the prize-winning *Jerusalemgangers*[6]) and she started receiving invitations to speak publicly about poetry and literature. From her stance of increasing dissidence from the Nationalist Party regime, she began to use these events – and the resulting media attention – to denounce the Afrikaans cultural institutions' imbrication in the apartheid structures. Until now the attention on her by journalists had been somewhat confined to the Afrikaans press. But Dene Smuts, editor of *Fair Lady* magazine (an English-language magazine aimed at women but owned by a major Afrikaans publishing group), invited Krog – whom she had interviewed for *Beeld* (an Afrikaans daily supportive of the National Party regime) in 1975 – to join the invited authors at the magazine's book week in 1986. Krog was introduced to English-speaking and black South African authors and photographers and was disarmingly honest in public about her ignorance of these "new names" and their work. She marked this week in an essay for *Die Suid-Afrikaan* (a magazine run by dissident Afrikaans intellectuals) by saying it had provoked the crossing of "boundaries of language, genre and politics"[7].

In the final years of the 1980s Krog's dissidence deepened; she became more involved with township activists (through her engagement in the lives of the pupils she was teaching now at the 'coloured' Brent Park High School) and she became ever more outspoken in public about the devastating impact of apartheid on culture and literature. She became a member of the anti-government Congress of South African Writers and joined Miriam Tlali and Nadine Gordimer in Soweto for a "Women Speak" event in November of 1988. In 1989 she marched with her township pupils in demonstration against the government, joined a group of Afrikaner intellectuals and authors who crossed the border into Zimbabwe to meet an ANC delegation and produced *Lady Anne,* the volume of poetry which was to win her Afrikaans literature's highest award, the Hertzog Prize. In October of the same year, Ahmed Kathrada, a Rivonia treason trialist jailed for life on Robben Island in 1962, was released. At his reception rally before a crowd of 80 000 in Soweto, he read a fragment of a Krog poem from that school year book of 1970. The offending poem, which had never been published in her first volume of poetry, caused a media storm

[6] Which was awarded the *Rapport* Prize of 1987.
[7] "What book week meant to me, by best-selling poet Antjie Krog" *Fair Lady* 4 April 1987 reprinted from *Die Suid-Afrikaan* January 1987.

with journalists scuttling to find out how the poem had reached Kathrada in jail, why it had never been published, and for the English press, just who Krog was. Krog was all over the papers that year: not only did she visit the ANC in July at Victoria Falls, but she was part of a second delegation in November to Paris to further their talks which endorsed the cultural boycott against South Africa. And the contents of *Lady Anne* (which was blatantly postmodern in structure and shockingly carried a menstrual chart) were being debated furiously by poets and critics in the Afrikaans press and on radio.

As soon as the ANC was unbanned in 1990 Krog joined the liberation movement. She also resigned from the white branch of the Dutch Reformed Church and began attending the Sendingkerk in the township. Despite winning the Hertzog Prize, for which she was acclaimed as having "arrived" as a poet and as demonstrating her independence and maturity (particularly from Opperman who had been her mentor and editor), and even though she was now considered one of the Afrikaans literary establishment leading lights, Krog kept up the barrage of accusations against the Afrikaans literary institutions for their hold over writers and the language. This year she was also interviewed by Pippa Green for *Leadership* magazine, and in a lengthy focus, the story of Krog's early start as a poet, her activism in Kroonstad and her encounters with the ANC were all relayed to the magazine's influential business readership.

In 1992 Krog's involvement with the Kroonstad township comrades was to become complex and dangerous. A local gang leader was murdered by ANC activists who then turned up at Krog's house asking her to drive them from town to the township. They secreted a gun and a bloodied T-shirt on her premises and she became embroiled in their subsequent murder trial as a state witness. When, in 1993, as the trial was proceeding, she was offered the job in Cape Town as editor of *Die Suid-Afrikaan* she took it with alacrity. While she had still been teaching in Kroonstad she had continued to keep up a strenuous programme of writing poetry, speaking in public, attending an international poetry festival in Rotterdam and reviewing and writing about literature for the Afrikaans press. While she continued to be a favoured contributor to the mainstream press she also had a regular column in the dissident paper *Vrye Weekblad.*

In 1994, as the country made its major transition through elections to majority rule, Krog became involved in Idasa[8]-inspired conferences and meetings about the need for national reconciliation. Her speech "Focus on healing" to the Truth and Reconciliation Conference was excerpted and commented on in a number of publications around the country, both English and Afrikaans. Despite confessing herself to be too busy with the details of running a magazine to write poetry, Krog produced *Gedigte* in 1995 and an account of her involvement in the murder of the gang leader in Kroonstad, *Relaas van 'n Moord* (1995). It became clear through the autobiographical details in the book that Krog had been on the receiving end of aggressive right-wing attention in her last years in Kroonstad. In January, tired of the arduous work of keeping a magazine solvent, Krog took the job offered by the new editor of radio news for SABC, Pippa Green, and joined the reconstructed parliamentary journalistic team as its Afrikaans reporter. As soon as the new government passed the law making a commission into the atrocities of the past a reality, Green and head of radio, Franz Krüger, constructed a reporting team to focus solely on this commission, and offered the leadership of the team to Krog. As the Truth and Reconciliation Commission undertook its first hearings in East London in April of 1996, Krog was there. By May the horror of the content surfaced by the hearings started to affect the journalists covering them. When Anton Harber, editor of the *Mail&Guardian,* asked various authors to "celebrate the second birthday of our democracy and explore the nuances of a changing society" in a series called "Two years of transition", Krog, one of those invited to write, blurted out the toll on her personally of covering the TRC:

> Voice after voice; account after account – the four weeks of the truth commission hearings were like travelling on a rainy night behind a huge truck – images of devastation breaking wave upon wave on the window. And one can't overtake, because one can't see; and one can't lessen speed or stop, because then one will never progress[9].

The essay touched a chord with editor and readers and she was invited to write more in this vein about the experience of being an implicated witness to the hearings[10].

---

[8] The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa started by Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine, opposition members of parliament who resigned in 1986 to work for a political settlement outside of government.

[9] "Pockets of humanity" *Mail&Guardian* 24 May 1996.

[10] "Truth trickle becomes a flood" *Mail&Guardian* 1 November 1996; "Overwhelming trauma of the truth" *Mail&Guardian* 24 December 1996–9 January 1997; "The parable of the bicycle"

These essays won Krog the Foreign Correspondents' Award for 1997 (shared with Justice Malala, a senior writer on the *Financial Mail)* and the SABC radio reporting team won the South African Union of Journalists' Pringle Award for their efforts.

The essays, however, had caught the eye of Stephen Johnson, managing director of the South African branch of publisher Random House. He approached Krog to turn the writing and experiences into a book. In 1998 *Country of My Skull* was published. Its blend of journalistic reportage, verbatim testimony, poetry and other literary material made it a work reviewers found difficult to categorise. Literary theorist Mark Sanders called it "a hybrid work, written at the edges of reportage, memoir and metafiction" (2000: 16) and fellow Afrikaans author Rian Malan (*My Traitor's Heart*) called it "a great impressionistic splurge of blood and guts and vivid imagery, leavened with swathes of post-modern literary discourse and fragments of brilliant poetry" (1998: 36). The book propelled Krog into the international arena as an authority on the South African transition. It won the *Sunday Times* newspaper's Alan Paton Award; the BookData/South African Booksellers' Book of the Year prize; the Hiroshima Foundation for Peace and Culture Award; the Olive Schreiner Award for the best work of prose published between 1998 and 2000; and received an honourable mention in the 1999 Noma Awards for Publishing in Africa. It also appears as one of "Africa's 100 Best Books of the Twentieth Century"[11] and has been adapted into a film, *In My Country,* 2005, directed by John Boorman. *Country of My Skull* is widely prescribed at universities in the US and Europe in curricula dealing with South Africa and is often the single textbook on the post-apartheid situation. The book has made Krog a nationally- and internationally-recognised public figure whose opinions and ideas are sought for input into a variety of forums on the subject of dealing with the past, transition, healing and change. She has received offers from

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Mail&Guardian 7 February 1997 and "Unto the third or fourth generation" *Mail&Guardian* 13 June 1997.

[11] When the Modern Library Board in the US published a list of the "100 great English books of the 20th Century", none were written by African writers and the continent's three Nobel Laureates, Wole Soyinka (1986), Naguib Mahfouz (1988), and Nadine Gordimer (1991) were ignored. In response African academic Ali Mazrui announced a project in 2000 to compile a list of "Africa's 100 best books of the 20th Century". The project was officially launched at the 2002 Zimbabwe International Book Fair in collaboration with the African Publishers' Network, the Pan-African Booksellers Association, and the Pan-African Writers Association. From http://africanhistory.about.com/library/weekly/aa100BestBooks.htm accessed 23 July 2008. See http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/Afbks.html#list for the list.

various governments, universities and international agencies to visit, read and speak as a representative writer and witness of the South African transition to democracy[12].

After writing *Country of My Skull*, Krog returned to parliament as editor of the SABC radio journalists in 1999, but left journalism soon afterwards. Since then she has become a person of such stature that she can self-choose projects and causes to involve herself in. Her public engagement is now multi-faceted: the first aspect of this being a renewed commitment to poetry, writing, speaking about poetry/writing, and translating. Her literary output since the publication of *Country of My Skull* has not only intensified but has also been singled out for awards and praise[13]. Since 2000 she has focused her energy on the reclamation of poetry in indigenous languages and the translation of poetry and important literary works into Afrikaans[14]. For Random House she followed up in 2003 with a second non-fiction book about the South African transformation called *A Change of Tongue* (2004 Bookseller's Choice Award), in which again, she used a mix of reportage and autobiography to investigate how present-day South Africans are coping with political and social change.

The publication of these two books in English have made Krog internationally desirable as a speaker and commentator on the writing of change and transition[15]. In

[12] She was invited by the Malian Minister of Culture to be one of 10 poets on the La Caravane de le Poésie which retraced the slave route from Gorée Island back to Timbuktu in 1999 and in the same year she gave the keynote speech at the Zimbabwe Book Fair. In June 2000 she led the English session at a conference on "Writing as a Duty of Memory", held in Rwanda. She has given lectures on aspects of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission at the University of London, the University of Glasgow, the universities of Essen and Dortmund in Germany, the University of Utrecht and at the Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa in Holland, the universities of Bishops, Concordia, McGill, Carleton and Toronto in Canada, New York University and Bard College.

[13] *Kleur kom nooit alleen nie* (2000 received the RAU Prize in 2001); *Down to My Last Skin* (2000, FNB Vita Poetry Award 2001); *Waarom is die wat voor toyi-toyi altyd vet* (a play, 2000); work on a three-part TV series "Landscape of Memory" (2000); re-release of *Eerste Gedigte: Dogter van Jefta en Januariesuite* (2004); *Nuwe Stemme 3,* new poetry edited by Antjie Krog and Alfred Schaffer (2005); *'n Ander Tongval* (2005, Afrikaans version of *A Change of Tongue); Body Bereft* and *Verweerskrif* (released at the same time in both English and Afrikaans, 2006); "Vonkverse" project involving Litnet, Krog and writer Charles J Fourie, launched at the Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees with six Cape poets and video, music and dance (2006); and *Fynbosfeetjies/Fynbos Fairies* (in both English and Afrikaans 2007).

[14] Krog did the Afrikaans translation of Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom* (2001) and translated indigenous language pieces into Afrikaans in *Met Woorde soos met Kerse: Inheemse Verse Uitgesoek en Vertaal deur Antjie Krog* (2002, SA Translators' Institute prize 2003). *The stars say 'tsau': /Xam poetry of Diä!kwain, Kweiten-ta-//ken, /A!kúnta, /Han#kass'o and //Kabbo,* was selected and adapted by Krog from the Lloyd Bleek Collection of |xam and !kun documents and drawings. It appeared in both English and Afrikaans in 2004.

[15] In 2004, she was keynote speaker at Winternachten Literature Festival in Den Haag; keynote speaker in defence of poetry at the Poetry International Festival in Rotterdam; keynote speaker at the Berlin

South Africa Krog occupies the newly-coined position of a "curator" of poetry (as the word appears in the publicity material for these events): in 2004 she "curated" the Tradewinds Poetry Festival in Cape Town and since 2006 she has directed the Spier Arts Summer Season Open-Air Poetry Festival, also in the Western Cape. Her international exposure is recognised and valued here, as she brings to these festivals a host of voices from other parts of the world.

As a result of this enhanced stature as a literary figure, Krog has received renewed attention from the academic world. In the years after the publication of *Country of My Skull* many international universities invited her to talk about her witnessing of the TRC hearings[16]. While Krog's literary output has always been the topic of attention for literary study and theses, since the publication of *Country of My Skull* the academy has begun to treat her differently, as not just the author of a literary corpus but as a producer of knowledge in her own right. This has taken the form of acknowledgement via the conferring of honorary doctorate status[17], her inclusion as a keynote speaker among academics at major conferences[18], and more importantly in a post created specially for her as an Extraordinary Professor attached to the Faculty of Arts at the University of the Western Cape. Her status is also the serious subject of academic inquiry with, for instance, an edition of the journal *Current Writing* (Volume 19 Issue 2 of 2007) devoted to Krog as a "mediator of South African culture", as a translator, journalist, poet and as a person "on the world stage"[19].

Literature Festival and she was invited by the Rockefeller Foundation to be a resident in writing at Bellagio in Italy. In 2005 she participated in a poetry festival in Indonesia as part of a former Dutch colonial group visiting Djakarta, Bandung and Lampung performing with local poets; opened a poetry festival in Colombia with readings in Bogota, Medillin and Kali; read poetry at the Nigerian Arts Festival in Lagos; attended the poetry festival in Saint Nazaire Acte Sud in France and did a travelling poetry show with Tom Lanoye in Belgium and the Netherlands. In 2006 she participated in a literary festival in Vienna; attended the poetry festival HAIFA in Harare and did a writer's retreat at Civitella, Umbertide in Italy.

[16] She has had invitations from: the University of London, the University of Glasgow, the universities of Essen and Dortmund in Germany, the University of Utrecht, the universities of Bishops, Concordia, McGill, Carleton and Toronto in Canada, New York University, Bard College, Brandeis University and Tilburg University.

[17] Krog has received these honours from the University of the Free State, Stellenbosch University, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University and Tavistock Clinic of the University of East London, UK.

[18] In 2007 she was an invited speaker at the International Association for Analytical Psychology Congress XV11 in Cape Town and at the African Philosophy Conference at Rhodes University.

[19] Quotations taken from the call for papers by the edition editors Andries Visagie and Judith Lütge Coullie.

Other indications that Krog has attained a position of great public renown are the features of celebrity and popularity now attached to her public persona – particularly through and by the media. In December of 1997 she was named by the *Mail&Guardian* one of the "next hot one hundred South Africans" – "the people who are set to influence (and are influenced by) the way we live and the issues which we debate", in 1999 the women's magazine *Femina* put her at number 39 on their list of "women who shook South Africa"[20], and in 2004 she was named 75th on the SABC's list of the "100 Greatest South Africans"[21]. When she was accused of plagiarism by fellow poet Stephen Watson in February of 2006 the media coverage was intense and sustained, showing clearly the ongoing interest in her as a newsmaker[22]. At the time of writing this thesis, it is remarkable that Krog has emerged from such damaging allegations with barely a scratch on her reputation as a writer. In fact, she has recently been paid an extraordinary token of support by JM Coetzee in his latest novel, in which his fictional Australian author JC writes of her:

> 15. On Antjie Krog
>
> Over the airwaves yesterday, poems by Antjie Krog read in English translation by the author herself. Her first exposure, if I am not mistaken, to the Australian public. Her theme is a large one: historical experience in the South Africa of her lifetime. Her capacities as a poet have grown in response to the challenge, refusing to be dwarfed. Utter sincerity backed with an acute, feminine intelligence, and a body of heart-rending experience to draw upon. Her answer to the terrible cruelties she has witnessed, to the anguish and despair they evoke: turn to the children, to the human future, to ever-self-renewing life.
>
> No one in Australia writes at a comparable white heat. The phenomenon of Antjie Krog strikes me as quite Russian. In South Africa, as in Russia, life may be wretched; but how the brave spirit leaps to respond!
>
> JC's "Second Diary" in *Diary of a Bad Year* by JM Coetzee, 2007: 199.

Of this attention *Sunday Independent* book editor Maureen Isaacson remarked: "Antjie Krog is bestowed with laurels by JM Coetzee through his 72-year-old protagonist of his new novel…" (16 September 2007: 17).

[20] "Women with attitude: the top 100 women who shook South Africa" *Femina* December 1999: 82-86.
[21] This was modelled on the 2002 BBC programme in which a vote was held to determine whom the general public considered the "100 Greatest Britons of all time". The South African list can be found at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SABC3's_Great_South_Africans#The_list:
[22] See Appendix A.

And highly-respected public figure Jakes Gerwel, previously vice-chancellor of the University of the Western Cape and a presidential advisor to Nelson Mandela, who is preoccupied with questions about the health of public debate in South Africa, remarked in *Rapport*:

> If I have to find among Afrikaans thinkers *one* who I would call an "African intellectual", it is her. I have been so formed as a 'Western' intellectual; that it is Antjie Krog who, every time I read her, challenges me to acknowledge the restrictions of that formation and to address them. Few other Afrikaans thinkers dig so deeply and insistently about Africa and the moral and intellectual challenges of our continent and land ("Laat ons met mekaar verskil sonder om te skel", 11 November 2007: 20).

And, as has become a hallmark in Krog's relationship with the media, she is not only the object of media attention but also continues to be a commentator and opinion writer who weighs into national debates on occasion. For example, in 2000 she made a plea for "white action" at the Human Rights Commission Racism Conference and then followed this up in the *Cape Times* of 8 September by calling for whites to "make one single fateful gesture" (reported also in the *Mail&Guardian* of 15 September). And in 2006 when former apartheid Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok symbolically washed the feet of ANC activist Frank Chikane, causing an outraged public reaction, Krog appealed for "A space for the disgraced" in the *Mail&Guardian* (15-21 September). When a popular Afrikaans song calling for Boer War hero General de la Rey to come and lead his people sparked controversy Krog weighed into the debate writing "De la Rey: Afrikaner Absolution" for the *Mail&Guardian* (30 March-4 April 2007: 23).

To this public recognition is added the attention of politicians who recognise her value for the national reconstruction project. This is demonstrated by more than just the quoting of her work publicly. In June of 2003 Krog was selected as part of a panel of "eminent South Africans" to advise President Mbeki on appointments to the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious, and Linguistic Communities.

Since 1970 Krog has played an accumulating public role, starting out in the fairly enclosed Afrikaans literary world as a poet, becoming a dissident and activist recognised by Afrikaner intellectuals, township activists and certain members of the

ANC, moving into journalism proper as a reporter, and achieving wide recognition as a book author and chronicler of the experience of a white South African responding to transition. As the chronology of her life and work above shows, she has moved through these decades across four fields of shifting South African life: literary, political, media and latterly academic. In her 50s, Krog plays a powerful, public role in the new democratic South Africa by witnessing, speaking and writing about the atrocities of the past primarily through her engagement as a writer and journalist with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and as the author of the 1998 book *Country of My Skull.* Over the nearly 40 years of her public life and writings she has been a poet, an activist, a journalist, a book author, and academic. In addition she has also become one of those public figures taken up by journalists and media people and ascribed popularity and celebrity.

In this thesis I use the case study of Krog's emergence as a public figure across decades and across several areas to examine the making of a public figure with a powerful speaking voice in transitional, and transnationalising, South Africa. Essentially I seek, by investigating Krog's public persona and works, and their reception and circulation, as well as the mediation of both her self as a public person and her writings, to engage with the question: how does an individual – and especially a white, Afrikaans woman in identity-preoccupied and -perplexed, post-apartheid South Africa – come to speak to, for and about this nation. The aim is to unravel the many facets and contributing factors of how this kind of speaking, representing, embodying individual comes to be made and mediated. The argument to be tested is that this making is far more complex and has more components than just being favourably pre-positioned socially, the formulation of literary "genius", and encounters with auspicious people, circumstances and events. I will argue that her positioning and power to speak in public is the result of several intricate and interweaving processes formed by a trajectory through the literary, political and media spheres, all with contingent moments relating to the particularities of South African politics and history and the interventions of significant people.

As part of this investigation of the factors that contribute to Krog's making as a public figure, I have a particular interest in examining the workings of the news media in the creation of this status. I will show that since 1970, when she first came to the attention

of the South African newspapers as a precocious young poet of 17, she has been both a useful – and often controversial – newsmaker for journalists[23] *and* a mediator of her own public persona, her work, and debate around the issues she considers important. For nearly 40 years she has been both subject matter and actor, mediated and mediator. In order to unpick how Krog's relationship with the media has contributed to her stature as a public figure, I draw on media theory and field theory in a particular mix for an explanation that goes beyond just showing how a particular person becomes a focus of attention for journalists. I will use this combination to theorise how insistent, and repeated media attention can attach to the newsmaker herself and thus become a power for enhanced stature and mobility. But I also look more broadly at the operations of modern-day journalism in the post-apartheid South African public sphere and mount a critique of the normative, and pessimistic, understanding of what the media *should* do to enable rational-critical debate which is seen as fundamental to the operation of democracy. I argue that, as is evident in Krog's literary and journalistic contributions, the infusion of affect into public contributions, the situatedness of the body, and the activation of the confessional are hallmarks of the post-apartheid South African conversation – and necessarily so, given the history, politics and concerns around equal citizenship and reconstruction of nation.

This then sheds light on why – in post-apartheid, post-repressive South Africa, where the aims of nation-building and the democratic project (as defined by the ANC-led government claiming the representation of the majority) often call into doubt who is an "authentic South African citizen" (Chipkin 2007b) and who has the right to speak truth to power – this poet has been able (and, in the Foucauldian sense, allowed) to craft both platform and voice in order to speak authoritatively in public. This thesis focuses on the emergence, flexibility, adaptability and durability of that voice. The central question it asks is how this particular writer and poet has found and crafted expression, and gained a place from which to speak, over a period of decades through tumultuous political and social upheaval in which white, and especially Afrikaans-speaking white, people have been dispossessed of political and social power.

[23] To get a sense of Krog's exposure in, and therefore importance to, the news media, it is useful to employ the agenda-setting method of counting numbers of stories (see Dearing and Rogers 1996: 18). Using the SA Media Archive (University of the Free State) and the National English Literary Museum archive I found 27 articles in the 1970s, 110 in the 1980s, 261 in 1990s and 408 from January 2000 to December 2008. In the SABC radio archives there are 92 audio recordings of her TRC reports, and 17 recordings of interviews with her between 1979 and 1995 on various literary programmes.

The focus, therefore, is very particularly on the type of public figure that has emerged in a particular context, and how that figure's position to speak and particularity of voice have been both allowed and crafted (drawing on Foucault and Said). Deploying field theory (Bourdieu, Benson and Neveu, Champaigne, Couldry, Sapiro), public sphere theory (Habermas, Arendt, Warner, Fraser, Calhoun, Eley), and recent investigations of celebratisation within democracies (Rojek, Turner, Marshall), I investigate how this public person and her agency in the public domain depends on the accumulation of the authority which enables speech. My focus on a single individual aims to unwind the interpenetrating spheres, influences and confluences which allow an individual to speak when many others remain silent, or can speak, but not in public and with a sustained hearing.

Public intellectual activity as a focus of study

> *The importance of the role played by the figure of the politically committed intellectual in legitimating ideological causes throughout the twentieth century has led political historians to define intellectuals as an object of study in their own right.*
> *Gisèle Sapiro 2003: 633.*

While many theorists have focused on the importance of the practice of public intellectual activity as a key component for healthy and robust democracy, most often the concentration is on the style of the actual figure itself (who qualifies or has the right qualities), the topics suitable for airing and the reception and circulation via the media, as well as a preoccupation with assessing the quality and standards of this practice. Another key guiding idea is that this activity not be confined to the learned intelligentsia or be the preserve of the specialist or expert. There is a plentiful literature on the definitions, worth, roles and complexities of the performance of public intellectual activity[24]. While based heavily in the western world (the US, UK, western Europe, and Australia), there are some interesting forays into elucidating the shape of the debate in the developing world. In Africa there is a growing body of pertinent literature and recently gatherings of researchers have applied their minds to the situation on this continent. For example, the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (Codesria, based in Dakar) held a conference in

[24] See Appendix B for the texts I encountered during the course of this study.

December 2003 on “Intellectuals, Nationalism and the Pan-African idea” and released a book of the papers (*African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development* edited by Thandika Mkandawire) and the newly-formed African Union hosted the “First Meeting of Intellectuals of Africa and the Diaspora”, in Dakar, Senegal in October 2004.

Notably much of the literature and media output decries a deteriorating state in which it sees a waning of the status and prevalence of public intellectual activity in society and warns of the undesirability of this state. This “decline” is linked to: falling standards of public deliberation; the waning of a robust public sphere as a counter to powerful states and state control of information; the overweening power of the media in trivialising serious issues and provoking “celebrity culture”; the shrinking of the role of universities; the co-option of academic intellectuals by government and private enterprise and thus the loss of their independence; and the narrowing of knowledge and research into restricted domains of expertise, thus reducing the capacity for a “public” intellectual to operate at large in society as a generalist.

This thesis is located in a wider project investigating the “Constitution of Public Intellectual Life” in South Africa. This project responds to and interrogates the fairly recent rise of a widespread concern in various parts of the world with the practice and performance of public intellectual activity as a crucial dimension of civil society and citizen participation, and as a check on unfettered government power. But more than this the concerns of the project arise out of a particular situation in the second decade of post-apartheid South Africa in which constant public debate, scrutiny and contestation of the forms and boundaries of the provisions of our constitutional right to freedom of expression are taking place. As Carolyn Hamilton, leader of this project, points out, “that an ideal of public sphere is central to the South African concept of democracy, and highlights its attempted realisation as a formal arena bristling with institutions and policies” (2008: 12). Nevertheless, and perhaps, paradoxically, as she writes, while there is a “corralling of public deliberation” along with “the attempted silencing of critical voices”, and a retreat of voices previously present and vocal in public, this situation is also modified by resurgences of voice and debate (2008: 20). This situation, which perplexes and provokes us as to its meaning and import, is the context in which I locate my particular interrogation of the

mediation and making of Krog as a public figure and speaking voice. As historian Geoff Eley says of Habermas' seminal public sphere study, the questions of post-war and divided Germany of the 1950s and 1960s were the provocation for his examination of the bourgeois public sphere of the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe. And the choice of "public sphere" as a set of intellectual tools:

> proved invaluable for thinking about the changed circumstances of political mobilisation during the nineteenth century and for placing the rise of German liberalism and its subsequent crises in a broader meta-analytical frame… (2002: 221).

Eley also points out:

> In contemporary discourse, 'public sphere' now signifies the general questing for democratic agency in an era of declining electoral participation, compromised sovereignties, and frustrated or disappointed citizenship. The term is called upon whenever people come together for collective exchange and expression of opinion, aiming both for coherent enunciation and the transmission of messages to parallel or superordinate bodies, whether these are a state, some other institutional locus of authority or simply a dominant culture (2002: 224).

In similar vein, the political and social questions about agency and voice, provoked by our contemporary context, have led us to an investigation of public sphere, public deliberation, public debate and public intellectual activity. This theoretical territory offers us conceptual tools to get at a shifting political and social situation in South Africa in which the parameters constraining and/or enabling voice and agency and underpinning understandings of citizenship and South African identity, are in flux.

Public intellectual activity in post-apartheid South Africa

> ***Kader Asmal:*** *In the South African context, is a distinction to be made between the native intellectual and a settler intellectual?*
>
> ***Adam Habib:*** *It seems to me that the easy answer is to say, no, no, no, everybody can speak. But I do think there is such a thing as a settler public intellectual. And I'll tell you what I think it is. And it's particularly quite dramatic in the context of post-colonial societies where there is a layer of people who actually believe and argue for, and articulate a discourse that talks about the re-colonisation of the continent. There is a settler discourse, whose views are articulated as the antithesis to the society that has been constructed.*
>
> The Sunday Times *panel discussion on intellectuals 2 December 2007*[25].

[25] The panel discussion involved Kader Asmal, Jeremy Cronin, Raenette Taljaard, Adam Habib, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Xolela Mangcu with Mohau Pheko as moderator, http://www.thetimes.co.za/documents/Intellectuals-Abridged.doc accessed 24 October 2008.

In post-colonial, post-apartheid South Africa, in which the majority black population now has access to power, the avowedly Africanist, nationalist government has taken seriously that as part of the functioning of democracy, this new nation needs a vibrant public space for the airing of ideas and the formation of public opinion. The idea of the public sphere, steeped in the Enlightenment and the earliest formations of democracies in the western European countries, is harnessed to the ideal of an inclusive democracy which represents the majority, upholds their interests and promotes their activities as vocal citizens participating in and playing their part in the life of the nation. Thus, a crucial dimension of the energy expended on the functioning of the public sphere is on the widening of the public domain, beyond the participation of the bourgeois, to facilitate the inclusion of the voices of the black majority.

And just as there are concerns expressed in other parts of the world about the decline of public sphere and public intellectual activity, so too in the South African public domain and media the rhetoric about its parlous state, and a strong concern with who populates this ailing public sphere and what ideas they put into public, is evident. A great many "calls" are put out for various types of intellectuals to take up a public position and contribute to the healthiness of public life. Great amounts of energy, from both government and various civil society bodies, have been put into encouraging and cultivating public intellectuals of all sorts to populate a public sphere so that it is healthy and vibrant. While all citizens are to be included (particularly in the ANC understanding of the public sphere), there are ongoing calls, in particular, for the educated, the skilled and the thoughtful among black South Africans to emerge from different locations politically and socially, as intellectuals. Calls are made for revolutionary intellectuals, organic intellectuals, black intellectuals, native intellectuals, African intellectuals and the intelligentsia, to come forward, join and direct debate[26]. Often coupled with these calls are statements invoking Edward Said's concerns and ideas about public intellectual representation, and the phrase "speaking truth to power" (with multiple interpretations) has become a familiar one in South African public discourse.

[26] For a sample of the kind of debate and contestation about intellectuals see Appendix C.

But South Africa's public domain, is shot through with anomalies. The exclusion and alienation that the colonial and apartheid experiences generated live on in crises of authority, the contestation over sources of legitimation and an ongoing suspicion of Western-informed knowledge practices. This suspicion is sharpened by the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings which opened up the past for scrutiny of the atrocities committed by the apartheid government, and heightened by global debates about the spread of human rights, the inclusion of the marginalised peoples of the world into proper nationhood and the struggles in many democratic states for full citizenship and recognition. Redress and restitution are high on the global agenda, and in South Africa.

The mode of rational-critical debate conducted by a "free-floating", independent intellectual with roots in liberal democracy and the Enlightenment – both closely historically implicated in the politics of colonialism and apartheid – is therefore not embraced unequivocally in South Africa as the only useful means for engaging in public or with power, or driving a programme of redress and reclamation of dignity and indigenous wisdom. So while there are classic performances in which "public intellectuals" in South Africa "speak truth to power" via debate and the generation of persuasive ideas, there is also a proliferation of other types of engagements which root their authorisation not in the bourgeois public sphere ideal or in western universalism but in other modes and traditions. This results in furious discussions about styles of engagement, suitable subject matter, sources of authority, vested interests and arguments about degrees of independence from government and national and even continental projects (such as the African Renaissance). A notable feature of these debates is that discussions are often couched in the language of "crisis", which I am arguing, points not to the overt dangers being espoused, but another one entirely – a crisis about what constitutes authority to speak (and especially to speak on behalf of others) in such a post-colonial situation.

Australian literary theorist David Carter says that the "ramping up of public discourse" (in "Public Intellectuals, Book Culture and Civil Society" in *Australian Humanities Review* 2001, online) about public sphere and the need for intellectuals, is evidence of some other, deeper, maybe invisible, social shift taking place. I agree with this assessment and in this spirit assert that the multiplicity of types of public figures

is evidence of a deep anxiety about authority, legitimacy and knowledge in a post-colonial state. To do so I have chosen to focus on one particular public figure in South Africa, Antjie Krog, the poet, journalist and book author, who for four decades has found a public and a hearing for her ideas, in order to unpick how the authority to speak is created and crafted. A careful examination of one seemingly anomalous public person, her biography, works, media coverage and trajectory is used to illuminate the factors that constitute the making of such a public persona.

In dealing with Krog's public persona and her acclaim I have to necessarily look across a South African 'public sphere' of four decades. In order to contain theoretically what it is possible to achieve, I am most interested in understanding how Krog continues to speak into the post-apartheid South African public sphere in which racial markers of identity, history and experience that attach to the person speaking, remain powerfully in place in all spaces of dialogue, so that *who* talks *for whom* on *what issues*, is a very important, but fraught, factor. While the thesis will pay attention at points to historical moments in the South African public space (usually through the media coverage of Krog's works and actions), it is the post-apartheid moment which is the context that energises the questions that this thesis addresses.

At the outset I am conscious that the term 'public sphere' is a useful – but sometimes limiting – phrase for a shifting and 'liminal' space in the world in which an abundant range of practices proliferate which are difficult to grasp in a comprehensive and detailed way. However, the recent work of several South African theorists allows me to sketch some suggestive markers of the domain which give a sense of the major concerns, shape, spaces and guiding practices of the post-apartheid, and yet still transitional, public sphere.

Deborah Posel roots her thinking about these issues in the provisions of the new South African Constitution and in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings as the "first vector" of the reconstitution of new South African nationhood. In "The Post-Apartheid Confessional" (2006: 8) Posel points out that at the heart of the new Constitution is the provision for freedom of expression for every South African citizen but that this is linked intrinsically to the shedding of a terrible past and the implication that all South Africans have shared humanity ("ubuntu") and are "in it

together"[27]. Ubuntu is therefore the "ethical bedrock" of the new nation. Posel quotes Constitutional Court judge Albie Sachs as saying ubuntu is "a new analytical framework" for South Africa. There are three critically important ideas intertwined here: the right to talk, the recognition of shared humanity and the impulse to speak out about the horrors of a past which has scarred every South African. The result, as Posel sees it, is a public domain filled with confessional practices (in the Foucauldian sense): there is an "outing" (2006: 8) of the past, and an airing of damage and trauma, as well as a plethora of personal stories in multiple fora and media.

> Post-apartheid is about new forms of speaking: a politics of speaking out, predicated on new-found democratic freedoms, and revelling in the eradication of apartheid censorship and prohibitions (2006:8).

At the same time there is also "virulent argument" about what gets said, and the powerful impetus to speak is accompanied by active silencing. Posel comments that there are still "long-standing [and] powerful, cultural and political impulses to silence and secrecy" (2006: 8), most particularly seen in the conversations around the Aids epidemic and sexual practices.

While Posel focuses on particular, very powerful animating ideas which give talk its political, social and Constitutional power, Carolyn Hamilton mounts an "historically specific understanding of public discursivity in post-repressive regime South Africa" (2008: 4). She provides a description of the multiple spaces in which this ideal of public discursivity is evident as well as the stakes involved. She highlights as the characteristic features of the post-apartheid South African public sphere:

> the state as committed to participatory democracy; the way in which a capitalist market economy, with significant global links, forms its basis; the widespread availability of broadcast media and a limitation of most other forms of media access in the hands of a small educated minority; the presence of an old, established white elite, the emergence of a new black bourgeoisie, the impact of a small but significant organised working class and a number of small social movements, and the existence of a large mass of unemployed or informally employed. In particular, I focus on the implications of enormous social inequality and significant cultural diversity for processes of public deliberation.

Hamilton also emphasises that the maintenance of the public sphere is understood to be an "explicit part of the government's mandate" and that "active public citizenship" is considered more important than "mere voter participation" (2008: 3).

[27] Her words from her Winter School lecture at the National Arts Festival. Audiotape from the lecture 3 July 2008.

Hamilton and Lesley Cowling (2008: 6) note that there are "historical legacies that valorise deliberation". These include:

> …a celebrated tradition of public engagement by African intellectuals that dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century; concern about the long exclusion under colonialism and apartheid of the majority from the concept of the public itself and acknowledgement of a need for redress; and a commitment to face-to-face, spoken consultation symbolised by the valorised procedures of the traditional lekhotla/imbizo/volksvergadering/indaba; the drafting of the Freedom Charter celebrated as a process of collective deliberation; and ideals of community articulated in the struggle against apartheid.

The result, they say, is that spoken consultation is "institutionalised in a variety of instruments, organisations, and policies designed to promote public comment on government initiatives and legislation, and public engagement more generally".

Both Hamilton and Posel show that there is evidence of "silencing, self-silencing and the evasion rather than the confrontation of the fetters" of what Hamilton calls "the convened public sphere" (2008: 7). This "convening" is seen, most notably, in the state's – and most particularly in President Thabo Mbeki's – interventions in the public domain, although as Hamilton also points out, institutions and fora – already too numerous to list exhaustively – have been recently inaugurated or reinvigorated, challenging the "corralling" of the public sphere (2006).

An interesting vehicle for former president Mbeki and his presidency staff to intervene in public has been the weekly email newsletter *ANC Today*, which is sent to anyone who subscribes electronically. In a recent attempt to direct public discussions after a number of severe criticisms of government by important political figures[28], a series in *ANC Today* called "The Sociology of the Public Discourse in Democratic South Africa"[29] was published. In the 21 January 2005 edition[30], the debate was set

[28] Most notably by Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu who used the 2004 Nelson Mandela Lecture to call attention to the pressures on the space of open public deliberation, highlighting the dangers of labelling those who express dissent as disloyal or unpatriotic. "I am concerned" he commented, "to see how many have so easily been seemingly cowed and apparently intimidated to comply." The lecture is online http://www.nelsonmandela.org/index.php/news/article/look_to_the_rock_from_which_you_were_hewn/ accessed 9 December 2008.

[29] The author of this series was head of the presidency in the ANC, Smuts Ngonyama, who told editor Ferial Haffajee that he wrote the series "with my team and the ANC's research team". "Why is the ANC so angry?" *Mail&Guardian* 4-10 February 2005: 6. The letter usually appears in sections with the first demarcated as "Letter from the President" and – on the website version – bearing his signature.

out as: “in South Africa the fight is really about who sets the national agenda. Should it be the African National Congress (ANC) or should it be the white elite?” The following points are made: The intellectual battle going on in public is between the “white elite” and the ANC “black majority government”. The ANC believes it “has a mandate to set the country's priorities”. By contrast the white elite’s “interest is to protect its wealth and lifestyle”. The “white elite continues to believe that it has a responsibility to provide ‘thought leadership’ to an African population that is ‘intellectually at zero’”[31]. While the newsletter asserts the importance of robust public debate and the value of hearing opinions from all quarters, the “white elite” is characterised as wanting to confine this debate in both tone and spaces[32].

As Hamilton further points out, ANC spokespeople insist that within the organisation there are vigorous processes of consultation, but the point is that they are contained *within*[33]. She comments:

> Commentators, including some ANC members, have noted that the long upheld adherence to democratic centralism effectively amounts to a deep-seated tradition within the ruling party of powerful caucuses, party lines and the inhibition of open debate (2008: 14).

This provokes the concern – expressed best by Thandika Mkandawire (*African Intellectuals* 2005) and reiterated by Raymond Suttner – that the demand by African governments that intellectual activity be in line with the state’s definition of national reconstruction is very problematic. In a recent article for the *Mail&Guardian*[34]

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[30] Volume 5, No 3 of 21-27 January 2005. http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/anctoday/2005/at03.htm accessed 25 February 2005.
[31] Quoting Professor Catherine Hall’s 2002 article “Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867”.
[32] “…the transformation project in our country constitutes one of the most complex contemporary change processes confronting any society anywhere in the world. Necessarily, it will therefore continue to provoke an intense political and ideological conflict – a healthy contest of ideas – as different schools of thought contend both to interpret this reality and suggest how the new South Africa should respond to the changing actuality it will continue to face. It would therefore be an extremely idle and dangerous delusion to pretend that on the political and ideological plane, the continuing transition from apartheid to a non-racial and non-sexist democracy will be characterised by comfortable and congenial tea or dinner party exchanges, taking place during easy and polite conversations in the wealthy suburbs of our cities… The challenge intellectually to define the future of our country has been and will remain as demanding and bruising as has been the continuing challenge practically to change South Africa into a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous homeland for all our people. In both objective and subjective senses, the contest will neither be polite nor pretty.”
[33] Recent political developments which have seen the ousting of Mbeki as president and the formation of a breakaway party from the ANC fold are too young to demonstrate whether this ANC tendency will hold sway in the newly-formed Congress of the People Party, led by former Minister of Defence Mosiuoa Lekota.
[34] 18 January 2005.

Suttner, a research fellow in the history department at the University of South Africa, who has been a political prisoner and a member of the ANC and SACP leadership, focuses on those white South Africans involved in the liberation struggle and articulates their "anxiety" about their place in the present dispensation:

> A striking feature of the post-1994 period is the retreat from politics or emigration of large numbers of people from the white community who were part of the active resistance to apartheid. Some have decided to focus on personal issues, such as rebuilding family relationships, for which there was little time during the struggle. Yet others have become despondent. Democratic South Africa has fallen short of their hopes, and there is a sense of not identifying wholeheartedly with the new order. Some believe that their contributions have been insufficiently recognised; they feel that whites have been "marginalised" (2005).

Suttner's argument is that "if the white left share in the vision of freedom and equality espoused during the national liberation struggle and now enshrined in the Constitution, it needs to join in the efforts to reconstruct the country as equals – nothing less and nothing more."

Anton Harber, a founding editor of the anti-government *Weekly Mail*[35] during the 1980s and now professor of journalism at the University of the Witwatersrand, commented in his address for the Fourth Harold Wolpe Memorial Lecture:

> I have been asked to talk about the market and journalism. This is a discussion about the public sphere and the nature and quality of debate within it. In South Africa, we have an awful irony – that much of the journalism and the public debate (even when it had to be conducted secretly) was richer under the repressive conditions of apartheid than it is in a free South Africa (26 September 2002).

Reflecting on the inventiveness that inspired anti-apartheid activity, Harber said: "It is harder now to see the same depth of public debate, imagination and intellectual innovation." In his assessment, journalism in the post-apartheid era is divided into two crude camps: watchdog of government power and assisting government in nation-building. "Both are inadequate positions; both put their adherents into political corners where they tend to produce predictable and shallow journalism," he said, and went on to note that "caution and conformism" were rife in not only newsrooms but also "sweeping our polity".

[35] Now called the *Mail&Guardian.*

However, this situation of retreat and uncertainty needs to be overlaid with the generalised feeling of the right to voice that also exists in the public domain for South Africans, there is no shortage of people expressing opinions through radio and TV talk shows (as Posel points out in her paper) and through newspaper letters columns. But, as I said before, the racial marker of identity, history and experience that attaches to the person speaking, remains powerfully in place in all spaces of dialogue, so that *who* talks *for whom* on *what issues*, remains a very important constraining factor. It is also important to note that while freedom of expression is entrenched as a Constitutional right, South Africans are careful *what* they say *to whom*, and in *which* public spaces[36].

It is against this complex context, and into a situation in which the public debate about who has authority to speak, often falls into a racial polarisation or a pro- or anti-ANC government polarisation, that a focus on a person such as Krog, enables a study which calls out the many hidden factors that make voice possible. That a white, female voice such as Krog's continues to speak, means attention must be paid also to subjectivity and identity – the use of self, body, the experiential, the confessional – and to larger, issue-based connections with wider global processes which impact on the South Africa public sphere and, therefore, on its speaking individuals in its public domains.

The questions that guide this study

As part of the larger project of seeking to understand the operations of the public domain in post-apartheid South Africa, I have chosen to focus on one, single individual who, over a period of nearly four decades, has continued to find means of expression, despite the shifts and complexities – and constraints – of our public discourse and spaces. This focus on the *figure* of the public intellectual as the embodiment of the provisions of the public sphere, seeks to unpack the mechanisms by which a speaking position can be found and used.

[36] See the "South African Media Barometer" report which underlined the fear of expression prevalent. *Rhodes Journalism Review* 26, September 2006: 31-40.

The threads of investigation I have pursued are:

- How Krog's particular biography and trajectory as an Afrikaans female writer has contributed to a distinctive type of voice emerging in public, not only in South Africa but also internationally.
- How from poetry through news journalism and essay to hybrid-genre books, Krog has developed a particular persona and subjectivity as a writer of testimony and witness, consciously addressing a divided South African public on issues that concern her.
- How this speaking/writing has been mediated from its emergence in 1970 by journalists and publishers with Krog being both mediated and at times acting as mediator herself.
- How at this particular moment in post-apartheid South Africa the desire to deal decisively with the past has allowed for the emergence of a particular kind of voice which reaches across publics, audiences and communities, and forges a way of speaking that attracts national and international recognition.

This thesis focuses on how the interwoven threads of personal biography, the development of an idiosyncratic writing voice through poetry, journalism and essay, and the reception and circulation of her various works, particularly through the media, have resulted in the emergence of a distinctive type of public engagement in the case of Krog. And the question that necessarily follows from that investigation, and gives this work its relevance, is: what does that tell us about the nature of the public domain in South Africa now and the type of performance of public intellectualism that finds a hearing and a public in South Africa now?

In order to answer this question, I use Krog's public performance as a case study to propose a way of theorising and conceptualising the complex intertwining of the literary as a field and the creation of writer subjectivity, the political sphere as the necessary stimulating environment, and the workings of the media and its a/effects in the world. I will argue that her positioning and power to speak in public is the result of several intricate and interweaving processes formed by the interpenetration of literary, political and media spheres. A concatenation of factors (with their distinctive roots in each of these fields) have allowed for Krog to construct a particular

subjectivity as a writer, which she has used to transcend the literary, enter the media and finally, with accumulated symbolic capital from both these and her actions and acclaim in the political field, arrive at a position which, despite the complexity and corralling of the South African public space, continues to allow Krog both platform and voice, not only here but also internationally as an exemplary South African intellectual contribution.

It is almost impossible to unwind the interconnections between literary, political and media fields, so deeply entwined and so mutually dependant, have they become in the modern-day liberal democracies in which we live. But, for the purposes of this thesis, I am going to separate out these three as strands in order to elucidate the particular factors pertaining to each one, which influence the accumulation of actions, events, publications and reportage, which is Krog's publicness. I am also going to tease out other key factors which traverse these three fields and operate over time to enhance her standing. These are: her development of an adaptive subjectivity as a writer, her accumulation of symbolic capital across fields, and the actions and interventions of powerful field mentors and consecrators who have operated to create critical moments of transition and/or consecration in Krog's trajectory. As textual devices I will use two markers, [Trajectory]: to discuss and theorise at key points in the thesis narrative her entry into fields and movements across fields, and [Subjectivity]: to highlight her development of a distinctive poetics, and therefore voice and subject position in these various fields.

I devote chapters three to six to a close study of Krog's life and work as imbedded in the matrix I have sketched above. These chapters encompass a biographic, historical narrative of Krog's works and actions, as well as significant events, interventions in and reportage on her life and writings. I have chosen, for the purpose of understanding and explication, somewhat artificially, to separate out the various fields she has operated in and to associate each of these with a particular period in her life and work. A certain disaggregation of fields and influences is necessary theoretically in order to facilitate analysis, although I am aware this is a false simplification of processes that mostly work in conjunction with each other. In this biographical section I am going to employ a writing strategy which interweaves Krog's trajectory through fields with the necessary theory to explicate the particular emphases I wish to draw attention to, in

order to make an argument about the formation of Krog as a particular type of public figure.

Chapter 3 – "Self" – this chapter deals with the interpellation of the early poet into the Afrikaans literary field in 1970 and the development of a distinctive poetics and voice. I trace her successful entry as a young poet into the distinctive Afrikaans literary world of the end of the apartheid era and her successful development of an idiolect demanded by that world as a mark of genius authorship. I focus in particular in this chapter on the literary field and Krog's formation of writer-subjectivity, not only because Krog became a poet first but also because an examination of the literary field is key to understanding the roots of subjectivity-formation and the circulation of texts in public, and therefore the creation of publics themselves (following Warner).

Chapter 4 – "Self-othering" – focuses on Krog's genre and language crossing as a writer and on political world take-up of Krog. Krog's dissidence and public condemnation of the handmaid relationship of the Afrikaans cultural institutions to the apartheid state, as well as her visits with groups of 'intellectuals' to visit the ANC leaders in exile, are pertinent here. In particular the chapter focuses on the watershed year 1989, her Hertzog Prize-winning anthology *Lady Anne* (which shows distinctive shifts in writer subjectivity) and the public attention of Ahmed Kathrada, Rivonia treason trialist who was released from Robben Island. Just as the operations of the literary field continue to be relevant in later chapters, so too the political continues to be of relevance beyond this chapter.

Chapter 5 – "'Second-person' performances". The most complex of the strands that contributes to, and is used by, Krog in her emergence as a public figure is that of the media and mediation. Media attention has been a constant, volatile presence in Krog's life since 1970, so the drawing out of this field as a theoretical strand is crucial to the examination of Krog's rise as a public figure. This chapter explores Krog's engagements with journalism and focuses particularly on her reporting of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission from 1996 to 1997. It was from the field of journalism that Krog was launched as a writer of the non-fiction account of the TRC

Country of My Skull (1998) and thus achieved international recognition for her performance of accountability and contrition for the horrors of the South African past.

Chapter 6 – "Authority and authenticity". The fully-matured Krog with the facility to operate in four fields (literary, political, media and academic) embarked at the height of her powers on a self-defined mission to enlarge the public space in which South Africans can talk to each other. This she did by a return to the literary field and particularly through the mode of translation. This chapter investigates how her accumulated authority and her demonstration of authenticity as a South African national subject enabled her to continue to win a hearing and public.

But first, before this immersion in the life of Antjie Krog, I position this thesis theoretically in chapter 2 by considering in particular the trope of the person of the public intellectual and the ideal of the public sphere as explicated by Habermas. I then turn to Bourdieu for a nuanced understanding of agency and authority in order to craft a methodology to examine Krog, her life and work.

Chapter Two

Public Sphere and Public Intellectual, Field and Agent

In this chapter I situate this thesis theoretically and methodologically so that the approach to my subject matter is clear. In particular I wish to critically position this investigation in relation to the normative, and still very powerful, Habermasian idea of 'public sphere' and in relation to the ideas and concerns around the figure of the 'public intellectual'. I acknowledge that the normative conceptions of both ideas have great power in society and are treated as actual categories by many commentators. But because I am interested in understanding *how* the present-day public sphere in South Africa operates and *how* a public figure manages to achieve public representation, I will treat these normative conceptions as points of departure for the theoretical stance of this thesis. In this chapter I also engage with Bourdieu's field theory, with its concepts of fields, agents, consecrators and capital, as my choice of methodology to explicate the life, work and mediation of Krog. And because I am dealing with a literary figure, who is highly mediatised but rooted in a particular, and changing political context, Bourdieu's field theory is particularly useful because it enables me to theorise the confluences of literary, political and media fields and to deal with the questions of agency and authority. As my primary texts for engaging with the life and work of Krog are media texts, both my theoretical positioning and my methodological choices are deeply engaged with the operations of the news media as they touch on the functioning of the public sphere and the publicity of the public intellectual.

I. The Habermasian public sphere as the normative understanding

> *The public has never been a dry and arid place composed of abstract arguments about reason. It has always been filled up by expressive images, by narratives, traditions, and symbolic codes.*
> *Jeffrey Alexander 2006: 409.*

The idea of the usefulness and efficacy of the public sphere, and the notion of publicness it employs, is one which continues to resonate in modern-day liberal democracies as a mechanism to engage citizens in national matters, as a check on unfettered power and particularly as a rationale for the news media and its operations. As Craig Calhoun says of Habermas' study, "the book's resonance with so many

discourses suggests that the recovery and extension of a strong normative idea of publicness is very much on the current agenda" (1992: 42). This ideal of the flowering of the 18th century European public sphere with its salons, coffee shops and flourishing arts and culture, and exemplary citizen participation, acts normatively still in our world (even if somewhat anachronistically). And the accompanying notion of the press as "the public sphere's pre-eminent institution" (Habermas 1991: 181) remains powerfully normative among media practitioners even today[1]. And as Michael Schudson points out, current too, is the idea of a decline in public sphere functions and the deteriorating role of serious journalism as a vehicle for debate ("Was there ever a public sphere" in Calhoun 1992: 143).

Because this idea has such power and influence – both theoretically and normatively – I use the Habermas study of the 18th century bourgeois public sphere in Europe as "an indispensable point of theoretical departure" (Calhoun 1992:41), in order to situate my study. The strength of Habermas' investigation of the 18th century bourgeois public sphere is that it "weaves economic, social-organisational, communicational, social-psychological and cultural dimensions of its problem together in a historically specific analysis", and thus allows for the "richest, best developed conceptualisation available of the social nature and foundations of public life" (Calhoun 1992: 41). The method I am using, in order to situate this study in relation to conceptions of the public sphere as an important space in public life, is to mine Habermas' work for the critical points he has picked out in his study and then to use other theorists to take them further – sometimes in advancement, and sometimes in radical departure. After writing *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas went on to develop his normative understanding of this concept in further work in 1974 and 1989[2]. It is against this normative understanding, and the ideal held up by Habermas as operating in the 18th century, that modern-day public sphere activities, the behaviour of public intellectuals and the news media are judged – and mostly found wanting. Hence the

[1] Particularly inspired by descriptions such as the creation of "political journalism in the grand style" by the Tories under Bolingbroke in England who purchased the *London Journal* in 1722 and turned it into a mouthpiece for political opposition (Habermas 1991: 60).
[2] See the reference by Geoff Eley (1992: 289) to "The Public Sphere" in *New German Critique* 3 1974 and the reference by Robert C Holub (1991: 3) to "Volkssouveranitat als Verfahren: Ein normativer Begriff von Offentlichkeit" *Merkur* 43(6) 1989: 465-477.

prevalent rhetoric about the "decline" of the public sphere[3] and the pessimism about modern media.

In light of this prevalent attitude it is useful, therefore, to revisit what features in particular in the original study he described as provoking a "refeudalisation" of the public sphere. It seems, from a careful reading of the second part of *Transformation*, that two main ideas preoccupy Habermas. The first being the commodification and commercialisation of culture through the media (especially radio, film, television and magazines). And the second being the loss of the delineation of the strictly private domain of family in which literary activities (tied to books, literary journals, novels and letters) which were the foundation for the outgrowth of the conversations going on in public spaces. The result, says Habermas, has been "the destruction of the relationship between public and private spheres" (1991: 158). In Habermas' configuration of the successful appearance of rational-critical debate in the public sphere, certain key ingredients must be present and must lie in certain relationships to each other. The family must engage in literary activities that are centred around reading within the intimate space of the home, and not watch TV, listen to the radio or consume magazines – all of which provoke "individuated acts of reception" (1991: 161) leading to "impersonal indulgence in stimulating relaxation" rather than the public use of reason (1991: 170). This reading activity is edifying and has particular inward effects of creating an altered sense of self[4], which is the first, preparatory stage – the absorption of the culturally-relevant and important. The family members (or those among them who are allowed a public persona – it is important to remember that women in particular were not) would then go out into public spaces to talk about what they had read.

While the production and consumption of cultural products is embedded in the capitalist system (Habermas concedes that paying for books, theatre, concert and museum was the necessary "precondition for rational-critical debate", 1991: 164), the resulting conversation, in his view, was free of the taint of this system, and constituted the second and culminating stage of the process. This is what Habermas understands as

[3] See Appendix C for the literature which shows clearly this position and concern.
[4] It is remarkable that Habermas in this study does not allow for the possibility that *reading* as an "individuated act of reception" can be purely for entertainment and self-gratification. He seems assured that reading the 'literary' is edifying and enabling for public sphere activities.

"praxis" – conversation which leads to the forming of a shared opinion, which can then be mobilised in society as a check on state power. With the decline of the "press that submitted political issues to critical discussion", later media attempts to generate and create the forums for public debate are dismissed by Habermas as "administered conversation" which fulfils "social-psychological functions, especially that of a tranquilising substitute for action" (1991: 164). The modern-day media also do not allow anyone to talk back: they "deprive people of the opportunity to say something and to disagree" (1991: 171).

In this study, Habermas ties the privileging of "rational-critical" debate to a certain kind of private realm, the experience of reading the literary- and politically-consequent via certain mediums, and the conversation in actual public spaces, so that any reconfiguration of private and public space, content or medium is going to upset this ligature of what will constitute 'rational-critical debate', 'public opinion' and, ultimately, 'public sphere'. He comments in his study:

> The world fashioned by the mass media is a public sphere in appearance only. By the same token the integrity of the private sphere which they promise to their consumers is also an illusion. In the course of the eighteenth century, the bourgeois reading public was able to cultivate in the intimate exchange of letters (as well as in the reading of the literature of psychological novels and novellas engendered by it) a subjectivity capable of relating to literature and oriented toward a public sphere… the mass media today strip away the literary husks from that kind of bourgeois self-interpretation and utilise them as marketable forms for the public services provided in a culture of consumers… (1991: 177).

But in later work he seems to modify his harsh judgement of the media as providing a "public sphere in appearance only" and has come to an accommodation about present-day media operating as public sphere vehicles.

> By the 'public sphere' we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body. They then behave neither like business or professional people transacting private affairs, nor like members of a constitutional order subject to the legal constraints of a state bureaucracy. Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion – that is, with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions – about matters of general interest. In a large public body this kind of communication requires specific means for transmitting

> information and influencing those who receive it. Today newspapers and magazines, radio and TV are the media of the public sphere. We speak of the political sphere in contrast, for instance, to the literary one, when public discussion deals with objects connected to the activity of the state. Although state activity is so to speak the executor, it is not a part of it… Only when the exercise of political control is effectively subordinated to the public, does the political public sphere win an institutionalised influence over the government through the instrument of law-making bodies (quoted by Eley 1992: 289).

But what we do continue to see is Habermas' insistence on: 1. the unrestricted gathering of private people; 2. the act of talking; and 3. matters of general concern to bring into being the public sphere. He also makes the familiar distinction between the consumption of the literary (in private) and the political (via media discussed in public) and their indispensable relationship to each other.

The accommodation that Habermas has made, and that is then picked up and formulated as normative, is that the media – commercial or not – can play a valid public sphere role if they allow access to information to everyone, stick to matters of serious and general concern and allow for feedback. This normative idea is used to delineate the media that do not do this as non-public sphere vehicles. So topic deviation into the private and personal, attempts to seek niche markets (thus closing down access and feedback) and genres which rely on entertainment and personal gratification, come in for heavy criticism[5]. There seems to be a careful watching of the balance between public sphere media – that feed 'rational-critical' debate – and the compromised entertainment media (and those that deviate into this territory like tabloid newspapers), to adjudicate the healthiness of the public sphere in general in a society.

Redrawing the private-public boundary

For Habermas the intrusion of mass media into the intimate space of the family (and here 'mass media' are not letters, novels and early newspapers), the individuation of acts of media consumption and the loss of literary-inspired subjectivity are all tied to the shifting of the private-public boundary, which he mourns as a precursor to the loss of the public sphere. But for a better description which shows both the disadvantages and advantages of this shift, I turn to Hannah Arendt's discussion of the private and public realms. In *The Human Condition,* Arendt – like Habermas – refers back to the

[5] Geoff Eley describes the Habermas critique of the present as aimed at the "consciousness industry, the commodification of culture and the manipulation and manipulability of the masses" (1992: 292).

ancient Greek city state system, which strictly divided public activity from household activity[6]. She points out certain things: the strict division between heads of households, who could act ("praxis") and speak ("lexis") in public, from those within the household ("oikia") who could not and were ruled by the head ("despotes") in order to make sure the basic necessities of life were taken care of in a domain not accessible to anyone else (1998: 24). The household was an environment of non-equals with the head using whatever force or domination was necessary over women, slaves and children in order to sustain and renew life. In contrast the public domain of men was the sphere of creativity and equality, which was also "fiercely agonal" (1998: 45) with the requirement that the individual distinguish himself among his peers with his "unique deeds and achievements". The public realm then is the place to practice individuality ("idion") as opposed to the household which is communal ("koinon"). Arendt sees this situation as a "sacrifice" of the private realm to the public (1998: 59). But the critical point that she is keen to take from her study of Greek society and develop is the idea of "household", its activities and power as a model.

Then she turns to medieval Europe (as Habermas does) and sees there a strict divide between public and private, with a giant un-crossable gulf between ordinary people (private) and politics as conducted by the monarch and his court (public). But, says Arendt, the household as a rationale for organising human activity on a large scale grows enormously until all of life not public is absorbed into the operations which sustain life. This then is the functioning of feudalism. Further, the household as organising method and the family as primary group became the model for the early guilds and business communities whose gathering of interests around the "common good" was still essentially in the private domain. Arendt comments that there was an absence of "that curiously hybrid realm where private interests assume public significance that we call 'society'" (1998: 35). This point is key to her argument because she will use it to show that in the modern world what we experience is the emergence of that curiously hybrid domain but along with that and permeated into it

[6] Giorgio Agamben points out that Greek thought and writings about the best kind of life to live has become "canonical for the political tradition of the West" (1998: 2).

will come a powerful new dimension called 'society' and 'the social' with its roots in the household model[7].

Arendt, surveying Europe in the first half of the 20th century, sees the expansion of the model of the household to such a degree that it has become the organising principle of society. The "super-human family is the society/nation" run by "collective housekeeping" (1998: 28-9). 'Housekeeping' as an organising principle dictates national activities, problems and organisational devices. The nation as giant family is kept healthy, safe, fed, educated and gainfully employed by the state assuming household duties on a massive scale (1998: 46). But who is the head of this household? Arendt says, "the despotic power of the household head is not now the power of one man but majority opinion enforced by numbers" which she calls a "no-man rule" (1998: 40). This "nobody" running things is a bureaucracy. Arendt says "the most social form of government is bureaucracy, the last stage of the nation state" and she adds, there is nothing to prevent this form of rule from being experienced as cruel and tyrannical. Mass society which acts in the "one interest of society as a whole"… "embraces and controls all members equally and with equal strength". Society has "conquered" the public realm in the service of organising "the life process itself" (1998: 45).

Habermas does acknowledge this development (referring to "constitutionalisation of the state" which "tended to adopt the interests of civil society as its own", the "societalisation of the state" and the "statefication of society", seeing this in terms of a dialectic, 1991: 142). But Arendt is more specific about the development of an increasingly huge and pervasive bureaucracy embedded in the workings of the nation-state and modelled on the idea of the household, which will enter that in-between space (called the public sphere) and alter the public-private boundaries in irretrievable ways.

To this development Arendt detects a reaction: the private, individual and intimate in "opposition to the social" – and this is a key insight not to be found in Habermas. Turning to Rousseau ("the theorist of intimacy") and Romanticism as a movement, Arendt sees evidence of a "rebellious reaction against society" (1998: 39). The

[7] What Arendt sees as the expansion of the 'household', Foucault and Benedict Anderson (1991) see as the vast growth of state capacity via bureaucracy. Anderson links this enhanced capacity of the state to print, as it is the communication power of print in a vernacular which enabled the organs of state to organise people and projects across vast distances.

rebellion is aimed at the "levelling demands of the social" and "conformism". Insisting that the intimate and the social are "both subjective modes of human existence", Arendt detects that the modern human is in conflict with society, unable to live within or without it. As social beings, instead of the household bureaucracy which addresses itself to our survival as a species, we need a "world as common to all of us, as distinguished from our private-owned places"… "a community of things which gathers people together and relates them to each other" (1998: 52). Part of the reaction to this levelling of our social lives is the "enormous enrichment of the private sphere through modern individualism" (1998: 38). Arendt sees in the flowering of the arts since the 18th century, evidence of the outpouring of the individual and intimate. The arts act to transform what is experienced in the private realm (which is invisible in public and therefore of little consequence to 'society') into evidence for those experiences in the public realm (increasingly the place of validation of the real) by giving them appearance and therefore reality.

Arendt does not subsume artistic practices under the "literary sphere" as Habermas does, instead choosing to see them as reactions against the rise of the social which is permeating the hybrid domain of the public sphere. By complicating the picture of two set domains (private and public) she is showing us that the growth of household-type state bureaucracy is going to have a long-term reaction (and not just in the kind of 'opinions' formed in the 'public sphere'). She is also emphasising that the "intimate", as an important sphere of human life has a right to enter the public domain and to influence its discussions. What we do see in today's media in all sorts of genres is the intrusion of the intimate and personal. This is often condemned (particularly in the media considered the public sphere vehicles) as inappropriate and an unacceptable blurring of the private/public boundary. But I think we are misunderstanding the changing circumstances which give rise to this massive outpouring of the intimate via media into our public world and not giving due attention to what it means for public sphere practices which might flow from this intrusion.

Bruce Robbins puts it like this:

> The point is not simply that the mass media have helped reinvent the notion of the public as an urban space of aesthetic self-presentation, sociability, theatricality, and pleasure. More pertinently, it is that in so doing, the media bring [a] notion of the public… which seems to have more to do with aesthetics than politics together with the politically participatory thrust of the 'republican virtue' model… [P]articipation

> in the making, exchanging, and mobilising of public opinion – the definining characteristic of 'republican virtue' – has to some extent been reinvented or relocated… [I]t is now discoverable to an unprecedented extent in the domain of culture (quoted by Osborne 1996: ix).

The Others of the liberal-bourgeois, democratic public sphere

In her critique of the bourgeois public sphere as a "training ground for a stratum of bourgeois men who were an emerging elite practising how to rule" (in Calhoun 1992: 114), Nancy Fraser points out – as Habermas is aware – that the bourgeois public sphere was not the only public sphere operating in 18th century Europe and in fact sat in a "stratum distinct from the aristocratic elites they were intent on replacing and the popular and plebeian strata to be ruled". While a lot of the anxiety today about the decline of the public sphere and its activities revolves around the topics and issues being made known through the media (such as political scandals and the outrageous behaviour of celebrities), theorists like Calhoun (1992: 1) Eley (1992: 289), Fraser (1992: 109), Benhabib (1992: 73) and Michael Warner (2002) point out that legitimate contestation comes from minorities and marginalised groups in society over who is allowed to be in public and what topics are fit for public deliberation.

What Fraser sees operating in today's social world is a series of alternative publics in which subordinated groups "develop counter discourses and language, recast their needs and identities and then agitate for their subjects to be debated in the public sphere". As a result "the public sphere becomes a space of contest and negotiation among different publics". The result might not be consensus but conflict; there may be no sense of "we" achieved and no agreement on the "common good". And while the impersonal, disinterested nature of the bourgeois public sphere was its hallmark, Fraser comments: "No topic should be off limits for discussion, only through contestation can subjects be decided as worthy of public attention."

Eley, takes this further with a focus on the excluded women of the 18th century public sphere. He says: "Habermas' model of rational communication was not just vitiated by persisting patriarchal structures of an older sort; the very inception of the public sphere was shaped by a new exclusionary ideology directed at women" (1992: 311). The rhetoric of the public sphere with its emphasis on the public person and the

private person, the rational-critical and the non-rational-critical (and thus off-limits), deepened the alignment of woman with home, the private and intimate, and subsumed her as property under her husband's agency. The many associational spaces created in this time for bourgeois men to meet on mutual matters of concern were often "clubs" and although membership was not dictated by social rank, it was often for one sex only. Eley comments that the ideals of the public sphere would not be achieved for women until the feminist movement of the 1960s focused attention on these public/private delineations in society and their entrenchment through public sphere rhetoric.

Benhabib makes this more pointed when she takes a historical overview of those excluded from, and now clamouring for inclusion into, democracy:

> But for moderns, public space is essentially porous: neither access to it or its agenda of debate can be predefined by criteria of moral and political homogeneity. With the entry of every new group into the public space of politics after the French and American revolutions, the scope of the public gets extended. The emancipation of workers made property relations into a public political issue; the emancipation of women has meant that the family and the so-called private sphere became political issues; the attainment of rights by nonwhite and non-Christian peoples has put cultural questions of collective self and other representations on the public agenda… the distinction between the social and the political makes no sense in the modern world, not because all politics has become administration and because the economy has become the quintessential public, as Hannah Arendt thought, but primarily because the struggle to make something public is a struggle for justice (1992: 79).

As is evident from the part of my study which deals with Krog's involvement in reporting and recording in book form the processes of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the new claims arising all over the world from those othered by imperialism, colonialism, apartheid, and now globalisation, are entering public sphere discourse through the expression and assumption of human rights. These claims cannot be denied because they do not enter public space in the mode dictated by 'rational-critical' debate. And they often come in the form of recourse to presentation of the suffering body and via discourses such as shaming and the confessional.

Bracketing the commercial

Habermas, strategically, but I think, unrealistically, brackets the commercial off from the reading of books, literary journals and newspapers, and the attendance at theatres and museums, that promoted the discussion of the politically-relevant, but makes the commercial a defining factor in the "refeudalised" media of today. I want to take issue with this bracketing and with the delineation of a 'literary' moment in the 18th century and a subsequent 'mass media' moment. This bracketing works by admitting that these prior activities were paid for and were embedded in commercial networks of sale and demand, but then drawing a net around the conversation in public spaces which was free and open to all and declaring this to be the true exercise of the public sphere. By contrast today's publics who might engage solely via media in consuming and forming opinions on topics of public interest are hopelessly embedded in networks of capitalist production and doomed to lonely individualism given the lack of conversation.

In *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800,* authors Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin show also that with the invention of the printing press and the move to mass consumption of printed words the book became the vehicle for the affects and effects which are so powerfully associated with mass media today. They say:

> One fact must not be lost sight of: the printer and the bookseller worked above all and from the beginning for profit. The story of the first joint enterprise, Fust and Schoeffer, proves that. Like their modern counterparts, 15th-century publishers only financed the kind of book they felt sure would sell enough copies to show a profit in a reasonable time. We should not therefore be surprised to find that the immediate effect of printing was merely to further increase the circulation of those works which had already enjoyed success in manuscript, and often to consign other less popular texts to oblivion. By multiplying books by the hundred and then the thousand, the press achieved both increased volume and at the same time more rigorous selection (in "The Book as a Force for Change" 1976: 249).

So the first step in Habermas' chain, the consumption by an individual of the literature of the public sphere is already subject to the processes of exclusion provoked by the workings of capitalism. While the commercial nature of the media today is undoubtedly a factor in whether the rational-critical can be aired, and how, I am suggesting that the commercialised nature of the media is a cumulative result of centuries of industrial development and not a break with the past. Also, in the theorising around highly-commercialised media, the book – which continues to feed worldwide industries of

publication, circulation and consumption – is somehow forgotten as a commercialised mass medium in its own right and the forerunner to today's media-saturated cultures. Febvre and Martin continue:

> It is fairly evident at the outset that printing brought no sudden or radical transformation, and contemporary culture hardly seems at first to have changed, at least as regards its general characteristics. But selection soon became imperative as the decision had to be made as to which of many thousands of medieval manuscripts were worth printing. As we have seen, booksellers were primarily concerned to make a profit and sell their products, and consequently they sought out first and foremost those works which were of interest to the largest possible number of their contemporaries. Hence the introduction of printing was in this respect a stage on the road to our present society of mass consumption and of standardisation (1976: 260).

I draw attention to this because I think it important to do away with ideas that somehow in the far distant past there was an age of communication that was unsullied by the commercial and that modern-day media is tarnished in its ability to perform critical public sphere functions because of its "hyper-commercialism"[8]. In today's world to use the level of commercialism as an indicator to divide the 'literary' (hence worth consuming for public sphere purposes) from the individually gratifying is too simple and broad a distinction. It is also too broad a sweep to imply that any media that are privately owned or in the hands of large multi-national corporations cannot be public sphere vehicles or that the publicly-funded services necessarily are. We see a media landscape today pockmarked by different levels of commercialisation, public sphere commitment, entertainment and gratification. The Internet itself is so multifarious a communication medium as to defy simple judgements about its value and qualities as a public sphere vehicle.

Public sphere as conversation writ large

John Thompson points out that Habermas' argument for the efficacy of the public sphere relies on its face-to-face dimensions of conversation acted out in salons, coffee-bars and public places. Habermas has activated, validated, and drawn a boundary around only one meaning of "public". Thompson says:

> But if we reread Habermas carefully, we will find, I think, that Habermas was not interested in print as such, in the distinctive

[8] The word used by some political economy media theorists, see McChesney (2004: 20) and McChesney and Scott (2004).

> characteristics of this communication medium and the kinds of social relations established by it. His way of thinking about print was shaped by a model of communication based on the spoken word: the periodical press was part of a conversation begun and continued in the shared locales of bourgeois sociability… so while the press played a crucial role in the formation of the bourgeois public sphere, the latter was conceptualised by Habermas not in relation to print, but in relation to the face-to-face conversations stimulated by it. In this respect, Habermas' account of the bourgeois public sphere bears the imprint of the classical Greek conception of public life: the salons, clubs and coffee houses of Paris and London were the equivalent, in the context of early modern Europe, of the assemblies and market places of ancient Greece. As in ancient Greece, so too in early modern Europe, the public sphere was constituted above all in speech, in the weighing up of different arguments, opinions and points of view in the dialogical exchange of spoken words in a shared locale (1995: 131).

What is not evident in Habermas' theorising about the press is that such a medium of communication allows for an added and completely different form of publicness – one that is not face-to-face, not in a shared locale and not necessarily dialogical. And while the "mediated quasi-interaction" (Thompson's description) of the globalised, networked, media channels aimed at millions, was certainly not a feature of the 18th century media environment, there are media characteristics already evident in that era that Habermas' study does not prioritise. Thompson points out that:

> The rise of printing in early modern Europe created a new form of publicness which was linked to the characteristics of the printed word and to its modes of production, diffusion and appropriation. Like all forms of mediated publicness, the form created by the printed word was severed from the sharing of a common locale: with the advent of printing, actions or events could be endowed with publicness in the absence of co-present individuals (1995: 126).

However, in his subsequent writings and in response to his critics, Habermas acknowledges the modern-day problem of providing public meeting spaces so that millions of citizens can converse, and evokes the normative idea of the value of the news media as the vehicle to deal with this problem: "In a large public body this kind of communication requires specific means for transmitting information and influencing those who receive it. Today newspapers and magazines, radio and TV are the media of the public sphere" (quoted by Eley 1992: 289). The notion is that these media must perform the role of conversation writ large – through comprehensive news reports that are factual and accurate, through opinion and commentary that is well-informed and rational, and through letters pages and panel discussions that allow for citizen participation and talk back. What Habermas is advocating is vicarious conversation and

opinion forming via media. Some citizens can talk, not all can, but most can participate – and therefore formulate opinions. The watchdogs of the normative idea of the public sphere then police this role of the news media by declaring certain topics (the private and intimate), certain people (celebrities) and certain methods (sensationalism) to be non-rational-critical and therefore not legitimate public sphere activities for the news media. The Habermas definition of what is rational-critical is outlined as: "What is said derives its legitimacy neither from itself as a message nor from the social title of the utterer, but from its conformity as a statement with a certain paradigm of reason inscribed in the very event of saying" (quoted by Eley 1992: 293).

In his typology of three types of human interaction, Thompson spells out the important shift in publicness made possible by communication media (1995: 82-87). From: 1. Public sphere as conversation in which participants hold a dialogue in a "context of co-presence" (with associated deictic expressions and symbolic cues – this is the classic idea of the "agora"); through 2. Dialogue through the use of technical media (letters, telephones), which allows for the stretching of time and space and separates sender and receiver[9]; to 3. Mediated quasi-interaction – "social *relations*[10] established through the media of mass communication" (1995: 84) in which the intended recipients of the communication are not specific others but unknown, indefinite, unlimited numbers of others, a mass public. This kind of communication is monological and needs no shared locale. Says Thompson:

> With the rise of mediated interaction and quasi-interaction, the 'interaction mix' of social life has changed. Individuals are increasingly likely to acquire information and symbolic content from sources other than the persons with whom they interact directly in their day-to-day lives (1995: 87).

While this is certainly an accurate picture of the operations of mass media today, the fact is that it was also the possibility of print, books and the press in the 18th century. And while Habermas bases his understanding of the public sphere and an altered sense of subjectivity on the interactions in actual, physical public spaces, the fact is that many

[9] And introduces the possibility that the specific technical strength of the medium begins to have impacts on the interaction – eg a letter is material but is not immediate, a telephone conversation is immediate but intangible. The letter favours the eye, the telephone the ear.

[10] My italics because Thompson emphasises, and Habermas ignores, that monological mass media have effects of creating social relations and not just disseminating useful information which can later be turned into the stuff of conversations.

of the understandings of public must also have been tied to the experience of partaking in that publicness via the monological, time- and location-free media of the day.

The strength of Thompson's study on the media is his understanding that publicness is possible under different conditions and that 'visibility' is its hallmark. In a chapter devoted to "The Transformation of Visibility", Thompson rests on a second meaning of "public", as what is "open" or "available to the public" (1995: 123) to build the case that the media can endow actions and events with publicness "in the absence of co-presence". Thompson insists that this kind of visibility is not the same as the spectacle of the monarch who made visible his power (an "exhaltation" of power – which would be a "refeudalisation") but argues that what is made visible is the "exercise of power" (1995: 124). Of course visibility as a hallmark of the modern day media has been greatly extended by television, which technologically makes events and actions actual and visual.

> The development of television has thus created a new form of publicness, involving a distinct kind of visibility, which is quite different from the traditional publicness of co-presence. It also differs in certain respects from the forms of mediated publicness created by the written word (1995: 137).

The resulting effect on power is that those who govern must manage their persons, their decisions and the boundaries between what is made known and what kept secret by reference to this greatly enhanced capacity of the modern electronic media to make visible. Thompson implies that the relationship of those governing to the modern day media is considerably different from the displays of power of the feudal ages. Today the very facility of mediated visibility acts as a mechanism in itself and in some way replaces the expression and publication of 'public opinion'. This shift from speech to visibility is a critical shift in the way today's media operate. Knowledge is often gained today by seeing (usually via TV) rather than reading. As Thompson points out in a subsequent essay (2005: 38) this visibility reveals the workings of power so extensively that the average Western citizen has grown deeply disenchanted with politics and the capacity of political power to change the world for the better. If opinions need to be formed around election choices, he says, decisions are very often based on the character and trustworthiness of the candidates – a resort to trusting the personal, intimate and human fellow-feeling that is contrary to the disinterested nature of opinion-forming that Habermas theorised.

The other Thompson insight I want to emphasise at this point, is his understanding that actual, important and real (ie given value and meaning), social relations are possible via the media and between people who may never meet each other face to face, or even know of each other's existence. The extraordinary power of visibility that operates through today's media has had an important side-effect, the creation of a mechanism for vast numbers of people to feel that they are in communication with – and thereby in relation to – uncountable and unknowable others. The workings of this are fleshed out in the following point.

The emergence of mass subjectivity

In my first point above, I touched on subjectivity by focusing on Arendt's understanding of the intimate emerging out of a changing relationship between public and private domains. Now I wish to take this further by focusing on subjectivity itself and investigating its relationship to the consumption of media. Habermas pays a certain attention to the altered sense of subjectivity of the private person consuming the literary media of the bourgeois public sphere. He alludes to an altered sense of self beginning to become noticeable, but does not enlarge on what the relation of that self might be to the consumption of media. "In the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Guardian* the public held up a mirror to itself… The public that read and debated this sort of thing read and debated about itself… but in reading and debating it as a public, they adopted a very special rhetoric about their own personhood" (1991: 43).

Benedict Anderson, in the text *Imagined Communities*, makes the same point about the discovery through print of a public of other reading individuals, but takes this further, linking it to the shift in consciousness which began to loosen up from older ideas of community and to engage with the incipient idea of "nation". Covering much the same historical territory as Habermas, he looks at how burgeoning print industries and the shift from the "sacred language" of Latin to multiple vernaculars facilitated a change in consciousness about community. He says the "possibility of imagining the nation" arose when three fundamental cultural conceptions shifted in 17th and 18th century Europe (1991: 36ff): the status of the "sacred language" of Latin which primarily bonded people to the Church as their first community began to erode; the concentration of political power in the hierarchical and centripetal "high centres" (the

divinely-ordained monarchs in their city states) which began to move outward with growing administrations and seek manageable boundaries; and the growth of an idea of time which allowed for the conception of multiple others existing in the world simultaneously. The two forms of print he sees as most influential in facilitating these changing ideas were the novel and the newspaper. Because the readers of these texts were addressed intimately through these vehicles as a "we", the knowledge of their being a simultaneous group of others also reading was reinforced. Anderson points out that the writers of these publications assumed that there was a bond connecting all their unknown readers – the bond of reading this very text. This then is the experience that allows for a different kind of imagination about a community that exists but cannot possibly be known – the "imagined community". The centrality of print's power was that it enabled "rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways" (1991: 36). The shift in the three social factors pointed to above coupled with the penetration of print in the vernacular languages enabled a new community to be thought into being – the nation. It is this sense of a completely different relation of people to each other, which is vicarious, and at a remove, that Anderson very helpfully points to, but which is missing from the Habermas understanding of the work circulating texts are doing. As José van Dijck puts it: "…material inscriptions mediate between individuality and collectivity as well as between past and present" (2004: 270).

But it is in Michael Warner's work that the theoretical import of this altering subjectivity is emphasised. Warner detects in the Habermas description a consistently private person (ie still private even when operating in public) who has modified their sense of self via reading and within the intimate family situation, who then leaves aside their personal particularities, goes out into a public space and joins in a conversation on matters of common concern. This leaving aside the personal allows for disinterested discussion on public matters. John Nerone and Kevin Barnhurst take this further:

> Equality within the public sphere required the negation of individual social interests and passions… The new public man was nobody in particular, an anybody. He was not a singular someone, such as a merchant or banker whose political actions expressed his own interests… Habermas defines this kind of discourse – an anybody talking to everybody – as rational. This definition of what it means to speak rationally is a pragmatic one. If the public realm negates the

> particular interests of both speakers and listeners, in effect, only disinterested appeals remain. All participants must construct a universal subjectivity (in place of an interested one they usually inhabit). Rational discourse speaks only from that subject position (2001: 46-47).

So not only has the anybody-private person left behind in his domestic space his particularity, he has also adopted a "universal subjectivity" – a disembodied, disinterested, non-particular state of being – and a mode of address (to impersonal others) – in order to participate in a construction of exercise of power, rational-critical debate. The first important effect of this that Warner detects is that the private person, through reading and the consumption of mass media and the consciousness of a mass of others also participating in this exercise, begins to alter the sense of self from a strictly private personal being and takes on dimensions of "public subjectivity". This starts to take place in the moment of consumption of media. He says by reading printed information one participates in the awareness that the "same printed goods are being consumed by an indefinite number of others". This awareness comes to be built into the meaning of the printed object and the reader is therefore partaking in mass subjectivity (as part of a public) by reading. He suggests, as a result, that all human beings in the modern world have two conditions of being, a private subjectivity and a public subjectivity[11]. In public human beings are not just an aggregation of private people (as Habermas suggests) and not just private people who create public practices. "As subjects of publicity – its hearers, speakers, viewers, and doers – we have a different relation to ourselves, a different affect from that which we have in other contexts" (2002: 160), Warner suggests.

The second important insight by Warner is that the idealised and normative public sphere, which not only enables "strangers" to discover a "we" (a mass subjectivity) through the public sphere vehicles (such as texts), but simultaneously abstracts its participants from their individual subjectivities rooted in class, race and gender, has serious consequences. This disembodiment and abstraction practised in the 18th century has its return of the repressed in the public spheres we know today. Warner calls this abstracting quality of the bourgeois public sphere, the inherent "bad faith of the res publica of letters" and says it requires "a denial of the bodies that gave access to it" (2002: 176). The ideal of the public sphere is that anyone – regardless of position,

[11] Earlier we saw that Hannah Arendt called this dual state of being, individual and social.

gender, race, riches or education – should be able to engage in public rational-critical debate, but in effect the "actually existing" (to use Nancy Fraser's phrase[12]) public sphere favours a certain middle class, educated elite, who have been groomed to exercise its practices and to adopt disinterested and abstracted modes of being and address. The contradiction is that the public sphere both allows for a desirable abstraction into a mass subjectivity and at the same time makes evident that each individual's bodily particularity and social situatedness precludes entire participation in the mass publicness. Says Warner: "I'm suggesting… that a fundamental feature of the contemporary public sphere is this double movement of identification and alienation…" (2002: 182).

> In each of these mediating contexts of publicity, we become the mass-public subject but in a new way unanticipated within the classical bourgeois public sphere. Moreover, if mass-public subjectivity has a kind of singularity, an undifferentiated extension to indefinite numbers of individuals, those individuals who make up the 'we' of the mass-public subject might have very different relations to it. It is at the very moment of recognising ourselves as the mass subject, for example, that we also recognise ourselves as minority subjects. As participants in the mass subject, we are the 'we' that can describe our particular affiliations of class, gender, sexual orientation, race, or subculture only as 'they'. This self-alienation is common to all of the contexts of publicity, but it can be variously interpreted within each. The political meaning of the public subject's self-alienation is one of the most important sites of struggle in contemporary culture (2002: 171).

The way the modern public sphere resolves this contradiction, according to Warner, is through the reactivation of the category 'publicity'[13].

> Responding to an immanent contradiction in the bourgeois public sphere, mass publicity promises a reconciliation between embodiment and self-abstraction. This can be a powerful appeal, especially to those minoritised by the public sphere's rhetoric of normative disembodiment (2002: 181).

Like Warner, John Hartley understands "publicity" differently from the negative Habermasian understanding of refeudalisation. Hartley says publicity "is a fundamental enabling component in the construction of contemporary public culture" and "is necessary to call it into discursive being" (quoted by Turner 2004: 16).

[12] 1992: 109.

[13] In Habermas' study, publicity is display of embodiment, making visible status, fame, dignity, honour etc. (1991:7-10)

So how is ‘publicity’ mobilised today in order to enable people conscious of their particularity to engage in mass subjectivity? Warner’s argument hinges strongly on his activation of the body as a vehicle and he turns to the news media to make this case. Using the example of the “discourse of disasters” (2002: 177) he shows how the reporting of injury to other people’s bodies (and this is evident particularly when masses of people are affected by major cataclysms) draws a public into witnessing on a mass scale, and causes them to understand themselves, in this moment, as having cohered into a “non-corporeal mass witness”. He goes on to say that the “mass media are dominated by genres that construct the mass subject’s impossible relation to a body” (2002: 179) and says reports of horrors, assassinations, terrorism and even sports are in this category of journalism which he calls “mass-imaginary transitivism”. This transitive participation includes the tabloid coverage of celebrities who are endlessly depicted carrying out the often banal exercises of everyday life and endlessly dissected for their human failings. The same knowledge ingrained in print culture, that by reading one is joining a public, is activated in the consumption of the mass media publicity of disasters and celebrity reporting, but in these cases the individual is joining a public of witnesses in a vicarious body. To conclude this argument, Warner says:

> The centrality of this contradiction in the legitimate textuality of the video-capitalist state, I think, is the reason why the discourse of the public sphere is so entirely given over to a violently desirous speculation on bodies. What I have tried to emphasise is that the effect of disturbance in the mass publicity is not a corruption introduced into the public sphere by its colonisation through mass media. It is the legacy of the bourgeois public sphere’s founding logic, the contradictions of which become visible whenever the public sphere can no longer turn a blind eye to its privileged bodies (2002: 182-3).

The point I am making here via Warner is one about having to take the situated body and particularity of experience into account in any adequate description of today’s public sphere(s). The idealised public sphere is one in which these are both excluded. Given the contestation introduced into modern publics by those formerly silenced, the body and its experiences are bound to become sources of intrusion again into the public. In addition the news media have already harnessed the technique of presenting information in a way that allows audiences the experience of participating in the ‘mass body’ and often through topics and genres considered entirely within the purview of serious and important journalism.

Approaches to conceptualising public sphere today

The argument that I am making is: that a simple depiction of the heyday of the public sphere and a fall from this state of grace under present-day, publicity-ridden, highly-commercialised media with their individualised address of entertainment, is an inadequate conception of today's complex public spheres. I have tried to complicate the normative ideal taken from Habermas which underpins this pessimism, by showing that the 18th century bourgeois public sphere had a number of features – often repressed in practice and in theory – which were bound to have their outcomes and a/effects in the public spaces, practices and vehicles we experience today. Among these are:

1. That the 'public sphere' was not just a simple outgrowth of the private realm into the public domain, but that simultaneously what Hannah Arendt calls the 'social' and the 'intimate', were developing alongside the practices and conversations Habermas detects. The public domain of the monarch was undergoing sophisticated and rapid change into nation-state bureaucracy on the model of the household. And a growing number of individuals were reacting to this control through practices that injected the private and intimate into the public realm via art and literature. This development has not slowed but gained pace in today's world, and the range of private and intimate that has become visible has increased, not lessened, as state bureaucracy has grown in control and surveillance. Thus we see entire swathes of media dedicated to the dissemination of what public sphere idealists do not consider to be 'rational-critical' or matters of 'public' concern.
2. That the entrance into public of previously invisible people (including women) will have volatile effects on the topics for discussion and the methods of presentation. This is particularly noticeable in the fascination, as Warner put it, with the embodied and the particularities of the non-normative public sphere participants.
3. That publicity has returned with a vengeance – probably in reaction to the unsatisfactory situation where instead of monarchs we have "nobody-bureaucracies" running entire countries, and the desire for understanding the motivations and psychologies of the politically, or financially, or charismatically, powerful, stems the tide of anxiety about being at the mercy of very large, impersonal forces.

4. That the consumption of media has a profound altering effect on individual subjectivity. Unlike the feudal era when some persons were considered public and others private, we are today, every one of us in a highly-mediatised environment, a dual public-private individual modulating our behaviour according to situation. And when we are consuming media in the privacy of our homes we are not simply private people.
5. That, because this sense of mass subjectivity has become normal for us today, people will use media vicariously in order to participate in a mass body and not just for the reasons of forming public opinion or acting rationally-critically, but more often for the purposes of "self-formation", in the words of Thompson (see 1995: 207).

Simply put, the public sphere is no longer, or necessarily, a place (or accumulation of places) in which actual people gather, or a conversation writ-large or even a dialogue (say via the media). It is the means we use in modern-day democracies to experience mass-subjectivity, activate the sense of being public, and to make possible a social relation to impossibly large and unknowable communities, such as 'nation'. And the contents of our concerns are not necessarily, the 'rational-critical' and politically and/or socially consequent, although they might be. But as Warner, shows, the value of a public sphere seems to be primarily for the vicarious experience of a mass sense of self and participation in a mass body. Texts and the circulation of information are therefore the primary means to achieve this and thus have become ever more important – and economically valuable.

II. The public intellectual as a distinctive persona in the public sphere

In parentheses: intellectuals are an historic invention; they might not have existed. For them to exist, several conditions had to be fulfilled.
Pierre Bourdieu 2002b: 3.

The public intellectual, a lineage

In Habermas' formulation of the public sphere, its participating population was all [bourgeois][14] reading, culture-consuming people who were interested in discussing ideas for the purpose of achieving consensus about the important, general matters of the day. The figure of the 'public intellectual' is not a distinctive persona in the Habermasian public sphere. As Peter Osborne says, Habermas is more interested in a "public-democratic responsibility or function, shared equally by all" (1996: xi). I therefore turn to Osborne for the lineage of the rise of the distinctive persona operating in the public sphere:

> Classically, 'the intellectual' is the product of a French imaginary in which the abstractly rational element of a (bourgeois) revolutionary tradition appeared in the symbolic form of a concrete social persona. As a noun referring to a particular kind of person, or a person doing a particular kind of work, the word did not come into general usage in English until the early nineteenth century (1996: ix).

Osborne does, however, see the lineage of the public intellectual reaching back into the 18th century public sphere. Referring to Habemas' work, he says the public sphere grew out of the Republic of Letters in which Habermas detected "politically-committed writers" who were different from other writers in that their purpose was "attitudes changed through arguments", and not through "rhetoric or aesthetic forms" (Osborne 1996: xxv, endnote 20). Says Osborne: "… [the] bourgeois public sphere, privileged site of intellectual activity, came about historically through a political refunctioning of the space of a pre-existing literary culture" (1996: xii). The "man of letters", the essayists, journalists and critics of the late 19th century became the "intellectuals" of the early 20th century.

Osborne and Habermas (who considered such a figure in his chapter "Heinrich Heine and the Role of the Intellectual in Germany", 1986: 72-73) both point out that the Dreyfus trial in France in 1898 gave rise to the word "intellectual" being attached to

[14] In his Author's Preface to *Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas says: "Our investigation is limited to the structure and function of the *liberal* model of the bourgeois public sphere, to its emergence and transformation."

those writers and scholars who protested the state's prosecution of this Jewish soldier for spying[15], seeing it as persecution. Since that experience of "intellectuals" intervening in public to accuse the state of morally-corrupt behaviour, the figure of the interfering intellectual has become a familiar one in public domains. And so has the ongoing debate across the world, over who these figures should be, how they should behave and what their appropriate arenas of action and subjects of consideration should be[16].

Edward Said, the representation of an intellectual

In terms of intellectual activity, the most prominent exponent of the value of this kind of intervention in the public domain, and the person who has both embodied and spoken about the distinctiveness of this public persona with the greatest conviction is Edward Said. Said's much-used words, "speak truth to power", are used emblematically and normatively in contexts all over the world as a test for the performance of public intellectuals, and not least in South Africa. In his 1993 Reith lectures for the BBC, Said chose for his topic "Representations of the Intellectual" (published 1994). Said, the highly-praised literary theorist and outspoken critic of American foreign policy and advocate for the Palestinian cause, declared in his lectures that the public intellectual was a persona valuable to a society because of the ability to make human problems and situations universal and to take the risk to step out in public to commit himself to an opinion about them. Noting that every public

[15] The Dreyfus Affair is marked by many French theorists as the moment in French public life that initiated an emergence of intellectuals who took public positions on matters of principle. Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish artillery officer in the French army, was charged in 1894 with passing military secrets to the German embassy in Paris. His family had lived in Alsace when it belonged to France and when Germany annexed it in 1871 the family chose to remain French and moved. He was convicted of treason by a military tribunal in December 1894 and imprisoned in French Guyana. The conviction was based on a hand-written list of French military information found by an Alsatian cleaning woman, in the employ of French military intelligence, in the waste paper basket of a German military attaché. Dreyfus was suspected because he still visited family in Alsace and because the list was assumed to be in his handwriting. There were numerous procedural problems with the military trial and Dreyfus was court-martialled again in 1899 but was reconvicted and sentenced to 10 years' jail. He was subsequently pardoned in 1906 and made a knight in the Legion on Honour. The writer Emile Zola, incensed by the trials, penned an open letter to President Felix Fauré with the headline "J'accuse!" (I Accuse!). It was published in the newspaper *L'Aurore* on 13 January 1898. Habermas, in his chapter on Heine the intellectual (1989: 72-3), says that the letter that Zola wrote was followed by a petition in the same newspaper signed by more than 100 signatures, many of them writers and scholars. The petition became popularly known as "The Manifesto of the Intellectuals". Zola was convicted of libel and was forced to flee the country. In 1985 President Francois Mitterand commissioned a statue of Dreyfus by sculptor Louis Mitelberg to be installed at the Ecole Militaire, but the minister of defense refused to display it. The army didn't formally acknowledge Dreyfus' innocence until 1995.

[16] Early texts dealing with these questions, and which set the tone for this debate, are: Julien Benda's 1927 *Trahison des Clercs* and Karl Mannheim's 1929 *Ideology and Utopia.*

figure is situated in a nation and social location, Said nevertheless argued for the intellectual to be "exile and marginal, as amateur, and as the author of a language that tries to speak the truth to power" (1994: xvi). Said's main point, much rehearsed in debates about intellectual performance, is that such a person should always place themselves in opposition to power (1994: xvii).

> The central fact for me is, I think, that the intellectual is an individual endowed with a faculty for representing, embodying, articulating a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion to, as well as for, a public. And this role has an edge to it, and cannot be played without a sense of being someone whose place it is publicly to raise embarrassing questions, to confront orthodoxy and dogma (rather than to produce them), to be someone who cannot easily be co-opted by governments or corporations, and whose *raison d'être* is to represent all those people and issues that are routinely forgotten or swept under the rug. The intellectual does so on the basis of universal principles: that all human beings are entitled to expect decent standards of behaviour concerning freedom and justice from worldly powers or nations, and that deliberate or inadvertent violations of these standards need to be testified and fought against courageously (1994: 11).

He continues:

> I say or write these things because after much reflection they are what I believe; and I also want to persuade others of this view. There is therefore this quite complicated mix between the private and the public worlds, my own history, values, writings and positions as they derive from my experiences, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, how these enter into the social world where people debate and make decisions about war and freedom and justice. There is no such thing as a private intellectual, since the moment you set down words and then publish them you have entered the public world. Nor is there *only* a public intellectual, someone who exists just as a figurehead or spokesperson or symbol of a cause, movement, or position. There is always the personal inflection and the private sensibility, and those give meaning to what is being said or written (1994: 12).

What is valuable about Said's explication of this persona, is that he is deeply conscious of the interplay of personal and public subjectivities and also of distinctiveness of performance, or what he calls "signature":

> In the outpouring of studies about intellectuals there has been far too much defining of the intellectual, and not enough stock taken of the image, the signature, the actual intervention and performance, all of which take together constitute the very lifeblood of the every real intellectual (1994: 13).

It is this attention to individualism, performance, and maybe even subjectivity, that is remarkable in Said's understanding of what such a person can bring into

the public domain. The Habermasian formulation of "intellectuals, using arguments sharpened by rhetoric, intervene on behalf of rights that have been violated and truths that have been suppressed, reforms that are overdue and progress that has been delayed" (1989: 73) continues to place the stress on the universal nature of the subject matter that must preoccupy this person acting in public, rather than on the individual themselves, their style or subjectivity.

And another aspect of Said's formulation which is very important is pointed out by Neil Lazarus:

> Particularly brilliant in Said's representation of the intellectual, in my view, is his clear-sighted awareness of what might be *specific* to intellectual work, that is, his grasp of what it is that intellectuals do that might be both socially valuable and also not within the remit of any other group of social agents – not because intellectuals are cleverer than other people, still less because they morally better than other people, but because they have been socially endowed with the resources, the status, the symbolic and social capital, to do this particular kind of work (2005: 117).

It is this clarity in Said, that it is not so much a matter of intelligence and perception that enables the intellectual, but also capacity, resources, resourcefulness and endowment with symbolic capital that is critical for a performance to reach a public, that is useful for my investigation of Krog, as these are the kinds of factors I will be investigating in this study.

The public intellectual as trope

While Said's explication has resonance and power and critical tools useful for my study, this thesis, however, makes a theoretical shift in its consideration of a particular public figure in South Africa. Instead of taking at face value the necessity for public intellectuals to be the emblematic personae enabling rational-critical debate on matters of general social and political importance (which is the Saidian view, as well as the normative social and media view), this study is based on the theoretical premise that the public intellectual as an important figure in the public sphere is a "structural or institutional effect" and not simply to be investigated "in terms of individual capacities" (David Carter 2001 online journal, no page numbers). This position has an affinity with the work of Eleanor Townsley, who in surveying the debates about the decline of the public sphere and the role of public intellectuals in the "elite public sphere" of the United States since 1987, has concluded that "public intellectual"

operates as a "trope" to "frame meaning and practice within specific intellectual publics" (2006: 39). Townsley says:

> …the 'public intellectual' is but a highly successful recent example of an intellectual project to claim space, legitimacy, and power for particular groups of intellectuals in US public life, and in its important cultural and political institutions (2006: 39).

Townsley asserts that the "public intellectual" is a "figurative use of words, or a cultural shorthand, that holds, contains, and organises moral tension about intellectuals and politics" (2006: 40). Townsley says "tropes mobilise moral tension and move discourse" (2006: 41, referring to Hayden White's work *Tropics of Discourse* 1978). In similar vein this study asserts that the heightened debate in South Africa about the necessity for and presence of various types of intellectuals in the public domain is motivated by moral concerns and is about moving discourse. My intention is to discover what discourse propels the purported need for intellectuals to be visible and vocal in the public sphere of this country. The proliferation of calls – and names – for these various types of intellectuals indicates that "space, legitimacy and power" are being claimed by differing groups of peoples seeking their proxies in the public domain and all three of these categories are very much under contestation.

Just as the idea of the public sphere operates normatively in modern democracies and through the news media, so does the idea of the public intellectual. Interestingly, in all these debates there are claims for who the intellectual should be and what the intellectual should be doing. There is also the normative role attached to the public intellectual's pronouncements in that this person should be able to tell others how the world should be and what they should be doing to achieve such a state[17]. There is an implied dissatisfaction with the state of the present and a requirement that the public intellectual must be able to envisage a different future and speak about it in such a persuasive way that this speaking alters people's thinking and behaviour towards achieving that better future.

This thesis asserts that this proliferation of types of public intervention and engagement, together with the questioning about who represents who and what

[17] See the answering letters to Chomsky's piece "The Responsibility of Intellectuals" in the *New York Review of Books'* 23 February 1967, criticising him for not providing alternatives for those opposed to the Vietnam War http://www.nybooks.com/articles/12172 accessed 5 November 2008.

interests, is indicative of a crisis about what constitutes legitimate authority in a post-colonial state. The exclusion and alienation that the colonial and apartheid experiences generated live on in an ongoing suspicion of Western-informed knowledge practices, which for centuries positioned the indigenous people as uncivilised natives with no useful knowledge practices of their own and then as objects of a civilising project into western modes of knowledge acquisition. This suspicion is sharpened by the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings, which opened up the past for scrutiny of the atrocities committed by the apartheid government and allowed the dispossessed to speak for the first time in their thousands; and is heightened by global debates about the spread of human rights, the inclusion of the marginalised peoples of the world into proper nationhood and the struggles in many democratic states for full citizenship and recognition. Redress and restitution are high on the agenda in South Africa, not just officially, but also unofficially. There is a strident rejection of the old categories that dominated South African social life ("racism, wealth monopoly, cultural appropriation, white hegemony and economic injustice" to use the words of Native Club proponent Sandile Memela, a former journalist and now media spokesperson for the Department of Arts and Culture, 21 May 2006: 10) and a whole new cadre of intellectuals is being called on to shake off the shackles of the past, draw on their indigenous knowledge and wisdom, and by this different set of insights, help guide the new nation into the future. As Mamphela Ramphele has said in a recent debate on South African intellectuals in the journal *Pretexts*: "Speaking on behalf of the 'native' is no longer possible. Natives have found their voice and speak for themselves" (2000: 105).

The political economy of 'public intellectual'

In the Australian context David Carter has considered the rising prominence of both public intellectuals and the talk about them. Carter calls this a "general 'ramping up' of public discourse". Side-stepping the terms of this debate Carter takes a different approach by "trying to define the 'economy' of the public intellectual":

> In other words, the structural or institutional context – the relations between the market, the media and the academy – within which the new public intellectuals have not only emerged but thrived. My premise is that public intellectuals need to be understood as structural or institutional effects, not merely in terms of individual capacities (online journal no page numbers).

He points out that simultaneously there has been a "boom" in the presence of public intellectuals and in the publicity surrounding them and a great amount of talk about the decline of the public sphere. This sense of boom *and* crisis is indicative, says Carter of a social shift. Locating these events historically in an Australia dealing with the integration of minorities and public debates about the treatment of the Aboriginal population, Carter sees a political moment in which many of these 'intellectuals' are also writers of highly aestheticised and highly ethical literary works which are being used by their audiences to respond to a demanding historical moment. Carter's interest as a literary theorist is obviously in those intellectuals who are writers and produce literary products and he offers valuable insights for my study of Krog, but he also remarks:

> The trope of crisis produces the *need* for public intellectuals in the first place, and thus we shouldn't be surprised to find the two together – the rise of intellectuals and the narrative of decline. At the same time, given this basic conceit, it is almost impossible for self-elected public intellectuals to recognise how these same changes have created significant new public roles and new media for their interventions or to acknowledge their own dependence upon the commercial media and upon their own institutional locations and disciplinary training.

It is exactly this focus on new public roles and media interventions which are important dimensions of any investigation of the trope of the public intellectual. It is also the intention of my study to side-step the prevailing discourse on public intellectuals and the terms already set by the debate which are usually used to judge a public intellectual performance. I intend to engage instead with the 'political economy' of how such a persona is created. Interestingly it is in studies of celebratisation that one finds just such an attunement to the political economy of the extraordinary individual operating in the public domain.

Public intellectual as proxy democratic individual

I turn to Rojek (2001), a professor of sociology and culture, Turner (2004) and Marshall (1997), both cultural studies theorists, and Giles (2000), a psychologist, to get a better understanding of the creation, function and power invested in such an individual. Rojek, Turner and Marshall root their explications of the situation of the individual who stands out in public, in understandings of the intertwined workings of the public sphere, the democratic state, ideals of "the people" as the source of power and legitimacy in modern life, and the market-place of goods and values that is

capitalism. In their work the surfacing of an individual above the masses is seen as a necessary consequence of processes that are embedded paradoxically in the rhetoric of the equality and similarity of all human beings. This kind of public figure is seen as a 'function' (in the Foucauldian sense) and a 'configuration' that 'houses' certain powers and possibilities, by these three theorists.

These theorists obviously do not necessarily refer specifically to the 'public intellectual' per se, but their studies which engage with different types of public personae and their imbrication in democractic and public sphere structures, cast a great deal of light on the matter. In his investigation of what he calls "the public *individual*", Marshall seeks to understand how power is articulated through particular figures in the public sphere. Rojek calls the person in the public eye a "nodal point of articulation between the social and the personal" (2001: 16) and he locates the emergence of this kind of individual in three intertwined historical processes: the democratisation of society, the decline in organised religion and the commodification of everyday life (2001: 13). So the first point to be made, as both Marshall and Rojek point out, is that the individual with a public platform is not a lone achiever (as the genre of biography usually celebrates them) who has risen by effort and excellence from among the masses, but a formation which is tightly wound up with changing "collective configurations" (Marshall 1997: xii).

In the political shift to democratic nation-states the "ideology of the common man" (Rojek 2001: 13) became a powerful rhetoric of legitimacy configuring the public domain. The legitimacy of the "ascribed" (2001: 28) status of the nobles and elites gave way to the "achieved" status now available to every human being in the polity. "The decline of court society of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries involved the transference of cultural capital to self-made men and women," says Rojek (2001: 13). This rhetoric of democracy equalises and makes level every human's power and potential. It also, paradoxically, confirms the unique individuality of each human being. This is, as Turner, says, "the demotic turn" (2004: 82) in history and in media where the ordinary person and their experience is celebrated as immeasurably valuable. As Marshall says: "[Celebrity] status operates at the very centre of the culture as it resonates with conceptions of individuality that are the ideological ground of Western culture" (1997: x).

But while the increasingly powerful rhetoric of the value of the common person was gaining ground, so too was the political power, and concomitant anxiety about control, of the urbanising masses. In chapter two of *Celebrity and Power* Marshall looks at how the "power of the crowd for the transformation of society was realised" in France, England and the United States but goes on to say that "the inclusion of the mob or the masses in the processes of political change orchestrated by elites necessitated the related need to control the crowd" (1997: 29). An invisible and unspoken (and even bad faith) compromise for the problem of governmentality is reached in the public sphere: while it is simply impossible for every human being in a western-style democracy to exercise their unique voice in the public domain as part of their democratic birthright, it is possible for them to vicariously enter this domain via the voices of distinctiveness who come from their ranks as having "achieved" status and which represent this ideal.

> …the public personality or celebrity conveys the meaning that his or her actions both are significant and can produce change. Celebrities, because they emerge from a legitimation process that is connected to the people, and because their emergence is not necessarily purely associated with merit or lineage, represent active elements of the social sphere. They are the proxies of change. Celebrities, then, often define the construction of change and transformation in contemporary culture, the very instability of social categories and hierarchies in contemporary culture. They are the active agents that in the public spectacle stand in for the people (Marshall 1997: 244).

So each one of us is an acknowledged individual, but only some of us are permitted to act out, or speak out of, our individuality in public. The important point that Marshall is making here is about the meaning attached to the word "representative". The individual permitted to speak in the public domain is not speaking *for* a group or *on behalf of* any of the marginalised voices in the usual socio-political sense. This person is speaking only out of their own individuality and idiosyncratic experience. But the fact that they do and can, validates the belief in the ideal of individuality and its necessary expression in western-democratic cultures, and the concomitant ideals of freedom of expression and the formation of opinion as the quintessential checks on political power. Such public figures represent those *not speaking* in the sense that they stand for the promise that such speech is owed to everyone in a democracy. They are proxies – not so much for others as for a precious idea which must not be brought into doubt in modern democratic public spheres. In this sense the words "representative"

and "individual" form an oxymoron which underlies the paradox at the heart of the construction of the western-democratic citizen-subject. Says Marshall, the public figure "embodies the empowerment of the people to shape the public sphere symbolically" (1997: 7).

Marshall goes on to underline this *relationship* between speaker and audience by calling the person endowed with voice and action the "audience-subject". Much as Warner claims there is no "public" without a text, Marshall is claiming that without a collective investment in the singular person operating in the public sphere, this position of public individual would not exist.

> The [public individual], then, is an embodiment of a discursive battleground on the norms of individuality and personality within a culture. The celebrity's strength or power as a discourse on the individual is operationalised only in terms of the power and position of the audience that has allowed it to circulate (1997: 65).

It is also extremely important that this representative individual use the material of their true and authentic self in public so as to verify the underlying belief in the importance of this self as a proxy for every individual. David Giles says:

> In modern Western culture, it might seem that the individual self is such a taken-for-granted reality that its origins require little discussion. However, there has been an awareness in recent years of just how context-bound our notion of 'self' is, and a realisation that many of the concepts surrounding self and individuality that we have so long regarded as universal and essential to human nature may simply be cultural artefacts of our present historical situation (2000: 72-3).

The market of sentiment and affect

If at this point we are reminded again by Hannah Arendt that the movement of the personal, affectual and particular into public domains is an inevitable outcome of the trajectory of social change set in motion by the events of the 18th century, then we are going to see these characteristics emerge in the public individuals of our public spheres. Part of the anxiety about the power of the crowd or mass in the shift to democratic governance, is the worry that crowds can act in ways that are emotional and irrational. Marshall argues (in his chapter dealing with "The Embodiment of Affect in Political Culture") that:

> there are public forms of subjectivity that are privileged in contemporary culture because they are connected to particular ends and interests in the organisation of power… there has been

> intensified interest in the disciplining of the mass, or, in its metaphorical construction, the crowd in the past two hundred years. This intensity has worked to produce a system of celebrity that is positioned as a means of comprehending and congealing the mass into recognisable and generally non-threatening forms (1997: 203-4).

Marshall sees that politicians in particular have harnessed the techniques of celebrity to "house the popular will" in order to do two things: build "reasoned, rational legitimacy" and "affective consensus" (1997: 205).

Historically, as political configurations shifted to legitimation by the masses of people, so did the capitalist notion of markets take hold, also as a break on unfettered political power. Marshall says "The linchpin of legitimacy in consumer capitalism is the consumer. The centrepiece of contemporary political culture is the citizen. In contemporary culture, there is a convergence in subjectivity toward the identification and construction of the citizen as a consumer" (1997: 205). The inter-penetration of these two kinds of subjects, citizen and consumer, and the interpenetration of market logics and political logics is rife in our public domains and media. Rojek shows how capitalist market organisation is not just about the trade in goods and commodities but also how it permeates social relationships by allowing for a "market in sentiments" (2001: 14). He says:

> Capitalist organisation requires individuals to be both desiring objects and objects of desire. For economic growth depends on the consumption of commodities, and cultural integration depends on the renewal of the bonds of social attraction (2001: 14).

The two parallel and contradictory impetuses we have seen above (the levelling equality of all humans and the uniqueness of every individual) are at work here again. Capitalist markets in commodities depend on the creation of a desire which drives consumption, this desire is greatly enhanced by the rise of style and the fashioning of the individual self, and the modelling of that self on public representations of individuality. The logic of capitalism requires constantly changing wants and desires in order to feed the production of new commodities, so as Rojek points out, desires must be "alienable" and "transferable". He says celebrities "humanise" the process of commodity consumption and also that they themselves become commodities in that "consumers desire to possess them" (2001: 15). How can this insight be applied to the public intellectual or public figure operating not so much in the frenzy of media attention on their person and actions but on their thoughts and ideas? Rojek says:

> Politically and culturally, the ideology of the common man elevates the public sphere as the arena par excellence, in which the dramatic personality and achieved style inscribed distinction and grabbed popular attention (2001: 14).

The point to be made here is that the performance of the public figure in the public sphere is also one that is admired for its style, flair and excellence of articulation. While the ideas expounded may very well be the source of debate and deliberation, the individual him/herself can also be consumed for their style, dress, gestures, ideas, etc. as a commodity. And while no money might change hands, the fact is that the "market of sentiment" is active when public figures are being used as materials to construct subjectivities, adopt positions and adapt behaviours, and participate vicariously in a public or in a mass subjectivity. On the spectrum from rational exposition of serious ideas through to frivolous and media-generated images of celebrity, there is no dividing line in the public domain between who gets consumed as a public actor and what is being consumed. Warner puts it like this:

> In everyday life… we have access to the realm of political systems in the same way we have access to the circulation of commodities… the contexts of commodities and politics share the same media and, at least in part, the same metalanguage for constructing our notion of what a public or a people is (2002: 170).

Marshall adds another important point about the representative individual's right to "house" affect. Following Foucault, he says:

> The celebrity… allows for the configuration, positioning and proliferation of certain discourses about the individual and individuality in contemporary culture. The celebrity offers a discursive focus for the discussion of realms that are considered outside the bounds of public debate in the most public fashion. The celebrity system is a way in which the sphere of the irrational, emotional, personal and affective is contained and negotiated in contemporary culture (1997: 72-3).

Proxies of agency

The important point to be drawn from the work of these four theorists is that the theoretical focus on celebratisation and its necessary connection to the operations of the public sphere allows us to see that a representative individual, public intellectual, or celebrity is given agency because they are important proxies of the *idea of the people*. Their use of agency in public allows us to believe that they have the power to make change happen, thereby feeding the important democratic principle and belief

that each person has agency and can be an agent of transformation, and thus keeping alive the vital democratic idea that power resides actually in the mass of people. Says Marshall:

> The celebrity is both a proxy for someone else and an actor in the public sphere. To describe this dual role, the celebrity can be defined as an agent. The term *agent* expresses a tension in meaning… the proxy relates to his or her close proximity to the institutions of power and his or her dependence on those institutions for elevation to the public sphere… from this proxy, the celebrity's agency is the humanisation of institutions, the simplification of complex meaning structures, and a principal site of a public voice of power and influence. On another level, the celebrity expresses a more radical conception of human agency as it has developed in the Marxian tradition… the public personality … conveys the meaning that his or her actions both are significant and can produce change. Celebrities, because they emerge from a legitimation process that is connected to the people, and because their emergence is not necessarily purely associated with merit or lineage, represent active elements of the social sphere. They are the proxies of change… they are the active agents that in the public spectacle stand in for the people (1997: 243-4).

The intellectual and power – Foucault's warning

When questioned about the role of intellectuals in the world today (1980b: 126), Foucault marked the shift since the second world war from the "universal" intellectual to the "specific" intellectual:

> For a long period, the 'left' intellectual spoke and was acknowledged the right of speaking in the capacity of master of truth and justice. He was heard, or purported to make himself heard, as the spokesman of the universal. To be an intellectual meant something like being the consciousness/conscience of us all… Some years have now passed since the intellectual was called upon to play this role. A new mode of the 'connection between theory and practice' has been established. Intellectuals have got used to working, not in the modality of the 'universal', the 'exemplary', the 'just-and-true-for-all', but within specific sectors, at the precise points where their own conditions of life or work situate them… This has undoubtedly given them a much more immediate and concrete awareness of struggles… (1980b: 126).

Remarking that this universal intellectual was most often also a writer and that there still exists a nostalgia for those who can speak of "new philosophy" and "a new world-view", Foucault, nevertheless, is of the opinion that a "reconsideration" of the function of the specific intellectual engaged in particular struggles is very important (1980b: 130). Taking issue with the kind of intellectual who has come to be popularly characterised as "speaking truth to power", Foucault points out:

> "… truth isn't outside power, or lacking in power… truth isn't the reward of free spirits, the child of protracted solitude, nor the privilege of those who have succeeded in liberating themselves. Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and the instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (1980b: 131).

Thus Foucault questions at the very level of being authorised to speak, the truth and the implicatedness in bourgeois systems of power, the person who brings theory or thought to bear on the struggles of the masses in order to give those political strategies the grounding in universal truths. In a conversation with Deleuze, Foucault goes further:

> Intellectuals are themselves agents of this system of power – the idea of their responsibility for "consciousness" and discourse forms part of the system. The intellectual's role is no longer to place himself "somewhat ahead and to the side" in order to express the stifled truth of the collectivity; rather, it is to struggle against the forms of power that transform him into its object and instrument in the sphere of "knowledge", "truth", "consciousness", and "discourse" (1980c: 207-208).

When questioned about what an intellectual could be doing to be useful in [militant] political struggles, Foucault answered:

> The intellectual no longer has to play the role of an advisor. The project, tactics and goals to be adopted are a matter for those who do the fighting. What the intellectual can do is to provide instruments of analysis, and at present this is the historian's essential role. What's effectively needed is a ramified, penetrative perception of the present, one that makes it possible to locate lines of weakness, strong points, positions where the instances of power have secured and implanted themselves by a system of organisation dating back over 150 years. In other words, a topological and geological survey of the battlefield – that is the intellectual's role. But as for saying. "Here is what you must do!", certainly not (1980b: 62).

From these statements I conclude that Foucault considers a public intellectual practice socially useful when a person with particular expertise to put at the service of those engaged in a struggle, acknowledges: firstly, that their power to speak with authority is implicated in already existing relations of power and regimes of truth; secondly, that their task is not to give the legitimacy of universal truth to the struggle but to harness their expertise towards an analysis and problematisation of the particular

situation; and then, thirdly, to place this analysis at the service of those who will choose a course of action. Presumably the specific intellectual is then making overt and visible not only their own imbrication in power and 'truth' but also making visible the complexity of both the situation being fought and the dangerousness of the courses of action that can be taken. Kritzman remarks:

> If the intellectual, as Foucault conceives of him, is to engage in political action, he can only do so by transcending the forms of power that transform him into a discursive instrument of truth within which "theory" is just another form of oppression (1994: 29).

In Foucault's formulation the public intellectual is a public person with expertise in making visible the regimes 'truth' and 'power' and not simply just 'speaking truth to power'.

Paul Bové, in an essay on Foucault's analysis of the power play inherent in the maintenance of the intellectual position in society, comments that:

> What seems to be at risk is the image that intellectuals (and others) have of themselves as intellectuals, and the very means by which they sustain their role in society as representatives of perspicacious intelligence and as producers of symbols and values for society, the state, the party and the 'disciplines' (1994: 222).

He says:

> Foucault actually offers very little support to those who want to preserve or defend this leading intellectual role. In fact, I would suggest, Foucault's thinking about and analysis of power is fully intelligible only when seen as a challenge to the legitimacy of the leading intellectual as a social subject (1994: 222).

With this in mind, I note, however, that within the South African public domain the discourse about the 'role' of the public intellectual still contains the desire that these public sphere actors should speak in universalising and socially-useful ways, and often on behalf of those who cannot speak themselves in the public domain. In Bové's words, social actors that use their "perspicacious intelligence" and produce "symbols and values" that mobilise and animate society continue to have high value. Peter Osborne's insights (1996: xii) about the intellectual's "claims on the present", the "value of thought and ideas" and the need for a "totalising social vision" – while they are embedded in classic public sphere ideals, still hold power as mobilising ideas and desires, and are still considered useful in a post-colonial public sphere. In surveying the lineage of intellectuals from 1899 to Said, Osborne says that while all sorts of

provisions of public sphere and intellectual performance have been contested what has "stuck" is the "distinctive aspiration to universality, making the intellectual the exemplary figure for humanity as a whole" (1996: xii).

Helen Small puts it like this:

> …There is nevertheless an evident desire… for a language of political and cultural life that can be in some measure holistic or at least coherently generalising. That desire may, I am suggesting, be one reason for the curious persistence of the old narratives of decline and/or imminent revitalisation of the intellectual – and the difficulty for the critic of that literature in getting beyond the merely diagnostic… speaking about intellectuals has, in other words, been a way of posing the perennially troubling question of how much what we say matters (2002: 11).

In surveying the debates on intellectuals in the South African public sphere, it is evident that the multiplicity of performers and performances being called into action is indicative of a crisis of legitimacy and authority; nevertheless, there is also a desire being expressed for the need for exemplary human beings, who will speak in ways that are universalising and visionary and not merely particular; and there is a concomitant anxiety about whether speaking has power and matters at all in spaces filled with government deafness and the proliferation of forms of mass media.

In dealing with the case study of Krog, a poet, journalist, book author, a literary figure and newsmaker, who herself eschews the appellation 'public intellectual'[18], I have chosen to study someone who does not occupy the classic or normative position – she does not set out to "speak truth to power", neither is she one of the new types of South African intellectual being called into the public domain, but she is, nevertheless, acclaimed as a voice worth listening to. If she has been able, over four decades, to continue, in this fractious and fraught public domain, to have presence, voice,

[18] Email: Mon 2004/05/24 12:05pm
dear anthea
... the use of the word intellectual makes me uncomfortable because i believe that the reason why people like to read what i write is because i am asking the things they are also asking.
Anyway – it may be useful to remember that for thirty years of my life i produced poetry that was negatively described as politically naive, too engaged and therefore temporal etc. as every poetry volume i have ever written had a clear political section. but the label intellectual has only been used suddenly in the past three or four months. what does this say: a poet is not an intellectual until she writes articles? an afrikaans poet cannot be an intellectual? a journalist can only be an intellectual if she is also a poet/writer?
good luck
antjie krog

platform and public, then what is the source of her legitimation as a public figure? This is the central question this thesis sets out to investigate by positioning the public intellectual not as an extraordinary agent with gifts and skills but as a structural or institutional effect in the public spheres of democracies, and as an agent located within a field of possibilities.

A more adequate conception of the public intellectual

From the above I take the following points into my investigation of Krog:

1. That the persona of the 'public intellectual' has a lineage and history that is embedded within the growth of the idea of democratic states. This person is a function of the need in democratic states to deal with millions of citizens who have aspirations for voice and individuality, and so operates as a proxy (in many different ways, as these theorists show) for these millions.
2. That once this person has entered the public domain they do so with their distinctive individuality, style and personal performance. While Habermas might decry this characteristic as unnecessary to the transfer of important information needed for public opinion to form, it is in Said's understanding, a strength of such an individual's words and actions, and as Marshall and Turner point out, an increasingly important dimension of the promise of democracy that each individual is valuable. This person is also a mechanism in society for housing affect.
3. The public person enables vicarious participation in the public spheres and enables others to participate in mass subjectivity by engaging as a public. Publics will consume not just this person's statements and works, but also their performance and person.
4. That talk in the media and by commentators of "decline" and "crisis" masks proliferation and change in roles. This change is inescapably economic and market-related and all the fields of action involved, media, political, literary or aesthetic, are all deeply embedded in the workings of the market. As I pointed out in my conclusion to the discussion of the public sphere, 'publicity' is a category that has returned powerfully to public life, but with a completely different inflection from Habermas' 18th century public spheres.

5. That as Said points out, and Foucault emphasises, the public persona is irrevocably located in regimes of truth and power. In Said's formulation the intellectual should always struggle to be free of this implicatedness, or must strive to be conscious of it and its effects. In Foucault's formulation the intellectual must stop trying to be exemplary or speaking in universalising terms as those actions reinforce these regimes.
6. That as Carter shows, the modern-day writer intellectual, even while their works and publicity are embedded in the highly-developed economics of literary market functions, may still put into public the aesthetised and ethically-challenging, which give publics ways of engaging with crucial social issues.

III. Field theory, a nuanced explication of agency and creativity

> *The charismatic representation of the writer as 'creator' leads to bracketing out everything which is found inscribed in the position of author at the heart of the field of production and in the social trajectory which led her there: on the one hand, the genesis and structure of the totally specific social space in which the 'creator' is inserted and constituted as such, and where her 'creative project' itself is formed; and on the other hand, the genesis of the simultaneously generic and specific dispositions, common and singular, which she has imported into this position.*
> *Pierre Bourdieu 1995: 191.*

In seeking to understand in this thesis how Krog the poet, journalist and book author has had the power over four decades to "produce symbols and values" (Bové's description of the task of an intellectual, 1992: 222) which, while rooted in, also speak across race, culture, language and gender, in a rapidly altering South African social and political space, I have turned to field theory for the tools to help explicate this power and its enabling processes.

The analysis of the work of a writer usually takes the form of belief in "creative genius"; attention to "uniqueness and singularity" as "central properties of a 'creator'", and then a focus on the "mediations through which social determinisms… fashioned the singular individuality" of that author (using the words of Bourdieu 1995: 186). Missing is what Bourdieu points to in *The Rules of Art*: the structure of specific social space in which the creator is inserted and constituted and where her

creative project itself is formed. Instead answers are found in searching for an "original project", a "founding myth" which tells a retrospective story of a "whole life as coherent" (1995: 187). Simon During explains this attitude as:

> To be a successful literary novelist was considered to require "genius" – a Goethean personality rich and unique enough to undersign the truth of the text's verisimilitude and experimentalism while remaining simple enough to retain a capacity for wonder, curiosity (a "thirst for life") and defamiliarisation. Genius required a zero-degree of consciousness that permitted the world to imprint itself on the artist's imagination… This imagination… could not be contained by social conventions and other artifices… (1992: 229-230).

By contrast, in this study, I take the Bourdieu position, that cultural work does not exist by itself, or purely as a result of creative effort, but in a "field of strategic possibilities" (1983: 312).

In multiple texts over a substantial period of time, Bourdieu has explicated his field theory for a range of social situations (1980, 1981, 1983, 1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 2002, 2005). This explication and application to all of social space "relies on the hypothesis that structural and functional homologies exist between all the fields" operating in social life (1995: 185). The three particular fields which have a major bearing on the study of Krog are the literary field, the political field and the media field. Other fields to also take account of are the field of power more generally, the intellectual field and the academic field. I will explain the theoretical components and ideas of field theory generally and then look in particular at the three fields Krog comes to operate in and which are key to her accumulation of the authority to become more than just a well-known writer.

Field

…human consciousness and thought are socially constituted… possibilities of action are socially and historically situated and defined.
Randal Johnson in Bourdieu 1993a: 19.

Bourdieu says in the *Rules of Art* that fields are "social microcosms, separate and autonomous spaces in which works are generated". Each field has a system of "objective relations" (which are often invisible) and allows for "particular cases of the possible". A field, Bourdieu quoting Foucault (1995: 197) says, is a social space of "strategic possibilities", and a site of struggle and the interplay of forces (1983: 312).

It is the field which generates methods, constructs objects (1995: 181) and ascribes value to people, positions, institutions and productions. The field provides the conditions which make knowledge possible, generates practice and representations of practice, and distributes power, struggles and strategies, interests, profits, resources and status (1981b: 257). He sums it up by saying a field is "a locus of social energy" (1993a: 78).

Bourdieu's preoccupation with understanding the complexity of agency informs field theory. He is concerned to describe the agent not as "structuralism's bearer of structure", nor as "the pure, knowing, neo-Kantian subject" (1995: 197), but as a "practical operator of constructions of the real" (1995: 180). In order to get a sense of this kind of agent, Bourdieu uses the terms "habitus" and "hexis" to explain the agent-field relationship. Habitus is a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. Dispositions are inculcated, structured, durable (in the body), generative and transposable across fields (Thompson in Bourdieu 2002a: 12). And, reflexively, the habitus is also a product of these dispositions. (2002a: 12-14). Practices and perceptions are produced by the relationship between habitus and field. Hexis is a term used to describe how such behaviours become effectively embodied. Thompson points out that neither habitus nor hexis can be thought of as a "model" or a "role". And Johnson points out that habitus does not preclude the possibility of strategic calculation on the part of agents (in Bourdieu 1993a: 5).

In his explication of field theory, Bourdieu has investigated to greater and lesser extents the workings of the literary field, the field of art, the political field and the scientific field. He has also ventured into larger configurations such as the "field of power", the field of cultural production, and towards the end of his life with collaborators, the media field. It is important to note that fields nest within fields: so both the literary field and the media field sit within the field of cultural production, and the political field and the field of cultural production are located with the field of power. Each field is a space of authority over what counts as valuable work and products and who count as recognised operators within the field.

Generally in society, Bourdieu claims, the field of power and the political field try to impose into all other fields the legitimate view of reality, and increasingly today

economic power is on the rise asserting its logic over all fields. Rodney Benson (1998: 488) says social organisation is structured around a basic opposition between economic and cultural power and this opposition plays out within fields. Bourdieu says that within each field there are practices located on a range from the "autonomous pole" through to the "heteronomous pole". The autonomous pole is where the immanent logics of the field hold sway and the resistance to external political influences and economic logic is strong and guides those operators and practices. So within the field of cultural production, avant garde poetry would be located at the autonomous end of the field. The heteronomous pole is open to the influence of politics, the mass market and other external logics. Mass media production would be a good example of a set of practices at this pole of the field of cultural production. All actors and institutions within fields compete for authority and autonomy because this gives them the power to assert competence, the capacity to speak, to act legitimately and with recognition, to set limits and to impose the definition of what constitutes their field of expertise and knowledge (Bourdieu 1981b). According to Benson:

> A field's autonomy is to be valued because it provides the pre-conditions for the full creative process proper to each field and ultimately resistance to the 'symbolic violence' exerted by the dominant system of hierarchisation (1998: 465).

Fields are also spaces where shifts of power and battles over authority take place constantly. Bourdieu says it is essential to note that field actors operate as much by belief or faith in the field's legitimacy as by bad faith (1980: 292) which denies the workings of power, economics and violence in the sustaining of the field (2002a: 75). He calls the investment in and the "collective misrecognition" (1980: 267) of the actual underpinnings of the field, the "illusio". This misrecognition extends to denying or making invisible the relations operating in the field and suppressing the recognition that fields also operate to create silences, impossibilities, exclusions and limitations. Within the cultural field the illusio also upholds the fetishism of art works and productions and the belief in genius and the creator.

While success within a field for an agent requires a clever figuring out, and then negotiating of, the operations of the field – a process smoothed by alignment with those institutions and people that have field authority – there is also the factor that agents must distinguish themselves, their projects and products in order to draw the

attention and recognition of the field. This, Bourdieu calls “distinction”, and it is particularly sought after as a characteristic in fields where autonomy is high. Distinction is one of the ways change happens within fields through the search for and promotion of individualism and difference. Another way change happens is through new entrants into the field who arrive, establish themselves and challenge the status quo. In this way a field produces both control and censorship and innovation and rupture.

To enter a field, negotiate a field and achieve recognition is a complex process for an agent. This is made easier by association with the field’s “consecrators”, those people of authority who can recognise, confer value on and introduce and promote the person and work of the newcomer. A consecrator is someone in the field who has authority, credit and connections, and the moments at which the newcomer is enabled to make significant transitions into, within and across a field are called “consecration” (see 1993a: 76-77; 1981b: 265). While conformity to the field’s logic is crucial, no writer can make their mark in the field of cultural production without exhibiting the distinction that sets an individual apart in their work from all others. This effort marks both the individual and the field. “To exist in a field – a literary field, an artistic field – is to differentiate oneself,” says Bourdieu, “… he or she functions like a phoneme in a language: he or she exists by virtue of a difference from other[s]…” (2005: 39).

As an agent works their way into and through the field they are on a trajectory which is a path of neither “submission to, or freedom from, the field” (Benson 1998: 467, reinforcing Bourdieu’s carefully-poised understanding of agency). Trajectory in field theory is understood as a combination of “disposition and position”. The successful negotiation of a field, says Bourdieu, is greatly enhanced by the accumulation of “capital”, the credit of the field which is bestowed on the production of knowledge and skills and products which are considered valuable. Capital takes three forms: economic, cultural and symbolic. Symbolic capital is acquired when prestige and honour attach to the works and person of the field actor thus giving that person authority and “the power of constructing reality”. Bourdieu points out that those with the most symbolic power in a field have all the forms of capital; they dominate the field and the market (cultural and economic capital) and in some exceptional cases

they attain a status within "general culture" as well, thus allowing them to use this symbolic power beyond their field and across the social space.

The literary field

Who authorises the author? The field.
Pierre Bourdieu 1980: 26.

Literature, art and their respective producers do not exist independently of a complex institutional framework which authorises, enables, empowers and legitimises them.
Randal Johnson in Bourdieu 1993a: 10.

Bourdieu says of the literary field that it is not a "vague social background" or even a milieu that informs the study of personalities but rather it is a "veritable social universe" of "entirely specific struggles, notably concerning the question of knowing who is part of the universe, who is a real writer and who is not" (1993a: 163-4). He goes on:

> The important fact, for the interpretation of works, is that this autonomous social universe functions somewhat like a prism which *refracts* every external determination: demographic, economic or political events are always retranslated according to the specific logic of the field… (1993: 164).

The literary is a field of high autonomy from economic and political logics and its strategies and trajectories are highly individual and highly differentiated (Johnson in Bourdieu 1993a: 12). The major struggle taking place in this field is over who can legitimately be called a writer, and over what is legitimate literary practice (1993a: 12). The field depends on the misrecognition of authors as 'creators' (1993a: 4, 1995: 186) and on the misrecognition of works of literature as having intrinsic value. It suppresses questions such as who authorises the author and who creates the creator (1993a: 76). The field also operates on a disavowal of power and economics and "in this world publicity is euphemised", says Bourdieu (1993a: 76). And it is important to note that the population of authors and producers is subject to limits, particularly when it comes to canonisation, classification and hierarchisation over which there are fierce struggles (1995: 186).

It is in the literary and art fields that the pressure to "make one's name" is particularly strong. Bourdieu comments: "The quasi-magical potency of the signature is the power

bestowed on certain individuals to mobilise the symbolic energy produced by the functioning of the whole field" (1993a: 81). "In short," says Bourdieu,

> the fundamental stake in literary struggles is the monopoly of literary legitimacy… the monopoly of the power to say with authority who is authorised to call himself a writer… it is the monopoly of the power to consecrate producers or products… (1983: 323).

It is also important to note that critique and commentary on literary works are a crucial method by which the field continues to generate definitions over what is legitimate literary production. Bourdieu says there is an array of institutions for "recording, preserving and analysing, and fellow-travellers contributing their reflexive discourse (intellectuals, historians, philosophers who interpret and over-interpret and invent the distinguishing practices on which survival in the field depends)" (1993a: 109). This discourse about work is "not mere accompaniment but a stage in the production of its meaning and value" (Bourdieu 1993a: 110).

In relation to the field of power, this field (although highly autonomous within) is in a dominated section of the wider social space because of its non-conformity to political and economic logics. The actors in this field, says Bourdieu:

> …occupy a dominated position in the dominant class, they are owners of a dominated form of power at the interior of the sphere of power. This structurally contradictory position is absolutely critical for understanding the positions taken by writers and artists, notably in struggles in the social world… The literary and artistic fields attract a particularly strong proportion of individuals who possess all the properties of the dominant class *minus one*: money… the structural ambiguity of their position in the field of power leads writers and painters… to maintain an ambivalent relationship with the dominant class within the field of power… as well as with the dominated, 'the people'. In a similar way, they form an ambiguous image of their own position in social space and of their social function: this explains the fact that they are subject to great fluctuation, notably in the area of politics…" (1993a: 164-65).

This is a very useful tool for understanding the often-occupied position of political dissidence which is a hallmark of the literary field and applicable in my study of Krog. In addition, it helps explain why literary field agents have an ambivalent – and often complicit – relationship to the mass-based public and to the market. The field espouses "values of disinterestedness and denegation of the commercial" (1995: 142) at the same time as being dependant on various cultural industries and the trade and distribution of cultural products.

> …the opposition between art and money ('the commercial') is the generative principle of most of the judgements that… claim to establish the frontier between what is art and what is not, between 'bourgeois' art and 'intellectual' art, between 'traditional' art and 'avant-garde' art (1995: 162).

The political field

> *…the political field is… the site par excellence in which agents seeking to form and transform their visions of the world and thereby the world itself…*
> *John Thompson in Bourdieu 2002a: 26.*

In his editor's introduction to *Language and Symbolic Power*, Thompson remarks that the political field is the "site par excellence in which words are actions and the symbolic character of power is at stake" (2002a: 26). The agents in the political field are constantly engaged in contestation over their particular constructions of reality and visions of what society should be, and over the support of those on whom their power depends. While all the characteristics of fields operate here too (as in other fields, agents must negotiate the inner logics of this field, serve apprenticeships and master its knowledges and methods), the interesting distinction about the political field is that its actors must relate to and receive their legitimation from those not within the field. And because politics has become increasingly professionalised, these agents have become removed from those whom they represent and who give them their mandates. Thompson says they must appeal to "non-professionals" for the "credit" which then allows them to enter into contestation against other political players (2002a: 28). Politicians are therefore vulnerable to suspicion, scandal and disenchantment. Bourdieu says:

> …political parties must on the one hand develop and impose a representation of the social world capable of obtaining the support of the greatest possible number of citizens, and on the other hand win positions (whether of power or not) capable of ensuring that they can wield power over those who grant that power to them (2002a: 181).

The extraordinary power in this field attached to words, statements, slogans and promises, is reinforced by the Bourdieu comment that:

> The power of the ideas that he proposes is measured not, as in the domain of science, by their truth-value (even if they owe part of their power to his capacity to convince people that he is possession of the truth), but by the power of mobilisation that they contain… in politics, 'to say is to do'…" (2002a: 190).

Political capital is credit based on "credence or belief and recognition", says Bourdieu (2002: 192) and "political clout" is the "power of mobilisation" (2002: 194). Along with this goes "personal capital" – fame or renown – and which is "based on the fact of being known and recognised in person" (2002a: 194).

The media field

In Bourdieu's conception of field theory the activities and practices of the news media fall into the general field of cultural production (Bourdieu and Nice 1980). The field of cultural production includes in its range large-scale mass production through to avant garde art production. Journalism with its populist subject matter and mass audiences is situated at the "heteronomous pole" of the field; that is, it is strongly dominated by the external pressure of economic power, which Bourdieu insists has a "powerful determinative effect… in the contemporary historical context" (according to Benson 1998: 488). But while journalism operates under these external pressures, it also (along with politics) seeks to apply a pressure of its own across society – "the legitimate social vision" (1998: 466). In addition, journalism as a practice has the particular hallmark of mediating knowledge and power across fields and through society, so much so that politics and other practices employ the news media as a primary vehicle to distribute important information to general publics. Says media theorist Nick Couldry:

> The journalistic field has always occupied a pivotal role in the field of cultural production because of its specific role in circulating to a wider audience the knowledges of other, more specialised fields (2003a: 657).

Benson and Neveu emphasise the influence on and relation to other fields that journalism exercises:

> Transformations of the journalistic field matter, Bourdieu argues, precisely because of the central position of the journalistic field in the larger field of power, as part of an ensemble of centrally located fields – also including social sciences and politics (both state and parties or associations) – that compete to impose the 'legitimate vision of the social world'. Because fields are closely intertwined and because journalism in particular is such a crucial mediator among all fields, as the journalistic field has become more commercialised and thus more homologous with the economic field, it increases the power of the heteronomous pole within each of the fields, producing a convergence among all the fields and pulling them closer to the commercial pole in the larger field of power (2005: 6).

According to Benson, journalism's cross-field activities give it a further capacity (one not usually available to fields other than the political) – "the power to 'consecrate', that is, name an event, person, or idea as worthy of wider consideration". He says:

> …the extent to which a particular medium or media enterprise is able to exercise such consecrating power is an indicator of its relative weight within the [journalism] field (1998: 469).

The field theory term "consecration" – which Bourdieu uses to describe the power that important actors have *within* fields of conferring legitimacy on producers and productions (Bourdieu 1983: 323) – is picked up here and used to explain the extraordinary power of media *across fields* to impose agendas and ideas on the political, social and cultural domains. Benson points out that historically the serious journalism of print used to have the consecrating power of media in society but television with its reach into home lives, audiences of millions and economic weight has both usurped and extended this power: "It is television that has helped give journalism a wider reach and capacity to transform the fields with which it interacts" (1998: 472).

In seeking to understand this disruptive power of media attention, and how this attention can attach to a human being and confer status, it is useful to look at what Bourdieu (1983: 331-2) calls the "three competing principles of legitimacy". These are: 1. the recognition by other producers in the autonomous field; 2. the taste of the dominant class and by bodies that sanction this taste; and 3. popular legitimacy – "consecration bestowed by the choice of ordinary consumers, the mass audience". It is because of the mass media's alignment with economic logics which permeate the field of power and its mass-based audiences, that media attention becomes a distinctive power with the qualities of consecration and therefore can bestow a particular type on capital of those caught in its glare.

This has led some media theorists to coin a new term for this power. Patrick Champagne uses the term "media capital" (2005: 662) and Couldry goes further by calling it "media meta-capital" and says that this describes the media's "definitional power across the whole of social space" (2003a: 669). Couldry uses this term to capture the notion of a "new type of capital" which crosses fields, imposes social visions and consecrates people, ideas and agendas but which does not necessarily

depend alone, as in other more autonomous fields, on its own field's "cultural capital" (knowledge, professionalism and accumulation of expertise) for its value. Couldry says:

> …some concentrations of symbolic power are so great that they dominate the whole social landscape; as a result, they seem so natural that they are misrecognised, and their underlying arbitrariness becomes difficult to see. In this way, symbolic power moves from being merely local power (the power to construct this statement, or make this work of art) to being a general power, what Bourdieu once called a 'power of constructing [social] reality'… such symbolic power legitimates key categories with both cognitive and social force … this power is relevant also to the wider field of power, and indeed, to social space as a whole (2003a: 664).

Couldry explains that media meta-capital would also account for the way in which media influence what counts as capital in each field (for example the pressure exerted by media on cultural producers and intellectuals to speak to large audiences and produce work that is economically of value) and the media's legitimation of influential representations of, and categories for understanding the social world, which are then taken up in within particular fields (2005: 668). A very useful insight arising from this theorising is that:

> By altering what counts as symbolic capital in particular fields, media also affect the exchange rate between the capital competed for in different fields… so media-based symbolic capital developed in one field can under certain conditions be directly exchanged for symbolic capital in another field (2003a: 669).

Bourdieu's field theory as adapted by media theorists is a useful means to sketch the large processes which enable media power to affect the social landscape, but in order to deal with the media texts generated on Krog herself and to make conclusions about their effects, I need also to marry this large-scale theory to media theory methods. In media theory the very useful concepts of news values, framing, agenda-setting and priming or cueing, are helpful in explicating how media attention comes to be focused on a particular individual or issue, and stories made that then convey to a general public a sense of the importance and noteworthiness of that person or issue.

News values: While many different theorists have drawn up many different lists of news values, it is generally agreed that factors such as conflict, negativity, sensation, surprise, bad news, enormity, calamity, proximity and relevance to readers, and any activity involving elite people or elite nations, will attract the attention of the news

media (Harcup and O'Neill 2001: 262-264, 279). I think it most helpful for this essay not to try to synthesise a list but to draw on Harcup and O'Neill's insight that news values are a "predictive pattern which shows us how stories will be treated". They quote Stuart Hall, saying "news values are a deep structure or a cultural map that journalists use to help them make sense of the world" (Hall 1982: 79 in Harcup and O'Neill 2001: 265). So in picking from the overwhelming amount of material that reality offers up daily, journalists employ what are often quite unconscious criteria for deciding what gets made into a report. Says Fowler "the formation of news events, and the formation of news values, is in fact a reciprocal, dialectical process…" (1991: 17). News values are the lenses journalists use to survey the world – simultaneously recognising a 'news event' [or 'news maker'] and creating it by doing so.

Framing: Then, having made those choices, next in the story-making process, comes framing – which is the mechanism used to embed meaning into a story. Reese says: "Frames are organising principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (2007: 150). Reese is insistent that frames both organise and structure meaning, and that while they "snag related ideas in their net", they also "define some ideas as out and others in" (2007: 150). It is important to note that frames are "instruments of emotional arousal as well as edification" (Kinder 2007: 159).

Agenda-setting: Once the story is published or broadcast it is now on the media agenda, which according to Dearing and Rogers is a "set of issues that are communicated in a hierarchy of importance" (1996: 2). Agenda-setting is the way media signal to their readers and listeners the value and priority of certain people and issues. Dearing and Rogers say:

> The agenda-setting effect is not the result of receiving one or a few messages but is due to the aggregate impact of a very large number of messages, each of which has a different content but all of which deal with the same general issue (1996: 14-15).

In agenda-setting – the purpose of which is to influence the public as to what in society deserves attention, and thereby to affect policy or bring about action – *repetition* is extremely important as a technique. They say:

> …the *number* of news stories measure the relative salience of an issue of study on the media agenda (1996: 18)… repetition sets the public agenda

> through the continual hammering away of the media on the same issue… (1996: 36).

Agenda-setters are those people and institutions with the power to get their issues, framed their way, on to the media agenda. Dearing and Rogers point out that elite people, elite media institutions and elite organisations ordinarily have this power in a society. Once a story is on the media agenda and is being repeated in various forms, it is cueing, or priming, readers and listeners to take up particular opinions or institute certain actions, or at least, concede that the person/issue is important and noteworthy.

The key Bourdieu term "consecration" often undergoes a dilution in meaning in its use by media theorists and in its application to journalism's products. A reading of Bourdieu's work seems to elicit a particular meaning which is, that someone established in a field confers legitimacy upon an individual at a key, or ritualised, moment in order to enhance their status. But Bourdieu also says that there is a "process of consecration" (1983: 339) or a "series of signs of consecration" (1981b: 265), implying that as an individual moves through a field seeking to "win prestige" (1983: 312), there will be many moments in which the person experiences "consecration". The media theorists' use of this word sometimes reduces and generalises it to the mere *attention* of the news media, a definition that it too diffused and unspecific to be helpful when examining an individual's trajectory and accumulation of symbolic power. In that case the media theory ideas of news values, framing and agenda-setting, capture and explain this attention quite adequately. But in order to understand how persistent media attention translates into an attribute that gives Krog power, voice, and the capacity to speak across fields and to general society, I am going to keep in mind the etymological roots of the word "consecration" in its religious use, that is the components of ritual or ceremony must be present, the act and/or words of a consecrator must be a factor, and there must be a noticeable transition in position and trajectory for the consecrated as well as the attention of the media.

The other two very important field theory ideas to hold on to in dealing with the media field are that, just as in other fields, entry and emergence remain important moments in an individual's trajectory and that cross-over into the journalistic field has effects on the *field* itself. Benson underlines this by saying:

> In field theory, changes in the structure of fields are produced from two basic sources. Since to exist in a field is 'to differ', a 'dialectic of distinction' ensures the constant production of change as new actors attempt to enter and make their mark in the field… changes in closely related fields … set in motion by their own internal dynamics, can have important cross-over effects on the journalistic field, and vice versa (1998: 487-8).

If an individual, by differentiating her productive output but remaining true to the autonomous logic of the field, manages to accumulate cultural capital within the field (and preferably also economic capital), the resulting symbolic capital can be "converted" (Bourdieu 2002a: 17) into forms of capital acknowledged as valuable in other fields. Here, symbolic capital attached to an individual takes the form of "prestige, celebrity, consecration or honour" (Johnson, editor's introduction in Bourdieu 1993a: 7), a marketable, portable and convertible accoutrement. And when an individual's symbolic capital has been enhanced or created in part by media meta-capital, not only is it portable, but it gives the individual the "almost magical power of mobilisation", the "power to construct reality" (Bourdieu 2002a: 170), which has effects on other fields, and across the social landscape.

Using field theory

In the next four chapters I am going to use field theory primarily to detect and analyse the constituting factors, the interventions of agents, the events, the writings, the media coverage and their effects in the life of Antjie Krog. These use of Bourdieu's field theory, its application to journalism as a practice across the cultural and political fields, and an explication of the news media's extraordinary power of setting social agendas which coalesce on certain people, events and ideas, allow me to construct a framework to examine how an Afrikaans-speaking woman poet has come to enjoy national and international renown. By looking at particular key moments of entry and emergence, consecration and transition in Krog's life, I can analyse both her accumulation of capital within three fields (literary, political and journalistic) and detect the importance of the news media in her trajectory and accumulation of symbolic capital. I can also that the important moments of consecration and transition in her life have also been facilitated with journalistic attention.

IV. Self-fashioning: the writer and subjectivity

When Foucault considers the relationship between reading, writing and the production of the self, he shows just how old an idea it is that we can learn and change our selves via the written ("Self writing" 1997: 207). But it is in *The History of Sexuality Vol I* when he is also dealing with confession as a technique of self knowledge, that he points out that over time there has been a change from written works which recounted marvellous tales of heroism and sainthood to a literature attempting to extract "from the very depths of oneself", a truth to be found and expressed (1998a: 59-60). It is in *literature*, he suggests, that the belief that there are secret truths within the soul that must be extracted and brought into the light, is powerfully taken up and explored. Linking this exploration of the deepest reaches of the self to his interest in technologies of self-construction, Foucault shows how writing and reading have, over the centuries, been privileged as particular methods of confession in this search for the true self (1997: 207). He says:

> Writing as a personal exercise done by and for oneself is an art of disparate truth – or, more exactly, a purposeful way of combining the traditional authority of the already-said with the singularity of the truth that is affirmed therein and the particularity of the circumstances that determine its use (1997: 212).

According to Foucault, the practice of writing is both an introspection and "objectification of the soul" (1997: 217), but *also* a way of manifesting oneself to others (1997: 216). In the case of transitional South Africa and the incorporation of those Othered by centuries of colonialism and decades of apartheid into citizenhood and therefore national visibility, I would argue that the manifestation of oneself in the presence of those Others has a particular urgency and pertinency, and that we can see this in the writings of Krog.

In his 1980 investigation of "self-fashioning" in literature, Stephen Greenblatt, says:

> …self-fashioning derives its interest precisely from the fact that it functions without regard for a sharp distinction between literature and social life. It invariably crosses the boundaries between the creation of literary characters, the shaping of one's own identity, the experience of being moulded by forces outside one's control, the attempt to fashion other selves. Such boundaries may, to be sure, be strictly observed in criticism, just as we may distinguish between literary and behavioural styles, but in doing so we pay a high price, for we begin to lose a sense of the complex interactions of meaning in a given culture. We wall off literary symbolism from the symbolic structures operative elsewhere,

> as if art alone were a human creation, as if humans themselves were not, in Clifford Geertz's phrase, 'cultural artifacts' (1980: 3).

Greenblatt's work shows how in the 16th century the preoccupation with both "selves and a sense that they could be fashioned" (1980: 1) became evident in literature and he detects an "increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process … a distinctive personality, a characteristic address to the world, a consistent mode of perceiving and behaving…" (1980: 2).

The "generation of identities" is not simply a matter of isolated individualism, but says Greenblatt, takes place within a world in which both family and state exert their power on individuals. Echoing Arendt (1998), Greenblatt points to the use of self-experimentation as a reaction to the conforming power of these social structures (1980: 1).

What is useful for my purposes is that Greenblatt recognises that in the consumption of reading materials, readers themselves cross the boundaries from literature into real life and back again without making the distinctions that theorists and critics do about the construction of literary characters and plots, and their distinction from the social world. As Rita Barnard points out, readers often use texts "efferently" (2006: 15) – taking lessons off the text and applying them directly to life, or adopting expressions, experiences and styles of identity. This concurs with the Warner understanding that readers use texts to construct not only individual subjectivities but to join publics (because they know that inherent to the text is the possibility that others are consuming the same material) and therefore to construct mass subjectivities. The caution to add to this assertion is that the effect of consumption of texts – literary and media – is notoriously difficult to assess. John Thompson shows in *The Media and Modernity*, in his chapter which focuses on "Self and experience in a mediated world" (1995: 207ff), how what he calls "local knowledge", lived experience in a particular location and guided by local figures of authority, is the mechanism through which "non-local knowledge" (the material that comes via the media and is beyond one's direct knowledge and experience) is filtered for use.

But what can be asserted, is that writers use their texts to self-fashion, to experiment with their own subjectivity, and readers use texts to construct identity and not just individually but also as a public, as part of a mass subjectivity.

I use these theoretical ideas to look at Krog's altering subjectivity and experimentations with self in her writings, as a means to analyse why she gains a hearing public, and why her works are singled out for acclaim, thus contributing to her growing status as a public figure and representative South African. In chapter three "Self", dealing with the construction of a distinctive poetic voice and performance, I use Bourdieu to explain the imperative in the literary field demanding a distinctive voice (an idiolect). In chapter four "Self-othering", I use Dorothy Driver's insights to analyse Krog's engagement with the disenfranchised of South Africa's townships and her dealing with an "era of horror" via a literary interlocutor. And in chapter five "'Second-person' performances", I make use of Gillian Whitlock's insights to understand her hosting of the voices of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and her shifting of position to a listener and witness in order to place herself ethically in relation to the newly-enfranchised new South Africans.

Conclusion

My methodological approach for this thesis, therefore, has been to work from the theoretical assumption that a public figure, considered to have valuable intellectual contributions to make, is an agent embedded in a context, a history, and a field of possibilities. In the case of Krog, three fields and their constraints and possibilities must be taken into account. And in the case of the media field, its particular capacity to affect other fields becomes significant and critical in the situation of Krog, the poet, writer *and* journalist *and* newsmaker. These multiple strands will be held in tension and woven through the next four chapters, as I seek to establish the sources of Krog's authority and power as a public figure.

Chapter Three
Self: the Creation of Poet Subjectivity

"Digter, Christen, Afrikaner"
(Dot Serfontein declaring her daughter to the world)

In 2003 Antjie Krog released her second book in English, *A Change of Tongue.* Krog, at the time of publication, was a highly acclaimed writer and public figure. Within this second book about change, metamorphosis, identity, belonging and journeys, Krog also tells a fascinating, autobiographical story in the third person about her own beginnings as a poet and public figure. Reaching back into 1970 apartheid South Africa, she recounts the story of the small-town, Afrikaans girl who wrote a poem, shocked a town and came to the attention of the ANC in exile. This story is woven through the first part of *A Change of Tongue* and is distinguished by chapter headings in italics. The book's first part "Town" consists of accounts in which Krog, who has returned to her childhood home on a farm in Kroonstad to sequester herself to write, employs journalistic-style investigation by conducting interviews about the present-day challenges of post-apartheid South African life. Making a living on a farm, running a municipality, processing sewage, managing schools, perceptions of security, and shifts in personal relationships, are the topics she covers. She also weaves into this her discussions and involvements with her own family and their voices and opinions, and her ongoing preoccupation with writing and its usefulness in the South African situation of political and social change.

In the major narrative, she has returned to the very rondavel on the farm her own mother (Dot Serfontein[1]) used while trying to escape her children to write. In this story Krog's computer crashes destroying writing she has been working on for years,

[1] Serfontein is also a prolific writer. For many years she wrote short stories and sketches as well as serialised pieces for the women's magazine *Sarie* and she is the author of *Tiendes van Anys* (1962); *So Min Blomme* (1966); *Onder Skewe Sterre* (1967); *Ek Is Maar Ene* (1972); *Sonder Klein Trou* (1974); *Rang in Der Staten Rij* (1979); *Sy Stap onder die Juk* (1982); *Die Laaste Jagtog* (1982); *Serfontein-atlas* (1984); *Galery Van Reenmakers* (1986); *Keurskrif vir Kroonstad : 'n kroniek van die ontstaan, groei en vooruitsigte van 'n vrystaatse plattelandse dorp* (1990); *Deurloop: Keur Uit Die Essays Van Dot Serfontein* (co-authored with Krog 1992); *Vertel! Vertel!* (1995); *Vis en Tjips* (1997); *Huis Van Papier* (1997*); Amper my mense* (2009) and most recently, in her 80s a book of memoirs, *Vrypas* (2009).

and she suffers a mild stroke necessitating that her husband drive from Cape Town to take her home. There is a confluence of narrative events which is significant: while investigating how people she knows and who formed part of her formative years, are giving up the familiar and adapting to change, she reacts to the loss of digital words encoded by the computer's hard drive by angrily writing (into the crashed computer):

> There are things in one's life one simply cannot lose. Dare not lose… I have lost more on a computer than everything the Old and New South Africa, plus the Receiver of Revenue, plus old age, plus illness was able to plunder from me… I am without memory, my life has been taken from me… (2003: 91, 92).

That same night she suffers the stroke. It is into this textual situation of cataclysm and loss of words that she injects the climax of the story of the precocious 17-year-old poet she once was.

By this point in the book we have already encountered the whimsical, idiosyncratic but clever and richly-imaginative, teenage girl who aspires to be a writer and to feel and experience life powerfully and deeply. She is in the throes of a first love, is using words to evoke more meaningful experiences of life than life itself –

> The words have not lost their power. The words have kept their content like bottled fruit, and every time she reads them she will experience her grandmother's funeral again (2003: 60).

The young girl is experimenting with the sensual (making a god out of mud at the river bank to worship, letting the ants crawl over her naked body), and battling her mother – over the length of a hem but more importantly as a writer. After a trip the two take to Lesotho she sneaks a look at her mother's account of the journey:

> In the morning, when her mother takes a walk, she quietly goes to read at the typewriter… She sits in wonderment. That her mother is so good. When she tears up her own attempt, she realises that she is fiercely jealous (2003: 102).

Into this context of teenage self-absorption comes the shock of the town's reception of her poem "My Mooi Land" which was published in the school magazine in the year of her matriculation.

> She puts together several protest stanzas, in which she experiments more freely with rhyme, and calls the poem 'My Beautiful Land'.
>
> look, I build myself a land
> where skin colour doesn't count

only the inner brand

of self; where no goat face in parliament
can keep things permanently verkrampt

where I can love you,
can lie beside you in the grass
without saying "I do"

where black and white hand in hand
can bring peace and love
to my beautiful land

A Change of Tongue 2003: 124.

The details which Krog tells in this story are: Her mother receives a telephone call from an editor, Mr Pienaar, who tells her that the adverse reaction in the town to the publication of the poem in the Kroonstad High School year book is going to be reported on in this paper; the reactions have come from a Frank Boswell, two ministers and a Mrs Spies. The newspaper on Sunday appears with the story "Town buzzes over poems in school yearbook". There is commentary from Dr Ernst van Heerden, a poet and head of the Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands at the University of the Witwatersrand. That afternoon two reporters from *The Sunday Times* arrive at their house and speak to her mother. Subsequently a story appears under the name "Fairbairn Pringle"[2] and headlined "Poems cause furore in OFS town". Telegrams and letters arrive at the school for her. The editor Schalk Pienaar sends her mother a cartoon by Bob Connolly from an English newspaper on the matter. Her mother takes a call from a publisher who asks if she has written enough poems for a volume and that DJ Opperman wants to see the poems. Later she receives a letter from a Saul Radunsky congratulating her "on her brave stance". Her letters in response to the many people who write to her are intercepted and her parents are angry that unwittingly she has been in touch with "an underground communist cell". Her father has been summoned by the local branch of the Broederbond to explain. There is also a newspaper article headlined "Schoolgirl's poem is used against our country" lying on her father's desk. Her mother is asked by her own publishers

[2] The obviously made-up name is puzzling. Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn published South Africa's first independent newspaper the *South African Commercial Advertiser* and the first magazine the *South African Journal.* See the "South African Media Report" by Jitske Draisma at http://journ.ru.ac.za/amd/safrica.htm accessed 10 April 2008. I can find no record of a *Sunday Times* report to corroborate this in the archive now held by Avusa.

Human&Rousseau whether her daughter has accumulated enough material for a volume of poetry; Antjie puts together a manuscript; a telegram arrives announcing that Opperman recommends publication of her poetry. And it with this announcement the story ends in *A Change of Tongue.*

From newspaper archival fragments I have reconstructed the events which took place in the life of Antjie Krog the emerging writer. These fragments tell a story that both confirms and diverges from Krog's. This archival story starts with a report in a now defunct newspaper called *Die Beeld*, edited by Schalk Pienaar, on Sunday 16 August 1970 on page 5. Reporter Franz Kemp is the author of the story headlined "Dorp gons oor gedigte in skoolblad" [Town buzzes over poems in school magazine]. Surprisingly for a Sunday newspaper whose life blood is sensation and for whom the backwardness of small towns is always a staple of such journalism, the story opens:

> Een van ons voorste digters reken haar werk is verbasend goed. Sy lewer kuns, sê haar skoolhoof, en baie mense kan haar werk nie na behore waardeer nie. Maar Kroonstad gons oor die sewentienjarige Antjie Krog, Matriekleerling aan die hoërskool.
>
> [One of our foremost poets reckons her work is surprisingly good. She produces art, her headmaster says, and many people cannot adequately appreciate her work. But Kroonstad is buzzing over the 17-year-old Antjie Krog, matric pupil at the high school.]

The main article then relates the story of the "shock" with which her poetry has been received. It tells of her getting an A for poetry, that she is the daughter of established writer Dot Serfontein, and then names several members of the Kroonstad community – all past pupils of the school – whose reaction has been so negative: church elder Frank Boswell, an unnamed parent and businessman in the town, Mrs EJ Spies, a Mr Laubscher and an anonymous mother who wants this brought to the attention of the Department of Education. Dot Serfontein is quoted extensively as explaining that she and her daughter had discussed that this work should not have been published in the school year book. Serfontein's opinion is that the work is "beyond matric standard" and of the genre of "modern poetry" (which she "understands very well") and which, therefore, was better suited to a published collection. The headmaster had insisted on publication in the school magazine, she implies, against her (Serfontein's) better judgement.

An inset story then quotes Dr Ernst van Heerden, poet and head of the Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands at Wits University, as saying that this is surprising work for someone so young. He also comments that young writers usually follow the pattern laid down by others but Krog does not do this. He advises readers to read the poetry of established poets Breyten Breytenbach and DJ Opperman to hear echoes of Krog's themes. Interestingly the poetry actually printed on this page does not focus solely on the poem "My Mooi Land". The inset starts with a sexually suggestive piece of prose in which Krog graphically describes the serpent moving over her (Eve's) body in the garden. Nowhere in this article's three components is "My Mooi Land" singled out as particularly shocking with its suggestion of cross-colour bar love. The objection seems to have been generally aimed at all the poetry by Krog printed in the school magazine. The poem appears in the paper like this:

> My Mooi Land
>
> Kyk, ek bou vir my 'n land
> waar 'n vel niks tel nie, net jou verstand.
> Waar geen bokgesig in 'n parlement
> kan spook om dinge permanent
> verkramp te hou nie
>
> Waar ek jou lief kan hê
> langs jou in die gras kan lê
> sonder in 'n kerk "ja" te sê
>
> Waar ons snags met kitare sing
> en vir mekaar wit jasmyne bring
>
> Waar ek jou nie gif hoef te voer
> as 'n vreemde duif in my hare koer
>
> Waar geen skeihof
> my kinders se oë sal verdof
>
> Waar swart en wit hand aan hand
> vrede en liefde kan bring in my mooi land.
>
> *Die Beeld* 16 August 1970: 16

But notably the *Rand Daily Mail*, the English-language newspaper based in Johannesburg, picked up and carried a story about this incident the next day[3].

[3] Monday 17 August 1970: 3, 8. No searching by librarians in the Johnnic (now Avusa) archives could unearth an article in *The Sunday Times* by "Fairbairn Pringle" or any information about Krog or her

Headlining the story "Verse by girl pupil 'shocking'", the story repeats the details carried in *Die Beeld.* The only new information is from an interview with the headmaster, Mr DJ Scheepers, who is quoted as being bitterly disappointed by the reaction as he considers Krog's work to be a "masterpiece". "She is an outstanding pupil who lives for poetry and art. I am proud of her". The paper then printed a translation in English of the poem, headlining it "Where skin means nothing":

> Look, I am building myself a land
> Where skin means nothing,
> just your understanding.
> Where no goat face in Parliament shouts to keep verkramp
> things permanent.
> Where I can love you
> And lie next to you in the grass without saying 'yes' in
> church.
> Where we can play the guitar at night and sing
> And bring Jasmines for each other.
> Where I don't have to feed you poison if a strange dove
> calls in my ear.
> Where no divorce court can dim my children's eyes.
> Where White and Black, hand in hand,
> Will bring peace and love to my beautiful land.

The next appearance of Krog in the Afrikaans newspapers is in a story called "Antjie se 1st digbundel" [Antjie's first volume of poetry] of *Die Beeld* of 6 September 1970, page 10. This article introduces Krog by reminding readers that she is the Kroonstad matric pupil whose poetry caused the outcry. The story tells readers that Human&Rousseau are publishing a selection of her poetry; that they also publish her mother, Dot Serfontein's, work and that Prof Dirk Opperman of Stellenbosch University has approved publication. Opperman is quoted as not wanting to say that this indicates a new highpoint in Afrikaans poetry, but that he is impressed with her freshness and spontaneity as a writer. He picks out one particular poem for attention: "Albatros Gough-eiland". "My Mooi Land" is not mentioned at all. As her Random House publisher Stephen Johnson remarked[4], it is notable that "My Mooi Land" was not selected to appear in the volume *Dogter van Jefta* (1970), and it does not ever appear again in a poetry collection under her name until after the very successful appearance of *Country of My Skull* in English, when he and Krog decided to publish it

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poem. It has also proved impossible to find the cartoon by Bob Connolly. And the Kroonstad High School documentation from the 1970s was destroyed when the school was merged with two others after South Africa's transition to democracy.

[4] Personal communication on Thursday 19 August 2004.

in English (translated by Krog) and included it as the first poem in a selection of her work for English readers, called *Down to My Last Skin* (2000).

Then *Die Beeld* ceased publication and Naspers and Perskor, the rival Afrikaans publishing companies, launched a new Sunday paper *Rapport*. In January 1971 *Rapport* carried a major half-page story on page 6 about censorship and whether poets "get away with murder"[5]. This seemed to have been planned as a result of an outcry in the letters pages of *Rapport* in response to a Christmas poem by DJ Opperman published by the paper in December which characterised the three wise men of Chistian lore as "drie outas in die haai Karoo / die ster gesien and die engel geglo" [three old coloured men in the barren Karoo / saw the star and believed the angel][6]. Ernst van Heerden is consulted for his opinion and he refers again to the "ongelangse geval van die skooldigteres Antjie Krog" [the recent incident involving the school poetess Antjie Krog]. The article ranges across the opinions of many people about whether poets should have the freedom to push the boundaries of religion and sexuality.

In the same month, the ANC publication *Sechaba*, based in London, published a translated version of "My Mooi Land". The poem was introduced on the page with the words "Antjie Krog, a 17-year-old Afrikaans schoolgirl has stunned her backveld Kroonstad community with this poem. Where there is so much hatred a germ of love she grows." It was accompanied by the same school year book photo which had been used again and again in the South African newspaper reports on the issue.

My Beautiful Land

Look, I am building myself a
land where skin means nothing, just your understanding.

Where no goatface in Parliament
shouts to keep verkramp
things permanent

Where I can love you
and lie next to you in the grass
without saying 'yes' in church.

Where we can play the guitar

[5] "Ons digters kan moor sonder skoor: poësie is veel vryer as prosa" *Rapport.* 17 January 1971: 6.
[6] "Lesers onstoke… en belof… or dié gedig wat *Rapport* geplaas het" *Rapport*. 3 January 1971: 10. Kersliedjie deur DJ Opperman.

at night and sing

And bring jasmines for each
other.

Where I don't have to feed you
poison if a strange dove calls
in my ear.
Where no divorce court can
dim my children's eyes,

Where White and Black, hand
in hand
Will bring peace and love to
my beautiful land.

Sechaba 5(1) January 1971: 16.

In *Sechaba* the poem was singled out from its accompanying poems in the school year book and in *Die Beeld*, and set on a different journey, for a different purpose and for a different audience. It had jumped the boundaries of this isolated country, come to the attention of someone in exile in the ANC, been translated into English[7], and found its way into a publication banned by the South African Nationalist Party government and probably never to be seen licitly in this country until after the year 1990 when the members of the liberation movements returned with their archives[8].

But it took a while before news of this use of the poem came home. Only in March did the London correspondent of *Rapport* discover the translation and write a piece under the headline "Antjie se gedig misbruik teen ons land" [Antjie's poem misused against our land][9]. With a tone of high indignation the unnamed writer declared:

> Een van die omstrede gedigte van die sewentienjarige skoolmeisie van Kroonstad, Antjie Krog, word nou deur Suid-Afrika se vyande in die buiteland misbruik. Die African National Congress het haar gedig My Mooi Land in Engels vertaal en in 'n pamflet afgedruk. Die pamflet word nou oor die hele wêreld teen Suid-Afrika versprei…
>
> [One of the controversial poems of the seventeen-year-old schoolgirl from Kroonstad, Antjie Krog, is now being misused by South Africa's enemies outside the country. The African National Congress has translated her poem My Mooi Land into English and published it in a

[7] In personal communication Ahmed Kathrada told me that Ronnie Kasrils might have been the translator but my attempt to establish the verity of this by writing to Kasrils at the Ministry of Intelligence has been unsuccessful.
[8] Now housed at the Mayibuye Centre at the University of the Western Cape and the ANC archives at the University of Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape. Also see www.disa.nu.ac.za, the digital archive which has collected the once-banned publications of the liberation movements online.
[9] *Rapport.* 28 March 1971: 3

> pamphlet. The pamphlet is now being distributed across the whole world against South Africa…]

The report went on to speculate how this situation came to be. The caption under the now-standard photograph of Krog from her school year book said:

> Die gedig is blykbaar in Tanzanië deur een van die nie-blanke Afrikaanssprekende[10] omroepers van Radio Dar-es-Salaam in Engels vertaal. Dié radio saai daagliks in Afrikaans uit. Op die oomblik word die gedig in Londen versprei. Antjie het destyds groot lof van kenners gekry toe haar gedigte in die skooljaarblad verskyn het, maar ander mense het gesê hulle is geskok oor die seksuele ondertone van die verse.
>
> [The poem was evidently translated into English in Tanzania by one of the non-white Afrikaans-speaking announcers from Radio Dar-es-Salaam. This radio [station] broadcasts daily in Afrikaans. At the moment the poem is being disseminated in London. At the time Antjie received great praise by experts when her poem appeared in the school yearbook, but other people said they were shocked by the sexual undertones of the verses.]

The report then carried within the body of the story both the Afrikaans version of the poem (the same version as that printed in *Die Beeld*) and the English version copied from *Sechaba*. However, the name of the actual ANC publication is never given. The report ends by telling readers how the ANC "pamphlet"[11] introduced the poem and translates the English words into Afrikaans: "Antjie Krog, sewentienjarige Afrikaanse skoolmeisie die mense van die agterlike Kroonstad met die gedig geskok het. Waar daar so baie haat is, is daar tog 'n juweel van liefde" [12] [Antjie Krog, seventeen-year-old Afrikaans schoolgirl shocked the people of backward Kroonstad with the poem. Where there is so much hate, there is yet a gem of love].

The next news event in the life of this new poet occurred the very next Sunday when *Rapport* approached Dot Serfontein to put into context this latest furore surrounding "My Mooi Land". The poem was reprinted again, in the centre of the page with the title "My Mooi Land" and the attribution "deur Antjie Krog" [by Antjie Krog]. Serfontein was given an entire page in a broadsheet newspaper (minus the advertising space and one short story on the side which also dealt with a poetry controversy) to

[10] The word "kleurling" (coloured) is added in the same account at the end of the story.
[11] The word "pamphlet" having, of course, associations with political propaganda that the words "magazine" or "journal" do not necessarily have.
[12] The word in *Sechaba* is "germ" not "gem".

"verduidelik" [clarify] the situation[13]. The introductory note (not written by Serfontein but by an editor or subeditor) sets the scene by telling readers of the poem: "Nou is dit selfs in die buiteland in Engels vertaal as 'n propagandaset" [Now it's being used overseas as a piece of propaganda translated into English]. Serfontein launches into her piece by starting:

> Verlede jaar toe die „herrie" losgebars het oor ons kind se gedigte, het 'n verteenwoordiger van *Die Beeld* my gevra om kommentaar daarop te lewer. Kommentaar was juis wat ons probeer vermy het. So iets leef jy net af. Nou het die goeie ou Sondagkoerant weer die sakie opgerakel en ek voel dat 'n tydige stukkie volwasse sprake in hierdie stadium dalk nie onvanpas sal wees nie.
>
> [Last year when all hell broke loose over our child's poems, an editor from *Die Beeld* asked me to comment. Commentary was what we wanted to avoid giving. Such a thing you never survive. Now the good old Sunday paper has dragged up the issue again and feels that a timely bit of adult talk at this point perhaps will not be amiss.]

Serfontein then tells readers that the poem was written in the last half of 1969 when she and her husband were working in the National Party local office registering voters. They attempted to find young people to help them and only two came forward, their daughter Antjie being one of them, which entailed going from door to door in the town, being at the mercy of the irritation and anger of those who did not want to be told about the "new" National Party. She also explains her lapse of judgement in not giving Antjie advice about what poetry to publish by saying that at the time she was embroiled in responding to requests to write about the psychological motivation of a Maria Groesbeek who had murdered her husband (the reference to doves cooing about poisoning one's spouse in the poem relates to this event). She says, however, that she does not believe that the poem showed a sinister slide towards liberalism and accuses adult propagandists involved in electioneering of putting into public unflattering depictions of the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (a reference to the "goat face" of the poem). She puts forward her view that young people all over the world are dealing with the kinds of issues raised by the poem, and that facing these issues with the support of adults is important. On the issue of poetry itself, she opines that poets are people hypersensitive to influences. She also tells readers that her advice to Antjie has been to put her poetry into a volume for publication so that she can put herself forward in public as "digter, as Christen en as Afrikaner" [as poet, as Christian

[13] Dot Serfontein. "Antjie se skoolgedig verduidelik: Dot skryf oor haar dogter." *Rapport.* 4 April 1971: 9. [Antjie's school poem clarified: Dot writes about her daughter]

and as Afrikaner]. It is clear, though, from this piece, that Serfontein is responding to the publication of the poem by *Sechaba*. On this issue she says: "Ek is bevrees dat dit nog op baie ander plekke tot nadeel van ons land gebruik kan word…" [I am afraid that it might be used against our land in many more places] The secondary headline on the page roots the causes of the furore around the poem in "die politiek en Groesbeek" [politics and Groesbeek] – in other words, the climate of electioneering inspiring reactionary behaviour from voters and sensationalist murder reporting by newspapers – and the mother's own preoccupation which meant she did not have her mind focused on the "naïve" poem (as she calls it in the article) which was to unleash such a fuss.

A month later, the story found its way into the English press with a report by Colin Legum, which appeared in the *Daily Despatch* in East London[14]. It is interesting to note how this information from London came to be published in East London in South Africa and nowhere else in that other fragment of the South African public sphere – English-language newspapers. Legum had left South Africa in 1949 (a year after the Nationalist Party came to power) and was living in London in exile and writing for *The Observer* newspaper. As a journalist he had developed close relationships with Africa's emerging new political leadership[15]. In the 1970s Legum was symphathetic to the ANC position on South Africa[16] and in touch with the then *Daily Dispatch* editor, Donald Woods, the man later to become a friend of Steve Biko and to flee into exile himself with his family after Biko's death at the hands of security police. Legum's story reads:

> A poem by a 16-year-old South African schoolgirl has made her an internationally famous controversial figure. Antjie Krog's poem was first published in her school magazine last year. It started a tremendous row in South Africa and now the controversy has become wider because of the decision of the exiled African National Congress – which spearheads a guerrilla struggle from its headquarters in Tanzania – to reproduce her poem for international distribution.

The report carried the translated version in English from *Sechaba*. Again the name of the ANC publication is omitted, probably because to use it would be to alert the

[14] "Afrikaans protest cry sparks a big row." in *Daily Despatch*, 17 May 1971. The report is marked – OFNS at the end indicating that it came to this newspaper via the Observer Foreign News Service.
[15] This information from www.archiveshub.ac.uk/news/03090901.html accessed on 10 September 2004.
[16] In 1964 he and his wife Margaret wrote *South Africa: Crisis for the West* in which they argued for economic sanctions against the South African government in order to bring down the apartheid system.

apartheid censors. Legum had obviously seen the *Rapport* article by Dot Serfontein as he tells *Despatch* readers of her arguments in defence of her daughter. He ends the article by commenting:

> Antjie Krog is a new phenomenon among younger Afrikaners who, in increasing numbers, are beginning to react against the established racial attitudes and morality of South Africa. Although still relatively few in number, they are the harbingers of changed ideas among the younger Afrikaners. These changes, when they do occur, do so mainly at universities – especially in recent years at Stellenbosch University, traditionally the nursery of Afrikaner nationalism. What is unusual about Antjie Krog is that she has broken from the conventional thinking while still at high school, not in the sophisticated urban setting, but in the heart of the platteland, the rural outback of the apartheid Republic.

The tone of this report is remarkable in its contrast to the tone of the *Rapport* article on the poem's "misbruik" [misuse]. It is clear that Legum's commentary comes from a quite different ideological position.

At this point the archival trail of the poem goes cold. The poem disappeared from view for 18 years only to reappear in 1989 in the most amazingly, unexpected way and in a different, but equally, politically-charged context, which is the subject matter of chapter four. But in the intervening period Krog charted a predominantly literary course, which although it was always to have its political interface was to remain within the Afrikaans literary sphere and confined to the Afrikaans vehicles of public discussion. I turn now to the significance of Krog's accumulation of literary field capital and her autobiographical work which was to become a distinction of her voice as a poet.

As indicated in the previous chapter I am employing field theory primarily to examine the emergence of Krog as a public figure in South Africa. I theorise the development of Krog's publicness by examining the complex intertwining of the literary as a field and the creation of writer subjectivity, the political sphere as the necessary stimulating environment and context, and the workings of the media and its a/effects in the world. In the rest of this particular chapter which focuses on the development of Krog the poet subject, I use field theory combined with certain aspects of media theory to place attention on the enabling and constraining features of the literary field, the development of Krog's adaptive subjectivity as a writer, her accumulation of literary symbolic capital, and the actions and interventions of powerful field consecrators who have

operated to generate critical consecratory or transitional moments in her trajectory through fields.

Telling an autobiographical story as a claiming of authority

I deliberately started this chapter with an autobiographical moment in a text in which an author of great renown and symbolic capital has reached back in time to tell an originary story about her own entry into the literary field (and also, as we will see into the alternative political field). I do this for several methodological reasons: the first is to make the point about the place of the analysis of texts in a project of determining the development of a particular person's writer-subjectivity. As Helen Malson says:

> Texts are analysed, not as a means of revealing the 'truth' about the speaker or writer (their attitudes, cognitions, traits or whatever) or about the events or experiences they describe. Rather, texts are analysed in order to explicate the culturally specific discursive resources that have been drawn upon in order to produce a *particular* account of 'reality'… with the interactions and dilemmas that may be created for the speaker in taking up particular constructions of themselves or others … or with the functions or effects (whether intended or not) of the particular discursive resources used and the power relations embedded therein." (2000: 153).

The second is that in field theory, as explicated by Bourdieu, a critical moment of shift in both an individual's life, and in the greater relations of an already-existing field, is the moment of *entry* of a new actor. This is the beginning of her trajectory as a public figure. And by engaging with Krog's texts, and the media texts generated about her, I find within the autobiographical and biographical information, clues to the project of writer-subjectivity which connect with what Bourdieu calls the duty to emerge in a field as an actor of distinctive production. If I take seriously the Paul de Man insight:

> We assume that life *produces* the autobiography as an act produces its consequences, but can we not suggest, with equal justice, that the autobiographical project may itself produce and determine the life… (quoted in Paul John Eakin, 1985:185),

then this telling of a particular story of self by Krog in the 2003 text is a significant moment of statement about her credentials as a writer; one which interestingly spans 33 years and is being performed to the new public that Krog is now addressing in English after the major international success of her book of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Country of My Skull* (1998). Krog is telling an originary story to a new audience she has acquired in English, and perhaps even beyond the

borders of South Africa, who may not have travelled with her as the readers of her poetry in Afrikaans have done over the years. She is gathering them in to participate in her story of justification and legitimation as a witness and writer of change, which depends on an extraordinary, originary story. But more than that, for the purposes of this inquiry, this story, and particular its appearance in archival and media fragments, enables me to go back to her moment of entry into *public* and so begin to unravel the beginning of her trajectory towards public recognition and her stature as a representative South African.

To return to the moment in which the young Krog became a poet and walked out onto a public stage; Bourdieu emphasises that moments of *entry* and *emergence* are critically important to an individual's successful negotiation of a field in which, like the literary field, autonomy is high and the grasp of the immanent logic of the field is vital. Bourdieu calls this "the right to enter and the duty to emerge" (2005: 46). Rodney Benson underlines this by saying:

> In field theory, changes in the structure of fields are produced from two basic sources. Since to exist in a field is 'to differ', a 'dialectic of distinction' ensures the constant production of change as new actors attempt to enter and make their mark in the field… (1998: 487-8).

Krog's achievement of a published volume of poetry at the age of 17 is a remarkable story about how journalistic news values, framing and agenda-setting, provoked her entry into the literary field. In the sequence of media events outlined at the beginning of this chapter there is a very clear indication of a controversy or sensation attracting the attention of journalists and galvanising them into the production of "news", stimulated also by the newspaper editors operating according to the explicit economic imperatives of journalism. But we also see an act of media power across fields and society that facilitates Krog's entry, not only into the Afrikaans literary field in South Africa, but also into the alternative political field as a young dissident. This is a classic case of agenda-setting, signifying to the public at large that this person is noteworthy and has interest beyond the field of literature.

[Trajectory]

Entry and emergence as a poet in the Afrikaans literary field

Applying this theoretical combination to Krog's trajectory, it is evident that *Die Beeld* reporter Franz Kemp applied the news values of surprise, conflict or sensation to his assessment of the news worth of the reaction of some people to Krog's high school poems. He produced a fairly standard, sensational, Sunday paper-type story using the frame of shocking events in small towns causing an outcry among their unsophisticated inhabitants. But, interestingly, Kemp also contacted Dr van Heerden as an expert to give his opinion on the poetry, and allowed published author and mother Dot Serfontein to express herself on the situation. So what we see here is that the news value of controversy attracted a paper's attention, the story was framed in a particular way for Sunday-paper reader consumption, and, by seeking out an expert to comment on the poetry, Krog herself was also framed – as precocious, brilliant, dissident, and placed in association with Afrikaans literature's most esteemed poets. It is important to note that the seeking out of expert commentary is one of the routine ways journalism enhances its authority as the communication of "truth" in public but it coincidentally also involves drawing a field "consecrator" into a public realm (ie outside the literary field) in which pronouncements can be made of worth and legitimacy. As a result Krog was marked as a newsworthy person and placed firmly on the Afrikaans press's news agenda. This agenda-setting had an immediate effect in the reaction of publishers Human&Rousseau who sought out Krog to publish her work and who consulted highly-esteemed Afrikaans poet and academic Professor Opperman at Stellenbosch University on its worth.

Die Beeld's agenda-setting had another, unexpected effect, in the publication of the poem in English in *Sechaba.* Here one sees another set of journalists spotting this information, and with a different set of news values, framing Krog for their purposes as a young dissident voice of promise and hope from within the bastion of Afrikanerdom. This contradictory framing and agenda-setting by a banned publication provoked outrage back home but facilitated another entry into another field – the alternative space of political dissidence. It also provoked a renewed attempt to recapture and frame Krog back into a well-behaved, but brilliant Afrikaner girl with Serfontein clarifying the situation and assuring *Rapport's* readers that Krog was a

good Christian and Nationalist Party supporter. The framing battle continued with Colin Legum's story which sought to reaffirm Krog as a voice of promise and hope from within the Afrikaans lager.

To summarise: the actions of the reporter, the mother and the two literary field consecrators plus the established publisher, ushered Krog decisively into the literary field. And simultaneously the attention of the ANC and Colin Legum ushered her into the alternative political field of South Africa of the 70s. This entry into the alternative political field was to frame and set Krog on as important a trajectory as her entry into the literary field. And in terms of media agenda-setting, Krog had been "snagged" in the news net (Reese 2007: 150). The Afrikaans press had marked her as a newsmaker to be watched from now on.

Krog was to make good use of her decisive entry into the literary field by producing another three volumes of poetry while at university: *Januarie-Suite* (in 1972, for which she won the Eugene Marais Prize), *Mannin* and *Beminde Antartika* (in 1974, for which two volumes she received the Reina Prinsen-Geerlig Prize for Literature in 1977). In this she benefited from the alliance with and guidance of Opperman who became her mentor for years, first as editor of her poetry, then as her teacher with whom she did an honours degree in his "poetry laboratory" at Stellenbosch University[17]. As Bourdieu points out, successful negotiation through a field in order to accumulate the field's capital and accolades is greatly enhanced by the alliance with a field consecrator[18]. But also, having been caught in the news net of the Afrikaans press, Krog became a standard newsmaker to keep tabs on. Each volume of poetry was reviewed, each prize acclaimed, and every personal change in her life (divorce, remarriage, births of children, moving cities, changes in job) captured through a combination of news reports, literary reviews and highly personalised interviews and photographs of her with family in her home.

[17] She went on to write her MA thesis on his poetry *Familiefigure in die poësie van DJ Opperman*. 1983 University of Pretoria.
[18] See "The Production of Belief" 1980: 283 where Bourdieu and Nice explain that the more powerful the consecrator is the more the work is strongly consecrated and that the consecrator "invests his prestige in the author's cause".

[Subjectivity]

'The cartography of the self'; the production of distinction

As Krog started to produce poetry prolifically after *Dogter van Jefta,* Afrikaans literary theorists and canonisers began to categorise her as a poet of the "domestic"[19]. But this was not just a pigeonholing of her choice of subjects and preoccupations, it was also an acknowledgement of the fact that Krog had set out to create a distinctiveness of poetic voice – or idiolect – via "die kartering van die self"[20] [the cartography of the self] by capturing the intellectual and physical experiences of being lover, wife, mother.

Literary theorist Louise Viljoen remarks that Krog's poetry "can be read as an autobiographical record" (Viljoen 2007: 188) and that autobiography and poetry have both played an important role in "empowering women writers" and in allowing women "a way of coming *to* writing" (quoting Schenk).

> Reading Krog's poetry one becomes aware that she did indeed use the lyric poem as a space in which to establish her female subjectivity, but also as a space in which to constantly revise and reform it (2007: 188).

Krog's refining of the use of autobiographical material connected to a distinctiveness of expression over many years of writing poetry was to come to mark her voice and distinctive methods of expression not just in poetry and in the literary field, but also over time in other genres and public expressions. This distinctiveness of voice in itself acquired capital and value.

In her 2006 examination of Krog's translation of the volume of indigenous poetry *Soos Woorde Met Kerse,* Viljoen remarks that Krog has a "Romanticist poetics" [21] in which "language, and especially sound" is, for her, the "dominant feature of poetry". In addition Krog's particular poetics is centred on performance and the social uses – or even the social relevance – of poetry (2006: 38). Viljoen remarks that:

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[19] JC Kannemeyer's term was "huislike gedigte" in *Geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse Literatuur*. Pretoria: Academica, 1983: 504.

[20] Tom Gouws' term: "Charting", "mapping" or even the "cartography of the self", in *Perspektief en Profiel* edited by HP van Coller 1998: 550.

[21] Quoting Lefevere (1992: 26) she defines poetics as: "… poetics can be said to consist of two components: one is an inventory of literary devices, genres, motifs, prototypical characters and situations, and symbols; the other a concept of what the role of literature is, or shold be, in the social system as a whole" (in Viljoen 2006: 38).

> Krog's poetics is also known for the way in which it transgresses limits with regard to subject matter, poetic technique, language and genre (2006: 39).

Viljoen also notes that the transgressive in Krog's poetics is closely allied with a strong feminist voice and in some cases a display of "utter passion". She is attracted, says Viljoen, to fury and violence (2006: 40). Finally, according to Viljoen, one detects in Krog's poetry-making an ongoing preoccupation with "the conflict between aesthetics and politics".

Literary theorist Leon de Kock characterises Krog as:

> an extraordinary, versatile, provocative and messy poet. She messes with proprieties both sexual and political, she shoves shit and semen, and much besides, in your face, she refuses to give up trying to speak the voices of the land, she risks sentimentality everywhere, and she continues to be both publicly personal (right down to details about her husband's member) and very personally public (2000: 9)[22]

Within a very short time Krog became known to Afrikaans readers as the poet who used slang and swearwords, who picked up street language, threw in English words, and who didn't shy away from graphic descriptions of the sexual and the body. As each new volume of her poetry appeared it was scanned for these hallmarks by readers and reviewers, the journalists of the day documented each of these shocking details and the debates about them in the literary world. And this was against the backdrop of the Nationalist Party-Broederbond project of crafting a sophisticated, controlled body of literature to enhance the status and legitimacy of the Afrikaans language vis-à-vis other world languages. Krog's poetics seamlessly combined a transgressiveness of language and poetic craft and her discomfort and dissension with the Afrikaans cultural institutions relationship to the Apartheid state. A poetics which kept on drawing media attention and making of Krog a newsmaker and agenda-setter.

Some examples from the early volumes of poetry will give a sense of the distinctiveness of voice and its shock value in the South Africa of the 1970s. *Januarie-Suite* written while Krog was doing her undergraduate degree at the University of the Orange Free State contained a poem called *Sonnet* which begins "vannaand weet ek / dat ek jou nooit weer lief sal hê nie…" [tonight I know that I will never love you again]

[22] "Voices of the earth", review of *Kleur Kom Nooit Alleen Nie* and *Down to My Last Skin* in the *Mail&Guardian* 17-23 November 2000.

and ends “omdat ek moeg is / vir jou nat snoet in my lies.” [because I’m tired / of your wet snout in my groin] (1972: 44). There is also the poem *’n Bundel bedoel vir aborsie [A volume intended for abortion]* which begins “ek moes hom laat doodmaak het” [I should have had him killed[23]] (1972: 19).

Beminda Antarktika contains the poem “ekshibisionis” (literally “exhibitionist”, but more accurately “flasher”): “en die Slamse man wat straat af kom / hy had ’n mus en donkerbril / sy mond bewende so soel sy vel / dat ek verwonderd na hom staar / sy af na sy gulp / en skielik / tussen sy vingers steier nat / ’n donker peul in aar.” [and the Malay man coming down the street / he had a cap and dark glasses / his mouth trembling so swarthy his skin / that I stare at him in wonder / slide down to his fly / and suddenly / between his fingers staggers / a dark pod in vein] (1975: 15).

Mannin [*Virago*] the poem “speelmaats” (1975:8)

my liefling het a skilpad
groen gemaak van lap
wat met sy doekvoet-pote
snags oor my gewete stap

my liefling het ’n houtpop
pinokkio is sy naam
en oral waar my liefling woon
kan jy sweer woon langneus saam

die twee heers ewe opgewek
al jare oor my lief se bed
maar sedert ék by hom kom speel
maak hul berekend vir my plek

[Man-ess
my sweetheart made a tortoise
of green rag
whose stealthy muffled paws
walk across my conscience every night

my sweetheart has a wooden doll
pinocchio is his name
and everywhere my sweetheart lives
you can swear longnose is there

[23] Translator’s note: The use of the words “moes” and “het” confer a double meaning: had to and should have. Therefore “ek moes hom laat doodmaak het” reads as both “I had to have him killed” and “I should have had him killed”. This means that the speaker either had the killing done *or* regrets not having had it done.

the two have reigned quite cheerfully
for years over my darling's bed
but since I have come to play with him
they calculate my place]

Krog's fifth volume of poetry *Otters in Bronslaai* was both shocking in subject matter – which touched on the theme of homosexuality, and set off rumours that her discovery that her first husband was homosexual and this had led to his abandoning of her, and acclaimed for its vitality. The poetry was called "boisterous" and "angry"[24] . The SABC refused to allow Joan Hambidge to read "die skryfproses as sonnet" [the writing process as sonnet] on the programme *Digterkeuse*[25].

hoe bang het ek geword om poëties baldadig te dink,
om my geliefde rymloos en vormloos te laat uitrank
hoe sku het ek geword om in lote onbevange vers
sy penis onverantwoordelik ysterklaar by die naam te noem

die krimp en los van sy balle by daglig waar te neem
die sagte kurk van sy tepels tot harde stukkies bas
om brutale stuifmeel oor blare to vlek
en argloos sy anus aan my pen te laat bot

maar totaal geinhibeer deur laboratoriumsoetse en
handleidings
bedink ek elke derde nag netjiese stellasies vers, noukeurig
en dimensioneel opgelei, verrassend berym en kosmies met
titels bemes

en uiteindelik: ryp gekwartryn, onpersooonlik met kenners
oor gekweel, word die hele seksdaad nou
'n slim-slim slimmer ritueel.

[how fearful I have become to think poetically exuberant,
to allow my loved one to ramble free and formless
how shy I have become to name
his penis irresponsibly ironready in writhing open verse

[24] "Getemperde Antjie Krog is terug" by Annelie de Wet. *Beeld* 8 September 1981.
"Antjie Krog, gewildste SA digteres: werklikheid met eerlikheid verwoord." *Die Burger* 9 September 1981.
"Waar is dolla minas?" letterkunde deur LI Bertyn. *Beeld* 23 September 1981: 18.
"'n Krog-oplewing… met woede" resensie deur André le Roux. *Beeld* 19 October 1981: 16.
"Nuwe Krog-bundel dalk nog 'n kultusroering." *Die Volksblad* 27 October 1981: 10.
"'Ek skryf omdat ek woedend is'" by Willem Pretorius. *Rapport* 1 November 1981: 40.
"Antjie Krog – daar is poësie in dié vrou" boeke onder redaksie van Joan Kruger. *Die Tranvaler* 2 November 1981: 9.
"Antjie Krog neem poëties wraak" by Fanie Olivier. *Die Burger* 26 November 1981: 21.
"Antjie Krog: baldadigste poësie in Afrikaans." *Die Suidwester* 1 February 1982: 2.
"Digteres in huis vrou voelbaarste teenwoordig" by Louise Viljoen. *Die Vaderland* 29 April 1982: 21.
[25] *Rapport* 16 October 1988 reported the banning and said the poem was a "description of her husband from head to toe". The writer "Nelia", commented "is ons dan almal nog naive kleuters?" [Are we then all naïve toddlers?]

to take in the shrivel and slack of his balls by daylight
the soft cork of his nipples to hard bits of bark
to smear brutal pollen over leaves
and artlessly bloom his anus on my pen

but totally inhibited by laboratory tests and
textbooks
every third night I contrive neat scaffolds of verse, carefully
and dimensionally trained, startlingly rhymed and cosmically
littered with titles

then at last: ripely quatrained, impersonally coated in experts'
warble, the whole sex act is now
a clever-clever cleverer ritual.]

The important point to note in terms of field theory is that Krog was not just emerging as a poet of distinctiveness, but also conforming strongly to the logic of the literary field which requires that the boundaries of what is allowable in expression, be tested and that language itself be manipulated. This became remarkable as a hallmark and resulted in the following conversation on SABC radio between Krog and the writer Celine Celliers:

> Celine Cilliers: Jy gebruik vreeslike baie Engels, is dit jou persoonlike skryfstyl?
> Krog: Ons praat almal so[26].
>
> [You use an awful amount of English, is this your personal writing style?
> We all speak like this.]

As Krog grew in stature as a poet she began a public, mediated battle against the stifling control that the Afrikaans cultural institutions exercised over Afrikaans language and culture, thus furthering her status as a young dissident in and trajectory through the alternative political field. She began to use the platforms she was afforded by her cultural capital, and in full knowledge that she would be reported on, to declare her stance. Some examples: In July of 1984 she told the Afrikaans Olympiad in Bloemfontein that the Afrikaans language could look after itself without the interference of the cultural institutions[27]. She told the Afrikaanse Letterkundevereniging at the University of Port Elizabeth in 1985, that "Die Afrikaanse letterkunde van vandag is feitlik een groot neurose" [Today's Afrikaans

[26] SABC sound archives T83/61-62 on "Leeskring oor die lug" with Ruda Landman talking to Celine and Rika Cilliers and Dot Serfontein and Antjie Krog.
[27] "Taal kan vir homself sorg." *Volksblad* 18 July 1984.

literature is actually one great neurosis][28]. In 1987 when she was elected on to the executive of the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde, she made use of the position to take a stand against the prevailing anxiety about "alternative and worker Afrikaans"[29]. At the Nasionale Leeskring-seminaar in 1988 she said apartheid had come between writer and reader[30]. Also in 1988 she told the annual meeting of the board of the Skrywersgilde that Afrikaans needed to be set free of that very institution[31]. When in 1989 the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and the Skrywersgilde held a "Writers' Indaba", Krog told the gathering, Afrikaans "had failed this country", and would need to reflect a broader reality to survive[32].

Krog had for many years been in the vanguard of using "street Afrikaans"[33] as a poet, but this practice is perhaps best described as representing a political force for change by Max du Preez, founding editor of *Vrye Weekblad* (for which newspaper Krog was a regular contributor in the 1980s):

> And then there was our use of the *Taal*… I didn't make a conscious decision before the launch of *Vrye Weekblad* to promote the use of 'liberated' Afrikaans. It started happening organically; it was the natural, creative way to write. But when we were criticised right from the early days for not sticking to "civilised standard Afrikaans", I explained in an interview: "There was a gap between the Afrikaans being used by the speakers of the language and the Afrikaans being used in newspapers. The gap was unnaturally big and not in the interests of Afrikaans. So from the start we said: This is not our Afrikaans. We didn't say that it wasn't a good thing to have a proper knowledge of Afrikaans, on the contrary, but we said: Who are these little men who make the rules for our language? For all the years middle-aged Broederbond-types with grey shoes, appointed by some Academy dictated to us how to spell, how to speak and how to write. And the next year they publish a new book of words and spelling rules, and we all have to follow like sheep.
>
> This did not only bring a huge schism between writers and users of the language, it also brought resistance. The only criterion is what feels good and right. Each person is an interpreter of the language on the tongue of the people. What do you do not to sound like a *dominee* or a magistrate? You close your eyes and think how you would have said it to someone on the street. It is what will save Afrikaans. Get down from

[28] "The Afrikaans literature of today is actually one big neurosis." *Oosterlig* 16 August 1985.
[29] *Die Vaderland* 4 July 1987.
[30] *Die Volksblad* 6 October 1988.
[31] "Bevry Afrikaans van die Gilde." Krog was quoted as saying "[die gilde] …laat die skrywers nie uit hul hokke kom nie." *Rapport* 14 October 1988
[32] *Democracy in Action* October/November 1990.
[33] Another term is "loslitafrikaans", literally "hair-down Afrikaans" See endnote 2 in HP van Coller and BJ Odendaal 2007: 114.

> the pedestal and the pulpit, move away from the academic rostrum and speak the language as it grows and as it lies warmly on the tongue (2004: 205).

What one sees is that Krog's early production of distinction was not just about her poetry but also about the position within the field she was taking up (aligning herself with dissident writers like André Brink and Breyten Breytenbach), it is also clear that Krog's literary trajectory and political trajectory were converging in her focus on the cultural institutions' handmaid relationship to the apartheid regime. But one can also notice that Krog had come to a particular realisation about media power, that moments of media attention are focused on particular events and people, and that because of her growing cultural capital as a literary figure, she had become one of those people – an agenda-setter – who could then insert certain topics onto the media agenda, and hence into the public arena. In an interview in 1987 with André le Roux of *Die Burger*, after winning the *Rapport* Prize for *Jerusalemgangers*, Krog said something very revealing about this strategy: "…ek was eintlik bang ek wen nie, anders sou ek nie die kans kry om die 'statement' te maak nie" [I was scared I wouldn't win, and then I wouldn't get the chance to make **the** statement][34]. It is remarkable that in this growing relationship with, and reliance on, the media to convey her dissident stance, Krog was confident that the media would frame her and her words as she intended. By this time, and up to this point, the way she is framed can be captured most succinctly by two repeated appellations: the use of her first name in headlines "Antjie" – the diminutive signalling familiarity and endearment[35], and the use of the adjective "die gekroonde" [the anointed] – signalling her literary status and hence weight and worth.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have used an originary story Krog told at the height of her power and prestige as a public figure, and the supporting media texts, to show that an extraordinary confluence of events, and the intervention of the news media ushered her into both the literary field and the alternative political field at the age of 17. This story, and its archival recreation, show clearly that the actions and reportage of the

[34] *Die Burger* 28 April 1987. And in personal communication (5 November 2005) Krog said how carefully she plans the launches of books and speaking tours with her publishers so as to focus media attention on what she considers important.
[35] See Fowler's chapter on "Terms of Abuse and Endearment" (1991: 110).

news media were very significant in these entries, and that Krog was also firmly captured as a news maker for the years to come. It shows that various people acted as consecrators in interesting and various ways. Her mother was significant in speaking out in public in her defence and in connecting her to the publisher Human&Rousseau (and even for suggesting in public that her poetry was worthy of publication). The established poet DJ Opperman became her field mentor and editor, which was very significant for her successful trajectory beyond the first flush of young poetry-making. The acclaim bestowed on her by the anti-apartheid activists, which was to lie dormant for many years, nevertheless brought her to the attention of significant political figures, which was to have very interesting effects in the future. We can see clearly an emerging trajectory in the literary field, an incipient trajectory in the alternative political field, and the certain attention of the news media.

We also see Krog's embrace of the position and identity of poet to not just produce work of distinction in the literary field but also to use her writing for the creation of a distinctive subjectivity, one which responded powerfully to the political context of South Africa of the 1970s and 1980s. And as Krog continued to write and produce poetry, we see a crafting of a facility with language which, while in the early years dealt with self, home and family and was fairly autobiographical, was also being used to deal with the visceral, the body (especially the female body) and commanding the space, poetically, of passion and the affective. With each successive volume Krog was authoritatively taking up the position of the poet with language for the affective.

Her public, at this time, was bounded by the Afrikaans language. But for a poet, she was a particularly high-selling author, and continues to be so with even her earliest poetry still available for sale. Krog was also steadily attracting the attention of the gate-keepers of the literary field – the anthologisers, the canonisers such as JC Kannemeyer[36], and her work was becoming a topic for study for literary theorists and their students. Both Joan Hambidge and Louise Viljoen started paying attention to Krog in these years and have continued to chart her writing ever since.

[36] Kannemeyer's 1983 *Geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse Literatuur II* has a chapter on Krog.

Chapter Four
Self-Othering

On Sunday 29 October 1989 Ahmed Kathrada, one of the Rivonia treason trialists who had been jailed for life by the apartheid regime, and had just been released from Robben Island as one of the first of the ANC leadership, was given a reception at Soccer City stadium in Soweto. Before a crowd of 80 000 he read a part of Antjie Krog's teenage poem, "My Mooi Land". The extraordinariness of this situation is that Kathrada had been in jail since 1964, and the poem had seen publication only a few times in newspapers in 1970 before disappearing entirely. Schalk le Roux from the newspaper *Beeld* was there and reported[1] that Kathrada read in English the following lines:

> Build me a land where skin colour does not count
> where no goatface in parliament
> can keep things permanently verkrampt
> where black and white hand in hand
> can bring peace and love in my land.

The report stated that Kathrada said to the crowd:

> Baie jare gelede op Robbeneiland het ek 'n gediggie van Antjie Krog gelees. Sy was toe 'n sewentien jaar oud meisie wie met haar matriek op Kroonstad besig was. Die gedig het my baie geimponeer. En ek het dit neergeskryf.
>
> [Many years ago on Robben Island I read a poem by Antjie Krog. She was then a seventeen-year-old girl who was busy doing her matric in Kroonstad. The poem impressed me greatly. And I wrote it down].

Kathrada also told Le Roux that after reading the poem he heard that Krog was working for *Die Burger* (this would have been 1974) and then a while later that she was becoming a highly-thought of poet. Then just a few months before his release he heard – "tot my groot vreugde" [to my great joy] – that Krog had joined the delegation of writers to meet with the ANC in exile. Kathrada told Le Roux that he felt she was part of a "growing group of Afrikaners who are prepared to talk to the ANC and to return to report to their people". The report ended with the interjection of another writer, Eugene Gunning, who had interviewed Antjie Krog about this occurrence. He reported that she was surprised to hear the news of the poem's revival,

[1] "Antjie Krog se gedig roer Kathrada." *Beeld* 30 October 1989.

commenting: “Ek voel ontroerd en ook diep hartseer. Dit is 20 jaar gelede geskryf en nog steeds het dit nie ’n werklikheid geword nie” [I feel moved and also very heartsore. It was written 20 years ago and even now it has never become a reality].

A while later the *Weekly Mail* carried a report on the same incident by Hans Pienaar[2]. This report also carries the few lines Kathrada read, but Pienaar adds this piece of information which shed light on the textual travels and translations of “My Mooi Land”. He says: “The poem was published in her school’s annual[3] which mysteriously made it to the small library on Robben Island, where Kathrada read it.” The *Sunday Times* report of 5 November 1989 written by Evelyn Holtzhausen adds this detail:

> A young Afrikaans poet, whose poem ‘Jammer’[4] was quoted to 70 000 people at the Freedom Rally in Soweto last week, said she wrote it 17 years ago when she was a Standard 9 schoolgirl. And until it was read by Rivonia trialist Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Antjie Krog believed the poem had been ‘lost’. The poem expresses the hope that one day in South Africa ‘black and white’ will ‘hand in hand’ bring peace to this ‘beautiful land’. The poem was published in a school yearbook, says the poet, and has never been included in any of her eight published volumes of verse.
>
> Mr Kathrada said he first read the poem over 10 years ago when he was imprisoned on Robben Island. It was written in Afrikaans but had been translated into English for him by a fellow prisoner. He said he believed it may have been in one of the few magazines political prisoners were allowed to read. “The poem moved me then and I am still moved by it,” he said. “I decided to read it at last week’s rally because to me it shows an encouraging sign that the monolith of apartheid is also being cracked by Afrikaans youth from within the establishment. The old values are being overturned and replaced with new. And it’s an encouraging sign for the shared future of our country. The poem appealed to me as well because it is so anti-racist” (1989: 15).

Accompanying the report, the lines from the poem are printed on the page. What is also notable – and this is in contrast to the Afrikaans journalists’ and readers’ familiarity and knowledge of Krog the poet, is that Pienaar has to assume that he must

[2] “Antjie, the poet from Kroonstad, takes up an angry pen.” *Weekly Mail*, 8 December 1989.
[3] In trying to obtain sight of the school annual I was informed by the secretary of Krog’s high school that after a merger of three high schools in the area, documents from as far back as 1970 had been destroyed.
[4] Two of the journalists present documented this poem’s name as “Jammer”. It is very difficult to establish why the confusion arose over names. This name does not appear in either of Kathrada’s books from his time in Robben Island or attached to the poem when published in newspapers in 1970. The only possibility seems to be an association with a poem that appeared in her first volume *Dogter van Jefta* called “Ma” which contains the lines “ek is so jammer mamma / dat ek nie is / wat ek graag vir jou wil wees nie” (1970: 12).

give his English readers background and history as they will not necessarily know of her, her much-reported exploits, or her work.

In 2005 when Kathrada published *Ahmed Kathrada's Notebook from Robben Island,* the poem appeared in the book like this:

> Build me a land where skin (colour) does not count
> Only your understanding
> Where no goat-face in a parliament can haunt
> And keep things permanently verkramp
> When I can love you
> Lie next to you on the grass without the churches blessing.
> Where at night with guitars we can sing together with gifts of flowers.
> When I am not willed to feed you with poison
> as a strange bird in my nest
> When no divorce court
> Will blind our childrens eyes
> When Black & white hand in hand
> Can bring peace & love
> In my land. -- Antjie Krog (17) Kroonstad Std (10)
> (Huisgenoot -- translation)[5]

And in his book *Memoirs* (2004) he gives some background to his discovery of this poem while in the Robben Island jail:

> Towards the end of 1968 the rigid regulations on reading matter were relaxed slightly, and we were allowed to subscribe to approved magazines such as *Reader's Digest, Panorama, Farmer's Weekly, Lantern* and *Huisgenoot.* We were also given some free publications – *Fiat Lux, Alpha, Tswelopele* and other deeply boring government-funded journals targeted at specific ethnic groups (2004: 234).
>
> More than anything else, books helped to keep our minds occupied … I also kept secret notebooks, filling about seven over the years with favourite quotations and extracts that struck a chord in me (2004: 236).
>
> There was another poem, also by a young girl in her matric year, that made a great impact on me when I chanced upon it in a weekly magazine in 1967 or 1968[6]… I was greatly moved by this poem and

[5] This version is from the photocopy of the actual page given to me by Sahm Venter, editor of *Ahmed Kathrada's Notebook from Robben Island.* Two slightly different versions appear in the *Notebook* (2005: 45) and in *Ahmed Kathrada Memoirs* (2004: 231).

[6] I have transposed the order in which these excerpts appear in Kathrada's book as he must be mistaken about discovering the Krog poem in 1967 or 1968 as it was only written in 1969. His transcription of the translated poem bears no date, only the words "(Huisgenoot)", which Kathrada said in personal communication may have been only a way of referencing an allowed publication in case the notebook was discovered by the guards. The poem may have reached Robben Island either via the Hans Pienaar conjecture that the school magazine found its way there, or through Nelson Mandela's access to outside materials in 1970 when he was studying Afrikaans and so was allowed to read *Huisgenoot.* My

> copied it into my secret notebook. It spoke to me of the ability, especially of youth, to transcend their upbringing, to shake off the blinkers of racism and stereotyping that school and society reinforced at every opportunity, every day. It was written by a seventeen-year-old Afrikaans schoolgirl from the Free State town of Kroonstad. Her name was Antjie Krog (2004: 230-1).

[Trajectory] The attention of important political field consecrators

1. Consecration by Kathrada

On Sunday 29 October 1989 when Krog's "lost" poem re-emerged at that highly-charged moment of major political transition in the mouth of a person with impeccable anti-apartheid, resistance credentials, Ahmed Kathrada was not reminiscing about his need of comforting words in jail, he was performatively using the words at an event marking a major political change in the life of a nation to proclaim a different future for all South Africans, and in the process conferring political legitimacy on Krog the poet. Krog, who was not present, was sought out by journalists to explain the genesis of the poem and asked for her reaction to Kathrada's speech. For the first time the *Weekly Mail* – a paper of high journalistic and political legitimacy in 1989 – paid attention to Krog. The resulting story had to fill in the years in which their readers had missed out on her work, her activism and her growing status[7]. What had Kathrada done? He had consecrated Krog publicly as the type of Afrikaner who was welcome in the struggle for a new and different South Africa. But also, he had anointed her as a voice of that struggle by using her words to mark an event of heightened significance in a time of great political volatility. Kathrada's consecration of Krog as South Africa embarked on a five-year period of major political upheaval and transition (1989 to 1994), was only one of a series of important sanctifications. These were not only to alter her trajectory and move her from operating primarily as a poet with views on the political via the cultural, into the political world proper, but also to reinforce each other, giving her symbolic capital of the most extraordinary sort as a writer and Afrikaans voice.

But before Kathrada, as a key member of the internal ANC leadership in jail, drew the national media's attention to Krog the poet, two other processes of political

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attempts to establish whether the poem had indeed appeared in this magazine have been unsuccessful, despite several searches in several libraries.

[7] Hans Pienaar. "Antjie, the poet from Kroonstad, takes up an angry pen." *Weekly Mail* 8 December 1989.

consecration were firmly underway in Krog's life: the visits to meet with the ANC leadership in exile (as a result of Krog's association with the Afrikaans intellectual elite) and the approval of the township comrades in Kroonstad.

2. Consecration by the ANC in exile

As the political impasse and the violence in South Africa deepened in the mid-1980s several organisations and business people felt that extraordinary efforts had to be taken to talk to the ANC in exile[8]. One of these organisations was the newly-formed Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) which had been set up in 1987 by former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, and Dr Alex Boraine, also a former member of parliament. In July of 1987 Idasa had instigated, with the help of writer Breyten Breytenbach (a member of the ANC living in exile in France), and the President of Senegal, Abdou Diouf, a meeting in Dakar between 16 ANC members and 61 "Afrikaans opinion-formers". The success of the meeting led to further trips to familiarise important South Africans from a range of positions in the country with the ideas, aims and personages of the ANC. In July of 1989 Idasa again set up a meeting, this time with Afrikaans writers and members of the ANC involved in cultural production, to talk about the cultural boycott at Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe. Krog was invited to be part of the delegation with fellow writers André Brink and Etienne van Heerden. They met Marius Schoon who told Krog he and Braam Fischer had read her poetry in jail[9]. Among the ANC delegation were Breyten Breytenbach, Jeremy Cronin, Vernon February, Mongane Wally Serote, Albie Sachs, Willie Kgositsile, Barbara Kgositsile and Barbara Masekela. In December Krog wrote of this encounter for *Die Suid-Afrikaan.* She admitted that her motive for accepting the invitation was "pure curiosity" (1989: 24) and went on at length to describe an emotionally-laden encounter in which the mostly Afrikaans delegation of writers and academics from within South Africa found to their delight that the ANC members were fluent in Afrikaans and eager to speak it, were nostalgic about the country and longing to return, and that they delighted in its literature and culture and were eager to share their own writings. Readings of poetry took place, but

[8] A wave of meetings outside the country's borders had been taking place with the ANC, among them: in 1985 Gavin Reilly, chair of Anglo American, led a delegation of SA business people to meet with the ANC in Mfuwe, Zambia and the executive of the Progressive Federal Party did the same in Lusaka. In June 1986, the Chair of the Broederbond met the ANC at the Ford Foundation offices in New York.
[9] *City Press* 9 July 1989 "Authors join pilgrimage to ANC".

the big task was to discuss the cultural boycott and to get the South African delegation to formally agree to take a position on it, which they did. They issued a communiqué which, in part, said:

> As writers together, from both inside and outside South Africa, intensely aware of our shared concerns and deploring the way in which our culture is impoverished by our enforced separation, we commit ourselves to work for:
>
> - the unbanning of the ANC and all other political organisations
> - the lifting of the state of emergency
> - the release of all political prisoners
> - the removal of troops from the townships
> - the abrogation of all legislation that illegalises legitimate political activity.
>
> Entering the struggle is the means of beginning to be a South African. It is not heroic to oppose apartheid – it is normal (reported in *Democracy in Action* July 1989: 4).

This caused, of course, a strong reaction back home which forced Krog to explain in public her association with the ANC and this endorsement[10]. She told the readers of *Volksblad* that her choice was "boycott over violence". Her stance drew the public ire of her mother (a situation then remarked on in the press[11]) and a powerful reaction from other writers which was then fed into Skrywersgilde meetings and discussed further[12]. In December Krog was part of an Idasa delegation again to meet with the ANC, this time in Paris[13]. *Rapport*[14] carried "Los van die Afrikanerlaer" [Loose from the Afrikaner lager], an excerpt from Antjie Krog's piece in the collection *Afrikaners tussen die tye* edited by Bernard Lategan and Hans Müller[15], in which she claimed "'n gans ander wêreld het vir my oopgestaan" [a whole new world opened up to me].

As Kathrada had noted in his 1989 interview with *Beeld* reporter Schalk le Roux, Krog the young voice of hope from within the Afrikaner lager, first noted in 1970, had over the intervening years become aligned with the faction of dissident Afrikaans

[10] "Sê jou sê" in *Volksblad* 19 July 1989 Krog says "'n mens verkies a boikot bo geweld", *Rapport* 20 November 1989 "Groot digters verskil nog oor boikot". *Vrye Weekblad* 19 October 1989 runs "Debat oor boikot was nodig" and interviews Krog.
[11] "Moeders en dogters" in *Beeld* 27 July 1989. "Dot Serfontein het mos verwoestend ingevlieg onder die Afrikaanse skrywers wat die beraad met die ANC bygewoon het."
[12] *Rapport* 20 November report on the Afrikaans Skrywersgilde meeting in Broederstroom, "Groot digters verskil nog oor boikot", quotes Hein Willemse for and Wilma Stockenstrom against.
[13] *Beeld* 1 December 1989 "Antjie Krog by Parysberaad: ANC kuier in Afrikaans, maar werk is als Engels".
[14] 3 February 1991.
[15] Published by Taurus.

writers within the country who could then be drawn upon to build such a bridge with the ANC. In the 80s her outspokenness within the Afrikaans literary world about the cultural institutions, her alignment with *Vrye Weekblad*, her friendship with André Brink, her association via her poetic style and themes with Breytenbach, all worked to mark her as the type of enlightened Afrikaner who could represent those seeking a political resolution beyond racism and apartheid. When she was included in the 1989 delegations by Idasa and Breytenbach it was still with consciousness that she was located within the literary field and so could represent and speak from that literary-aesthetic platform. But the introduction to the ANC members in exile was a significant moment of consecration with future import in that most of these exiles would return to the country to become its rulers and take up significant positions of political influence. Krog again was made known to another group of important political players – just as she had been in 1970 with the publication of her poem in *Sechaba.* This introduction and knowledge of Krog now among exile members of the ANC was to be reinforced by the Kathrada consecration. But another, and in the South Africa of the late 80s, very important, third form of consecration was to take place in the classrooms and streets of Kroonstad's townships.

3. Consecration by the comrades

> *If I look back I had a hunger to belong somewhere and I felt rejection from the group I was supposed to belong to. It was exhilarating to live an anti-apartheid life – the languages, the people, the feelings on the ground. The links were tough: I had several unspeakable experiences, but it always sparked off critical thinking.*
> *Krog talking to Marinda Claassen on "Woman's World"*[16].

Krog's desire to live an "anti-apartheid" life first took shape in the townships of Kroonstad in about 1985 when, unable to obtain a teaching position in a white school, she found work in the Mphohadi Teachers' Training College (until 1986) and then in the Brentpark High School in the coloured area from 1989 to 1992. Writing for *Leadership SA* Pippa Green quoted Krog's *Lady Anne* editor and friend Gerrit Olivier as saying: "There's a lot of easy talk about the struggle in Afrikaans literary circles at the moment, but very few people expose themselves to their immediate environment as Antjie does"[17]. Green continued: "In a country where unity is still only a rallying call, Krog is slowly trying to build a 'oneness' (a word she uses often) on her home

[16] SABC sound archives T94/725, 16 May 1994.
[17] "New Jerusalem" *Leadership SA* August 1990: p44 ff

ground." In this extensive interview with Krog (conducted in 1990 after she had won the Hertzog Prize for *Lady Anne*) Green probed Krog's involvement in her students' lives. Krog said when she first started teaching she was full of curiosity, asking questions such as "What do you eat? Where do you live? Where do you come from?" She told Green: "The township is 10 kilometres away from me and I didn't know anything about the people who lived there." It was her interactions with her students – many of them seasoned activists – and her membership in the local branch of the Congress of South African Writers (Cosaw) that drew her into assisting their activism, often in mundane tasks like writing pamphlets and organising meetings. Very often "Comrade Antjie" spent a lot of time in her car chauffeuring them to and from meetings. But she had made a decision about whose side of the apartheid wall she was on and the localness of her political commitment. So when the invitation came from Idasa to join other Afrikaans writers in a journey beyond the country's borders to meet the ANC at Victoria Falls in late 1989, she decided – in the spirit of true grassroots struggle accountability – not to go if the local comrades were unhappy that they had not been consulted (by Idasa) about the decision.

> They said I already had all the privileges and here they were, they had devoted their lives to the struggle and they weren't invited. So I said I wouldn't go. I told them, to me the most important contact is with you. The ANC is not going to do anything important to my life here. You are[18].

Eventually the comrades relented – with some outside pressure – and decided that as she was a "comrade in good standing" she should go on their behalf, Krog told Green.

But Krog's involvement with township activists included her work as a poet. A collaboration with SeSotho oral poet Thami Phaliso[19] from Kroonstad resulted in her putting her poetry at the service of the struggle. Krog talked on radio to Joan Hambidge about a singular experience she had with Phaliso at a rally in Bloemfontein in 1990 when 30 000 people gathered to welcome Nelson Mandela who had just been released from jail. Both of them recited poetry to a resounding response from the audience. Reflecting on this particular inter-regnum political moment when poets were called on to serve the struggle, Krog said she was

[18] "New Jerusalem" by Pippa Green in *Leadership SA* August 1990.
[19] She met Phaliso at the "Women Speak" Cosaw rally in Soweto when she realised they both came from Kroonstad. He invited her to join the local branch of Cosaw.

> …working with Cosaw and being commanded to read at rallies. This is poetry not from the inside, you are commanded to address 5 000 people with a microphone and small, useless sound equipment. You have to ask what phrases will connect with black people, how will they believe what you say (especially because you are a woman). It's a wonderful challenge[20].

In the next four years Krog's township involvement was to become as complex as the country's transition out of apartheid, and the interwoven strands of grassroots activism and criminality were to enmesh her deeply. With FW de Klerk's announcement of the unbanning of the liberation organisations she was interviewed by *Rapport*[21] about her reaction. Journalist Coenie Slabber, calls her one of the "most active fighters against apartheid" and quotes her as saying she is very pleased with the announcement. Krog got deeply involved in the local celebrations to welcome the freed Mandela and in various marches undertaken in the townships. These activities drew the attention of Kroonstad's conservative Afrikaners and Krog came out of her house one day to find the letters "ANC" painted on the side of her car with enamel paint. Dennis Bloem of the Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee told *Beeld*[22] this was not the first time Krog had been intimidated and that she was also receiving threatening calls. But things were to get much worse. On the 25th of February in 1992 a local criminal, the leader of the Three Million Gang, George Ramasimong ("Diwiti") was murdered[23]. ANC member Dennis Bloem was arrested and Krog was investigated but not charged[24]. The three men implicated in the murder (Bloem, Roland Petrus and Cassius Ntlokosi) were all known to Krog and the gun used had been secreted at Krog's house. Eventually she testified for the state[25] thus provoking headlines in the English press that read "The rebel poet, the activist… and the dead gang leader"[26] and "It's ANC facing ANC in this trial"[27]. *The Weekly Mail's* Mark Gevisser quoted Bloem as saying of Krog's turning state witness: "…the community still loves Antjie. She's done so much good work here. She's been an activist here since she was 12. She's our sister. She's my sister and, whatever happens, I will not

[20] SABC Sound Archives E94/233. Krog talking to Joan Hambidge about her poetry and her life.
[21] 4 February 1990.
[22] 8 September 1990.
[23] According to a report in *Die Volksblad* of 6 July 1992.
[24] According to *Rapport* of 5 July 1992.
[25] *Die Transvaler* 6 July 1992.
[26] By Mark Gevisser in *The Weekly Mail* 10 to 16 July 1992.
[27] By Jo-Anne Collinge in *The Star* 12 April 1993.

hold it against her." Gevisser called Krog "Afrikanerdom's renegade poet, an elegant wordsmith and eloquent conscience, one of only two white ANC members in town".

The trial resumed in April of 1993 but in the same month *Beeld* reported that Krog had taken up the job of editor of the soon to be relaunched *Die Suid-Afrikaan* and was moving to Cape Town. Local politics had just become far too difficult for Krog to negotiate any longer. While press interest waned in the trial – and it is hard to find archival material giving the conclusion to the saga, Krog turned the events into fiction releasing *Relaas van 'n Moord* [*Account of a Murder*] published by Human and Rousseau in 1995[28]. Strictly speaking this work of non-fiction predates *Country of My Skull* as Krog's first foray into this literary territory. The book is a typical Krog retelling of events which have factual references but in which she employs literary devices to destabilise a strict referential reading of the story of the murder and her involvement.

The extraordinariness of these three mutually reinforcing consecrations by those working against the apartheid regime, is that few white South Africans traversed these boundaries in the alternative political field of the time in quite this way. Krog's situation within the literary field and as an award-winning poet was useful to all three of these groups and their common struggle, as is evident above. But these experiences – with a jailed ANC stalwart, with the ANC leadership in exile and with comrades in the townships – were to mark Krog as a different kind of Afrikaner, as a person firmly on the side of the struggle against apartheid, and as a speaking voice, giving words to that struggle.

4. Achieving the literary heights – the Hertzog Prize

> "Antjie Krog se toespraak"
>
> 'n rym wat 1 minuut neem om te lees (sonder die sitaat)
>
> "Na ontvangs van die prys stap
> u na die kateder en spreek 'n kort
> dankwoord van nie langer as
> *een minuut nie.* U samewerking in die
> verband sal waardeer word."
>
> Die boodskap is loud and clear: ons beplan,

[28] *Account of a Murder* in English published by Heineman and translated by Karen Press would appear in 1997.

ons diagram, ons protokol
óns sê op watter stoel sit watter pol

óns prys, óns betaal
van ons sal jy jou bek afhaal
baaskraties ja, en outakraties
maar die akademie is nie my baby nie
nie my baby nie
nie my baby nie
so lank sy in sulke tjalietjies lê
lyk sy nie na my nie

(wees nie ongemaklik nie dames en here, maar prakties –
die akademie is mos (l)eerbaar en demokra(k)ties)

volgens opdrag sê ek vinnig baie dankie
(10 sekondes is reeds nie meer)
die Hertzogprys bly onontvlugbaar 'n eer
(wat my hopelik nie sal dryf na drama, prosa of drank nie!)

die eer word herverdeel
onder my backupsystem fisies, geestelik, finansieel
onder kamerade, Degenaar, Anna Mofokeng
familie, vriende, kyse wat my kinders tem
oupas, oumas wat verwytloos aanvaar
kleinkinders wat soms sonder hul mame verjaar
my John se instaan, uitstaan, opstaan en bakstaan
so bontstaan om demokragties my te laat oorstaan
"had hom lief ja dit stry ek nie
anders sou ek hom nie wou gevry het nie"
ook met Taurus wil ek herverdeel
defiantly oopgevou staan met sambreel
oor waarhede, wanhopige, en warse skrywers
en laat ons nie vergeet o akademie
hoe tot die dood toe dinge was an nie wou ruimte gee nie

die geld van Afrikanerreputasie
word plesierig herverdeel na konsultasie
60% vir boeke in Afrikaans
uitgegee by Buchu, Genadendaal, die balans
by Kasselsvlei, Ravanpress, St. Helenabaai en Taurus
(laasgenoemde twee kry die grootste advance)
40% om Afrikaanse kinderboeke te koop
waarin swart en wit kinders as matertjies loop
Daan R., H en R, T.berg, Taurus voorsien aan die nood
wat geskenk word aan COSAW biblioteke volgens akkoord

tenslotte 3 sekondes se rymende koeplet:
geld by uitgewers wat demokraties let, boeke by mense
vir wie'k alles feil het, in die taal wat my dié winternag

moersverdaan beethet.
Ek dank u.

Beeld 26 June 1990: 1.

"Antjie Krog's speech"[29]

A rhyme that takes 1 minute to read (without the citation)
"after receiving the prize you walk
to the lectern and deliver a brief
word of thanks *no longer than*
one minute. Your co-operation herein
will be appreciated." [30]

The message is loud and clear: we plan,
we diagram, we protocol
we say on which chair which tuft will sit[31]

our prize, *we* pay
you will shut your trap about us
baascratic yes, and outacratic[32]
but the academy is not my baby
not my baby
not my baby[33]
while she's covered in that shawl
she does not look like me[34]

(do not be uncomfortable ladies and gentlemen, but practical –[35]
the academy is after all receptive to knowledge and
democra(c)tic)[36]

according to instructions I briefly say thank you very much
(10 seconds have already gone)
the Hertzog Prize remains an inescapable honour
(that will hopefully not drive me to drama, prose or drink!)

the honour is redivided
amongst my backupsystem physical, spiritual, financial

[29] This poem translated for the purposes of this thesis by Leonore Mackenzie.
[30] Extract from the Academy's written procedural instructions to Krog prior to the prizegiving.
[31] Translator's note: "pol" = tuft of grass or hair.
[32] Translator's note: "baas" = master , "outa" = old man. The word "outas" refers very specifically to old coloured or black men. A white man is *never* called "outa". Therefore, within the context of Krog's speech, both the Academy and academe in general are upholding the master (baas)/slave (outa) relationship. This could also be a sideswipe at coloured and black intellectuals beginning to achieve success by toadying to whites.
[33] Translator's note: this is a parody of an Afrikaans folk song about covering up an immoral situation.
[34] Lines 12 to 16 are a parody of old Afrikaans folk song about disowning an immoral cover-up.
[35] In other words, the Academy must practice what it preaches.
[36] Translator's note: (l)eerbaar: eerbaar = honourable; leerbaar= receptive to knowledge/teachable, receptive to knowledge. This has a sarcastic tone. Demokra(k)ties involves an obvious wordplay on shit/crap.

amongst comrades, Degenaar, Anna Mofokeng
family, friends, dates who tame my children
grandpa's, grandma's who accept without reproach
grandchildren who at times celebrate nameless birthdays
my John's standing in, standing out, standing up, standing
ever ready to powerfully let me be[37]
"loved him yes that I do not dispute
else I would not have wanted to make love to him"[38]
with Taurus too I want to redivide
defiantly, vulnerable, their umbrella
shelters truths, despairing, and otherwise writers
and let us not forget O academe
how moribund things were and oppressive

the money of Afrikaner reputation
is happily redivided after consultation
60% for books in Afrikaans
published by Buchu, Genadendaal, the balance
at Kasselsvlei, Ravanpress, St.Helenabaai and Taurus
(the latter two receive the largest advance)
40% to buy Afrikaans children's books
in which black and white children are buddies
Daan R., H en R, T.berg, Taurus addresses the need
donated to Cosaw libraries as agreed

in conclusion three words of rhyming couplet:
money to publishers democratically alert, books for people
to whom I owe all, in the language that locks me this winter's night
in her fucking exhausting grip[39].
I thank you[40].

A fourth very significant consecration in this period was to come from the establishment in the literary field who crowned Krog with Afrikaans literature's highest award, the Hertzog Prize. In April of 1990 came the announcement from the Akedemie vir Wetenskap en Kuns [Academy for Science and Arts] that the prize was being awarded for her latest volume of poetry *Lady Anne* (1989). Previous winners

[37] Translator's note: in line 30 she refers to her husband John as being "demokra(g)ties". I take that to mean that he is a powerfully democratic partner; powerfully supportive of her as his equal; powerfully supportive of letting her be to do her own thing.
[38] Translator's note: the word vry also means free/liberated. The line could allude to her and John being free/liberated in and by their love for each other.
[39] Translator's note: Despite her insults Krog accepts the prize. Why? The answer lies in the last three lines of the poem: "die taal wat my die wintersnag / moersverdaan beethet" – "the language that locks me this winter's night / in her fucking exhausting grip". She does it for the language Afrikaans (her beloved mother tongue) that locks (holds her prisoner) this winter's night (it is literally the winter month June and she is receiving a prize from a "cold" elitist institution/world that figuratively leaves her cold). "Moersverdaan" is a neologism combining *uterus* + *mother* + *fuck you* + *exhausted* + *touched*. Such powerfully mixed feelings at being awarded – and accepting – the Hertzog Prize!
[40] Translator's note: By using "u" – the respectful form of address in Afrikaans – she mocks the self-importance of her hosts and assembled guests.

were NP Van Wyk Louw, DJ Opperman, Elisabeth Eybers, Uys Krige and Ernst van Heerden. But as in 1984 Breytenbach had famously refused to accept the prize tainted by the academy's association with the apartheid regime, questions were raised in the Afrikaans press as to whether Krog would accept it. Krog told *Rapport* "sy is die soort mens 'wat alles aanvaar wat na jou kant toe kom – van smeerbriewe tot die Hertzogprys'"[41] [She is the sort of person 'who accepts anything that comes to you – from smear letters to the Hertzog Prize'].

Vrye Weekblad of 29 June reported that she said she would use part of the prize to buy Afrikaans children's books for the Cosaw library. In her acceptance speech – for which she was allocated a single minute – she recited a sharply-worded poem in which, in trademark Krog-style, she mingled English and Afrikaans words, made reference to her sex life, and put in the mocking refrain "die akademie is nie my baby nie, nie my baby nie, nie my baby nie…" [the academy is not my baby, not my baby, not my baby]. Interest in her acceptance of the prize and the controversial speech was so high that *Beeld* printed it in full[42].

Years later (from the vantage point of 1994) when she was interviewed by Marinda Claassen for "Woman's World"[43] she said she was cynical about these kinds of prizes: "It's all about who the judges are, what their hidden agendas are, who they're trying to please, who they want to work out (sic)." She said she felt she had become awfully respectable, lost her youth and joined the establishment after winning the prize. And two months later she told Joan Hambidge on radio[44]:

> The recognition comes afterwards, it is never in your mind while you are writing. There is suspicion surrounding the akedemie, you recognise that they are trying to say something by awarding these prizes. Winning this prize puts you in a different league, I find it terrifying and disgusting, it gives you an establishedness (sic) which I resent.

5. Krog's increasing salience for the news media

By this point in Krog's biography – 1990 – we see a person with a rising trajectory in two fields – political and literary. Various forms of consecration have given her a very

[41] "Deurbraak met Antjie se 'Anne'" by Coenie Slabber, Rapport 22 April 1990: 6.
[42] "Antjie Krog se toespraak" *Beeld* 26 June 1990: 1.
[43] SABC Sound Archives T94/725, 16 May 1994.
[44] SABC Sound Archives E94/233, 24 July 1994.

unusual position in the alternative political field for a white Afrikaans-speaking poet, and she has reached the heights of the South African Afrikaans literary establishment. It is tempting to ask at this point, having reached this point literarily, what further accolade could she aspire to? In the third field that concerns this thesis – the news media – there are two aspects to take note of at this point in Krog's trajectory. The first is that during this period of time – the politically volatile second half of the '80s – Krog was regularly writing for the mainstream Afrikaans press (*Volksblad, Beeld)* and for the alternative weekly *Vrye Weekblad*. But except for columns for *Vrye Weekblad* in which she freely proclaimed her opinions and political stance, she confined her writing to commentary on books and poetry. The second aspect is that of news media attention to Krog. Returning to the Dearing and Rogers' insight that agenda-setting, which signals "salience" to the public, is very much about the repetitive appearance of a newsmaker in the news pages, we see that Krog's every controversial move and statement was being captured with assidiousness by journalists, both Afrikaans and English[45]. But in the next chapter we see Krog taking a much-more decisive and interesting turn into journalism and the news media world with further extraordinary consecrations in that field, and very interesting shifts in both trajectory and subjectivity.

But located as we are at the hinge of recent South Africa history – 1989 – in this chapter, it is now opportune to examine Krog's ongoing experimentations in subjectivity via her poetry writing and to do so, it is important to engage deeply with the text that preoccupied her at this time – *Lady Anne.*

[45] Employing the agenda-setting method of counting numbers of stories (Dearing and Rogers 1996: 18) and using the SA Media archive (University of the Free State) and the National English Literary Museum archive, I found 27 articles on Krog in the 1970s, 110 in the 1980s, 261 in 1990s and 408 from January 2000 to December 2008. In the SABC radio archives there are 17 recordings of interviews with her between 1979 and 1995 on various literary programmes.

[Subjectivity]
Self-othering using Lady Anne Barnard as a guide

Kroonstad Maart '86.
P.S. I found several names: Augusta de Mist, Mrs Koopmans
de Wet & Lady Anne Lindsay (Barnard). Will look into them.
Liewe S. in *Lady Anne* 1990: 15

Wees gegroet Lady Anne Barnard!
U lewe wil ek besing en akkoorde
daaruit haal vir die wysie van ons Afrika kwart.
Ek knieval, buig en soen u hand:
wees u my gids, ek – u benarde bard!
Lady Anne 1990: 16

[Greetings Lady Anne!
I want to sing your life and use chords from it for the song of
our quarter Africa
I fall on my knees, bow and kiss your hand
be my guide, I your desperate bard!]

"Lady Anne as guide"

I wanted to live a second life through you
Lady Anne Barnard – show it is possible
to hone the truth by pen
to live an honourable life in an era of horror

but from your letters you emerge
hand on the hip talented but a frivolous fool, pen
in sly ink, snob, naïve liberal
being spoilt from your principles by your useless husband
you never had real pluck
now that your whole frivolous life has arrived
on my desk, I go beserk: as a metaphor, my Lady,
you're not worth a fuck

Down to My Last Skin, 2000: 73[46]

In 1986, after a period of literary dearth[47], Krog began work on the volume which is considered her greatest poetic work by literary critics[48] and which won her the

[46] The poems which appear in English in this 2000 collection are Krog's own translations from Afrikaans.
[47] In the volume *Lady Anne* the poem on page 13 begins: "twee jaar aankomende maand / sedert *Jerusalemgangers* / twee jaar sonder 'n enkele reel donker / sonder 'n gedagte self wat sou kon tot dig / so wil ek my lewe hê so / skryfloos van hierdie huis die bindmiddel…" [two years this coming month / since *Jerusalemgangers* / two years without a single dark line / without a thinking self which could make poetry / I want my life to be so / without writing of this house the glue…]
[48] Joan Hambidge in *Beeld* of 18 September 1989 said "Antjie Krog se *Lady Anne* wys sy kan sonder Opperman werk." [Antjie Krog's *Lady Anne* shows she can work without Opperman]. "Met die

Hertzog Prize (in 1990). True to the form she had been taught by DJ Opperman[49], she crafted the volume around a theme through which various ideas and thoughts were worked out, but this time she went in search of a *person* to hold the poetry, a "guide". The volume itself shows that she toyed with several names – "Augusta de Mist[50], Mrs Koopmans de Wet[51] & Lady Anne Lindsay (Barnard). Will look into them." – and then settled on Lady Anne as her poetic interlocutor. It seems from the commonalities in this list of three that Krog was deliberately seeking out a woman¸ a historical person from the early days of settlement in South Africa, from the time of first colonialism and encounter with the indigenous peoples, and a writing woman (both De Mist and Barnard produced "travel" accounts), or at least an educated, aware, thinking, conversing, assessing woman, as in De Wet. Her reasons for choosing Lady Anne seem – on the surface – to have been technical and personal, as well as literary. She told Rina Thom in an interview with the SABC that she had wanted to write an epic and that Lady Anne "lent herself" to this task[52]. Lady Anne certainly did, being a prolific chronicler of her own entire life, and – towards the end of her life – engaged in adding her own life's story to her nephew's project of putting the Lindsay family on paper from the 1300s![53] But from the poetry itself comes Krog's declaration that she sought a guide[54]. to help her navigate the "era of horror" which was the South

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verskyning van dié bundel is dit weer eens die geval en werd dit ook duidelik dat sy een van die belangrikste digters is wat nou in Afrikaans werk," said Louise Viljoen in *Volksblad* 13 January 1990. [With the appearance of this volume it is again clear that she is one of the most important poets now working in Afrikaans].

[49] I owe this insight to Tim Huisamen from the Rhodes University Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands.

[50] Julie Augusta Uitenhage de Mist, the 18-year-old daughter of Advocate Jacob Abraham Uitenhage de Mist, who was sent by the Batavian Republic to the Cape as Commissioner-General in 1803. She travelled the colony with him going as far as the Fish River in the east and writing a diary in French – subsequently translated into Dutch and published as "Dagverhaal van une Reis naar die Kaap de Goede Hoop en in de Binnenlanden van Afrika" which appeared in a magazine called *Penelope* published in Holland (Mills: 19--).

[51] Marie Koopmans de Wet was the daughter of Hendrik J de Wet, President of the Burgher Council during the first British occupation of the Cape. She was highly educated for the time, spoke several languages, painted, played music and travelled. She become known as the hostess of the Salon of Strand Street where she received and entertained presidents, governors, politicians, travellers, scientists and academics. Her intervention saved the Castle from partial demolition, prevented unsympathetic alterations to the Groot Constantia homestead, stopped the removal of old trees in the Company's Garden and the closure of a Malay cemetery at the foot of Signal Hill.
From http://www.museums.org.za/koopmans/occupants.htm accessed 23 September 2005.

[52] SABC Sound Archives T89/843, 3 August 1989.

[53] Resulting in the 1849 three-volume *The Lives of the Lindsays or a Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres.*

[54] Krog told the Wits Winter Forum in 1993 that *Lady Anne* was "not a mirror" but a "vessel". SABC Sound Archives T89/843, 3 August 1989.

Africa of the late 1980s under PW Botha's successive states of emergency. In an early poem in first part of the volume she says:

> ek is op soek na 'n vrou met taal en transparante see
> wat kan droogdok op papier;
> ek dink nie voorts in verse nie maar bundels en die snode
> ys daarvandaan;
> is my liggaam so stort ek oorbord
> spoor ek haar nie in my biografiese Woord. (*Lady Anne* 1989: 15)
>
> [I am searching for a woman with language and transparent sea[55]
> who can drydock on paper;
> I am thinking from now on not in verses but in bundles…]

Having settled on the Scottish aristocrat (who came to the Cape in 1797 accompanying her husband who was Cape Colony secretary under the newly-established British imperial power), Krog then travelled to Scotland to do her research among Lady Anne's original letters, diaries and drawings[56]. The resulting volume appeared in 1989 just after Krog was included in the writers' delegation which travelled to the Victoria Falls in July to meet the ANC to discuss the cultural boycott, and just before the newly-released Ahmed Kathrada stood up at the Soweto rally and read her "lost" poem "My Mooi Land". Because its publication sits at that pivotal moment in South Africa's history in which apartheid began to visibly unwind, and because it marks the shift that Krog makes from Afrikaans poet of the domestic subject to South African writer of the national situation, from literary Afrikaans audience to national, (and eventually international) English-speaking and not necessarily literary audience, *Lady Anne* is worth some intense scrutiny for the purposes of this project. It is my contention that the "self-fashioning" through writing that this project is predicated upon, is to be found in the ongoing construction of Krog's distinctive voice and embrace of particular concerns in *Lady Anne*. But also Krog's experimentation with an interlocutor was to become an important literary device of experimenting with subject positions which she would develop from an engagement with a single, historical, female character into a wider listening to and hosting of hundreds of present-day voices in her work on the South African Truth and

[55] Nautical imagery is a powerful poetic vehicle in *Lady Anne*, but the transparent sea/transparency (the pun works well in English) is also being used in the sense of a *tracing* from which another drawing can be made.

[56] Barnard left her writings to her nephew, son of her eldest brother. The writings are now the property of the Earl of Crawford and on loan to the National Library of Scotland.

Reconciliation Commission. Krog's poetic reworking of the life and writings of others goes back to 1974 when in *Beminde Antartika* she wrote a poem about the German settler Selma Paasch whose family lived on a farm called Okankasewa in the Grootfontein district near Otavi. The family travelled to Okavango in Angola where they were attacked and their two children captured by Bushmen, after which Paasch returned to Germany. Then in 1981 in the volume *Otters in Bronslaai* she created a poem about trekker Susanna Smit which was reconstructed from this woman's diary in Dutch of the years 1799-1863. Smit is the legendary woman who confronted British commissioner Henry Cloete in Pietermaritzburg, telling him even though the all-male Volksraad had decided to submit to British rule of Natal, the trekker women would cross the Drakensberg mountains barefoot rather than submit to this loss of liberty (quoted in Herman Gilliomee *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* 2003: 169). In Lady Anne Barnard, Krog was to extend this work by using this particular character and her particular experiences to engender an entire volume of poetry.

Anne Barnard

Lady Anne Lindsay was born on 8 December 1750 to the aged Earl of Balcarres and his much younger wife Anne Dalrymple, the first of 11 children. Through her maternal grandmother Lady Dalrymple, who lived in Edinburgh, she was to meet some of the brightest minds of the day – David Hume, Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson[57]. After the death of her father in 1768, Anne, aged 23, moved to Edinburgh where she already had a circle of friends. She was considered charming, clever and elegant and it seems that it was during this time that she met and made a life-long friend of Henry Dundas, a Scottish lawyer who had been appointed Solicitor-General for Scotland and who was to become Secretary for War and the Colonies under George III[58]. It was also at this time that she composed the ballad *Auld Robin Gray*, of which she kept her authorship secret for many years and which was to become extremely famous as a poem. In 1772 Anne moved to London to live with her widowed sister.

[57] Edinburgh was a centre of enlightenment activity in the late 1800s with its own salons and circulation of powerful people – see Alastair Hannay's *On the Public* 2005. Anne wrote to Margaret from her grandmother's house: "Dinners go on as usual… which being monopolised by the divines, wits and writers of the present day, are not unjustly called 'the dinners of the eaterati' by Lord Kellie, who laughs at his own pun until his face is purple" (quoted by Wilkins 1913: 7).

[58] Wilkins calls him the Secretary of State for War, Treasurer of the Navy and President of the Board of Control in Pitt's first administration (1913: Preface). He later acquired the title Lord Melville.

> By the time Anne arrived at her sister's house in London, Margaret had already formed the core of the famous coterie, which would carry abroad the fame of the Lindsay sisters. Allied to most of the great families of England and Scotland, the two young women had little difficulty in becoming integrated into London's smartest and most exclusive circles… the sisters soon realised that the salon of a great lady would be the seed-bed for most political manoeuvres which would later come to fruition in the House of Lords or the House of Commons. The influence of women was tremendous and subtle (Masson 1948: 43).

Henry Dundas helped Anne with introductions to his friends in London and it was not long before she became intimate with the Prince of Wales (who drew her into his romantic intrigues), with William Pitt, the prime minister and William Windham, who was to become a future Secretary for War and the Colonies. As Dundas rose in government he made increasing use of Anne as a confidante, often visiting her house to discuss issues of the day.

Working from a number of contemporary sources, in particular the many letters which passed between Lady Anne and her interlocutors, Madeleine Masson constructs a picture of a highly intelligent, well-connected woman living in the last half of the 18th century and making full use of all the privileges of her situation. Anne attended the salons and gatherings of the privileged class, furthered her education through her own reading and her contacts with the thinkers frequenting London. She travelled and was a perspicacious observer and prolific writer of the events going on around her. For a woman she also had a high degree of control over her own financial circumstances – even at one point taking up the renovation and selling of houses in London in order to make extra money with her widowed sister. It was her eventual marriage to a much younger man, Andrew Barnard, when she was already in her 40s, which was to precipitate her coming to South Africa. On 31 October 1793 she married Andrew, she was 43, he was 32. Anne used her relationship with Dundas, petitioning him many times by letter, to get Andrew a post in the colonial system. England was worried that a war with France might lead to the French seizing the Cape Colony (then under the control of the Dutch) and thus damaging England's ability to reach the East and India. The government decided to take the colony pre-emptively in June of 1795. Lord Macartney was sent out as Governor and Andrew Barnard as his secretary. Macartney's wife, as many colonial administrators' wives did, remained in England.

But Anne went with her husband as she had her own purpose in travelling to the Cape – an unofficial commission from Dundas to be his informant.

When they arrived at the Cape Macartney decided to let the Barnards live in the Castle, the quarters traditionally reserved for the highest colonial authority, while he took up a smaller residence in the Company Gardens. Lady Anne took upon herself the duties a governor's wife would have carried out. Masson records that this did not go smoothly as Anne had to deal with numbers of colonists who did not immediately bow to her authority and respond to her invitations, and she found herself travelling out into the colony to meet and make friends with Dutch burgers and those often estranged from the new English power and suspicious of her intentions. It is evident from reading her letters that Anne threw herself into representing the compassionate face of the new colonial regime and learning all about the colony so that she could be an accurate and knowledgeable correspondent for Dundas. In the process she made many friends among the Dutch burgers and she actively travelled beyond the boundaries of the town to visit outlying areas such as Stellenbosch and Swellendam[59].

Towards the end of their five years in the Cape, Macartney became ill and returned to England and General Francis Dundas (Henry's nephew) took over as acting governor. This was to usher in a period of disagreement over Andrew's responsibilities as secretary and his and Anne's occupation of the Governor's quarters in the Castle. Dundas was then succeeded by Sir George Yonge, whose niece, a Mrs Blake, then acted as hostess for the Governor. Lady Anne continued to entertain, but on a lesser scale, and her unrevised letters from this time show the strained relations with the Governor and the jealousy she felt directed towards herself and Andrew, who was seen as enjoying high status only because of his marriage to her. Yonge became a profligate governor, spending government money unwisely and drawing the disapproval of both the Barnards and General Dundas – and it was Lady Anne's letters to Henry Dundas that persuaded the colonial regime to remove him from his office in the Cape.

[59] In her letters gathered together as "A Tour into the Interior" she claims that they covered "seven hundred miles of Africa" by ox wagon, see Robinson 1973: 158.

At this time Anne began to petition Dundas to recall them to London. Eventually this happened when the Cape Colony was ceded to the Dutch following the Peace of Amiens. She returned alone leaving Cape Town on 9 January 1802 and leaving Andrew to see the government satisfactorily handed over to the new Batavian commissioner [60]. When Andrew returned they settled in Wimbledon and waited anxiously for news of a new appointment. When Britain again took occupation of the Cape in January 1806 – after war broke out again against the French – her friend Windham, now Secretary for War and the Colonies, sent Andrew on a six-month return commission to the Cape in May 1807. Andrew was ill on the boat going out and in October on a journey inland became very ill and died. His grave is in a cemetery in Somerset West and bears the words written by Anne: "Colonists – he sought the welfare of your country and loved its inhabitants" (Robinson 1973: 296).

Anne returned to her sister Margaret's house in Berkeley Square for the next five years. Dundas died in 1811 and Windham died in 1812. As Anne grew older she withdrew from London society and from her role as confidante to the politicians of the day. She spent the last years of her life revising her diaries and letters for the publication of the great family history of the Lindsays. But before she died on 6 May 1825, she allowed Sir Walter Scott, who had become a great friend in her old age, to put the persistent speculation to rest and to reveal that it was she, a woman, who was the author of the *Ballad of Auld Robin Gray*.

Barnard the writer

It is interesting to note that in picking Lady Anne Barnard as her guide, Krog chose – from the height of the Enlightenment period – a woman who was engaged in many of the practices that that historical period was to usher in as features of the public sphere of the modern world. In his seminal work *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* Jürgen Habermas points to the rise of a particular kind of dimension of public life that involved the circulating of information through letters and gatherings in private places, most notably in the homes – salons – of various educated women who acted as hosts. In his investigation of the power of the literary during the Enlightenment period, Robert Darnton (2000) points to the great flourishing of diaries, journals and letters and the publishing and disseminating of information that

[60] To Commissioner-General de Mist, Augusta's father.

burgeoned during the last half of the 18th century. Barnard's commitment to documenting her own life and that of those around her was part of this opening up of literary activities to private persons and particularly for women. In both Edinburgh and London (and fleetingly in Paris) Barnard was at the centre of such activities, both participating in the circulation of information and in hosting discussions in her London home, thus forming this "third" space between private, domestic life and state-public life in which important and critical issues were able to be aired. When she came to the Cape, she brought to this outpost of Europe a taste of the practices of the public sphere being enjoyed in London and Edinburgh.

Barnard is also located at a moment in time which feminist theorists call the "First Wave" of feminism. The time in which women like Mary Wollstonecraft were taking issue with the social roles allocated to women. Barnard though, as Madeleine Masson claims, was no "bluestocking"[61], she used her aristocratic lineage and political connections to participate fully in society with the power given her by those connections and not through a 'feminist' identity. It is noteworthy that while she was happy to be known as the author of the letters and diaries, she concealed her authorship of her poem for many decades – it would have been quite seemly to be the female author of the feminine genres of diaries and letters, but not of the masculine genre of epic poetry. Notably, this moment is also the time at which the movement for the abolition of slavery was gathering momentum and so the engagement publicly with the issues of treating various colonial others as commodities was also being placed on the public agenda. There is no question that Barnard was aware of – and even sympathetic to – the activities of campaigners such as William Wilberforce. Her letters from the Cape show her interest in the treatment of slaves and her desire to collect information from this outpost to inform the abolitionists' agenda.

Barnard left her life's work in writing to her nephew, son of her eldest brother. The work is in two parts: a six-volume *Memoir* of her life which omitted the period at the Cape, and three volumes of *Cape Journals* – "Sea Journal", "Residence at the Cape of

[61] Bluestockings were women who gathered for artistic, literary intellectual and witty exchanges. Critics have used the term to refer to learned and thus, in their minds, unfeminine and pretentious women. The term was evidently first used in the 1750s to refer to women and men in London who gathered for conversation. This definition from Kramerae and Treichler 1992.

Good Hope" and "Tour into the Interior"[62]. She took this work extremely seriously. At the beginning of the *Memoir* under the date 1822 she gives an account of her decision to give up her carriage and horses and to use the money to employ "transcribers… portrait painters… bookbinders". (Lenta and Robinson's introduction 1994: xiv). Lenta and Robinson comment that by keeping the *Memoirs* and *Journals* separate Barnard "seems to have seen them [the *Journals*] as possessing a different kind of interest from the *Memoir*, more closely related to the travellers' accounts which were popular at the time" (1994: xv).

Her writing method is described by Lenta and Robinson (xv). They quote her:

> I think aloud on paper, give my opinions to it, tell my story true or false as I chance to hear it, sometimes supposing myself addressing my sisters, sometimes writing a memorandum for myself only… but in every page there is a chance that something may be found which is perfectly unsuited to the eye of someone (*Diaries* September 1799).

and then comment:

> The tone, of a conversation with intimates, or with herself, would be inappropriate to the revised *Journals*. The apologies for lack of skill and the discussion of the readership which she hoped for, at the beginning of Volumes 1 and 2 of the *Journals*, explain why she felt that greater discretion and formality was required in them.

Curiously, having invested so much effort into the revision of the *Journals*, in the prefatory matter at the beginning of Volume 1 she firmly forbids publication. This prohibition was "habitual" say Lenta and Robinson and add that the *Memoir* also contains this injunction. "In both cases the prohibition seems to represent a wish to avoid the notoriety which was a concomitant, in the period, of a woman's appearance in public life" (xvi). They continue:

> There is no doubt she wished her revised writings to be current in a large group. Her nephew the 25th Earl of Crawford who published *The Lives of the Lindsays* in 1849 felt no scruples in incorporating an edited version of the Cape *Journals* and parts of the *Memoir*… Lady Anne, however willing to conform to the prejudices of her class and period concerning the impropriety of women publishing, did not wish her work to remain unread or without influence.

Barnard's writing production has been divided into two strands for analysis by various theorists: the *Letters* to Dundas[63] in which she was operating as his informant, and the

[62] She intended a fourth volume in which the events of her voyage home via St Helena would have been recorded, but never completed it.
[63] Her letters to Dundas stayed in his family until acquired by the SA National Society in 1948.

Journals in which she was casting herself not only as a diarist and chronicler of events, but as a travel writer – particularly in the section *Journey to the Interior* – in the mould of the Victorian explorers and the writing of the day which was scientifically-driven to produce great volumes of knowledge about new and as yet undiscovered lands. Intertwined with these two sets of outputs is her position as a woman, which gives her a particular vantage point, and a particular style, which though unofficial was not without power and durability.

In her time at the Cape, Barnard wrote screeds of letters and not just to Dundas. She also wrote to Windham, Marquis Wellesley (Governor-General of India who spent time at the Cape en-route to the East in 1798), Lord Macartney once he had returned to England, and various others. But her "letters" to her sisters seem to have been addressed to them in the form of the *Journals*. WH Wilkins, the first compiler of the letters to Dundas and some others, notes:

> They are not merely the letters of a clever woman to her intimate friend, but those of the wife of the first Secretary of the Cape Colony to the Secretary of State at home. Lord Melville was the Minister chiefly responsible for the annexation of the Cape Colony by the English. Almost alone among British statesmen, he early recognised the importance of our keeping the Cape, not only because of its value as a station on the road to India, but because of the internal resources of the Colony and the great possibilities of development. He called the Cape his 'favourite child,' he watched over it with unflagging zeal, and he resigned office rather than be a party to its cession to the Dutch (1913: Preface).

Wilkins is convinced that Dundas had given Barnard a particular type of commission:

> He appointed Lord Macartney first Governor of Cape Colony, and MR Barnard, Lady Anne's husband, Secretary… Lord Melville charged her to conciliate the Dutch as much as possible, and to write to him freely about everything that occurred. These letters will show how well she fulfilled his wishes in both respects.

A later editor of her letters, Antony Robinson comments:

> One thing that does emerge from a comparison of these letters however is the writer's ability to change her style according to the person she is addressing. To Dundas she writes as a dear friend – her equal, even if a public figure, and one she can importune, or on occasion even plead with, if the situation warrants. Lord Macartney she addresses as a friend, but is never familiar, while to Windham, as befits a rejected but not despised suitor, she is affectionately personal. To the old reprobate Wellesley [Governor-General of India], she can be light of touch, flippant and well-nigh scandalous (1973: 4).

By adopting the genre of travel or adventure writing for her journals, Barnard undertook forays into writing territory which was male, and dominated by the official, learned and scientific. It seems that the commission from Dundas emboldened her – she was charged with gathering information. There are many instances in the *Journals* in which she decries her lack of knowledge and scientific training as a woman but there are also moments in which she triumphs in her female ability to see detail and human connections which male chroniclers overlook. In the 1994 release of these *Journals,* the editors Robinson and Lenta comment:

> Her journals are uniquely valuable in two respects: The first, that they offer 'the interesting domestic particular of life in Cape Town' in the period, which, as she commented, male writers tended to consider beneath their notice. It is thanks to Lady Anne that we know so much about the dress and social habits of the Dutch, about their public behaviour and the political loyalties and regrets which they tried to keep secret, about the diet available in the town, and the behaviour of the British of the period there. Her jokes about Dutch rusticity are matched by her dislike of gossips and snobberies amongst the British garrison and officials. The second valuable characteristic of her account is the breadth of her knowledge of the society which she describes: friendly with Lord Macartney, and the wife of an important official, Lady Anne had access to political information which would have been unavailable to the ordinary resident at the Cape, Dutch or British. As a woman she held no official position which might constrain her in writing of what interested her, at least to the extent that a male official was constrained – although it must be admitted that the unrevised diaries are much franker on all topics (1994: xvii).

The most interesting official author of this time to compare her writings to is John Barrow. Barrow was on Macartney's staff and undertook two journeys into the interior to help Macartney with the information for a report recommending the usefulness of South Africa for development as a colony[64]. He also produced a map on the hinterland as well as an account of its geography, flora, fauna and peoples[65]. An interesting detail is that Barnard's trip up Table Mountain was organised for her by Barrow. Robinson and Lenta say:

> Lady Anne's sense of her role was the reverse of his (Barrow's): she knew herself to be at best peripheral to the world of scientific knowledge, but she was equally clear that she was central and authoritative in the world of human exchanges. Henry Dundas had signalled her centrality in this respect when he placed her in a position

[64] "Sketches of the Political and Commercial History of the Cape of Good Hope" Mss 60 and 61 by Lord George Macartney, Brenthurst Library.
[65] Barrow's *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa.* London: Cadell and Davies, two volumes 1802 and 1806, were based on these reports.

> of social prominence: her own talents and interests led her to produce, in the *Journals*, an extensive and fascinating account of the people of the Cape (1994: xviii-xix).

They add:

> Barnard may have consciously defined some of her subject matter in terms of what Barrow omitted. She records that he showed her his journals in draft and comments significantly: 'He offered to show me the Tours in its rough State, before he went on it, and I gladly accepted. I longed to make him spare the pruning knife with which men of letters are apt to lop away until all the tendrils, the interesting domestic particulars which create interest while giving information.' (from her account marked "Stillingbosch November 1797").

Mary Louise Pratt says of Barrow that he produced "a strange, highly attenuated kind of narrative that seems to do everything possible to minimise the human presence" (1992: 59).

The topic of slavery is perhaps one of the most interesting to focus on when assessing the attitude of colonial writers to the worthiness of colonies for development and cultivation. At the time Barnard was in the Cape a significant movement campaigning for the abolition of slavery was being mounted in London. Robinson and Lenta comment that at the Cape Colony this was a "very touchy issue" (1994: xviii). The Dutch had traded in and imported slaves to South Africa, and while the British continued the practice, they were more alert to the growing resistance back home to this form of labour in their colonies. They say: "Macartney would only discuss the import of a cargo of slaves in a private letter to the Secretary of State for War as opposed to an official despatch." They point out that like other settlers the Barnards were slave owners "as there was little market for free labour at the Cape". In her writing Barnard shows herself to be in agreement with the general British assumption at the time that their treatment of slaves at the Cape was relatively humane. She also showed an interest in the state of the Khoikhoi, who mostly worked on farms in a kind of serfdom and she records with regret that the terms on which the Cape was ceded to the British by the Dutch in 1795 forbade changes in laws of slavery and oppression of Khoikhoi.

Barnard, the Other in Africa

In reading Anne Barnard's *Journals*, Dorothy Driver is at pains to release this example of early white South African literary production from the category of "racist

stereotypical writing". She deplores the easy activation of the pejorative categories of "self" and "Other" used by critics of colonial writing (and applied to writers such as Barrow) and returns to the *Journals* to investigate more thoroughly how Barnard observes and records the situation she found herself facing in the Cape from 1797 to 1801. Driver says:

> Barnard's *Cape Journals* modify current readings of Cape colonial discourse: rather than simply reproducing established categories of gender, race and class, the journals show ideology *in construction* in eighteenth-century South Africa as Barnard self-consciously deals with the discourses at her disposal. Besides the interlocutory nature of much of Barnard's writing, which stems from its address to various members of an external audience and which often brings with it a certain self-consciousness regarding the writing subject and the discourse being deployed, the *Cape Journals* are often intralocutory: her writing presents different facets of the self, as if the different speaking positions that constitute her subjectivity are engaged in negotiation (or contestation) with one another, the self engaged in dialogue with an "otherness" within. I call the process "self-othering". Moreover, gender, race and class reveal themselves at their points of intersection (rather than as discrete categories), thus disturbing the binary oppositions of "self" and "other" which have formed the basis of much colonial theory (1995: 46).

For my purposes in assessing Lady Anne as "guide" to Antjie Krog and her work of self-fashioning through poetry, there are four useful and transferable points Driver makes about the various subject positions Barnard adopts in her writing. She points out firstly that Barnard's texts call "attention to the different discursive positions that make the writer 'Anne Barnard'" (1995: 47). She quotes her:

> "…he was mistaken if he supposed I was *one* woman, that I was one, two, or three different ones, and capable of being *more*¸exactly as the Circumstances I was placed in required" (in Robinson 1994: 164[66]),

and goes on to say:

> Similarly, Barnard does not merely show a consciousness of her various roles (naturalist, travel writer, artist, earl's daughter, working wife, first lady, and so on), but adopts in her writing one or other of the roles at her disposal, one or other of the generic voices appropriate to and productive of these different roles, thus enabling her to enunciate a set of different perspectives on herself and the world… Multiple roles and multiple voices make up a complex subjectivity, defined not by a static and passive discursive position but by a series of shifts (1995: 47-8).

[66] Driver is using the *Cape Journals* edited by AM Lewin Robinson, 1994.

Secondly, says Driver, Barnard also exhibits a consciousness of her own position often as the Other to the Dutch burgers or to the Hottentots, or the natives. She often records experiences of being *looked at* for her difference or not being seen at all (as in the reaction to her by the Hottentot congregation during the visit to the Genadendal Moravian Mission of 10 May 1798, in Robinson 1994: 331). Driver comments:

> Barnard's momentary recognition of the defining context, which introduces the notion of relative value into these scenes, sometimes expands to give a more complete, if still fleeting, dislocation to her sense of her status as superior in this unknown land. Looked upon by others, she thus looks upon herself (1995: 48).

And thirdly, Barnard shows evidence of inhabiting the position of the Other. There are many examples cited by Driver but probably the most interesting is her observation of slaves about to be sold, in which she watches the slaves watching her and notes that she cannot know their situation because she looks through "free-born eyes" (in Robinson 1994: 157). Driver comments: "This is substantially if subtly different from feeling 'sorry for' slaves, for it is slavery's perspective on her as 'free born' that has informed her gaze" (1995: 48).

Driver's fourth point is one about gender. She says Barnard's shifts in position are notably enabled by way of gender – "That is, through the writer's awareness of the social construction of self which comes through an awareness of her social construction as 'woman'" (1995: 49). Lady Anne's training and practice as an artist was also to give her the facility to take up varying points of view; and that while she was writing primarily in an unofficial capacity, many of her letters were directed at a very senior member of the colonial power and therefore occupied the uncertain and ambiguous space between official and unofficial, private and public. But throughout, Driver finds that Barnard demonstrates a self-conscious taking up of positions in her writing. At the time of her writing from the Cape a major social shift was taking place in European society in relation to the role of women. The 1790s was to become marked by radical writings by women such as Mary Wollstonecraft (who produced *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*). These stood in contrast to the prevailing discourse of the day which, by means of a strict philosophical dualism, aligned women and their weak bodies with "nature" while men and their intelligence were aligned with "culture". The two competing philosophies were to result in a lived contradiction for late 18th century women, with – Driver says – a "habitual self-

depreciation" being coupled with "a sense of potential equality with men" (1995: 52). This contradiction is evident in Barnard's self-positioning through her writings. Driver says:

> In an attempt to construct a way of speaking which was both socially and psychologically feasible, women's voices shifted between the available subject-positions, often taking on self-conscious stances towards *whichever* subject-position was adopted from the range of positions between the polarities of "masculinity" and "femininity", and the qualities or states associated with them: "intellect" and "emotion", for instance, or "culture" and "nature"… Her strategy is necessarily to observe one subject-position from the position of the other, the writer observing the distressed and timid woman, the woman observing the intrepid writer, the ethnographer conscious of the literary woman, and vice versa. These moments of self-othering constitute moments of interrogation and self-irony: the discursive positions are simultaneously recognised and questioned (1995: 53).

Lady Anne: Krog's interlocutor

Given this life and this prolific output of writing, and this experimentation with the self as writing subject, it is interesting that the Lady Anne Barnard who has come down to us through popular history is known only for her hostess-function and her parties and therefore is marked by frivolity and – from this viewpoint – redundancy. Hans Pienaar in his *Weekly Mail* report of 14 December 1989 comments of Krog's interlocutor:

> Is it not a backward step to choose the coffee-table life of a governor's wife who only stayed in the country for six years at the turn of the 18th-century, and whose main claim to fame is that she installed an open air bath in Kirstenbosch?[67] In inimitable fashion Krog flatly admits as much early on: 'As metaphor you are worth f--- all.'

Andre Brink, in his review of *Lady Anne*[68] and after a detailed explanation of Barnard's writings and life, says there are two Lady Anne Barnard texts: the first being the academic collections over the years of her letters, journals and diaries, and the second the "folk history" which gives us a Lady Anne of parties, naked baths in mountain pools and female frivolity at a time of great political intrigue. Brink goes on to comment that in her engagement with Barnard the writer and the Lady Anne persona Krog is working with both these texts, "Krog se geskrif word ingebed in 'n

[67] Pienaar is wrong about this detail, the bath in question was installed by a Colonel Bird.
[68] "Antjie Krog se Lady Anne: 'n Roman van 'n Bundel" *Vrye Weekblad* 18 August 1989: 13.

hele palimpsest van bestaande tekste" [Krog's writing is inbedded in a whole palimpsest of already existing texts].

While Lady Anne was living at the height of Enlightenment optimism in the first flush of confidence in British Imperialism, Antjie Krog was living in the dying days of a decrepit, racist regime. Krog says through her poetry that she sought a guide for direction on how "to live an honourable life in an era of horror", but it is an important question to explore as to why she should feel that this woman of late 18th century London and Cape Town could speak to her in the South African situation of the late 1980s. In one interview Krog said that in doing the research in Barnard's own writings in Scotland she came across the lines: "Every page is a page of struggle. I write to destroy the borders of unbearable pain"[69]. While Krog must have been drawn to Anne Barnard, the keen observer, the prolific writer, the courageous woman[70] and the outsider (she was Scottish among the English, British among the Dutch, colonial among the colonised), it cannot therefore be just a simple matter of comparing similar life experiences and finding a kindred writing spirit. Barnard's sojourn in Africa, her encounter with colonialism's Others and her literary manipulation of subjectivity, notably through the position 'woman', her use of both interlocution and intralocution, therefore offers an analytical route into understanding her usefulness as "guide" – not only as the subject for Krog's poetry, but also for the purposes of this thesis which aims to investigate Krog's altering writer-subjectivity.

What was the "era of horror" Krog refers to? By 1989 South Africa had suffered successive waves of states of emergency declared by President PW Botha, who had a stroke in January of that year, was obviously impaired as a leader but who then refused to step down from the executive position he had created for himself although he resigned as party leader (thus creating a political crisis because of this unprecedented situation of dual power). Not only were the liberation movements banned but the internal peaceful attempts to dislodge apartheid were being received

[69] "Free State's controversial Antjie joins establishment as prizewinner" by Corinna le Grange. *The Star*. 26 April 1990: 21.
[70] See "I think I am the first – Lady Anne on Table Mountain" (*Down to My Last Skin* 2000: 66) and "All I asked as a reward … was that he should accompany me to the top of the Table Mountain … where no white woman had ever been but Lady Anne Monson who had a little of my own turn for *seeing*, which is *seldom seen"* (Robinson: 1994: 217-8).

with enormous amounts of viciousness and force from police, security apparatus and army. Nevertheless the outspokenness against and denunciations of apartheid were fierce and unsilenced despite the repression. The campaign to isolate the country internationally was gathering momentum and in many arenas (such as sport, the arts and travel) was being extremely effective. In his review of *Lady Anne*[71] André Brink pointed to the concatenation of circumstances the poet was dealing with:

> Hiedie vertelsituasie is eerstends dié van 'n vrouedigter wat haar in die Suid-Afrika van vandag besin op noodstoestande … terwyl geweld om haar woed ("geweld wat my witste wederwoord omgrens", 32) en terwyl die konkrete, essensiële land om haar sy gang gaan, terwyl haar private vroulike lotgevalie deurentyd in jukstposisie staan met die groter geskiedenis wat hom voorwoed, probeer sy – móét sy – skryf.
>
> [This narrative situation is firstly that of a woman poet reflecting on emergency situations in the South Africa of today… while violence rages around her and while the concrete, essential land surrounding her carries on regardless, while her personal female circumstances stand in continual juxtaposition with the greater history forging ahead, she tries to – she must – write.]

Krog was working as a teacher first at the Mphohadi Technical College in the black area of Maokeng and then at the 'coloured' high school in Brent Park. As the Nationalist Party stranglehold on South Africa tightened she was increasingly engaging with her students and their struggle against apartheid. What we see here is the same kind of Lady Anne Barnard forthrightness in engaging the Other[72]. This time it is apartheid's Other – but in many ways just as unknown, hidden and geographically demarcated as the colonial Other for a white woman.

In the years in which she was crafting the pieces for the *Lady Anne* volume (1986 to 1989), Krog was actively taking issue in public with the control of writers and the language exercised by the Afrikaans literary laager. Through her friendship with Dene Smuts, who became editor of the magazine *Fair Lady* she was invited to the magazine's book week, and as her subsequent articles for *Die Suid-Afrikaan* and *Fair Lady* show, she had a startling encounter with her literary Others – English-speaking and black.

[71] "Antjie Krog se Lady Anne: 'n Roman van 'n Bundel" *Vrye Weekblad*, 18 August 1989.
[72] I base this comment on my readings of Barnard's letters from the Cape.

Lady Anne – the text

In the very first poem of *Lady Anne* Krog puts the crass and irritable (and Afrikaans) words "Wie is dit wat my bleddiewil afwaarts stuur / na vreemde bodems?" [Who is it who bloody-well sends me downwards / to strange depths] into the mouth of the Lady Anne Barnard. She knows, and we know, that it is Barnard herself – with her ceaseless petitioning of Dundas – who has put her on board for the Cape. And it is Krog who has put them both (Anne and Antjie) in this particular literary boat. And in the next 100 or so pages she undertakes the most complex literary task: to discover dignity and honour as a South African living under apartheid though the medium of a dense, highly metaphorically-layered, literary text, manipulating a historical subject who, in her own right, is a woman with her own mind, writings and history. The project is fraught from the start with the possibilities that the Anne-Antjie fit will not always work, especially when one reads the invocation (in the first section but which comes after eight poems):

> Wees gegroet Lady Anne Barnard!
> U lewe wil ek besing en akkoorde
> daaruit haal vir die wysie van ons Afrika kwart.
> Ek knieval, buig en soen u hand:
> wees u my gids, ek – u benarde bard. (*Lady Anne*, 1989: 16)
>
> [Greetings Lady Anne!
> I want to sing your life and use chords from it for the song
> of our quarter Africa
> I fall on my knees, bow and kiss your hand
> be my guide, I your desperate bard.]

This textual abasement and adoption of a grovelling pose at the feet of the Lady Anne with these dual and conflicting motives (one noble: sing of Africa; one fairly suspect: use another's writer's words to unclog one's own writer's block) is excessive and alerts the reader that this relationship (bard to Barnard) cannot hold for long.

Why Barnard? From previous poetry it is evident that Krog looks for women, often in history, who she can use as mirrors and counterpoints to her self. In this case, Anne has a similar name. Anne is also Scottish, rather than English, and Krog is attracted to those who know what it is to be Other to the British/English. The subject of Boer-British animosity since the South African wars is something she is very conscious of

within Afrikaner history and returns to[73]. Another powerful connection is Barnard's one and only poem (as far as we know) and the time of its writing. In section 2 of *Lady Anne* Krog repeats the *Auld Robin Gray* poem (in Afrikaans) and then dates it "Balcarres 1768". In many of the editions dealing with Barnard's writing no date is given, and there are only the remarks that she wrote it when still young[74]. But in her text Krog makes Barnard 17 or 18 at the time of writing – the same age at which she herself became a published writer. This detail is important, Krog is making a personal connection with someone who like herself has been a precocious writer and someone who primarily negotiates living through writing. But also at this point, Barnard gives Krog – the mother raising four children "without words"[75] – the writing to manipulate and use and play against.

Lady Anne is a consciously postmodern volume full of fragments from a multiplicity of sources – newspaper reports about the political situation, quotes, opinions and comments, fragments from her reading – the acknowledgements show that Krog has been reading a political text and a book on feminism at the time[76], an advertisement, a political poster, aphorisms, a menstrual chart, and drawings of the "tongvis" (sole[77]), plus some scattered information on this fish. It also ranges across time non-chronologically, dipping in and out of the time of writing, the time of research into Barnard's writings and the period of Barnard's life, and winds together Krog the writer with Barnard the interlocutor, sometimes in a poem-inspired transcription which is very closely aligned to Barnard's actual words from a diary entry or letter. The volume is also structured as follows: sections 1, 2, 5, 4 and 3. And ends with two conclusions, "slot" and "slot".

But it is not these obvert experimentations with intertextuality that make this an obviously postmodern work. More importantly, Krog, the writer with writer's block,

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[73] In 1990 at an Idasa writers's conference Krog used the SA War and Afrikaner bitterness at the English as a theme. "Untold damage of the Anglo-Boer War" *Democracy in Action* 19.
[74] Robinson says in the 1973 *Letters* that the poem dates from after 1771 when her sister Margaret married and "being left much to her own devices, Lady Anne developed her literary bent". And see Wilkins (1913: 8).
[75] Another irony: *Lady Anne* contains several poems about writer's block – writing about not writing: "weer eens / voor a bladsy lynloos A4" (1989: 14).
[76] *Contending Ideologies in South Africa* by Leatt, Kneifel and Nürnberger (1986) and *'n Vlugskrif oor Feminisme* by Marlene van Niekerk (1987).
[77] Literal translation is "tongue fish".

is using already-written writing to work on writing, bending it, shaping it, and sometimes breaking it, to her particular task of new poetry. In a radio interview Krog told Rina Thom[78], that *Lady Anne* was constructed as a "collage". She said she was preoccupied at the time with the relationship between "writer and object, the role of the poet and how the poet looks out and reacts to the object and what the poet brings of her own texts and situation to the poem". From this comment it would seem that the text would be better described as a "narcissistic" text, as in the work of Linda Hutcheon who says this is writing that is "textually self-conscious" (1980: xi) or "in some dominant and constitutive way, self-referring or autorepresentational: it provides, within itself, a commentary on its own status as fiction and as language, and also on its processes of production and reception" (1980: xii)[79]. Hutcheon goes on to say that with the rise of bourgeois consciousness came the concomitant development of literature that was self-regarding (1980: 9). Texts of this type show an interest in *how* art is created (1980: 8).

> Texts became interiorised, immanent to the work itself, as the narrator or point of view character reflected on the meaning of his creative experience. This phenomenon of the nineteenth century may well, as Foucault has suggested, be a result of a change in the conception of the relationship between words and things, idea and object (1980: 12).

In the evocation of Lady Anne Krog says:

> I wanted to live a second life through you
> Lady Anne Barnard – show it is possible
> to hone the truth by pen…
> (2000: 73)

While it is certainly a truism that in periods of social horror writers feel compelled to bend the work of the pen to the service of the "truth" (often politically-defined and certainly in South Africa of the late '80s the refrain "culture is a weapon of struggle" was a loud and persuasive cry permeating all dimensions of aesthetic production), Krog's particular engagement with "the truth" has many facets. It is primarily a literary pre-occupation.

> in die begin was die WOORD
> sal my volgende gedig sê:
> enkele duisterlike word
> wat in hom sal dra geen verledes net voorspellings
> geen giedse net genade

[78] SABC Sound Archives T89/843, 3 August 1989.
[79] She adds… this kind of writing, it is "textually self-aware… self-reflective, self-informing, self-reflexive, auto-referential, auto-representational" (1980: 1).

alles ook
wat blinde blysinnige bloed is
in hierdie destruktiewe suidoostewind in Bo-Meulstraat
wil die digter ’n gedig skryf
verby die drag geraamtes
van almal wat mank en Afrikaans is
maar die tong sal anders moet lê:
bevry die allerwoordste woord deur vers
wat wil klapwiek namekaar en nuut
die gedig sal wys hoe
word in hierdie landskap waar word
in woordsontwil alleen
die nuwe gedig sal nooit slot hê nie
bard wat leer luister

Lady Anne (1989: 100).

[in the beginning was the WORD
my next poem will go:
single [singular] obscure word
which will carry in it no pasts only prophecies
no guides only mercy
everything too
that is blind joyful [?] blood
in this destructive southeaster in Upper-Meul Street
the poet wants to write a poem
beyond the clothed skeletons
of everyone who is crippled and Afrikaans
but the tongue would have to lie differently:
free the wordest [quintessential] word through verse
that will flap [clap/whip] after one another
and show the poem anew how
the word becomes true in this landscape
solely for its own sake
the new poem will never conclude
bard who learns to listen][80]

Krog is both looking for that Biblical, God-breathed word that not only captures perfectly but also is spirit-inspired to have the power to create something different. She makes the connections in this volume and binds together the literary pre-occupations which are to stay her fixations for many years to come – word, tongue (literally and metaphorically as in mother-tongue), bard and land. While she lays bare the naïve, impossible, most extreme desire of seizing hold of the “wordest” word (the word that is so itself that it *is* the thing it describes) she also shows the consciousness[81] that this word is beyond her reach, unattainable, mysteriously obscure

[80] Translation by Neil Sonnekus for the purposes of this thesis.
[81] This is embodied in the structure of the poem which begins with the fiat-type declaration (of the WORD in capitals) but unravels into multiple descriptions and many words that chase after, “flap”

and unknown, and might in fact not come from the mouth of the poet but have to be found through a position of listening, maybe even in silence and maybe not at all (if there can actually be no conclusion to poem-making).

tranparant van die tongvis

die lig oor my lesenaar
vloei uit in die donker
ek wag my besoekers in op papier

my vier kinders
dorsal en anaal hang hulle in fyn balans
vinnetjies aan die keel roer aanhouderend
oë besonders sag

in die vlak brakkerige water trap Ma klei
met die metafore

kom nader hier oor woordeboek and leë bladsye
hoe lief het ek nie hierdie tenger skooltjie
hierdie vier vaart visse van my
nadergelok wat voer ek julle?

liefste kind hierdie small flankie
laat hy meegee na die bedding
oor aan die strekking so ja dit
wring wel maar Ma hou jou vas Ma
is hier

Lady Anne (1989: 92)

transparency of the sole

the light over my desk
streams into darkness
i await my visitors on paper

my four children
finely balanced between anal and dorsal
tiny fins at the throat constantly stirring
eyes uncommonly soft
in the shallow brackish water your mother treads clay
with metaphors

come here across dictionaries and blank pages
how I love this delicate little school
these fish of mine in their four-strong flotilla
lure so close now what should I feed you?

dear child of the lean flank
yield to the seabed
yes the stretching makes you
ache but mother holds you to her mother
is here

---

around, but do not capture what that quintessential word could be and eventually leave the poet waiting in silence.

the lower eye like father's wondrous blue
migrates cautiously with a complex bunching
of nerve and muscle
till it's up beside the other
pert little mouth almost pulled out of shape
with time the tongue will settle in its groove
pigment of the upper flank beginning to darken

unobtrusive between sand and stone you lie
meshed with bedrock never
again to prey or take flight
I press my mouth against each distended face mother knows

you will survive the tide

(Down to My Last Skin 2000: 40; translated by Denis Hirson).

Lady Anne is the text into which Krog introduces for the first time the metaphor of the sole (*solea solea*) or flatfish, or to use its Afrikaans name and the word that allows Krog to burden it with word-ness, the *tongvis*. This word and the life of the fish it evokes will become the vehicle for Krog to negotiate terrible, overwhelming change through language and to wrestle with Afrikaner identity (the "skeletal" and "crippled" of the earlier poem) which at this point (1989) is indistinguishable from Afrikaans as a mother tongue. She explained to Rina Thom on radio: "Die tongvis is 'n belangrike motief vir verandering om te kan oorlewe" [The tongue fish (sole) is an important motif of change in order to survive][82]. And to Joan Hambidge[83] in 1994 she gave a fuller description of how the fish is born upright but as it matures it turns on its side, its mouth and eye migrate to the top of its now flattened body and it moves down to the bottom of the sea where it lies flat and undetectable[84]. This metaphor of painful rearrangement of the physical fish body is intertwined with the poet's self-given task to make her own "tongue lie differently" so that she issues forth not just the people of the future who will survive the change (literally and physically), but, literarily, the wordest words which do not *lie* the land (and here the double entendre of English is useful).

[82] SABC Sound Archives T89/843.
[83] E94/233, 24 July 1994. She told Hambidge she wrote the poem in *Lady Anne* "transparant van die tongvis" for her children, "for them to become part of this country and not to be frightened and flee".
[84] A beautiful, evocative picture of this fish is to be found on the cover of the 2003 *A Change of Tongue*.

Krog the Other in South Africa

If my contention is correct, that Lady Anne Barnard is being used as a guide primarily to negotiate a new kind of subjectivity in response to South Africa's era of horror – which I am calling after Driver, "self-othering" – where can the evidence be found of this? And is it possible to see Krog the writer using the self-othering techniques Driver has outlined in Lady Anne Barnard's letters, the interlocutionary and intralocutionary techniques? The most evocative use of multiple positions in this volume is to be found in a lengthy poem which, but for a few details, Krog has based almost entirely on an actual experience of Barnard's recorded in great detail in her letters from a "Journey into the Interior" of May 1798[85].

> Lady Anne at Genadendal
> 10 May 1798
>
> The three Moravian brothers housed us.
> Late that afternoon the bell rings
> through the valley
> (to be heard as far as Stellenbosch)
> Biduur [prayer hour].
> We sit shyly
> face to face with a hundred and fifty others.
>
> My coat is wrinkled, I realise, they are clothed in skin,
> the clay floor of the small church lies
> languidly cut under reed carpets in afternoon sunlight.
> My coat stays with me. I can smell them. They also me.
> The missionary
> Lifts his voice and says simply: mijn lieve vrienden.
>
> But suddenly in this simplicity I notice Him –
> quiet like a shiny bubble in my brain. Before Him
> we are all naked but I see, as always, He sides with them:
> the hungry, the poor, the crowds without hope,
> the silent stubble, those without rights.
> He becomes human in this building and turns to look at me.
>
> It is good that I am here, it is good.
> I remember my own church – the velvet matrix
> with stones and corrupt chattering and I feel
> God, how far away from You am I? How narrowly I know
> still only myself – tired of white coinage
> and they? The Brushers of wigs,
> the polishers of silver, the whitewashers of walls –
> they know apart from themselves also my innermost bed.
> God what do I do? How do I get rid
> Of this exclusive stain? Unexpectedly a song

[85] See Appendix D for the Afrikaans version from *Lady Anne* and Appendix E for the excerpts from Anne Barnard's letters on this event (Robinson 1973: 106ff).

swells into garish passionate grief
supreme in pain (for the past of what is still to come?)

I sit surrendered in liturgical darkness,
my wrists frayed, my lips bleeding densely,
my head hangs in the softest sweat.
Before the closing prayer the missionary folds his hands
relentlessly into the eye of a needle.

I cut the ham into thin fragrant bundles
which the missionaries eat greedily,
swiping their forks through mustard.
“This you have to taste my brother!”
Our Madeira wine runs festively into cups.
I don’t hear it. I don’t see it.
Outside the moon grates herself insanely on the mountains.
More than millions tonight are huddling close to fires,
crude bread and beer,
songs, stories drifting from the coals.
How do I give up this snug cavity into which I was born?
Turn. Give. And my overstuffed soul? Isn’t it simply
looking
for something new to thrill about? Shouldn’t every settler
carry his bundle of gold and decompose in regret and guilt
–

even the choice stinks of privilege.
While the night is lying in the valley
blood bursts on the peaks. I get up. Brushes, inks,
water. I drink some coffee, bread, cold meat,
my fingers clumsy with my coat. Along the footpath
my eyes scout for heights. Quickly stretch pages, mix
greens, yes

green is the colour of balance, green endures
all colours, green is constantly broken
to absorb closer and further.
black is only a shade of the deepest green.
In water-colour white is forbidden; dimension
comes from exclusion.

I have to find a framework for the complete landscape
if I want to survive my emotion. Try. Pitch the valley
into perspective, the rest will follow by itself.
But the missionary moves between me and the sun,
Gaspar the slave holds the umbrella.
I wave him impatiently out of the way,
but it’s too late –
the fixed sun bursts brutally from above
and drums Genadendal into mirage.

I don’t get it on paper. It doesn’t fit,
the scale is wrong. I aim. I start afresh.

I stare until it dawns on me:
my pages will always spell window, spell distance,
the angle of incidence is always passive
and this is the way Madame wants to live
in this country: safely through glass,
wrapped in pretty pictures and rhymes
but I could
do
differently.
I could slowly pull back my hand and pick up a stone.
I could throw it,
shatter the glass
to gasp, to thaw retchingly in this hip-high landscape
at last.

Down to My Last Skin (2000: 68)

By injecting the *gaze* as a textual vehicle, Krog takes an experience of Lady Anne's in which she remarked how little attention she was paid by the indigenous people ("I was even surprised to observe so few vacant eyes, and so little curiosity directed to ourselves", in Robinson 1973: 122) and makes this the means for the poet to shift position via her "guide" and observe from multiple places. In Krog's text Anne is seeing and is seen (by 150 pairs of eyes), she smells and is smelt (a pertinent injection of the sense often evoked by apartheid racial prejudice). She pays attention to bodily dressing, conscious of the differences but again, looking at herself and aware that her own clothes are dirty from travelling. The Moravian missionary draws everyone present together in a "we" by his words of inclusion "My dear friends", but Anne has a moment of powerful exclusion. She sees God (seeing her, seeing them) and she sees God making a choice with them against her. This choice (which she observes imaginatively) is made perfectly in line with Christian theology, the poor against the rich, those who have not against those who have ("before the closing prayer the missionary folds his hands / relentlessly into the eye of the needle"). Krog then uses Anne to make the leap into the colonial/apartheid intimate space of knowing and being known differentially. Cleverly she parses the types of knowledge that slaves/servants acquire from their tasks of doing everything menial and tedious in the lives of the oppressors. It is the slave who ultimately knows the master more, insidiously and intimately, even into his/her bed. Anne suddenly knows this. She is the one without knowledge of those hundreds of individuals. The one against the many, "the more than millions". The apartheid-induced anxieties and evocations are inescapable in the words Krog has chosen.

Krog then shifts to Anne the artist from Anne the recorder/writer/diarist. Anne is framing a valley (typically the land, traditional other view of the controlling colonial gaze) in preparation for painting. Her artistic frustration leads to self-consciousness. What she sees is always through a glass, through a frame, via the page/paper. There is no direct, unmediated experience. And hence the shocking desire (certainly if this was read in the context of the burning townships of 1989 with rocks as the weapons of necessity for young activists) to recklessly and destructively remove the intermediary constraint which prevents knowing, seeing, experiencing.

This poem shows quite clearly that Krog uses Anne as an alter ego to self-other through her own text. Krog adopts different discursive positions as Anne Barnard; she shows Lady Anne as conscious of being the Other in relation to others and their watching or non-watching of her; and she (through Anne and by the injection of a religious debate prevalent in the late 80s in South Africa's churches about their complicity with apartheid's denigration of "the poor"[86]) inhabits the position of the Other and in fact judges herself in relation to her Other by invoking biblical categories of rich and poor.

But Krog also self-reflects on the limits of text and use of language, and the obscurity and inability of words to deliver not only self-knowledge and knowledge of the Other but also the ungraspable miracle power to transcend, create anew, think another reality.

'Woman' as Othering position

> *Why do we talk about "women" writers? I was furious when given this subject to talk about. Why do we talk of "women writers"? Why are women allotted a separate little category as if there were certain little things only women writers would feel like discussing? Where is the male voice on this panel? Why is there no man present to come and explain where this stupid subject comes from? Where is the module dealing with: "why do we talk about 'men writers'?" Does the word "writer" automatically imply a male person?*
> *Antjie Krog 1989 Idasa Occasional Papers 18.*

[86] See for example the *Kairos Document* published in 1985 as a theological challenge to apartheid.

It is in Krog's speech delivered to the ANC writers' conference in July of 1989[87] at Victoria Falls that we find her engaging with the category of "woman writer" with a high degree of anger and annoyance. But it is notable that while she questions the very category and its theoretical basis she also put forward for discussion three critical points that cannot be escaped in dealing with the writing that comes from the position 'woman'.

The first is that to eschew the category entirely is to continue to perpetuate the disappearance of many women's voices from the collected bodies of literature. In the speech she paid a great deal of attention to the external circumstances of support and the internal conditions of self-belief that enable writing and she speculated that was the lack of these that have kept black women from being added to the literature of South Africa, particularly poetry (1989: 5). She is also alert to the fact that the anthologisers perpetuate the invisibility of women (1989: 3) and that male writers write on behalf of women (Zuluboy Molefe's *To Paint a Black Woman,* 1989: 4; and the male writer who put on paper the experience of women and children in the South African War concentration camps, 1989: 4). Krog also shows a keen awareness that the racial dynamics in South Africa of the time had allowed fairly prolific output of poetry from white Afrikaans women[88] which then obscured the fact that the majority of women who are black produced very little considered literary.

The second is that the experience, knowledge and particularities of being female in the world give women a position that is different from that of men from which to write. In the discussion that followed the delivery of Krog's speech, poet and ANC member Jeremy Cronin introduced a thought for debate that bound this particularity of experience directly to language itself:

> it's women who experience language already as opaque, as problematic, as difficult. It's dominated, as we've already been reminded several times by interventions, by male categories. We keep talking about 'he' the writer and so forth (in Coetzee and Polley 1990: 145).

If we turn back to the text of *Lady Anne* we find Krog using female physicality, experiences of motherhood and as wife as part of the poem-making. For example the

[87] A week after *Lady Anne* was published according to "Waarom praat ons van 'vroue' skrywers?" written by Krog for *Die Suid-Afrikaan* August/September 1989.
[88] "Seventy percent of poets make their debut this year were women, the three finalists for the Old Mutual Prize were women…" ("A Community is as Liberated as its Women": 5).

inclusion of her tracking 16 months of her menstruation and her assertion that her body's rhythms and flows have a profound effect on her ability to write. She was quoted in *Beeld* of 8 November 1989, explaining: "Dit is my 'private voice'. Dit dui hoe ek sukkel met 'n gedig. Menstruasie het a groot invloed op my." [It is my private voice. It indicates how I struggle with a poem. Menstruation has a great influence on me.] In the public furore that surrounded the printing of this chart there is an interesting comment from her mother which shows the powerful association with language by the inclusion of this chart; Dot Serfontein said: "Menstruasie is deel van jou – net soos digwerk, wat ook ontboeseming is" [Menstruation is part of you – just like writing poetry, which is also an outpouring][89] The word she uses "ontboeseming" is also an unburdening or a confession. There is no doubt then that Krog, while she fights with the category "*woman* writer" holds powerfully to the unique experiences that being female give to the poet as material and techniques to deal with the body and the visceral. There is also the suggestion, incipient in the *Lady Anne* work, but which will find fruition in the TRC text *Country of My Skull*, that unlike the slipperiness of words, the truth of a situation (political/social) is often to be found in the embodied experience encapsulated in and felt through a woman's body.

The third point made by Krog is that this particularity of experience, nevertheless, does not mean that both men and women writers do not have the imaginative and sympathetic capacity to embody the other sex successfully and convincingly in writing. In response to a question posed by Vernon February about whether "Etienne van Heerden could have done justice to *Fiela se Kind* as Dalene Matthee did?" Krog answered: "I can only answer the answer that I need: that I need to think he could have done that!" (1990: 147). As Lady Anne Krog is no "bluestocking", Krog is no straight-forward feminist (despite one reviewer's claim that with the publication of *Lady Anne* she proves herself to be one[90]). An interesting insight on this point comes from Marius Crous (2003: 1), who remarks that while a central theme of *Lady Anne* is the body, and while Krog uses the body as a writing instrument and as "textualised

[89] Die Volksblad 4 November 1989.
[90] "One of South Africa's top Afrikaans poets, Antjie Krog, proves to be something of a feminist with the publication of her seventh volume…" Jan Rabie in the *Cape Times* on 9 September 1989.

body" (referring here to Helene Cixous's work[91]), she also has a deep interest in the actual bodies of the Others. He says: "In *Lady Anne* the focus is in particular on the body of the Other(s) encountered at the Cape by the historical subject, Lady Anne Barnard." But Crous also points out that Krog transcends the boundaries of the female body-female writer link, "conveying her intentions" by also using "phallic metaphors". Krog does not allow her own experience of being in a female body or speaking with a female voice to be a limit. Nevertheless, it is evident across the volumes in which she increasingly experiments with female interlocuturs (first Selma Paasch, then Susanna Smit and then Anne Barnard) that she is making a strong case for the knowledge and value to be gained socially from the situated, female body with its particularity of experience.

Conclusion

My intention for having gone into such great depth with the literary text *Lady Anne* is to show firstly that this a text in which Krog is experimenting with a writer-subjectivity that is responsive and responsible in relation to the situation of "horror" she was living through and responding to at the time. And secondly, that because this volume of work won a very prestigious prize and was reviewed and written about – mostly by literary theorists and other poets – this information was widely disseminated to the general public via newspapers. So Krog came to be known by the South African public (Afrikaans-speakers first, then English, as a result of the media coverage of her encounters with Kathrada and the ANC in exile) as a certain kind of public figure. Her specific literary symbolic capital was greatly enhanced via the awards and through the acclaim (much of it by already established literary experts) expressed in the reviews. She had reached the pinnacle of achievement within the section of the literary field that was Afrikaans writing. But the news about her was to spill over into the English-language news media when her opposition to apartheid was widely reported on, through the news of various events and activities, some shocking, such as the murder in Kroonstad she was connected to. In this period of her life she entrenched her politics, and via three important, mutually-reinforcing consecrations established for herself impeccable, alternative political credentials. This first part of this chapter shows her

[91] "By writing the self, woman will return to the body which has been more than confiscated from her .... Censor the body and you censor breath and speech at the same time. Your body must be heard" (Cixous 1997: 351 in Crous 2003: 4).

trajectory into the alternative political field via the three consecrations and accumulation of political credibility and capital, but also shows her great accumulation of symbolic capital as a writer and her increasing salience as a newsmaker for the news media and beyond the boundaries of the Afrikaans press.

And I have demonstrated in this chapter that she has continued to experiment with her subject position. I have applied Dorothy Driver's term "self-othering" to this experimentation because I see it as a very interesting further development of the crafting of "self" as the idiosyncratic, poetic voice which we encountered in chapter 3. It is also notably, in this period of her life and in relation to the political upheaval, a subjectivity seeking to relate to the South African Others, those othered by apartheid and now making fierce claims for recognition and citizenship. But also, very importantly, this experimentation with subjectivity continues to be preoccupied with language and with the body. The subjectivity Krog experiments with in relation to the Others she must face and accommodate, is notably facilitated through an investigation of being situated in a female body.

In chapter 5 we will see that this fashioning of her distinctive voice as a writer preoccupied with the Other, the body and attuned to the highly affectual, is going to stand her in good stead, and find the epitome of public expression when she is faced with South Africa's actual transition to democracy and its coming to terms with its apartheid past. Interestingly it will be her transition into the media field as a news journalist and her harnessing of poetic techniques in this field that will garner attention for her ongoing experimentation with subjectivity which is responsive to the Other.

Chapter Five

Second-Person Performances

"Journalism? You have to be a jackal, manipulative, shrewd, there is the tyranny of space, there is the so-called reader to have to capture, influence and manipulate… part of me absolutely resents it."
Krog speaking to Marinda Claassen on "Woman's World"
16 May 1994.

In May of 1993 Antjie Krog became a working journalist when she moved to Cape Town to become the editor of the relaunched Afrikaans alternative magazine *Die Suid-Afrikaan.* While the motive for the move seemed to be a response to an opportunity – she was asked by the founders to be the new editor – Kroonstad had become a difficult place for her to continue living because of the aggressive attention of right-wing Afrikaner organisations[1]. Editor and academic André du Toit had, with Krog, been one of those Afrikaner intellectuals who met with the ANC in exile in 1989. He had founded the magazine with fellow academics Hermann Giliomee and Johan Degenaar as a vehicle for Afrikaans intellectual debate when they felt in 1984 that it was impossible to comment on the political and social situation via the Afrikaans press without their views being distorted[2]. He had been co-editing the magazine with Chris Louw (who was moving to work at the *Weekly Mail*), when it was decided the publication needed a new editor, a new design and a new purpose in the volatile years leading up to formal political transition. This choosing of Krog as the perfect candidate for the editorship of an Afrikaans, issues-based magazine aimed at educated Afrikaans-speakers of all races, was important as an act of attention and transition in Krog's trajectory because it was to cause her to move to a major urban centre and to relocate within journalism as a field of production. This location, and accumulation of journalistic expertise, was to make it more possible for her to then move into the news media more decisively. It also acted as reinforcement of Krog's alignment with anti-apartheid Afrikaners and again with the intellectuals in that grouping (as she had been when invited to make the two visits to the ANC in 1989).

[1] See *The Cape Times* 19 August 1993.
[2] In an interview in 1993 with the Daniel Hugo on the programme *Skrywers en Boeke* Krog talked about the founding of *Die Suid-Afrikaan.* SABC Sound Archives T93/1164.

Within a year the editorship with its demands and limits had begun to take its toll. Krog experienced difficulty in dealing with the technical problems, the deadlines, the political rhetoric, the manipulations and constant financial struggles to keep the magazine afloat[3]. In an interview in 1994 she reflected on the differences between journalism and poetry:

> Journalism? You have to be a jackal, manipulative, shrewd, there is the tyranny of space, there is the so-called reader to have to capture, influence and manipulate… part of me absolutely resents it[4].

But this grappling with reporting, editing and managing a magazine was a very important step into the media field as a recognised practitioner of journalism. As we have seen through this investigation of Krog's life so far, she had decisively entered the Afrikaans literary field, distinguished herself as a poet with a well-defined idiolect, won the field's prizes and received accolades from its consecrators. She had also authoritatively seized the territory of the poet of the body, of the female voice and the transgressive. In the alternative political field, Krog was hailed and now known for her associations with the ANC leadership in exile, the ANC leadership in jail, and the local comrades in Kroonstad. Her joining of the ANC party placed her firmly on the side of the democratic project to make South Africa a nation for all its peoples. But up until this point, her forays into journalism were often based on her literary capital and her political newsworthiness. Her capital in the media field was not yet based on her skills and knowledge of the cultural terrain of journalism as a practice in its own right. It is in this chapter that I pay attention to her transition into the media field and her accumulation of media field capital. And I start by looking at the consecrations that were to facilitate her entry into journalism, this time not as a newsmaker, but as a practitioner.

[Trajectory] Into news journalism proper

1. Afrikaans radio reporting

In 1995 Krog made a far more significant trajectory move in the media field than her editorship of the *Die Suid-Afrikaan*. When SABC radio, under the leadership of Pippa Green, approached Krog to join the post-election, reconstituted parliamentary team in January of 1995 she took the job as the journalist responsible for Afrikaans reports.

[3] SABC Sound Archives T95/230 and 231.
[4] SABC Sound Archives T94/725.

Green and Krog had established a friendship after the interview Green did on Krog for *Leadership* magazine in August 1990. When the SABC was placed under new direction during the transition to democracy Green was in charge of putting together a parliamentary team that could cover the workings of the new democracy in as many South African languages as possible. Krog was her choice for the Afrikaans member of this team[5]. In the newly-constituted democratic South Africa it was an important mission to place the public broadcaster under the control of a board, remove its tainted association with the apartheid government and to ensure that reporting in the Afrikaans language was in line with journalistic principles of objective information dissemination rather than in the service of the apartheid regime. Krog was seen as having the right political credentials to help fulfil this mission.

During this year, as developments got underway to set up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for South Africa, Krog was involved – through her connections with Idasa – in participating and reporting on various discussions about the necessity for such a commission for South Africa[6]. Within that year (1995) Green made Krog head of the radio team to cover the TRC, the only news media outlet in South Africa which would track the entire process and every public hearing over the course of the commission's life. Green facilitated this transition by recognising Krog's symbolic status as both political actor and writer, rather than her field capital as a journalist (Krog had no previous radio reporting experience), and thereby enabling Krog's shift into political journalism proper and making possible the conversion of her, by now, very significant literary and alternative political field capital into media field capital. Even though Krog had spent a year as editor on *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, it was her work with the SABC on the TRC which took her out of the confines of being a writer-commentator into the daily processes of hard-news journalism, and which was to give her access to a very significant political process gaining attention and currency all over the world. But more than that: the TRC was a process ambitiously set up to engage all South Africans in major political and social transition via the media. Krog and other journalists were therefore "installed as proxy witnesses of trauma on behalf of their readers" [and listeners, in this case] (Whitlock 2007: 140). Australian literary

[5] Personal communication with Green on 22 April 2005 and Franz Krüger on 5 May 2005. Krüger was SABC radio national editor at the time.
[6] For example on 17 January she interviewed Dr Alex Boraine (Idasa director) about "justice in transition" for the SABC.

theorist Gillian Whitlock (whose research interest has been in the hearings about the Stolen Children in her country) points out that such commission processes taking place recently world-wide have resulted in an altered status for the journalist who is required to become "conveyer, translator, mediator and meaning maker of trauma on our behalf" (2007: 140).

Krog heartily embraced the role of mediator of the TRC to radio listeners. In Gerrit Olivier's review of *Country of My Skull*, her book account of the TRC, he remarked that "she and her fellow reporters tried to capture the headlines in order to force the narratives told at the Commission into the public consciousness" (1998: 222).

> In her characteristic Free State Afrikaans accent Samuel combined factual reportage with strong involvement in the process… despite her many doubts Samuel has been an advocate of the process… not surprisingly some listeners objected to what they perceived to be the moral and ethical pressures emanating from Samuel's journalism (1998: 221).

Later in an interview with Gillian Anstey of the *Sunday Times* (23 May 1999: 11) Krog explained why she was using her married name Samuel for her TRC work:

> As a reporter I am supposed to speak in correct Afrikaans. But I don't. I speak a lekker Anglicised Afrikaans and I can't report in that. So my reporting is un-me, un-Krog, un-poetic. I see Samuel as the surname that obeys the codes of the SABC and of language, the rules of the game. Krog is the disobedient surname.

We see Krog here making a clear distinction between the practices of the poet and the journalist and because she recognises the constraints of the journalistic mode setting aside the name Krog synonomous with poetry and the distinctive voice of transgression. But Krog's crafting of her voice and her experimentations with subjectivity infected her journalism with those very hallmarks she was trying to restrain – Anglicisations, slang, graphic descriptions, sympathetic tone of voice, and insistence that listeners face the horrors being unearthed, were so evident in her reports that national radio editor Franz Kruger had to deal with complaints that Afrikaans-language stations did not want to use them[7].

On the announcement of Krog's appointment to the SABC, an exasperated radio listener, Hannes de Beer of 15 Kommandant Street in Welgemoed, wrote into *Die Burger* to say: "Now we all know that this woman can make magic with the

[7] Personal communication with Franz Krüger on 5 May 2005.

language" and commented that while she had a track record as a poet with multiple publications she also found ways to create "bastard products". Using a piece she had written for *Die Suid-Afrikaan* as an example of her "mix is cool" style, he then went on to say: "Radio is a talking and listening medium. It also has a great influence in certain circles…" and concluded that if Krog was going to behave at the SABC as she did on her magazine then "Heaven protect Afrikaans!"[8]

Another interesting insight comes from a piece for *Rapport* written by journalist Hanlie Retief in a column called "Hanlie se mense" [Hanlie's people][9]. Headlined "Waarheidskomissie het haar ingesluk an alles hou heeldag net aan" [The Truth Commission has sucked her in and everything just goes on the whole day], Retief commented that some people just turn off the radio when they hear Krog's "Avbob-stem" [funereal voice][10], while others continue to listen fascinated. She is not afraid of graphic detail, Retief says, and comments that:

> sy 't 'n onthutsende gewete geword, 'n naelstring tussen die WVK en Afrikaanssprekendes. Sy 't soos net 'n digter kan, die dikwels makabere getuienisse soms laat weeklaag, soms laat sing.
>
> [She's become a disturbing conscience, an umbilical cord between the TRC and Afrikaans-speakers. She has, as only a poet can, let the often macabre testimonies sometimes wail, sometimes sing.]

She then continued to say that Krog's doctor had sent her home for six weeks to recover because she was suffering from the effects of reporting the TRC hearings. While other journalists around the country, working mainly for newspapers, covered the TRC processes when they came to town, or when major newsworthy atrocities and historic events were being aired, the radio team – with the financial help of a grant from the Norwegian government[11] – travelled with the TRC commissioners and attended almost every single hearing. Krog was direct about her own lack of experience and journalistic knowledge when coming to the SABC, later admitting in *Country of My Skull:*

> A bulletin usually consists of three audio segments: ordinary reporting read out by a newsreader, 20-second sound bites of other people's voices, and 40-second voice reports sent through by a journalist. How

[8] "Hemel behoede ons taal as Antjie dit so 'mix'" by Hannes de Beer. *Die Burger* 27 January 1995: 8.
[9] 4 January 1998: 15.
[10] Avbob is a funeral parlour chain in South Africa.
[11] See the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report Vol 1* Chapter 11: 318, 356. www.doj.gov.za/trc/report/finalreport/TRC%20VOLUME%201.pdf accessed 7 February 2009.

> can these elements be moulded to our aims? An expert needs to come help me, I plead. And they send me Angie…" (1998: 31-32) [12].

Nevertheless, in addition to those sound bites for the bulletins, by the end of the process Krog had filed 92 more substantial reports[13], in which (to give an indication) she interviewed and reported on: TRC commissioners (Desmond Tutu, Alex Boraine, Dumisa Ntsebeza, Mapule Ramashala); Vlakplaas killing farm perpetrators (Brigadier Jack Cronje, Dirk Coetzee, Wouter Mentz, Roelf Venter, Paul van Vuuren, Jacques Hechter); army generals (General Constand Viljoen); victims (Tony Yengeni); the "Trojan Horse" killings in Athlone; the special hearings into business and labour, the medical profession and the media; the special hearing on women; the resignation of the head of the investigation unit Glen Goosen; the National Party submission and the ANC submission to the TRC; spoke to commissioner Wendy Orr about reparations to victims; interviewed commissioner Richard Lister about exhumations of those killed by apartheid forces; and interviewed Ntsiki Biko about his family's anger at the possibility that Steve Bantu Biko's killers might get amnesty.

While Krog's brand of journalism was tempered by the other members of her team socialised as objective reporters, the 14-member radio team, which she headed, was honoured for the "intensity, quality and consistency" of their coverage by South African Union of Journalists which awarded them the Pringle Award for 1997[14]. Krog had achieved her first consecration by the media field itself, thus proving her worth and accumulation of media field capital. But she had also proved that her bringing to journalism a poetic subjectivity, and relating it to a major ongoing news event of high emotion and affect, had enormous value to journalism itself and also to the fragile process of encounter with the past all South Africans were dealing with.

2. Writing in English for the *Mail&Guardian*

In 1996 Krog was approached by Anton Harber, editor of the *Mail&Guardian*, who decided to mark the second anniversary of the country's transition to democracy by

[12] Angie Kapelianis confirmed this in personal communication (October 2000).
[13] See Appendix F: SABC Sound Archives on Antie Samuel TRC Reports.
[14] The Pringle Award carried no cash prize and was the highest award bestowed by the community of journalists on their peers. The SAUJ no longer exists and the prize is no longer awarded. "Accolades for SABC's coverage of the TRC" at http://vcmstatic.sabc.co.za/VCMStaticProdStage/CORPORATE/SABC Corporate/Document/About SABC/The SABC In Detail/tenyears.doc accessed 23 December 2008.

asking writers to produce reflective pieces on the political change for his publication. In Bourdieu's explication of field theory, symbolic capital and power attaches not only to individuals but also to publications and productions. In the South Africa of the 1980s and '90s the *Mail&Guardian* (formerly *The Weekly Mail*) had acquired a status as a hard-hitting, investigative newspaper with distinct advocacy stances on the political situation (anti-apartheid, pro-non-racism) and many social issues not embraced by the mainstream English-language newspapers (it was also pro-gay, pro-women's rights). During the 1980s *The Weekly Mail* bravely printed what other papers wouldn't because of the fear of being shut down by the apartheid regime, and won for itself the attention of those in the anti-apartheid political movements, as well as the admiration of fellow journalists in South Africa, and internationally. It had the status of high value with both these important groups in South African society. Harber and Irwin Manoim were its founders and co-editors. They and its first staff of journalists had started the paper when the *Rand Daily Mail,* the anti-government paper they had all been working for, was shut down by its owners in 1985. After the transition to democracy many other publications of the "alternative press"[15] lost their funding bases and began to close down. But Harber organised a financial relationship with *The Guardian* publishers in the UK to keep his newspaper alive. So for Krog to have been given the space in this publication at this time to write what became five extensive features[16] (each one highly personalised), was attention of a rare sort by an editor with particular symbolic capital and a newspaper of powerful symbolic worth within the media field. In the first feature ("Pockets of humanity" *Mail&Guardian.* 24-30 May 1996: 30-31) Krog (writing as "Krog") was given a double-page spread to talk about the effects and affects of reporting the TRC on her own self as the journalist. This she did by focusing on the testifiers and her response to them:

> "And I was only 20…" The words splintered into the harrowing wail of Fort Calata's wife as she threw herself back into her chair – this cry of distress and uncontained grief ushered in an experience which changed my life.
>
> Voice after voice; account after account – the four weeks of the truth commission hearings across the country were like travelling on a rainy

[15] The stridently anti-apartheid press which sprung up in the 1980s to print the news the mainstream press would not was supported financially by churches, non-governmental organisations and international donors.

[16] "Pockets of humanity" 24-30 May: 30-31 1996; "Truth trickle becomes a flood" 1 November 1996; "Overwhelming trauma of the truth" 24 December 1996-9 January 1997; "The parable of the bicycle" 7 February 1997 and "Unto the third or fourth generation" 13–19 June 1997.

> night behind a huge truck – images of devastation breaking wave upon wave on the window. And one can't overtake, because one can't see; and one can't lessen speed or stop, because then one will never progress.

By the time Krog wrote the third piece for the *Mail&Guardian* the TRC reporting was beginning to take a heavy toll on her. Again Krog was given a double-page spread to speak to the *Mail&Guardian* readers:

> I am not made to report on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. When told to head the five-person radio team covering the truth commission, I inexplicably began to cry on the plane back from Johannesburg. Someone tripped over my bag in the passage. Mumbling excuses, fumbling with tissues, I looked up into the face of Dirk Coetzee[17]. There was no escape.
>
> After three days a nervous breakdown was diagnosed and within two weeks the first human rights violation hearings began in East London. The months that have passed proved my premonition right – reporting on the truth commission has indeed left most of us physically exhausted and mentally frayed.
>
> Because of language.
>
> Week after week, from one faceless building to the other, from one dusty godforsaken town to the other, the arteries of our past bleed their own peculiar rhythm, tone and image. One cannot get rid of it, Ever.
>
> It was crucial for me to have the voices of the victims on the news bulletin. To have the sound of ordinary people dominate the news. No South African should escape the process.
>
> "Overwhelming trauma of the truth" 24 December 1996-9 January 1997: 10.

In giving Krog this substantial amount of space in a newspaper to write in English and to bring to his readers her particular experience of the Truth Commission, Harber was enabling Krog to consolidate her media field capital as a practitioner. In the media field (and particularly in South Africa) while radio has reach and facility (being easily affordable by millions) and TV has economic power, political value and reach, serious newspapers, the original news mass medium, still have the cultural capital of being the pre-eminent vehicle for journalists. To prove one can write, at length, knowledgeably and with authority, remains a high mark of media field cultural capital. Harber also gave Krog the entrée to a new public, in the English language and

[17] One of the perpetrators of apartheid atrocities. Coetzee made a full confession of hit squad activities. Journalist Jacques Pauw used Coetzee as an informant to expose the apartheid government's third-force destabilisation activities in the early 1990s for *Vrye Weekblad.* See his books *Into the Heart of Darkness: the Story of Apartheid's Killers* (1997) and *Dances with Devils: A Journalist's Search for Truth* (2007).

to a newspaper readership with very high media field capital in South Africa at the time. In doing this Harber acted, in my estimation, as an important consecrator in Krog's media field trajectory. And the accolades followed: Krog received an award from the Foreign Correspondents' Association for her features, showing that her media field capital had also been acclaimed by those international journalists working in the country.

3. International non-fiction publishing

But more interestingly the *Mail&Guardian* features attracted the attention of Stephen Johnson[18], managing director of Random House in South Africa. Johnson, was to also act as a consecrator in Krog's trajectory, enabling her to take her hard-earned journalistic capital and to affix to it her value and distinctiveness as a poet and to use both to produce a book of non-fiction which would be distributed internationally, setting Krog on a journey to become the representative South Africa taking this country's uniquely peaceful political transition to the world. Johnson's motive was to find a South African book for Random House to "bring to its rich international list … 'the South African flavour'"[19]. As a result of reading the *Mail&Guardian* articles which showed Krog's direct engagement with the process as an implicated, white, Afrikaans-speaking South African and as a beneficiary of apartheid, Johnson approached Krog and persuaded her to work these writings and the reporting materials into a book. Krog was reluctant to write a book and reluctant to work in English[20]. As a result Johnson hired author Ivan Vladislavic[21] to edit Krog's reportage filtered empathically through her personal account and in 1998 *Country of My Skull,* a hybrid blend of reportage, memoir, fiction and poetry, was published to enormous acclaim. Its initial print run was 15 000 which indicates the confidence Random House placed in its reception[22]. *Country of My Skull* had an immediate and powerful impact. It was

[18] Personal communication with Stephen Johnson 19 August 2004.
[19] Books page editor for the *Sunday Independent* Maureen Isaacson commented in 1998 on the imminent publication of of *Country of My Skull,* by saying, "the publication is part of Random House South Africa's drive to bring to its rich international list what MD Stephen Johnson calls 'the South African flavour'". *Sunday Independent* 8 February 1998: 20.
[20] See the Envoi to the book where she says: "How do I thank a publisher who refused to take no for an answer when I said, 'No, I don't want to write a book about the Truth Commission', stuck with me when I said, 'No, I can't write a book,' and also, 'I dare not write a book'; and was still there when I came around to saying, 'I *have* to write a book, otherwise I'll go crazy'" (1998: 280).
[21] Personal communication with Stephen Johnson 19 August 2004.
[22] *The Star Tonight* 31 August 1998: 6-7.

widely reviewed by English and Afrikaans newspapers and magazines and it drew substantial attention internationally[23].

The authority to write

Despite the fact that thousands of new voices of testimony had entered the public space to be heard for the first time, and many hundreds of other journalists had also reported on the TRC, it was the voice of Krog that was seized on by the publisher to speak on behalf of this experience, and for all South Africans involved in this process. What is the political economy of such a decision? Gillian Whitlock remarks that the commission's granting of authority for the previously silenced to speak is not a carte blanche opening up of the public space nor can it be an assumption for them of hearing in public which is now assured. These voices are carefully orchestrated by such commissions and the texts that issue from them. She notes:

> Access to the public is provisional, carefully negotiated, and strategic. The circulation of these narratives is almost always tied to larger imperatives of interracial debates and campaigns, not just at the time of origin, but also in the context of when and where they re-emerge with renewed force, as they tend to do. The narrative structure, and most specifically, the narrator and the editor, write with a sense of the production of truth and authority in autobiography. Let's be clear about that: these texts must authorise the narrator, and must offer clear signals on how the narrative is to be read and what constitutes its truth to be witnesses by a believing reader in an appropriate way – what I have earlier called an appropriate ethical responsiveness. These texts maneuver for their public, and the story they tell needs to be read in terms of a particular culture and particular readerships. What must be told to, and what will be heard by these readerships is limited, and negotiated with care. The occasion requires 'truth', a culturally specific and appropriate presentation of subjectivity and experience… (2001: 208).

She goes on:

> The memoir is a genre for those who are authorised and who have acquired cultural legitimacy and influence… memoir is the prerogative of those who possess cultural capital, and it follows that the place of the memoirist in culture is quite "other" to that of those who testify (2007: 20).

Krog had been made head of the TRC team without serving a traditional apprenticeship within the genre of hard news journalism and Krog had been seized on by the publisher to frame an autobiographic response to the stories coming out of the

[23] See Appendix G for a list of reviews, interviews and excerpts relating to the media coverage of the publication of *Country of My Skull.*

commission. These choices were made on her already existing cultural capital. And this Krog had in abundance – as an award-winning, and high-selling, poet and as a dissident Afrikaner who had attained the status in the South African media of an important newsmaker and agenda-setter. Plus her new status in the media field as a news journalist had been acclaimed for important and distinctiveness of production. Krog's work in the literary field allowed her to accumulate significant *cultural* capital (as an excellent and acclaimed poet in her field) and *economic* capital (as a high-selling poet and valuable asset for publishers), and therefore *symbolic* capital as a literary figure in South Africa. And because of her forays into the political field (some informal and personal, some more overtly on the public stage) she also had political credentials and the acclaim of political actors now extremely important as leaders in the shift to democracy. Her work in the news media had given her the media field's cultural capital and its economic capital, given the reach of the SABC radio stations and the significance of the public broadcaster to the politial change in the country. But also Krog the newsmaker, the agenda-setter, has become even more newsworthy because of her witnessing and making public her own experiences of the TRC. This translated into *symbolic* capital as an expert-witness of one of South Africa's signature transitional events. This accumulated capital on three fronts made Krog an ideal choice for a publisher as the representative writer for this project.

As Whitlock says "memoir is traditionally the prerogative of the literate elite; alternatively, the testimony is the means by which the disempowered experience enters the record, although not necessarily under conditions of their choosing" (2007: 132). In such a case as this – even as the memoir is serving the function of allowing the testimony of the disenfranchised into public for the first time officially – Krog was the authorised author. Whitlock points out that very seldom do the actual people who appear before commissions get to speak directly for themselves through vehicles other than the live hearings. And if they do, and because they have no cultural capital, they are framed, narrated, and "surrounded by authenticating documentation" (2001: 208). They can attain status as narrators only through those with authority who mediate them to us.

> Indigenous/First Nations/Black testimony almost always circulates in networks that are beyond the control of their narrators and minority communities. In marginalia – of editors, collaborators, and writers of

> prefaces and appendices – the circulation of testimony is carefully controlled in the public domain (2004: 23).

It is interesting that having chosen Krog with her symbolic capital to be the representative voice on the South African TRC, that she herself was then positioned by Stephen Johnson for an international public, whose attention he wanted to attract, as a very ordinary South African. This was done using the same kind of "marginalia", which is usually employed for the unknown testimony givers. In the peritexts (those framing devices within the book, see Genette 1997) In the 1998 edition publisher's note Johnson commended Krog to an international audience by situating her not as a poet with the highest of literary capital, but as a very ordinary "living South African" struggling, suffering and forging a future with other South Africans. But in the epitexts (those on the outside of the book) Krog's cultural capital is foregrounded in her published volumes and prizes won. So the first edition of the book was being used as an important test of whether Krog – positioned both as an author of substantial, but South African-based, cultural capital *and* as an ordinary South African – would be read locally and taken up internationally. Johnson's gamble on the "South African flavour" of *Country of My Skull,* and the positioning of Krog as simultaneously authorised *and* ordinary, proved to be a shrewd assessment of the trends in international publishing and of the desire world-wide for a life narrative based in a major event garnering publicity and interest internationally.

The reaction to *Country of My Skull*

Krog's harnessing of her poetic and journalistic skills to produce an unusual hybrid-genre book, were remarked upon as having served the subject matter well: Nadine Gordimer commented:

> Here is the extraordinary reportage of one who, eyes staring into the filthiest places of atrocity, poet's searing tongue speaking of them, is not afraid to go too far. Antjie Krog breaks all the rules of dispassionate recounts, the restraints of 'decent' prose, because this is where the truth might be reached and reconciliation with it is posited like a bewildered angel thrust down into hell[24].

And Desmond Tutu said:

> Antjie Krog writes with the sensitivity of a poet and the clarity of a journalist… it is a beautiful and powerful book[25].

[24] These comments from http://search.barnesandnoble.com/Country-of-My-Skull/Antjie-Krog/e/9780812931297#TABS accessed 19 December 2008.
[25] From the Barnes&Noble website.

Her act of hosting the victims and perpetrators of the TRC between the covers of the book was also picked up for comment, notably by *Publishers Weekly* (1999) which noted that the book:

> gave voice to the anguished, often eloquent stories of numerous victims of apartheid… [and] it put faces on stealthy killers and torturers seeking amnesty[26].

Anthony Sampson, former *Drum* editor and biographer of Mandela, said of the book in *Literary Review*:

> Antjie Krog gives us a vivid answer in this strange and haunting account of the hearings... the power of this passionate and original book comes from its ability to describe universal human horrors which are not distinctively Afrikaner or African: to throw light on the nightmare world in which quite ordinary and boring people are transformed into practitioners of terror and counter-terror…[27]

Barbara Trapido writing in the London *Sunday Times* said: "The book... is wonderful. Few could have done Krog's job without resorting to nervous breakdown and to have written the book is heroic"[28].

In the next two years the book garnered the following awards for Krog: the *Sunday Times* Alan Paton Award (shared with Stephen Clingman for *Bram Fischer: Afrikaner Revolutionary*); the BookData/South African Booksellers' Book of the Year prize; the Hiroshima Foundation Award (shared with actor John Kani) and the Olive Schreiner Award for the best work of prose published between 1998 and 2000. *Country of My Skull* received an honourable mention in the 1999 Noma Awards for Publishing in Africa and it also appears on the list as one of "Africa's 100 Best Books of the Twentieth Century"[29].

As a result of the publication of *Country of My Skull* and her extraordinary literary enactment of bearing witness and of confession, Krog became internationally known as a writer profoundly engaged with the events and human drama uncovered by the TRC and her voice was read as that of an expert witness of trauma, forgiveness, and the means by which the horrors of the past may be ameliorated. In addition to being called upon as a journalist in South Africa with specialist knowledge to write press

[26] From the Barnes&Noble website.
[27] From the Barnes&Noble website.
[28] From the Barnes&Noble website.
[29] See http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/Afbks.html accessed 23 December 2008.

articles about situations arising from the TRC (for example, a piece in the *Sunday Times* on Gideon Niewoudt, implicated in the murders of Steve Biko and Siphiwo Mtimkulu[30]), Krog's TRC expert status was given further international exposure by journalists who invited her to talk on BBC current affairs programmes, for Radio Hilversum in the Netherlands, and in media programmes in Belgium, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Several American documentaries on the TRC and South Africa were made interviewing Krog.

Krog also became an international resource, invited to speak for the South African transition and into other similar situations, such as the talk she gave on the success of the TRC at the Chile/South Africa conference on globalisation and South/South Co-operation held in Santiago, Chile in November 2001[31], in Sarajevo in 2005, she gave a lecture on "Forgiveness in the South African TRC" followed by a panel discussion with local inhabitants and she was part of a delegation briefing the newly-appointed Liberia Truth Commission in 2006. There were multiple other requests to speak about the South African TRC experience, among them: she gave the keynote speech at the World Bank's conference on "Women and Violence" in Washington in 1998; in Rwanda she led the English session at a conference on "Writing as a Duty of Memory" in June 2000; in Cologne she gave a paper on "Wholeness as part of forgiveness in the TRC process" in 2005; and in the Hague the same year she was part of a panel on language addressing Queen Beatrix at her palace; in 2006 in New York she delivered "Interconnectedness, memory and wholeness" to the Congregation B'nai Jeshurun and parcipated in a panel discussion about memory in a seminar organised by the Lower Manhatten Cultural Council.

Country of My Skull is prescribed at universities as essential reading for students studying South African history or issues of dealing with the past. At Ohio University it is prescribed in History 342B/542B for the course "South Africa since 1899". In this case it is the only book for the section "The transition and the New South Africa 1989-2000" and at Brandeis University Krog lectured and was read as part of the course "Mass violence and literature: an international perspective". She has given

[30] "Embarassed by forgiveness" by Antjie Krog. *The Sunday Times* 29 February 2004: 21.
[31] *The Sunday Independent* carried an edited version of her talk "Healing stream that petered out too soon" 2 December 2001.

lectures on aspects of the Truth and Reconcilation Commission at the University of London, the University of Glasgow, the universities of Essen and Dortmund in Germany, the University of Utrecht and at the Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa in Amsterdam, the universities of Bishops, Concordia, McGill, Carleton and Toronto in Canada, New York University and at Bard College.

Her value as a poet and writer has been greatly enhanced by the acclaim accorded *Country of My Skull* and by the new international public in English which the book has brought her. Invitations to speak at international poetry festivals and at gatherings of writers have accelerated with Krog being invited by the Malian Minister of Culture to be one of 10 poets on the La Caravane de le Poésie which retraced the slave route from Gorée Island back to Timbuktu in 1999; participating in the 1999 Zimbabwe Book Fair (giving the keynote talk on "Women to the fore"); in the Barcelona Poetry Festival in 2001; and in 2004 being keynote speaker at Winternachten Literature Festival in Den Haag; giving a keynote speech in defence of poetry at the Poetry International Festival in Rotterdam; the keynote speech at the Berlin Literature festival and being invited by the Rockefeller Foundation to be resident in writing at Bellagio in Italy. In 2005 she participated in a poetry festival in Indonesia as part of former Dutch colonial group visiting Djakarta, Bandung and Lampung performing with local poets; she opened a poetry festival in Colombia and did readings in Bogota, Medillin and Kali; she read poetry at the Nigerian Arts Festival in Lagos and shared a panel with Nigerian journalist Christina Anyanwu; she attended the poetry festival in Saint Nazaire Acte Sud in France and did a travelling poetry show with Tom Lanoye in Belgium and the Netherlands. In 2006 she participated in a literary festival in Vienna; the poetry festival HAIFA in Harare and did a writer's retreat at Civitella, Umbertide in Italy. In 2008 she did a writing sabbatical in Berlin and spoke at the Akademie der Künste during a poetry festival.

Back home she was a speaker at the Racism Conference in 2000, she co-ordinated and chaired the panel on art and the media at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation's "TRC: Ten Years On" conference in Cape Town in 2006. With Kopano Ratele and Nosisi Mpolweni-Zantsi she presented "Ndabethwa lilitye: language and culture in the testimony of one person before the TRC" at the Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness conference at UCT in November 2006. In September 2008 Krog and Urvashi Butalia

spoke on a panel about "Division and memory: writing on partition and the TRC" at the Indian-SA Shared Histories Festival at the Wits Origins Centre and in October 2008 she spoke at the TRC 10th anniversary review conference organised by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, the Foundation for Human Rights and the Desmond Tutu Peace Centre.

Despite the fact that Krog had not served a traditional apprenticeship within the journalistic field, she had nevertheless converted her literary and political symbolic capital into currency which she took into that field. Using her distinctive poet subjectivity she inflected her journalism with a particular dimension of implicated and affected reporting. The acclaim demonstrated by journalists themselves with the the Pringle Prize for the TRC radio reports and the Foreign Correspondents' Award for the newspaper features, showed decisively that Krog had successfully negotiated the field, accumulating symbolic capital. This media field capital, plus an increase of symbolic capital attached to her own public persona (as an affected witness to the process of the TRC which was remarked on and became a notable feature of her reportage), was then converted back again into the literary world with the facilitation of the publisher. But this time, as a book author with international exposure, Krog was no longer operating at the avant garde pole of the field of cultural production or at the heteronomous pole of journalism, but in the section of the field in which both cultural and economic capital came together powerfully with the production of a non-fiction book. And the international exposure, and new public, amplified Krog's status as a public figure in South Africa.

I am going to spend some time now investigating the global context into which the book was published and to try to assess just why it was acclaimed as a seminal text on the TRC and why Krog herself has become the representative voice of this particular South African experience.

The enabling global context

The are four factors that enabled Krog's account of the TRC to find an international public of not just sympathetic readers, scholars of trauma and the writing of atrocity, but also those influential internationally in politics and in dealing with such events and their impacts.

1. **"Truth" commissions world-wide**

Within the last four decades "truth" commissions have sprung up all over the world as the preferred mechanism to effect political change in situations of political impasse and to deal with pasts characterised by atrocity, injustice and exclusion[32]. While these commissions vary greatly in the degree and types of "truth" being elicited, their openness to public scrutiny, their terms of reference and their intent, there is no doubt that this trend internationally is evidence of what Priscilla Hayner calls "an expanding universe of official truth-seeking" (2002: 255 Afterword). These inquiries have been provoked by the dissolution of states, the conclusion of wars, and the (re)integration into citizenship of dispossessed peoples, and have multiple purposes: resolution, justice, reconciliation, as well as the creation of new political and social entities. Globalisation is often characterised as the "flow of goods" across the world, but it is very interesting that the *idea* of the "truth commission" has taken such a hold internationally as a solution to political problems of a very fraught and complex nature.

Focusing on this spate of commissions, hearings and public engagements around the world, Whitlock, says:

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[32] Since 1971 'truth' commissions, or tribunals or inquiries, have been held in Albania, Argentina (1983-84), Australia (stolen aboriginal children 1996-97), Bangladesh (1971), Bolivia (1982-4), Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil (1992), Bulgaria (1992), Burundi (1995-96), Cambodia, Canada (on aboriginal peoples 1991-96), Chad (1991-92), Chile (1990-91), Czech Republic (1991), East Timor (2002), Ecuador (1996-97), Ethiopia (1993 ongoing), El Salvador (1992-93), Germany (1992-94), Ghana (1993-94), Guatemala (1997-99), Guinea, Haiti (1995-96), Honduras (1993), Israel (1983), Kosovo (2000), Liberia (2006), Malawi (1994), Mexico (1992), Morocco, Nepal (1990-91), Nicaragua (1992), Niger (1992-93), Nigeria (1999-2000), Northern Ireland (1997-98), Panama (2001), Peru (2002), Poland (1992), Rwanda (1993), Romania (1992), Serbia and Montenegro, Sierra Leone (2000-2001), South Africa (1995-2000, note: two commissions of inquiry were held into ANC activities in military camps in exile (1992 and 1993) before the TRC got underway), South Korea, Sri Lanka (1994-97), Sudan (1992-94), Thailand (1992), Togo (1992), Uganda (1974, 1986-95), United States (into wartime relocation and internment of citizens 1981-2 and into radiation experiments 1994-95), Uruguay (1985), Yugoslavia (2001) and Zimbabwe (1985). The latest of these is a Truth and Reconciliation Commission established in Canada on 1 June 2008. Its focus is the abuse and mistreatment of Aboriginal children who were taken from their families and placed in the Indian Residential School system, a system which endured until 1996. Groups and individuals in Afghanistan, Angola, Colombia, Croatia, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Mexico, Philippines, Uganda, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe have since called for new truth commissions. Commissions have also been called for into "violence against women" internationally (by the Fullbright New Century Scholars on the Global Empowerment of Women Working Group) and into the "impact of the nuclear cycle" (by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom). From: Hayner (2002)*;* www.usip.org/library/truth.html#tc accessed 7 December 2006 and www.gmu.edu/academic/pcs/LERCHE71PCS.html accessed 14 November 2007.

> Testimonial forms of autobiographical expression elicited by Commissions of Inquiry are at the forefront of debates about race and identity, most particularly in thinking about the role of the State in the politics of race and reconciliation. The meaning of reconciliation as a strategy, policy, and ethics, is being shaped as a global politics, albeit one which finds quite different local formations and expressions. Testimony is at the heart of this struggle (2001: 201).

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1995-2000) was following an already very-established trend, but nevertheless is still hailed as remarkable for its significant differences from other such commissions. Calling it "illustrative" Hayner remarks:

> The commission's empowering act provided the most complex and sophisticated mandate for any truth commission to date, with carefully balanced powers and an extensive investigatory reach. Written in precise legal language and running to over twenty single-spaced pages, the act gave the commission power to grant individualised amnesty, search premises and seize evidence, subpoena witnesses, and run a sophisticated witness-protection programme. With a staff of three hundred, a budget of some $18 million each year for two-and-a-half years, and four large offices around the country, the commission dwarfed previous truth commissions in its size and reach (2002: 41).

As Hayner (2002), Schaffer and Smith (2004), and Ignatieff (2001) show, the use of truth commissions worldwide is embedded in a human rights "regime of truth" (Foucault 1980: 133)[33]. Ignatieff says the idea of human rights is evidence of a "juridical revolution" in thinking coming out of the "reordering" of the world politically since the end of World War 2. And this idea has undergone "global diffusion" (2001:4), giving impetus (as Schaffer and Smith point out) to struggles of many kinds not intended or even conceived of at the time by the Allied powers who drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

2. **The rise of confession**

One of the most insightful contributions made by Foucault towards an understanding of the Western subject is his investigation into the extent to which confessional practices have long permeated the fabric of Western societies and their writings. In the introduction to *The History of Sexuality* in particular, he points out that confession has, since the Greco-Roman period, been used to shape a particular type of self-disclosing, self-knowing human subject while at the same time being used to compile

[33] "'Truth' is to be understood as a system or ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements."

bodies of scientific knowledge about the human subject itself. “We have become,” says Foucault, “a singularly confessing society.” (1998a: 59).

> The confession has spread its effects far and wide. It plays a part in justice, medicine, education, family relationships, and love relations. In the most ordinary affairs of everyday life, and in the most solemn rites; one confesses one’s crimes, one’s sins, one’s thoughts and desires, one’s illnesses and troubles; one goes about telling, with the greatest precision, whatever is most difficult to tell. One confesses in public and in private, to one’s parents, one’s educators, one’s doctor, to those one loves; one admits to oneself, in pleasure and in pain, things it would be impossible to tell anyone else, the things people write books about. One confesses or is forced to confess (1998a: 59).

The rise of truth commissions world-wide has given new life to confession as a discourse, which is now being harnessed not just in the personal sphere, where Foucault demonstrates that it has long been one of the West’s most distinctive technologies of self, but, perhaps most vividly, now surfaces in the political and judicial spheres in order to probe and elicit the details about gross violations of human rights. Confession has become one of the public modalities used to establish and maintain the modern, human rights-informed democratic enterprise by providing an ideal way to deal with many forms of political and social injustice.

A second reason for the ascendancy of confession in relation to the rise of truth commissions is that it allows the exercise of voice and expression to those previously denied them. Homi Bhabha sees this as a world-wide phenomenon coming out of the “great social movements of our times – diasporic, refugee, migrant”, and calls it the “right to narrate” (in an interview with Kerry Chance, 2001). And, he says, this is not just an “expressive right” but also an “enunciatory right” (ie not just a right to speak but also a right to proclaim and therefore make claims), happening in a situation of “jurisdictional unsettlement”, in a world in which the settled idea of nation and nationality are being complexified.

In the case of South Africa, the Constitutional and legislative procedures underpinning the TRC enshrined as the new South African citizen, the human subject entirely recognisable in the confessional mode of self-construction. According to Deborah Posel: “A particular kind of faith in the production of selfhood is at the heart

of the South African Constitution"[34]. Posel's argument is that the TRC became the "first vector" of the project to reconstitute the South African self through the Constitutional provision that every single South African has the right to speak.

> The mutuality of damage and the shared need to be healed gives access to a shared community and a shared humanity predicated on the shared experience of pain (2005).

And the confessional mode also contains the potential to recreate social entities. Dealing decisively with its shameful past via a commission has not only allowed South Africa to rejoin an international community politically but also to enter the "global community of suffering… which leads to mutual humanity". Posel remarks that the usual notion of the person which underlies liberal democracy is the rational, deliberative subject. But the TRC, and the many processes like it around the world, have consolidated the "emotional, affective, damaged" subject of the confessional as another important type, not only nationally, but globally.

In South Africa, the confessional form, as Susan van Zanten Gallagher points out, has both a long history and a new dimension:

> …the confessional mode is a prevalent form … appearing in texts from both the apartheid age (1948-1990) and the post-apartheid period. In the 1990s, with the unfolding drama of the Truth and Reconciliation hearings, confessions and confessional literature proved a particularly appropriate mode for a society struggling to carve out a new national identity based not on race but on geography… confessional discourse provides a way of articulating these moral claims (2002: xx).

Returning to the roots of confession in the Christian church, Gallagher points to the fact that traditionally confession involved not only the admission of sin, error and guilt, but also the acknowledgement or declaration "that something is so" (2002: 3), as expressed in the "confessing of the faith". In church tradition confession is also, very importantly, used as a means of returning the one who confesses to the community of the faithful.

> Confession – both admission and testimony – provides both the act of signature and the necessary witness that contributes to the formation of the communal yet individual self. In theological terms, what confession entails is less a renunciation of the self than a decentering and subsequent recentering of the self with the community of faith" (2002: 29).

[34] My notes from the verbal presentation on 18 October 2005 at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Thus the power of the confessional mode in situations where the reconstruction of a social entity is critical for the resolution of a fractured past. And while the reconstruction of social and political bodies as a result of commissions of inquiry usually takes place within national boundaries, these new bodies – as Posel has alerted us – bear the marks of suffering and so have characteristics in common with all those Others across the world caught in similar processes.

3. The "transnationalising" of the public sphere

In her recent work Nancy Fraser has turned her attention to the likelihood that the public sphere (as the national arena where ordinary citizens hold political power accountable via shared information and the formation of opinions) has begun to operate beyond state boundaries. Fraser's recognition of the "new salience of globalisation" and the "new grammar of political claims-making" (2007: 74) has led her to examine whether the idea of the public sphere is now "overflow(ing) the bounds of both nations and states" (2007: 7). Detecting that there is burgeoning and commonplace talk of a multiplicity of public spheres, Fraser considers the notion of a transnational public sphere "indispensable" for understanding, and reconstructing, democratic theory for the present state of the world. For my purposes, it is key to note that 'globalisation', as evidenced in communication flows and circulations of texts and their publics (as in Warner 2002), means that the three components I have discussed above, are all taking place within an arena that transcends the nation-state. In this arena the movement of information and the cohesion around issues has the facility to bind people all over the world together as transnational citizens concerned about global issues affecting all human beings. The rise of what are now being called "new social movements" across the globe in response to the factors pointed out by Bhabha above, is an indication that:

> A broader grammar of governance has thus emerged, once that has extended the vocabulary of citizenship both within the nation-state and outside it (Randeria 2007: 39).

To give an example which points to the functioning of a transnational public sphere and a wider sense of implicated citizenship: in his study about TV as a medium that conveys evidence of human suffering across borders, Luc Boltanski (1999) shows that "reflexive modern subjects are both immediately morally obliged and emotionally bound to act to relieve suffering that we witness" (in the words of Kate

Nash 2007: 54). These "reflexive modern subjects" are those people who identify as fellow humans across national boundaries and who use transnational public spheres to chrystallise the salience of events and issues with which to become involved.

> According to Boltanski, the modern subject who witnesses (mediated) suffering is reflexive and therefore both capable of, and required to, justify their understanding of what they have seen, how they feel about it and how they intend to respond to it… Boltanski's understanding of the possibilities of entering into social dialogue is very similar to Habermas' in this respect. Modern subjects attribute reflexivity to each other, so creating a communicative space for potential partners in dialogue who are able to justify their beliefs, values and actions to each other, and to reach consensus on how to proceed (Nash 2007: 55).

4. The burgeoning market for 'life-narrative'

Numerous literary theorists point to a coincidental, detectable shift in the publishing industry world-wide: the rise of non-fiction as a category and the noticeable eagerness for consuming autobiographical works, especially of the confessional or testimonial kind. Schaffer and Smith say:

> The last decades of the twentieth century witnessed the unprecedented rise in genres of life writing, narratives published primarily in the West but circulated widely around the globe. This "memoir boom" has certainly occurred in English-speaking countries, from Australia to Jamaica, from England to South Africa, in European countries, especially France and Germany (2004: 1).

They quote Leigh Gilmore (2001) as noting that the number of books published in English and labelled as "autobiography or memoir" tripled from the 1940s to the 1990s (2004: 21).

It is important to also note that there exist vast markets now supporting the global commodification of non-fiction and autobiographical narratives. Life narratives are "salable properties in today's markets", Schaffer and Smith remark, pointing to "increasing education, disposable income, and leisure time of the post-World War II generations in Western democratic nations and pockets of modernities elsewhere around the globe" (2004: 11). And alongside the voraciousness of the market and the proliferation of the belief in the "individual and the individual's unique story" (2004: 11), there is also the fact that many of these stories, told by the West's Others, do make visible the claims of the disenfranchised, and "enable victims to speak truth to power" (2004: 19).

These four globalised situations corresponded with an exemplary local situation and context (as in the form of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission); a publisher/publishing house connected to global flows of information and global markets, seeking out a local publication to make the fit; and an individual who had the facility to experience, embody, speak and write about trauma and transition.

Although I have distinguished these four factors (the rise of "truth" commissions, the increased use of confessional, the expanding market for life narratives, and the transnationalising of the public sphere and implicatedness in issues beyond state borders) from each other, they are completely interwoven as causes and effects of each other. As Schaffer and Smith say:

> The rise in the popularity of published life narratives has taken place in the midst of global transformations, both cataclysmic and gradual, that have occurred in the decades since the end of World War II… these geopolitical and temporal transformations form not so much a backdrop, but rather a fractured web of intersecting geographic, historical, and cultural contingencies out of which personal narratives have emerged and within which they are produced, received and circulated, These global transformations have spurred developments in the field of human rights as well, developments that demand, for their recognition in the international community, multiple forms of remembrance of and witnessing to abuse (2004: 1).

However powerful these four factors pertaining globally, plus the intervention of a canny publisher, might have been in facilitating Krog's entry onto an international stage, and however much the "field" might have authored the "author" (in Bourdieu's words) the other important factor is that Krog produced a highly-unusual and extraordinary account of the TRC process which was not simply reportage and not simply non-fiction. My contention in this study is that Krog had taken very seriously the responsibility to craft a position from which to speak in relation to South Africa's Others which did not obliterate or claim a position of silencing those Others. I have shown in chapter three how she worked to craft a distinctiveness of voice, which in the literary field could be singled out as her idiolect, and I have shown in chapter four how she modified that voice (both through her poetry and her political practice) to "self-other", to shift the writerly self into different positions from which to see and engage with South Africa of that time. Now, I argue, in this chapter she takes her experimentation in the TRC reporting and the book account even further in relation to

the new voices of testimony she witnessed for the first time. This position I am going to call, after Gillian Whitlock, the "second person performance" as it is not only a shift of position which is noticeably pronounced but also, importantly, a performance, and in public.

[Subjectivity] The second-person performance

> *Beloved, do not die. Do not dare die! I, the survivor, I wrap you in words so that the future inherits you. I snatch you from the death of forgetfulness. I tell your story, complete your ending – you who once whispered beside me in the dark.*
> *Antjie Krog 1998: 27.*

The encounter with 'amazing otherness'

In an interview she did with me in 1998 for *Rhodes Journalism Review* shortly after the book's publication, Krog said she was intrigued in her TRC reporting with the "amazing otherness of where they [the testifiers at the TRC] have been and how they've dealt with it"[35]. Writing, in the face of actrocity, is a complex decision, and writing the atrocious experiences of others, even more complicated. To make beautiful in words the atrocities of experience, is a travesty, as Adorno pointed out in his statement made famous by overuse (and often misinterpretation)[36]. Paul Celan the poet and Holocaust survivor, asked that his "Fugue of Death" not be published further because the writing was "too lyrical" and "too beautiful" (Sanders 2000: 13 and see Krog 1998: 237). But as Sanders points out, Krog's decision to commit her TRC experiences and the words of the TRC testifiers to paper is a decision of "being host to their words" (2000: 14), of not allowing those already silenced to be further lost to record because of their lack of facility and vehicles for representation. Sanders considers this aspect of both *Country of My Skull* and the official *TRC Report.*

> As formulated by Krog, the question of poetry, or literature, after apartheid concerns less an excess of lyricism or beauty, from which its creator stands back, than a writer's facilitation of the utterance of others. If the question of literature after apartheid is a question of advocacy, of its dynamics and ethics, then the Commission shares a set of concerns and conditions of possibility with literary works. In interpreting its public hearings as occasions for advocacy, the Commission reveals that

[35] "Inside Antjie's head" by Anthea Garman *Rhodes Journalism Review* No 16, July 1998: 27.
[36] The phrase "To write a poem after Auschwitz is barbaric" appears in the conclusion to "An Essay on Cultural Criticism and Society" *Prisms* (trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber). Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1967: 34. Adorno wrote it in 1949 for a festschrift.

> the structures of identification and substitution, on which it relies when it solicits the testimony of victims, are as integral to its own operations as they are to a literary work. Krog's book makes itself host to testimony in ways that allow us to understand how this is the case, and even how even lyric poetry, in a sense ignored by the Adornian principle, is able to display this joint partaking (2000: 14).

Sanders calls *Country of My Skull* a "hybrid work, written at the edges of reportage, memoir, and metafiction" (2000: 16). He says as supplement to the Commission's official report:

> It does this by remarking and reflecting upon how, in the testimony of witnesses at the public hearings, truths are interlaced with acts of telling and questioning, which are, in turn, implicated in the intricate dynamics between questioner and teller. *Country of My Skull* mimes such elements by relating its authors's own attempts to find an interlocutor, an addressee, an other for whom her story will cohere. Written from a position of acknowledged and troubling historical complicity – its dedication reads "For every victim who had an Afrikaner surname on her lips" – Krog's book does not claim any facile identification with victims who testify (2000: 16).

In this book, one sees Krog again in search of an interlocutor, again to negotiate an "era of horror" (this time the evocation of the past of atrocity). But in choosing to not only report (and therefore stand procedurally outside the process) but also witness the TRC testimonies, Krog is positioned (and positioning herself) as a white, Afrikaans-speaking South African, as implicated, as complicit, and as a beneficiary of apartheid. She is also dealing with thousands of voices who have been given the official platform by the commission and its backing legislation to legitimately speak for themselves, saying "I" in public for the first time, recognised as having the right to make claims that were once denied. She is crafting a subjectivity in order to respond ethically to "amazing otherness". As Sanders points out, her relationship to these testifiers is not a facile one of claiming and using their testimony. And in order to explain this relationship I turn to Australian literary theorist Gillian Whitlock for insight.

The first-person, second-person transaction

Whitlock, whose interest has been focused on the Stolen Children issue in Australia and who has surveyed the use of commissions world-wide, says that the silenced people who speak at these hearings take on the authority and position of the "first person" (using a grammatical metaphor) and force the hearer (and very often the

enfranchised, empowered and usually complicit) into the listening position of the "second person" who must respond ethically and satisfactorily:

> The presence of the first and the second person, the narrator and the witness, is vital to the narrative exchange established through testimonial speaking and writing (2001: 199).

Whitlock's interest is in the person who is placed "in this textual economy as the second person", the addressee, the recipient (2001: 199-200). The burden now placed on this second person is to become a witness[37] who "affirms the experience and trauma of the first person", who "reflect(s) upon the self, upon his/her own responsibility and implication in the events being narrated by a traumatised subject" (2001: 200). She comments that in this transaction the burden of shame shifts to the listener and by extension to the dominant culture. In response "the politics of reconciliation comes into play… as a quite specific discursive framework, as a personal and collective strategy which recognises the complex dynamics of this shaming as a catharsis" (2001: 200).

> The politics of reconciliation as it is currently emerging in Africa, Australia and North America requires in the second person a subjective identification, contrition, introspection, and finally a change of heart (2001: 210).

While Krog's brand of reportage for the SABC radio channels, was remarkable in its breaching the constraints of journalism (for example the strong prohibition on saying "I" as a journalist), it becomes evident why the book she subsequently wrote is the better textual vehicle for such an important transaction. Calling Krog's *Country of My Skull* "a brilliant autobiography of the second person", Whitlock says:

> …the fragments of traumatic memory spoken by victims to the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission are braided together with Krog's autobiographical narrative. Krog struggles to get the relationship between these narratives right. Like Carmel Bird[38], Krog too produces her book as an apology and as a recognition of complicity (2001: 210).

But says Whitlock: "…these testimonies are profoundly disturbing to dominant ways of thinking about history, identity and race…" (2001: 198).

She goes on:

[37] "Witness" is one of those ambiguous words that can mean, in such a context, either someone giving their own testimony or someone listening to that testimony, ie a first person or a second person.
[38] 1998 *The Stolen Children: Their Stories*, also published by Random House.

> What they can tell in the first person, and what we will hear as the second person, are always sharply circumscribed, one by the other. Both telling and listening are performative (2001: 209).

While asserting with Whitlock that in *Country of My Skull* we can see Krog adopting a further modification of her subject position as responsive to the Others of South Africa, the second-person listening position, there is also evidence that this positionality has facets and allows Krog also to manoeuvre from one facet to another as we saw in Driver's analysis of Anne Barnard's writing subjectivity in chapter four. This position also allows Krog as a writer, and someone who works with language as a meaning-making mechanism, to explore with factual material sourced in journalism some of literature's major pre-occupations.

1. Saying "I", hearing "I"

> At Tzaneen a young Tswana interpreter is interviewed. He holds on to the table top, his other hand moves restlessly in his lap. 'It is difficult to interpret victim hearings,' he says, 'because you use the first person all the time. I have no distance when I say "I"… it runs through me with I' (1998: 129).
>
> Consciousness of self is only possible if it is experienced by contrast. I use I only when I am speaking to someone who will be a *you* in my address. It is this condition of dialogue that is constitutive of *person,* for it implies that reciprocally *I* becomes *you* in the address of the one who in his turn designates himself as *I*. Here we see a principle, whose consequences are to spread out in all directions. Language is possible only because each speaker sets himself up as a *subject* by referring to himself as *I* in his discourse. Because of this, *I* posits another person, the one who, being, as he is, completely exterior to 'me', becomes my echo to whom I say *you* and who says *you* to me. This polarity of persons is the fundamental condition of language, of which the process of communication, in which we share, is only a mere pragmatic consequence. It is a polarity, moreover, very peculiar in itself, as it offers a type of opposition whose equivalent is encountered nowhere else outside of language. This polarity does not mean either equality or symmetry: 'ego' always has a position of transcendence with regard to *you*. Nevertheless, neither of the terms can be conceived of without the other; they are complementary, although according to an 'interior/exterior' opposition, and, at the same time, they are reversible. If we seek a parallel to this, we will not find it. The condition of man in language is unique.
>
> And so the old antinomies of 'I' and 'the other', of the individual and society, fall. (Benveniste 2000: 40-41).

Benveniste's rooting of subjectivity and agency in language and his insight that our use of the simple pronominal words to designate ourselves are always dialogical, relational and shifting, is a significant place to start unpicking the Krog text. In *Country of My Skull* Krog not only explicitly performs the responses of the second-person listener, she also engages in the debates surrounding the seeking and telling of truth and the connections between language and extremities of experience and their implications for forgiveness, setting the past aside, the possibility of new nation and belonging. Krog's implicit understanding that the ability to speak for oneself is of utmost importance as a technique of recovery when violence has been used to obliterate that self, can be seen in the book. She refers on page 47 to those whose work she has drawn on and among the names is Elaine Scarry, author of the text *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (1985). Scarry's contention is that experiences of extreme pain and trauma render the sufferer wordless and so literally, pain takes away the language to speak itself. If language is the means humans use to grasp the world, then the world too is unmade for the sufferer, or to put in the reverse of Emile Benveniste's terms: if "it is in and through language that man constitutes himself as a *subject"* (my italics 2000: 40), then the loss of language to speak one's experience of pain is the terrible loss of oneself as a subject, as the "I" of one's own story, experience and life.

> For me, this crying is the beginning of the Truth Commission – the signature tune, the definitive moment, the ultimate sound of what the process is about. She was wearing this vivid orange-red dress, and she threw herself backwards and that sound … that sound … it will haunt me for ever and ever.' … and to witness that cry was to witness the destruction of language … was to realise that to remember the past of this country is to be thrown back into a time before language. And to get that memory, to fix it in words, to capture it with the precise image, is to be present at the birth of language itself (Krog 1998:42).

In the book Krog shows this unmaking in her interlocutors and in her self. But she also shows a making, the emergence of a book full of words, full of experience, of dialogue and interlocution as the TRC unfolds its hearings across the entire landscape of the country. To return to Sanders' idea about a "joint partaking", Krog has produced this book as record, testimony and confession but also advocacy and recognition that from here on, white South Africans can no longer speak for the Others who now occupy first-person position, they will have to negotiate their

speaking to and with (and for) those now legislated into citizenship and into rights-making claims.

2. The beneficiary position

Taking up the second-person listening position in relation to South Africa's apartheid history also means, with absolute logic, that if the second-person is white, then that race makes one also a beneficiary of apartheid, and therefore implicated in the atrocities being given words to. In *Country of My Skull* Krog does not shrink from this implication and positioning[39]. The concern with the millions of normal South Africans, both black and white, also affected by apartheid permeates *Country of My Skull.*

> Just before midnight, six black youths walk into the Truth Commission's office in Cape Town. They insist on filling out the forms and taking the oath. Their application simply says: Amnesty for Apathy. They had been having a normal Saturday evening jol in a shebeen when they started talking about the amnesty deadline and how millions of people had simply turned a blind eye to what was happening. It had been left to a few individuals to make the sacrifice for the freedom everyone enjoys today. "And that's when we decided to ask for amnesty because we had done nothing." (Krog 1998:121-2).

Critics of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission have pointed out that one of its major failings was to focus almost to exclusion of all others on certain acts of extraordinary atrocity (torture, murder) and to divide those appearing before it into the victim-perpetrator binary[40]. The hearings were divided into human rights violations hearings in which victims testified, and amnesty hearings in which the perpetrators came forward in what was required to be full disclosure of their politically-motivated crimes. Tens of thousands of submissions were reduced to thousands in order to make the public appearances manageable. But in the process, the all-pervasiveness of the apartheid system which made non-citizens of millions, robbed them of rights, condemned them to sub-standard housing, education and opportunities while privileging an entire stratum of people because of the colour of their skin, received

[39] Krog introduced herself decisively as "a beneficiary of apartheid" at the special reconciliation event at the National Arts Festival in Grahamstown on 4 July 2003.
[40] See for example Mamdani's 2000 critique cited by Schaffer and Smith 2006 and by Krog 1998: 112, and Mark Sanders' discussion of the acknowledgement within the TRC report that focusing on the "exceptional perpetrator led to a "fail[ure] to recognise the 'little perpetrator' in each of us"(2002: 3).

little formal attention[41]. The beneficiaries of apartheid, mostly white South Africans, were treated as a ghostly cloud of witnesses vicariously participating through the media. The fact is, in reality, that those suffering from human rights abuses numbered in the tens of millions, not thousands. Mamdani (2000) points out that an investigation into how the system had impoverished millions by enriching millions should have been the focus of such a commission. While most commissions world-wide have confined themselves to dealing with extreme abuses of human rights they have also opened up the possibility that these abuses had structural roots and that entire societies are constructed in unjust and oppressive ways, but the avoidance of investigating the underpinnings of societies is kept in political check by those in power in case entire social and political systems unravel.

Schaffer and Smith (2006a) point out that in *Country of My Skull* Krog "enacts an ethics of reconciliation through claiming the position of beneficiary". This positioning puts Krog the observer, listener and witness into a position of complicity, and while she does at points identify with the perpetrators because of shared language and culture (see 1998: 96 "they are as familiar as my brothers…"), the fact is that the beneficiary position is a complex and uncomfortable place in which to be situated because it cannot be identified with one moment of human rights abuse which can be claimed, confessed and forgiven. It suggests that one's entire life, as a white South African, is built upon the denigration and oppression of others which has been centuries in the making. From the beneficiary position Krog speaks to other beneficiaries and implicates them – her readers – in the discomfort of hearing and then having to respond to the testimonies by weighing up their own lives in these terms. Schaffer and Smith comment on this position, but also remark that Krog also uses a multiplicity of positions to craft her book:

> Throughout *Country of My Skull*, Krog is tenuously, and often multiply positioned: as a professional observer reporting on the historical event of the TRC; an interlocutor interpellated in the TRC's spectacle of witnessing and its reconciliation process; an advocate for the witnesses; a guilt-ridden Afrikaner prompting other Afrikaners to recognise their complicity in the violence of apartheid; and a white South African

[41] When at some point in the hearings it became clear to the commissioners that such an individualising of atrocity was taking place "institutional hearings" were set up into specific social structures such as the media, the business world, the faith communities, the medical sector and the legal sector. See Volume 4 of the *TRC Report* at http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/trc_frameset.htm

> desirous of finding a home for herself and, by implication, other beneficiaries of the past in a post-apartheid future" (2006b: 1579).

As a journalist Krog (Samuel) could have chosen to operate solely from the 'objective' position of reportage mandated by professional practice which would have put her at a remove from the personal implications of the testimonies. By also adopting the beneficiary position Krog makes complex, and even undermines, the TRC's binary of victim-perpetrator as the primary relation underpinning abuse of power, damage and forgiveness. This position also calls into question the one-to-one personal relationship demanded by confession in order for forgiveness to be sought and given. If millions are guilty and millions hold the power of forgiveness, how is that to be effected successfully except via holding to a belief in the hermeneutic value of vicarious participation which turns on feeling affect? But as Krog the author demonstrates through her literary enactment of confession, producing a work which not only documents a process faithfully but seeks also to allow others to understand and participate in the larger project of national renewal and reconciliation is a difficult and complex task. As Whitlock points out, in responding to testimonies of atrocity a writer witness has to modulate her performance of culpability so as to be seen to act ethically and sincerely in response to the seriousness of the testimonies aired. The emphasis in such narratives, says Whitlock, is on the "making of the ethical respondent" (2001: 205).

The credibility of Krog's performance of beneficiary culpability in *Country of My Skull* has been subjected to intense debate in reviews of the book both by academics and in the media. Meira Cook comments that "*Country of My Skull* is a radically overdetermined narrative". She says:

> …her protestations of unworthiness, self-indulgent guilt, and a frequently expressed ambivalence about the project that she has undertaken undermines our reliance on her objectivity as a witness… her pain is represented in the fractured voice of her narrator, the jaggedness and angularity of her address, and the ambivalence with which she insists on her contingent position as interlocutor. At times forceful, even strident, at other times diffident, alternately addressing the reader directly and mediating her position through the reported speech of others, Krog's narrator seems pathologically uncertain of her place in this text (2001: 77).

This "radical overdetermination" extends into Krog's mixing of genres and her melding, in particular, of the poetic with the journalistic with their two different

conventions of the factual, the experiential and indeed the emotional and affective. The sincerity and believability of Krog's performance of contrition and awareness of complicity is always at risk when she uses heavy-handed journalistic factual horror (a well-worn media technique for getting attention and conveying seriousness), as well as literary devices characterised by heightened affect. The paradox is that atrocities of this order should draw from a listener a requisite intensity of feeling and remorse. It is very important then that Krog find a register for her confession which rings true and is sincere and adequate to the complexity of the task; and for the reader that the performance be judged as ethically sound.

3. The assertion of the body

> 'This inside me … fights my tongue. It is … unshareable. It destroys … words. Before he was blown up, they cut off his hands so he could not be fingerprinted … So how do I say this? – this terrible … I want his hands back' (1998: 27).
>
> 'When I opened the door … there was my closest friend and comrade … She was standing on the doorstep and she screamed: "My child, my little Nomzamo is still in the house!" … I stared at her … my most beautiful friend … her hair flaming and her chest like a furnace … she died a day later. I pulled out her baby from the burning house … I put her on the grass … only to find that her skin stayed behind on my hands. She is with me here today' (1998: 27).
>
> 'They held me … they said, "Please don't go in there …" I just skipped through their legs and went in … I found Bheki … he was in pieces … he was hanging in pieces … he was all over … pieces of him and brain was scattered all around … that was the end of Bheki …' (1998: 28).
>
> We also learn quickly. Bulletin-writers and newsreaders squirm away from whatever is not fashionable or harmlessly clinical. For words like 'menstruation' or 'penis' there is no place on the news; a phrase such as 'they braaied my child on a fire' is out of the question. We are told that the writer Rian Malan has complained that he doesn't want to mix 'breakfast and blood' in the morning… (How quickly our own language changes – fantastic testimony, sexy subject, nice audible crying …) (1998: 32).

As we have seen in the previous two chapters' investigation of Krog's working with writer subjectivity and positioning, Krog has never shied away from engagement with the body, and its messy situatedness. In *Country of My Skull* she is well-placed to take on the, at times, overwhelming and overtly graphic testimony of the victims. But again the modulating of her reaction to this material is very important. Any hint that she is lapsing into overly graphic and salacious uses as the writer would undermine

her credibility as the second-person witness. Krog uses her multiple writer positions to deal with this very tricky area, sometimes adopting objective reporter position and putting the testimony in direct quotes, sometimes speaking as implicated beneficiary and reacting with powerful emotion directly to the hurt and ruin she sees. Asserting the value of writing and recording of such testimonial details, Ashleigh Harris remarks:

> It is precisely this transferring of the traumatic past from the individual's body, to his/her speech, and finally to national discourse, that creates the cathartic potential of a nationally validated process such as the TRC. Within the discourses of the TRC individuals' narratives, and bodies, become traces to the broader national and historical trauma inflicted by the apartheid regime (2006[42]).

Harris calls the work that Krog does in *Country of My Skull* a "shifting of trauma from the body of the victim to the realm of nationally validated speech". It is important here to remember that in Warner's study of public and mass subjectivity he remarks that it is often the cataclysmic and dreadful that happens to the body that is the vehicle for others to imagine themselves as part of the "non-corporeal mass witness" in the public domain. There is no doubt that this was a distinct possibility for those participating in the TRC hearings via the media, but through the pages of Krog's book, the vicarious participant has more than just the details of the atrocities, they also have Krog's performance, listening, relaying, shifting position, giving voice and responding ethically and with respect for the depth of pain and destruction. As a writer Krog is also containing the atrocities, giving words, shaping the flow of the experiences and ultimately asserting the meaning and value of the testimonies for the goal of reconciliation, healing and new nationhood. She is also enacting her own bodily affectedness, mirroring the witnesses' bodily distress, but within the pages of the book finding resolution in her belonging to a newly-constructed land.

4. The assertion of a woman's body as the bearer of truth

> She is sitting behind a microphone, dressed in beret or *kopdoek* and her Sunday best. Everybody recognises her. Truth has become Woman. Her voice distorted behind her rough hand, has undermined Man as the source of truth. And yet. Nobody knows her (1998: 56).

[42] I'm working from the online version which has no page numbers http://0-galenet.galegroup.com.wam.seals.ac.za/servlet/IOURL?issn=0256-4718&finalAuth=true&locID=rhodes&title=Journal+of+Literary+Studies&c=41&ste=1&prod=LitRC accessed 23 December 2008.

> We pick out a sequence. We remove some pauses and edit it into a 20-minute sound bite. We feed it to Johannesburg. We switch on a small transistor. The news comes through: 'I was making tea in the police station. I heard a noise, I looked up … There he fell … Someone fell from the upper floor past the window … I ran down … It was my child … my grandchild, but I raised him.'
>
> We lift our fists triumphantly. We've done it!
>
> The voice of an ordinary cleaning woman is the headline on the one o'clock news (1998: 32).

In Krog's earlier poetic work we have seen her assert the passion and depth of her capacity as a feeling, thinking, woman writer. We have also seen that she is not constrained by a feminist politics but that she gives this female voice what is often considered a male power to register strength of emotion and especially anger. We have also seen Krog's experimentation with female interlocutors in her previous work where she has used their experiences (often written by themselves) and her responses to them as an engagement in listening and hosting their embodied and situated knowledge of being in this country. In *Country of My Skull* in her dealing with the truth commission testimonies she takes this engagement much further by making the startling assertion: "Truth is a woman" (the title of Chapter 16 1998: 177). By dedicating the book "for every victim who had an Afrikaner surname on her lips", Krog is emphasising that the situated suffering female body has a great deal to say about the truth of South African apartheid experience.

When this assertion is laid alongside Krog's stated discomfort with the truth ("The word 'Truth' makes me uncomfortable. The word 'truth' still trips the tongue. 'Your voice tightens up when you approach the word "truth",' the technical assistant says, irritated. 'Repeat it twenty times so that you become familiar with it. *Truth is mos jou job!'*" [Truth is your job!] (1998: 36).) In chapter 16 when she focuses closely on the testimony at the special hearings into women she names each one, and allows each one space to speak in the book without comment. Krog seems to be saying that the truth is to be found in the female experience, in the body of experience, in the words that each woman uses to give voice to her experience and that official, recorded and sanitised truth in documents is to be treated warily. This places Krog's account of the TRC in an interesting relation of ambivalence to the official TRC reports, and interestingly as commentators remark (such as Mark Sanders) that for a reader to understand the TRC process they should read Krog alongside the *TRC Report.*

A new public for Antjie Krog

While Stephen Johnson certainly intended *Country of My Skull* to have an international audience[43], Krog was adamant that she wrote with only South African readers in mind[44]. Carli Coetzee, conscious of the fact that Krog had a previous devoted poetry-reading audience of primarily Afrikaans-speakers, analyses her attempts to find another audience for *Country of My Skull.* Coetzee claims that the primary addressee of the book is two-fold: "Krog directs her work at both her traditional Afrikaans-speaking audience and at a new audience by whom she wishes to be accepted" (2001: 685). Coetzee finds significance in the use of the poet's name "Krog" as author of the book, but points out that the resource material for the book was gathered as the journalist "Samuel".

> This divided identity, this double signature, is more than a case of a married woman making a choice to publish under her maiden name… The nature of the signature is this text points to a series of displacements and sometimes uncomfortable divisions: Krog uses the word written by Antjie Samuel, publishing it here under her own name, her other name, but in English, which is not the language associated with the signature 'Krog'. The signature of the text is significant, in terms of the audience it evokes: Antjie Krog is the name under which the author is known as the adored woman poet of the Afrikaans tradition… The signature thus captures the attention of her Afrikaans-speaking readers, who are called on to take notice, and are forced to read this book alongside, or on top of, the other work produced by that signature (2001: 686-7).

In the text Krog does calculated things to call into being another readership alongside her already-existing Afrikaans readership. Coetzee calls this a "self-conscious desire to address an audience that includes black South Africans" (2001: 686). Notable among these are the dedication "for every victim who had an Afrikaner surname on her lips". Coetzee remarks that Krog is calling her "historic reading public" to "witness her addressing a black woman" (2001: 688).

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[43] It was released in the US in 1999 as Country of My Skull: Guilt, Sorrow, and the Limits of Forgiveness in the New South Africa. New York: Times Books.

[44] "Antjie Krog has the most unusual reaction to the success of her book on the truth commission, *Country of My Skull,* an entrant in the *Sunday Times* Alan Paton Award for non-fiction writing – anger. Besides the 15 000 copies sold in South Africa – an extraordinary figure for a non-fiction work of this type – the book has also been published in London and New York. The Italian rights have been sold and the German, Spanish, Danish and Dutch rights are being negotiated. Chartoff Productions, a Californian film company responsible for blockbusters such as *The Right Stuff* and *Raging Bull,* has bought a two-year option for the film rights. Yet chat to Krog about overseas readers and, instead of expressing pride, she becomes aggressive and agitated. "How can they understand a single word?" she says. "It is so South African, so Afrikaans, so white. I don't know what it is doing there." From "When the truth hurts the heart" by Gillian Anstey, *The Sunday Times* 23 May 1999: 10.

The other interesting device in the text is the performance of alienation by the author from her Afrikaner history, heritage and language. Coetzee comments that the text shows the same concern and crisis many other South African authors evidence about audience.

> It is a crisis about the name of the fathers, the legacy of the past and of the Afrikaans language; and a crisis around who the addressee of the text produced by a white South African could be. In texts such as this one, the author is at pains to distinguish herself from the men of her race (as she calls them), and the voice becomes one in search of a new ear, a new genealogy into which she can write herself…" (2001: 688).

But as we have seen, added to this reaching across the race and language barrier to attain a new public in South Africa, is also the evidence that the book found an international public immediately on its publication. While I have enumerated the factors that prepared the reception of the book and gave it salience internationally I want to make a further point here that is more about the subjectivity enacted in the book and its echoes internationally.

Australian literary theorist David Carter ("Public Intellectuals, Book Culture and Civil Society" in *Australian Humanities Review* online) who has an interest in burgeoning book clubs and the non-fiction material they often consume, talks about there being "a developing audience for certain modes of interiority and of aesthetic experience" and he defines aesthetic as "what happens when style, voice or authorial persona is invested with ethical value". Carter detects a:

> new 'specialist function for literary reading among the array of mediated lifestyle and entertainment choices, a specific kind of *ethical training* which the process of reading and talking about books enables in distinctive ways… My point, though, is to see this kind of literary reading as a distinct 'technology'; to emphasise, for example, the different temporality involved in reading and how this might be suited to certain forms of ethical exercise or the different ways books circulate as commodities… I don't think we should say that the new tastes are 'merely' tastes or, for that matter, 'merely' products of smart marketing, as if there were a pure form of attachment to culture. We can instead conceive of lifestyle and consumption in terms of *self-fashioning* which extends to a whole range of ethical and political commitments.

Carter says that reading groups that are consuming memoir and non-fiction are acting as "occasions for *ethical reflection.*… They address, as they constitute, readers who want 'history', moral and intellectual sophistication, cultural context, authenticity, and

structures for self-reflection". Carter concludes this argument by saying that in this type of book history, ethics and aethestics come together in one package that allows a reader to use the book for engagement with the world, and understanding of the world – in Warner's terms, the book again is a vehicle for mass subjectivity, for being a public. If this is the case internationally, then it is no surprise that *Country of My Skull* found an international readership so readily.

Conclusion

I have shown that Krog's ongoing experimentation with subjectivity, continued in her TRC reporting and subsequent book continue to be driven by her desire to relate ethically to the Others of South Africa. In response to the TRC testimonies this necessitated the adoption of the 'second-person' position so that Krog was able to make the creative space to allow these Others into her writing. This position, as I have shown above, still contains elements of Krog's distinctive idiolect and her self-othering, particularly when she activates the experience of being female and being situated in the body. That this desire to fashion an ethical response found an echo in the experience of readers internationally as well as in South Africa is because, in the words of David Carter, a confluence of history, aesthetics and ethics created the right environment for the reception of this experimentation with subjectivity. A global issue with great currency and impetus (the dealing with the past through the now powerfully pervasive framework of human rights) had found an exemplary local situation in the South African TRC; and a market-driven, international, publishing industry, attuned to the desire for real-life stories operating in the mode of the confessional, found an author with significant literary capital, and the factual journalistic material to fashion into a book, which was a perfect fit. These impetuses came together in the representative author Antjie Krog and the book *Country of My Skull.* An investigation of her trajectory through three fields plus an examination of Krog's adaptive capacity to mould a writer subjectivity responsive to those with the right to narrate (but not necessarily to be published) illuminates why Antjie Krog has become not only internationally known, but also the kind of public figure who continues to have voice and power to speak in a political context where many white, and especially Afrikaans-speaking, white voices, have now lost this automatic power.

Chapter Six

Authority and Authenticity in the New South Africa

> *If I have to find among Afrikaans thinkers one who I would call an "African intellectual", it is her. I have been so formed as a 'Western' intellectual; that it is Antjie Krog who, every time I read her, challenges me to acknowledge the restrictions of that formation and to address them. Few other Afrikaans thinkers dig so deeply and insistently about Africa and the moral and intellectual challenges of our continent and land.*
> *Jakes Gerwel "Laat ons met mekaar verskil sonder om te skel",*
> Rapport *11 November 2007: 20.*

Authority

In December 1997, as Krog was putting the finishing touches to *Country of My Skull* the *Mail&Guardian* declared that she was one of their "next hot one hundred" South Africans to pay attention to. The article proclaimed:

> The next generation: those who will be at the forefront of their fields in the years to come. We have captured a snapshot of 100 people, groups and trends that will be leading the pack as South Africa heads for the next millennium. The people featured here are not necessarily young; rather it is their plans and ideas that are on the ascent. They are the people who are set to influence (and are influenced by) the way we live and the issues which we debate. M&G reporters have searched and found them across the political terrain, cutting a swathe through each arts discipline, ploughing up land concerns or fashioning a new, homegrown sense of style. From opera stars to soccer heroes, the future could rest in their hands... Poet and journalist Antjie Krog is polishing off *Country of My Skull*, her account of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission – which she attended from day one – for Random House, due out in April 1998. Judging by the responses (including a prize) for her coverage of the commission in this newspaper, it could well be the definitive book on the subject.

And 10 years later, long after the publication of *Country of My Skull,* and after Krog's second book of non-fiction in English (*A Change of Tongue)* plus a batch of new volumes of poetry[1], the editors of an edition of the academic journal *Current Writing* (Volume 19 Issue 2 of 2007) which was entirely devoted to Krog, talked about her as

[1] *Down To My Last Skin: Poems* and *Kleur Kom Nooit Alleen Nie* (2000); *Met Woorde Soos Met Kerse* (2002); *The Stars Say 'Tsau'* (2004); *Body Bereft.* (2006) and *Fynbos Fairies* (for children 2007).

a “mediator of South African culture”, as a translator, journalist, poet and as a person “on the world stage”[2].

As I have shown in chapter five, the *Mail&Guardian* article correctly predicted that Krog’s book would be definitive, but this article was also a portent of Krog’s newly-altered status in South Africa as a result. It was an indication that she was now entering the realm of those who step out of their fields as the pre-eminent and consecrated and are acclaimed as public figures who span the social landscape, who “influence the way we live”. But this thesis goes further. I make the claim that Krog is not just considered a highly important writer, or public figure, or representative South African, I also claim that she now operates as a public intellectual, as claimed by Jakes Gerwel in the citation above. But first, I want to look at the indications of Krog’s status as a public figure who spans fields and operates more generally in the public domain.

In 2004 the SABC was also to lift Krog out of the literary and into the larger public arena when the broadcaster embarked on a programme to discover the “100 Greatest South Africans of all time”. The series hosted by talkshow host Noeleen Maholwana Sangqu and journalist-author Denis Beckett involved a nationwide poll in which South Africans cast their votes by telephone, SMS, and on the website of channel which was broadcasting profiles and documentaries in the weeks leading up to the announcement of the top 100. Predictably Nelson Mandela was number 1. But Krog came in at 75, just behind Kaizer Motaung, founder of Kaizer Chiefs Football Club (73) and Basetsana Kumalo, a former Miss South Africa, and ahead of Nobel Literatue Laureate Nadine Gordimer at 80[3].

While Krog’s literary output has always been the topic of attention for literary study and theses, since the publication of *Country of My Skull* the academy has begun to treat her differently, as not just the author of a literary corpus but as a producer of knowledge in her own right. This has taken the form of acknowledgement via the

[2] Quotations taken from the call for papers by the edition editors Andries Visagie and Judith Lütge Coullie.
[3] This was modelled on the 2002 BBC programme in which a vote was held to determine whom the general public considered the “100 Greatest Britons of all time”. The South African list can be found at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SABC3's_Great_South_Africans#The_list:

conferring of honorary doctorate status[4], her inclusion as a keynote speaker among academics at major conferences[5], and more importantly in a post created specially for her as an Extraordinary Professor attached to the Faculty of Arts at the University of the Western Cape. In 1992 Krog had applied for senior lecturer positions at both UWC and UCT. Both universities turned her down because she didn't have a doctorate[6] or at that time the necessary symbolic capital to make the attainment of a doctorate unnecessary. Now, she had the capital and UWC approached her about the appointment. Her *personal status* (rather than just her literary output) is also the serious subject of academic inquiry with, as in the edition of the journal *Current Writing* devoted to her alone.

When she was accused of plagiarism by fellow poet Stephen Watson in February of 2006 the media coverage was intense and sustained, showing clearly the media and literary worlds' anxiety about a figure of such stature being accused of a practice that is both undermining of personal status and has impacts on the field because the consecration of such a person is called into question, and therefore the field's methods of such recognition[7]. Krog emerged from these damaging allegations with barely a scratch on her reputation as a writer, evidenced by the tribute paid to her by Nobel Literature Laureate JM Coetzee in his latest book, where he called her a "phenomenon". "Utter sincerity backed with an acute, feminine intelligence, and a body of heart-rending experience to draw upon… No one in Australia writes at a comparable white heat" (2007: 199).

And, as has become a hallmark in Krog's relationship with the media, she is not only the object of media attention but also continues to be a commentator and opinion writer who weighs into national debates. In 2006 when former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok atoned for his role in the apartheid repression by symbolically washed the feet of ANC activist Frank Chikane (now a Minister in the Presidency) and causing an outraged public reaction, Krog appealed for "A space for the

[4] Krog has received these honours from the University of the Free State, Stellenbosch University, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University and Tavistock Clinic of the University of East London, UK.
[5] In 2007 she was an invited speaker at the International Association for Analytical Psychology Congress XV11 in Cape Town and at the African Philosophy Conference at Rhodes University.
[6] See "Burokratiese misvat" *Vrye Weekblad* 29 May to 4 June 1992: 13.
[7] See Appendix A for the reports and debates dealing with this issue. And see the very interesting 2006 MA dissertation by Claire Verstraete "Plagiarism: The Cultural Outbreak".

disgraced" in the *Mail&Guardian* (15-21 September). And when popular Afrikaans singer Bok van Blerk wrote a song calling for Boer War hero General de la Rey to come and lead his people and sparked and outcry, Krog weighed into the debate writing "De la Rey: Afrikaner Absolution" for the *Mail&Guardian* (30 March-4 April 2007: 23).

To this public recognition is added the attention of politicians who recognise her value for the national reconstruction project. This is demonstrated by more than just the quoting of her work publicly (as President Mbeki did at the opening of Parliament in 2002). In June of 2003 Krog was selected as part of a panel of "eminent South Africans" to advise President Mbeki on appointments to the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious, and Linguistic Communities.

South Africa has produced many great writers, whose work and voices have moved beyond the literary domain and into public, political life, often at crucial moments. But in most cases it is the symbolic capital of the literary field which allows them at points to be heard, called upon or quoted. Krog, I have argued, has a mobility across fields, and a facility to inject into public her opinions and voice (often when she chooses to do so), that is sometimes substantially different from the usual behaviour of authors in public space and via the media. How did it transpire that what she does and says is received as so substantial in our public domain? I have argued that it is because of a systematic accumulation of capital across three fields and also because of a particular relationship of interest and mutual benefit developed over many years with the news media, that Krog is treated as more than just a well-known writer with important thoughts. Over four decades she has maintained a relationship with an Afrikaans-speaking public via the Afrikaans press, but she has acquired an English-speaking public (both national and international) through the attention of the English-language press, the work at the SABC, and the publication of her English-language books *Country of My Skull* and *A Change of Tongue*. When compared, for example, with the fraught relationship another dissident poet – Breyten Breytenbach – has had

both with the media and the Afrikaner volk[8], Krog's relationship with the news media has worked powerfully to advance her standing within the Afrikaans community and Afrikaans literary establishment, and then enabled her to transcend this community as her public when she began to work in English and was taken up as a representative voice of the post-apartheid South Africa by English-language media and a publishing house. Krog continues to be able to use her specificity as an Afrikaner (in producing poetry and translations in Afrikaans), but has acquired the power to also speak for the interests of the new South African nation, both here and abroad. This ability, I argue, is precisely because of a double-sided relationship with the media: with their particular treatment of her as a newsmaker, their framing of her as valuable and important and of us (even as this 'us' was enlarged into the new nation), and her use of and involvement in the media both as a journalist and agenda-setter. This sets her apart from other writers who enter the public domain and marks her as a person who has acquired 'media meta-capital' and uses it.

In seeking to understand how heightened attention by both the consecrators in a field and the news media, can attach to a human being and confer status, it is useful to be be reminded of Bourdieu's "three competing principles of legitimacy" (1983: 331-2). These are, he says: 1. the recognition by other producers in the autonomous field; 2. the taste of the dominant class and by bodies that sanction this taste; and 3. popular legitimacy – "consecration bestowed by the choice of ordinary consumers, the mass audience". I would argue that what we see from the reportage on Krog's life, person and writing output is not just the acclaim of the field consecrators (category 1) and the acclaim of the dominant classes that sanction 'taste' (category 2) but also a recognition of her by the mass audience. I have shown that Krog demonstrates the Bourdieu supposition that an individual who accumulates both cultural and economic capital within a field is able to take the resulting symbolic capital and convert it into forms of capital acknowledged as valuable in other fields (Bourdieu 2002: 17). In Krog's case, I have also shown that the news media have been key to such transitions and have often been the reason Krog has been enabled to convert her capital. This has resulted in Krog acquiring "prestige", "celebrity" and "honour" (Johnson's words in

[8] See Francis Galloway 2004: 5. "'Ek is nie meer een van ons nie': Breyten en die volk." Galloway looks particularly at letters from readers, newspaper editorials and a website poll by *Die Burger* in 2001 to show the degree of antipathy and annoyance against the man acclaimed by *Rapport* as unique in his talent (2004: 11) but considered an "enemy" by many fellow Afrikaners.

Bourdieu 1993a: 7). As a result Krog has the "almost magical power of mobilisation", the "power to construct reality" (Bourdieu 2002: 170), which has effects on other fields, and across the social landscape. Krog has indeed become part of the "general culture" through a "process of familiarisation" with the mass audience (Bourdieu and Nice 1980: 290).

Authenticity

Since the final poem that ended *Country of My Skull* with an appeal to those who testified to the TRC (in their multiple mother-tongues) to "take me with you", Krog has returned to the literary field as scene of action and powerful generator of the symbols and meanings which can make new community, and in particular to translation. As Stephan Meyer shows so clearly in his essay on Krog as a translator, the persistent symbol of the connection to the land which threads through Krog's poetry and into *Country of My Skull* has found a second, more powerful, dimension in Krog's turning to translation as a mechanism for a poet/writer to make the new nation. Since the success of *Country of My Skull*, which was written in Afrikaans by Krog and then translated by her into English, then edited by Ivan Vladislavic for Random House, Krog has embarked on a multiplicity of translation/transcription projects. Some of these are of her own work[9], some are reclamations of older work in indigenous languages[10], some are commissions[11]. Krog's preoccupations with language, tongue, mother-tongue and with the metaphor of the tongvis[12] [sole or literally "tongue fish"] as a recurring symbol of change and therefore possibility, underlie many of her recent projects in continuing the TRC's work of transformation.

As Meyer points out there are two traditions of translation operating in South Africa (2002: 3). The first is located historically when missionaries and colonisers learnt the

[9] *Down to My Last Skin*, a selection of Krog's poetry over the years translated into English for the first time in one volume in 2000. *'n Ander Tongval*, translated by Krog into Afrikaans from the English version *A Change of Tongue,* for an Afrikaans-speaking readership. More recently Krog has been producing her own work in both English and Afrikaans: *Body Bereft/Verweerskrif* in 2006.
[10] *Met Woorde Soos Met Kerse: Inheemse Verse Uitgesoek en Vertaal deur Antjie Krog* 2002 and *The Stars Say 'Tsau': /Xam Poetry of Diäkwain, Kweiten-ta-//ken, /A!kunta, /Han≠kass'o and //Kabbo* and the Afrikaans version *Die Sterre sê 'Tsau'* 2004.
[11] Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom.*
[12] This poetic device appears first in *Lady Anne* in poem and picture, then again in her translated poetry *Down to My Last Skin* and then most prominently in the book focused on political and social change in South Africa, *A Change of Tongue.*

indigenous languages, reduced them to writing and translated various oral texts for European audiences or for record (the Bleek-Lloyd Bushman archive is one such example). The second tradition is more interesting and it's one in which Krog participates. Here certain key texts are translated into many South African tongues, thus allowing a choice of the same stories about who we are as a people to be available in most of the official languages. Notable here is Nelson Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom* which Krog translated into Afrikaans.

Says Meyer:

> The effect, if not already the aim, is to create a single South African text which most of us have read – albeit in different languages. In this case, selected stories held in common (rather than one unifying national language which establishes a common national ground) become the basis of an imagined community. Instead of leaving behind our private languages to communicate in the public sphere of English, these texts help us to establish a community in languages which permeate our own immediate, everyday, linguistically structured lifeworlds, which are in turn enriched by these texts (2002: 3).

It is clear that Krog has not waited for some official agency to decide what are to be the key texts and has done her own work of reclamation in putting into Afrikaans and English the Bushman texts from the Bleek-Lloyd archive, and into Afrikaans a selection of poetry from /Xam, Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, Swati, Venda, Tsonga, Northern Sotho, Tswana and Southern Sotho. She is provoked into this translation of indigenous texts into Afrikaans by the insularity she sees within the white Afrikaans-speaking community which she fears will be increasingly isolated from the circulating discussions and symbolic content other South Africans have access to. The translations into Afrikaans are about ensuring that there is a significant amount of material available in this language which comes from a diversity of South Africans and which contributes to a broad conversation being possible in this language. Krog is putting material into Afrikaans so that the white Afrikaans speaker cannot be excluded from the bigger wider national conversation by default. She says: "Afrikaans is falling out of the national debate" and is "losing a foothold"[13].

[13] Personal communication at the launch of *'n Ander Tongval* at Boekehuis in Johannesburg, 2 November 2005.

This concern for the national conversation and the creation of a talking, new, imagined community is considered a third tradition by Meyer. He sees Krog clearly locating "translation within a political context in which the power of different languages, as well as the historical moment of liberation are crucial" (2002: 4). Here "translation/transliteration" is an "act of transformation"

According to Van Coller and Odendaal:

> Her concern in the first place is with South African society and her 'rainbow nation' which grows out of the African spirit of *ubuntu,* and a tolerant multi-culturalism which flourishes into an inclusive, collective African identity… Krog has repeatedly said she strives for a (South) African cultural and language dispensation in which all the country's languages in all their variety are respected equally, where people cross language boundaries freely, aided where necessary by translation (2007: 114).

I have established that with the *authority* that her symbolic capital gives her Krog has been acclaimed as a public figure who has entered general culture and is recognised by the masses. As Tom Gouws has commented: Krog is a "contemporary people's poet", a "forceful and innovative figure" in Afrikaans literature, and even a "cult figure" who "in each succeeding poetry volume enlarges not only herself and world, but dedicates herself to enriching her people and her followers" (in Van Coller and Odendaal 2006: 101 quoting Gouws 1998: 562).

But there is another aspect to Krog's ability to perform in public as the literary host to many voices and facilitator of a great, multi-tongue conversation, and that is *authenticity.* In order to understand how Krog has become not only a representative South African of the peaceful transition to the world, but also recognised as a transformed Afrikaner with a platform to speak in this country, I turn to some insights on citizenship in democratic states. Both Ivor Chipkin (2007a, 2007b and 2008) and Preben Kaarsholm (2008) point out, in their work on states and citizenship, that while anyone nominally the citizen of a country can claim citizenship as a politico-legal status, in actual effect, citizenship is a quality of relation to the type of state operating in a country. Chipkin shows that the ANC control of the South African government since 1994, and more particularly between 1999 and 2008 when Mbeki was president, resulted in a state in which the nationalist project was paramount, and nation-building

its prime expression. The citizen who shows him/herself to be the ideal *national* subject comes to be associated with *authentic* citizenship. Chipkin argues:

> …once we stop considering citizenship as a political-legal status, then we have to consider its conditions beyond the political scene narrowly conceived. As far as the citizen is a subject, we have to consider the formations, processes, apparatuses that 'manufacture' individuals as such. What counts is the form of the state… To the extent that these apparatuses play the dominant role in defining the measure of citizenship, of 'national identity', such an identity will be exclusionary and discriminatory, not simply for those who are not (yet) citizens. It will not be able to accommodate those who do not resemble the national subject. Nationalism is driven to invoke a distinction between citizenship as a status and citizenship as an authentic national identity. There may be individuals who are granted rights in the political community, but they are not necessarily authentic members of the nation – 'truly' loyal to their country, 'properly' patriotic and so on. (2007b: 16, 17).

Chipkin reaches into history to find other examples of where the practice of democracy has privileged certain classes of people as "authentic" citizens. He finds that:

> Democracy's people is not a given. It does not simply refer to that body of actually existing persons in any particular country. Only some amongst them are agents of the egalitarian project. Jefferson privileged the free, land-owning farmer. Marx privileged the urban, working class. Hence, we must distinguish between the people *qua* datum and the people *qua* citizen. The 'people' are only 'citizens' to the extent that they behave as democrats. Or again: citizens are only those amongst the 'people' that advance the egalitarian mission (2008: 7).

He continues:

> What counts is the way that Mbeki's administration has sought to give substance to 'the people' of South Africa…African values are democratic values, such that the two terms are interchangeable. This is what is sometimes implied in Thabo Mbeki's well-known "I am an African" speech of 1996. The figure of the 'African' is invoked as the true bearer of universal values such that he or she is the democratic subject *par excellence…* If, in terms of the constitution, it is not possible to constitute an 'African' subject, *per se* - other than as the name for the people generally, that is, people *qua* datum – then it is not possible to privilige them in the political community. Yet this is precisely what is required. The democratic project can only succeed or, at least, be safeguarded, if that social class or group, for whom the democratic project is *its* project, is dominant in the State (2008: 8, 9).

This is why in the South African national public sphere we see many assertions of "Africanness" by way of resort to birth on this continent or the fact of generations of ancestors located here geographically. At core is the anxiety that simple politico-legal

citizenship is not powerful enough to include those not considered "Africans" by those with the power now to chart the course of democracy and nationhood. This kind of assertion is made by public figures like Frederik van Zyl Slabbert who addressed the statement "I too, am an African – if not, why not?" at the University of the Witwatersrand on 22 November 2006[14] and even by self-described public intellectual Xolela Mangcu, called a "coconut" by members of the Native Club[15], who performs an impeccable Eastern Cape heritage in his latest book *To the Brink: The State of South Africa's Democracy,* in order to settle the question of his authenticity. The interesting distinction, when it comes to Krog, is that the same anxiety of belonging and identity permeates Krog's poetry and writings, but her reaction is not to assert in public (in rational-critical mode) her "Africanness", but to perform it.

This she does in multi-faceted ways and primarily by using the methods of the literary field, her accumulated symbolic capital, her voice and her adaptive subjectivity. As I have shown above, she uses her status as a literary consecrator (which includes her powerful relationships with publishers) to enlarge the literary space, to put into it new, reclaimed and Other voices, and to deliberately encourage its overflow into generalised public space via her newsmaker and agenda-setter status with the South African media. This she does this through collecting, editing, translating and curating. But for her own self, and presumably this is done in public for the emulation of others, she performs (mostly) through her poetry, but also through her recent books, the guilty, complicit, contrite and petitioning subject who knows that authenticity as a South African citizen can only be granted to a white person by the previously damaged and dispossessed. But as Chipkin, points out most clearly, while the millions of South African poor are intended to be the recipients and beneficiaries of the new democracy, those with the actual power to define democracy and decide on its delivery are an elite in whom "Africanness" as the marker of authenticity is key.

If Krog wants her project of enlarging the conversation about transformation and change to have the ring of authenticity then she can not just rely on her own symbolic capital, she must perform authenticity in a way that captures the attention of the

[14] Transcript at http://www.public-conversations.org.za/_pdfs/slabbert_lecture.pdf.
[15] Sipho Masondo, *Herald* reporter: "Some call him a coconut, some call him a celebrity intellectual and yet others call him a maverick; he is controversial Dr Xolela Mangcu, one of South Africa's prominent public intellectuals…" http://www.theherald.co.za/herald/news/n14_26022008.htm

carriers of the new South African democratic project. Hence the very high value of the attention paid to her poetry by Thabo Mbeki in his presidential speech in 2002 and the public acclamation by Jakes Gerwel who said in a column in *Rapport* last year: "If I have to find among Afrikaans thinkers *one* who I would call an "African intellectual", it is her"[16].

Conclusion

In his enormous study *The Civil Sphere*, Jeffrey Alexander makes the following remark in his chapter dealing with "Encounters with the Other", in which he discusses the assimilation of disparate peoples and cultures into a single state or nation:

> The public has never been a dry and arid place composed of abstract arguments about reason. It has always been filled up by expressive images, by narratives, traditions, and symbolic codes (Alexander 2006: 409).

The study of Krog's position as a public figure in post-apartheid South Africa shows very clearly that it is not because she enters the public domain as a Saidian-type intellectual "speaking truth to power" that she achieves a public and a hearing. Many commentators in South Africa's public domains (writers, journalists, researchers, political analysts) set themselves up deliberately to "speak truth to power" and to emulate the rational-critical formulations of a persuasive argument and a faculty for representation (as espoused by Said, 1994 and described by Habermas, 1991). But Krog is not this kind of public figure. Her style of operation is to use the literary and its formulations of public address, and the licence literary styles and devices provide, and to bend this to her particular purposes. She continues the TRC work she did as a journalist through her poetry, curations, collections, translations and other writings. She ventures into the performance of Saidian public intellectualism only occasionally via the opinion and comment pages in newspapers. Unlike commentators like Xolela Mangcu, who boldly self-describes as a "public intellectual", she never does so. Her firm location in the literary – coupled to her reach way beyond the literary field – gives Krog the freedom to continue to use literary tropes and techniques to perform the responsibilities of new South African citizenship in public. She uses the autobiographic and the personal to deftly craft a public persona for herself which shows itself to be *responsive* to national concerns of damage and discrimination,

[16] "Laat ons met mekaar verskil sonder om te skel", 11 November 2007: 20.

access to voice and the crafting of a democracy that gives rights and benefits to the majority of South Africans.

This public person not only reacts to the affectedness of Others who have been marginalised but is affected herself by these struggles and shows herself to be so. In addition, in retrieving indigenous voices from the past and translating them into South Africa's dominant public languages (English and Afrikaans), and in curating festivals (and editing volumes), in which she puts poets and writers from around the world together with South Africans, and mixes the established and the emerging, Krog has taken up a self-defined task to enlarge the public sphere and the number and type of voices in it. She deliberately puts into conversation, often via translation, those she thinks might be excluded by history and language from public deliberations about the issue most pressing – new South African nationhood. And she does this all with literary means and techniques.

If the public sphere is the arena in which the key questions of the day are thrashed out, then what – and how – does Antjie Krog contribute to debate around these questions? With Chipkin I assert that among the multiple issues and debates taking place in our public sphere, the single most pressing question, which infects all others, is the question of who counts as an authentic citizen. Essentially Krog contributes a performance, in the use of her self and her established poetic voice as the mode of both embodiment and address; by enacting contrition, guilt, culpability, complicity; by bearing the burden of the history of the Afrikaner nation; by showing herself to be affected in the public domain; by using poetic language; by saying the *words* laden with emotion that are not used in rational-critical discourse, she sets the terms of inclusion for white South Africans into authentic citizenship. One can see this performance most clearly in those pieces in *Country of My Skull* which revert to poetic form:

> But I want to put it more simply. I want this hand of mine to
> write it. For us all; all voices, all victims:
>
> because of you
> this country no longer lies
> between us but within
> it breathes becalmed

after being wounded
in its wondrous throat

in the cradle of my skull
it sings, it ignites
my tongue, my inner ear, the cavity of my heart
shudders towards the outline
    new in soft intimate clicks and gutturals

of my soul the retina learns to expand
daily because by a thousand stories
I was scorched

a new skin.

I am changed for ever. I want to say
    forgive me
    forgive me
    forgive me

You whom I have wronged, please
take me

with you (1998: 278-9).

Which then becomes a further poem in *Land van Genade en Verdriet* (2000: 37, and its English translation *Country of Grief and Grace,* 2000b: 95).

between you and me
how desperately
how it aches
how desperately it aches between you and me

so much hurt for truth
so much destruction
so little left for survival

where do we go from here

your voice slung
in anger
over the solid cold length of our past

how long does it take
for a voice
to reach another

in this country held bleeding between us…

deepest heart of my heart

heart that can only come from this soil
brave
with its teeth firmly in the jugular of the only truth that matters
and that heart is black
I belong to that blinding black African heart
my throat bloats with tears
my pen falls to the floor
I blubber behind my hand
for one brief shimmering moment this country
this country is also truly mine

and my heart is on its feet

because of you
this country no longer lies
between us but within

it breathes becalmed
after being wounded
in its wondrous throat

in the cradle of my skull
it sings it ignites
my tongue my inner ear the cavity of heart
shudders towards the outline
new in soft intimate clicks and gutturals

I am changed for ever I want to say
forgive me
forgive me
forgive me

you whom I have wronged, please
take me

with you…

This poem goes on to include the section Thabo Mbeki quoted in his State of the Nation address to Parliament in 2002. This public conversation, in which the president of the country responds to the poet, is more than just a seizing on a literary fragment to underscore a political point and spice up a public speech. Krog has enacted here exactly the public statement required from white South Africans which can then be considered by the leader and his government, and the people they represent, to have met the terms of inclusion for authentic citizenship. While many other white South Africans assert their citizenship and identity as South Africans (or more pointedly as 'Africans') by invoking their legal or constitutional status, Krog performatively

demonstrates her identity and subject status as an “authentic member of the nation”. It is precisely the distinction between “political-legal status” and “authentic national identity” (as Chipkin 2007 points out) that makes the difference here.

The importance in South African public intellectual work of renegotiating the self into a new community, has been explored by Mark Sanders. He points out (2002: 1) that when the national society to which one belongs has been constructed at every level by apartheid, the intellectual, even in opposition, is shaped by this social structure. If the intellectual is white there must be recognition that one is a “little perpetrator”, if black, the intellectual is theorising and negotiating “mental complicity” (as in the case of Biko, 2002: 15). Sanders argues that the South African intellectual “identifies [as complicit in apartheid] in order to dis-identify” (2002: 3), but this is only the first step. He then activates a second definition of complicity which he reads as “a folded-together-ness – in human-being” (2002:5). He sees in his exploration of South African public intellectuals, an affirmation of that larger complicity – the “being of being human” (2002: 5) which then drives their intellectual projects.

That a figure who operates like this and with this kind of public subjectivity, is so deft and creative and responsive to the undercurrents of change in state and citizenship, has been far more interesting to explore than to use the traditional markers of intellectual activity to judge whether Krog’s is a performance of intellectualism that sits convincingly within the definition of “speaking truth to power”. Krog by no means fits that category, but operates in ways that are captured by the Bové (1994: 222) formulation of the classic idea of an intellectual. Krog has “perspicacious intelligence” and is a purveyor of “symbols and values” for this country, par excellence.

Chapter Seven – Conclusion

Speaking Poetry to Power[1]

This thesis has made a theoretical shift in its consideration of a particular public figure in South Africa; instead of taking at face value the necessity for public intellectuals to be the emblematic personae enabling rational-critical debate on matters of general social and political importance, this study has been based on the theoretical premise that the public intellectual as an important figure in the public sphere is a "structural or institutional effect" and not simply to be investigated "in terms of individual capacities" (David Carter 2001[2]). I have also embraced the Eleanor Townsley position (2006) that 'public intellectual' is a "trope" – an embodied means for societies to "frame meaning and practice" about nations and publics, about mass subjectivity and the meaning of citizenship and identity.

My assumption, therefore, has been that an underlying discourse propels the purported need for intellectuals to be visible and vocal in the public sphere of this country. The proliferation of calls – and names – for these various types of intellectuals[3] in South Africa indicates that "space, legitimacy and power" are being claimed by differing groups of peoples seeking their proxies in the public domain and all three of these categories are very much under contestation. One cannot speak easily in South Africa of 'the public intellectual' as only a particular type of figure who is a thought-leader driving debate in public (as in Memela's "Black brainpower" *Mail&Guardian* 5-11 May 2006: 19), or even to use Said's careful and thoughtful prescriptions in *Representations of the Intellectual* (1994) about what an intellectual performance constitutes. As in other national public spheres South African intellectuals differ in their assessments of both the state of the present and the prescriptions for the future. And the multiplicity of differing types of performers draw on differing sources of legitimacy and different lineages of knowledge and wisdom. What this multiplicity of voices, styles and arguments (and in particular those sharp disagreements where ad hominem attacks surface – "coconut", "free-floating liberal") show very clearly is that

[1] I am indebted to Alette Schoon for this wonderful formulation of Krog's public performance.
[2] Carter's article is in the online *Australian Humanities Review* which has no page numbers.
[3] See Appendix C: South African Media Debates about Types of Intellectuals.

there is a great deal of suspicion and anxiety about adopting the Western, universalising mode of proclaiming a social vision for a nation which calls on the lineage of Western knowledge practices.

This thesis asserts that this proliferation of types of public intervention and engagement, together with the questioning about who represents what and whose interests, is indicative of a deep anxiety about what constitutes legitimate authority to speak, for whom and about what, in a post-colonial state. As Martin Hollis points out, the questioning of the role of the intellectual all over the world is driven by "the threat that Enlightenment assumptions about the universal character of truth and reason are by now so uncompelling that they may be unsustainable" (1997: 289). But to this must be added the exclusion and alienation that the experiences of colonialism and apartheid generated which live on in an ongoing suspicion of Western-informed knowledge practices. For centuries these practices positioned indigenous peoples as uncivilised natives with no useful knowledge practices of their own and then as objects of a civilising project into western modes of knowledge acquisition. This is heightened by contemporary global debates about the spread of human rights, the inclusion of the marginalised peoples of the world into proper nationhood and the struggles in many democratic states for full citizenship and recognition. And in South Africa this suspicion was sharpened by the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings, which opened up the past for scrutiny of the atrocities committed by the apartheid government and allowed the dispossessed to speak for the first time in their thousands. Redress and restitution are high on the agenda in South Africa, not just officially, but also unofficially. Powerful doubt is cast over whether public intellectual performances rooted in Western forms of knowledge can help drive a programme of redress and reclamation of dignity, cultural authenticity and indigenous wisdom.

But it is important to note that despite this high degree of suspicion of Western-rooted practices, the discourse motivating the calls for intellectuals of whatever type (African, black, native, organic, collective, revolutionary) still holds the desire that these public sphere actors should speak in universalising and socially-useful ways. Peter Osborne's insights about the intellectual's "claims on the present", the "value of thought and ideas" and the need for a "totalising social vision" – while they are

embedded in classic public sphere ideals, still hold power as mobilising ideas and desires, and are still considered useful in a post-colonial public sphere. In surveying the lineage of intellectuals from 1899 to Said, Osborne says that while all sorts of provisions of public sphere and intellectual performance have been contested what has "stuck" is the "distinctive aspiration to universality, making the intellectual the *exemplary* figure for humanity as a whole" (1996: xii). As Helen Small says:

> …There is nevertheless an evident desire… for a language of political and cultural life that can be in some measure holistic or at least coherently generalising. That desire may, I am suggesting, be one reason for the curious persistence of the old narratives of decline and/or imminent revitalisation of the intellectual – and the difficulty for the critic of that literature in getting beyond the merely diagnostic… speaking about intellectuals has, in other words, been a way of posing the perennially troubling question of how much what we say matters (2002: 11).

In surveying the debates on intellectuals in the South African public sphere, it is evident that while the multiplicity of performers and performances being called into action is indicative of an unease about what constitutes legitimacy and authority; nevertheless, there is also a desire expressed for exemplary human beings, who will speak in ways that are universalising and visionary and not merely particular; and there is a concomitant anxiety about whether speaking has power and matters at all in spaces filled with government deafness and the proliferation of forms of mass media.

The question this thesis has sought to address, given the complexity of the contemporary South African public domain, is how does a public figure acquire the authorisation to step out onto a public stage with contributions that are considered intellectually worthy? In dealing with the case study of Krog, a poet, journalist, book author, a literary figure and newsmaker, who herself eschews the appellation "public intellectual", I have chosen to study someone who does not occupy the classic or normative position, neither is she one of the new types of South African intellectual being called upon to step into public, but who is, nevertheless, acclaimed widely as a voice worth listening to. If she has been able, over four decades, to continue, in this fractious and fraught public domain, to have presence, voice, platform and public, then what is the source of her legitimation as a public figure?

This study of Krog has shown that such a public figure acquires legitimacy and authorisation not through genius and brilliance of performance only, but significantly also through a series of consecrations and identifications which act as accumulating symbolic capital across the social landscape. Krog has harnessed the powers of the aesthetic, and moved this knowledge, style and capacity through three different fields – literary, political and media, each of which she has entered, distinguished herself in, been consecrated by its significant figures and accumulated each field's capital. This resultant accrued symbolic capital, in Bourdieu's words, has given her the "almost magical power of mobilisation", the "power to construct reality", which has effects across society, and not just in this country.

The sources of Krog's authority

"Literature… still constitutes a verbal horizon commanding respect".
Roland Barthes 1987: 27.

As Habermas points out so meticulously in the early sections of *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* the burgeoning use of literary materials by ordinary bourgeois people in their homes, and the consequent alteration of subjectivity and production of a sense of public (quite unlike the sense of public of the feudal or monarchical systems) was the precursor to the formation of the public sphere. Osborne comments that the bourgeois public sphere as a "privileged site of intellectual activity, came about historically through a political refunctioning of the space of a pre-existing literary culture" (1996: xii). But even more interesting for the purposes of my study has been the Warner emphasis that the literary is integral to the rise of the sense of 'public' *as a mode of being.* He says "the imaginary reference point of the public was constructed through an understanding of print" (2002: 162). It is in reading printed information that one participates in the awareness that the "same printed goods are being consumed by an indefinite number of others", says Warner. This awareness comes to be built into the meaning of the printed object and the reader is therefore partaking in mass subjectivity (as part of a public) by reading. José van Dijck says: "…material inscriptions mediate between individuality and collectivity as well as between past and present" (2004: 270). And an even further step is to recognise as John Thompson does, that this subjectivity-altering power also rests in the all-pervasive media of modern democracies. Thompson calls this attribute of

media "self-formation". He says: "… the process of self-formation is increasingly nourished by mediated symbolic materials, greatly expanding the range of options available to individuals…" (1995: 207). In modern democracies the mass media facilitates not the idealised dialogue or conversation of the classic public sphere but very important social relations which, while they might be "*quasi*-mediated interactions", are nevertheless the quintessential methods used to experience the world and to gather knowledge and to form public senses of selves.

I am arguing that the literary field's centuries old, very well-established relationship with the public sphere and its functioning still operates today in our world as a site of power and authority, because of this very capacity – the ability to create a public, to generate mass subjectivity and to mediate between past and future. But, I also argue that the mass media, which similarly has these capacities, operates in this way too, and takes further the reach of the literary. The literary – and publishing – continues to be a vibrant site of the creation, the assimilation and the diffusion of ideas. And publishing's pre-eminent object – the book – still continues to be a useful and functional technology for the distribution of information and ideas. Despite the quantum shift to electronic and mobile forms of information distribution[4], widespread circulation of ideas is still greatly facilitated by print. The literary field's creation of publics – boundless, unknowable publics, even publics of millions, is a powerful concomitant strength. The vicariousness of participation that is created by the sense of being part of a public in the consumption of circulating ideas, and the ability generated to position oneself as part of an imaginary community, and the taking on of the public dimension of subjectivity, are still all facilitated by the literary and the publishing industry in its multiple forms.

But while the literary field holds this power to affect subjectivity and self-formation and to create mass publics, its powers of consecration are usually contained within the field. It is the media, which uses many of the capacities of the literary (subjectivity-formation, creation of publics) which can mobilise these consecrations within the field and make them generally significant across society. I have used the media theory

[4] Digital and web-based media continue this trend and multiplies its effects, as in the bloggers who have picked up Krog and convey information further about her and her writings, see Appendix H for a selection of blogs written during 2008 which demonstrate this consumption of Krog.

ideas of news values, agenda-setting, framing, and priming to investigate how news media work to elevate certain issues, ideas and people as worthy of wide attention. But these theories are usually confined in focus to internal media field operations. It is in the very useful Bourdieu concept of consecration that one can begin to unpick how media work to mobilise this attention in ways that have very wide effects socially. One sees that news media can reach into fields and, where consecration takes place within, disseminate the news of these consecrations more generally across fields. News media also activate consecrations by drawing ideas and people to the attention of those with specific authority and power, thus elevating those ideas and people and enhancing media power and reach at the same time. And as Bourdieu and the media theorists using field theory point out, those consecrated acquire an accoutrement, a symbolic attachment which they themselves can mobilise in their trajectories. All this is very clearly seen in the mediation of Krog's life and work and the resultant effects.

Krog first entered the literary in her trajectory as a public figure, she acquired its capital by distinguishing herself as a writer of embodied, raw, autobiographic poetry with its tension between the personal and the political. She was acclaimed by its consecrators and won its awards. But very importantly, she also established for herself a public. It was in this field that Krog learnt the techniques of self-fashioning via writing; of a two-fold working with subjectivity – the production of the subjectivity of the poet evident in the poetry itself, and the provision of materials for readers to work on the production of their own self-formation. She also established herself as having a political stance which married her poetry and literary field trajectory to the political events of the time. And the media attention marked her as a person consecrated both by the literary field and the political field. The media coverage is quite meticulous in showing all the facets of Krog's trajectory, her growing distinction as a poet and her growing political commitments. And the coverage shows both the dissemination of consecrations within fields and drawing Krog to the attention of consecrators, thus enhancing her symbolic capital.

Then through the years of South Africa's "horror" (the late 70s and the states of emergency in the 80s), Krog's public battle against the Nationalist Party government and its tentacles into the cultural arena, saw her achieving consecration by those working in the political field to unseat the apartheid regime. The acclamation of the

local Kroonstad comrades, the hailing by Kathrada at the Soweto rally, the inclusion in the groups of intellectuals visiting the ANC in exile, are all powerful markers of her value and capital politically. In her writing of this time, and particularly in the 1989 volume *Lady Anne*, one can see the struggle with subjectivity as an implicated white South African that Krog is engaged in. Following Dorothy Driver's insights on Lady Anne Barnard's writings in the South Africa of the late 18th century, I have labelled this period of Krog's self-fashioning "self-othering", as it is indicative of an ongoing struggle with coming to terms with the Others of the apartheid system and their legitimate claims to citizenship.

Although the three-fold acclamation she received from political actors across the spectrum of anti-apartheid activity was extraordinary for a white South Africa at the time and has had lasting effects for Krog's status well into the ANC-governed new South Africa, I argue that it is in Krog's work on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, that she takes on an exceptional, evocative public engagement with the newly-recognised Others of South Africa, and she does this as both a journalist and a poet-writer. It is this performance, evident in the TRC radio reports, the features for the *Mail&Guardian* and the subsequent book, which won her political capital that overflowed the boundaries of this country and made her recognisable as a exemplary South African dealing with a major shift in politics and encounters with the Other that had echoes all over the world. The TRC book *Country of My Skull* shows that Krog the writer acknowledges the moral claim of the dispossessed of this country to take up first-person position and to speak for themselves. The writer models for her public the self-fashioning of a listening, self-reflexive, and ethical "second-person position" (following Whitlock) in relation to the world's marginalised now making claims for recognition and speaking position.

The argument I am making here is that the *ethical* response to a morally unsettling and inherently complicit political situation is often to be found by engagement with the literary or, more specifically, in the aesthetic. David Carter, who has investigated Australian writing in which "style, voice or authorial persona is invested with ethical value" has found that such authors not only supply for readers a means for the ethical encounter that leads to self-fashioning, but such works also elevate the authors in the public domain. He says:

> They have become *writers* in the fullest sense of the term, and this in turn has meant them becoming at least one kind of public intellectual. Literariness, as a value, has been transferred from 'everyday' kinds of fiction to these new, rarer 'non-fiction' modes, at once highly aesthetic and highly marketable. That the memoir is often a form of history-writing as well adds seriously to its 'being ethical' (2001).

To the literary style and techniques that Krog acquired in the literary field, and which contain the capacities for the self-fashioning of the author and the concomitant consumption and engagement in self-formation by the readers, one must link the particular power of the media. Krog's work is not just consumed as poetry or non-fiction books, but also via the reviews, the excerpts, the interviews and the resulting circulating discussions on the ideas, works and on the writer herself. By drawing on Thompson, one can see that the techniques readers have learnt on how to use literary materials for self-formation and the joining of publics, have been carried over into mass media consumption. But there is another media dimension to take into account. As I have shown, from the very first publication of her poems in the Kroonstad High School magazine, Krog became a newsmaker for the South African press. As she acquired literary capital and awards, and attained notoriety for her public excoriation of the Afrikaner cultural institutions and for her acts of defiance (marching with comrades, reading poetry at Free Mandela rallies), this newsmaker status grew into agenda-setter status. But with the publication of *Country of My Skull* and the attention of the world's news media in reviewing the book, the invitations to speak overseas and the awards attached to the book, came celebrity status. I would also venture to say that this celebrity status attached to her second-person performance in the book, which gained international capital as the quandary of recognising and giving speaking space to those Othered by colonialism and globalisation has become a topic of heightened consideration.

As I have shown in the thesis, celebrity status and the attention of the mass media is not just a refeudalising return to personal publicity (as Habermas would have it). Celebrities have important institutional and structural functions in our public domains. As Rojek, Marshall and Turner show, it is simply impossible for every human being of the millions in a western-style democracy to exercise their unique voice in the public domain as part of their democratic birthright, but it is possible for them to vicariously enter this domain via those distinctive individuals who achieve the status

of public figures. These representative people are consumed by publics in the same self-fashioning ways that are made possible by literature, but now this consumption is – also, in the case of writer like Krog – taking place via the media. A public attuned to seeking out an ethical response to the dilemmas posed by encountering the Others of the world, can find in Krog's literary writings the exemplary material for self-fashioning, and in the media the person of Krog as further material for self-fashioning and action in the public domain.

In focusing too on the news media coverage of Krog as primary research material this thesis has shown that journalists have a powerful capacity to influence the legitimation of such public figures and their intellectual contributions. They act as both communicators and consecrators and have an exponential effect in multiplying capital that might be acquired from consecrations made within fields. This thesis suggests that existing media theory has not adequately done justice to how this power works in society and attaches to individual agents. I suggest that field theory – and in particular the concept of consecration – is a more fruitful theoretical tool in dealing with media attention of this nature because of its scope across social space, its focus on the structural, institutional and contextual and its sensitivity to the possibilities of and constraints on agency.

As the journalism field theorists show (Benson, Champagne and Couldry) to work in journalism (as Krog has done) and accumulate the field's capital for distinction of effort is not the same as becoming a public figure in which the persistent attention of the media is tantamount to a meta-capital – the power which transcends the field, and reaches across the social landscape to insist on this person's high social status and general value regardless of field of origin. This is what Bourdieu calls the power of "heteronomous consecration" (2002:4), in which the "the value of the plebiscite" – the "mass" who are the publics of the mass media – intrudes. While Bourdieu is sceptical of, and treats this power negatively, I want to remark that in an age in which the marginalised masses are increasingly acknowledged as the new legitimate social actors, the media's ideological claim to represent 'the public' of a society becomes a persuasive power for legitimation, especially when as in the case of South Africa, the public is enlarged with insistent political pressure to include those formerly marginalised. I argue that this media attention, married to the work of subjectivity

formation she makes possible via her writings, makes Krog more than a poet and writer and elevates her to public intellectual status even though her performance and subject matter is not classic or normative.

But also interesting and important are Krog's forays into journalism and her harnessing of the techniques of journalism in her English-language books which are categorised as non-fiction or memoir. Krog's use of the techniques of reportage, using the subject matter of the real (real events, real people, real dialogue, real experiences), and the present-tense urgency of journalism, is an employment of techniques that are legitimised both politically and socially as valuable and important in public life because they place publics in touch with the real and significant. Krog is not simply a writer of books who has become a celebrity. She has taken her distinctive poetic style[5], married it to the non-fiction techniques of journalism and produced in *Country of My Skull* a book which is a life narrative dealing with the challenge of recognition of the Other. This winding together of her aesthetic style with journalistic reportage and the ongoing preoccupation with the ethical performance of self in relation to the changing reality of a political upheaval, plus the mediation of her self and her writing of this book, is what makes Krog more than a famous writer, and enables her to occupy the space of the public intellectual both nationally and internationally.

In Neil Lazarus' assessment of Said's consideration of the figure of the public intellectual (1994) he remarks (and I now apply this insight to Krog):

> Particularly brilliant in Said's representation of the intellectual, in my view, is his clear-sighted awareness of what might be *specific* to intellectual work, that is, his grasp of what it is that intellectuals do that might be both socially valuable and also not within the remit of any other group of social agents – not because intellectuals are cleverer than other people, still less because they are morally better than other people, but because they have been socially endowed with the resources, the status, the symbolic and social capital, to do this particular kind of work (2005: 117).

It is this social endowment and particularly the media role in its creation – this thesis has argued – that has allowed Krog to make her poetic engagements with subjectivity in relation to the political, hugely socially relevant and useful for publics.

[5] Described by literary theorist Louise Viljoen as "transgressive", "strongly feminist" and autobiographic, with an ongoing preoccupation with "the conflict between aesthetics and politics", (2006: 39-40).

Krog's distinctive work as a South African public intellectual

The perlocutionary act… that which we do in *saying – the least inscribable element of discourse... discourse as stimulus.*
Paul Ricoeur 1997:76-77.

Our time-inflected phenomenology places creating and maintaining meaning at the centre of all human activity.
The Editors Lines of Narrative, *2000.*

Krog affirms the literary as a cultural repository of useful universalising wisdom

Despite not operating normatively as a Saidian-type public intellectual, a literary performance such as Krog's is able to generate visions for the future through creativity and imagination thus giving the literary field ongoing life in the public imagination as a valuable repository of visions for the future. Stephen Johnson MD of her publisher Random House asserted in a recent interview as he was leaving for the Frankfurt Book Fair that Krog is one of "the most exciting imaginations working in South Africa today" (*Financial Mail* 17 October 2008) and that he was seeking out international publics for her work. But literary performances such as Krog's also demonstrate that the literary has a unique ability to be responsive to the huge, critical issues involved in being human and engaging ethically with the world. And interestingly it is not through poetry alone that Krog has achieved this position as a writer. In the non-fiction work that brought Krog international acclaim she has taken literary techniques out of the literary field and married them to journalism's preoccupations with the real and in doing so has injected consequence, urgency, and a political imperative into her writing.

Krog injects the personal into the political domain

I return to the Hannah Arendt point that the state functions like a giant household bureaucracy feeding, educating and skilling the majority in a levelling and conformist way and that the devalued personal will therefore find its place in the public sphere through the aesthetic (1998: 39). Krog's poetic style of integrating the fiercely personal with the particularly political, places into the public domain the private, the individual, the personal and the intimate, which validates what is real in the lives of millions but is not given credence in the public sphere of political ideas and economic problems. In this Krog is assisted by the rise in the publishing industry of memoir and

non-fiction dealing with political change, and by the mass media with their increasing focus on individualising behaviours.

Krog introduces the messy, emotional and passionate into public

It was Said who called for amateurs with emotional loyalties and passions (cited in Hollis 1997: 292) to enter the public sphere. In particular Krog's oft-stated and fiercely held loyalty to the land of South Africa is put into the public domain as an unwavering passion. As Leon de Kock comments: "…she refuses to give up trying to speak the voices of the land, she risks sentimentality everywhere, and she continues to be both publicly personal … and very personally public…" ("Voices of the earth" *Mail&Guardian* 17-23 November 2000: 9). Krog "houses affect" (as the celebrity theorists point out) on behalf of publics who desire to see this attribute operating in public. Unlike other public figures (and especially unlike public intellectuals who operate on the Habermasian notions of rational-critical inputs into debate) Krog's public performance validates not just strong feeling about an issue's importance but the extremes of emotion such as shame, mourning, frustration, helplessness, irrational love etc, and their public expression. While the performance of such affect has to be finely calibrated for authenticity, and is always in danger of overstepping the boundaries of what is considered acceptable in public, the recognition of the experience of the Others now making claims for legitimate social space, is incomplete without the acknowledgement of pain and suffering attached to those experiences, *and* the adequate response to that pain and suffering. Krog's performance is finely tuned to reacting to major political shifts taking place globally, a reaction which the usual vehicles of the public sphere (such as the news media) are not yet accommodating because of the prohibitions on affect which constrain these vehicles.

Krog personalises and humanises huge political shifts and events

Krog asserts the value of the body, the subjective, the emotional, the affective, the female and the marginalised within and against upheavals and changes that are on the scale of the national and might better have been thought of as purely political or social. As Whitlock points out, *Country of My Skull* personalises history and historicises the personal, it places the self in relation to public history and culture, and enables ethical self-reflection (2007: 135). In fact in *Country of My Skull* we see Krog

asserting that the experience of the body (and most often the female-gendered body) is perhaps the only truth to be trusted.

Krog enables self-formation by an encounter with the Other as first person

Stephen Greenblatt (1980: 9), in his explanation of "self-fashioning" via literature, points out that self-formation is often constructed "in relation to something perceived as alien, strange or hostile". But what if literature offers an encounter with an Other which recognises humanity and the claim of the Other to speak and requires a response of listening and subsequent ethical action? This is the very interesting possibility that Krog's writings offer as global shifts have required more ethical treatment and recognition of the Other.

Krog deals with the past and enables her publics to imagine different futures

It was Said who made the preoccupation with both past and future part of the task of the public intellectual. "The intellectual's role is first to present alternative narratives and other perspectives on history than those provided by combatants on behalf of official memory and national identity" and, "Therefore one invents… hypothesising a better situation from the known historical and social facts" (from "The Public Role of Writers and Intellectuals" in Small 2002: 36). The TRC process is the hinge on which past and future for South Africans rests in the new democracy. Krog's self-reflexive performance in response to the TRC testifiers shows clearly the present imperative of acting ethically so that the future can be imagined as substantially different from the past.

And most importantly of all –

Reading Krog (and consuming Krog's person via media) enables agency

Krog embodies and performs the complexity of being a responsive and self-reflexive white person in South Africa. She puts out a repertoire of possibilities for take-up, modification, debate and even rejection. As Andrews, Slater, Squire and Treacher, the editors of *Lines of Narrative: Psychosocial Perspectives*, say in their introduction, [life] narrative can "recuperate individual and social agency (2000: 1); "foreclose more imaginative ways of living" (2000: 2) and "[open] up new spaces for investigating relations between subjects and structures" (2000: 8). Krog uses the mode

of the personal-intimate and the performance of embodiment, which she had honed in the art form of poetry, to bring into public subject matter and performances usually disallowed by the ideal of public sphere yet insistently present in contemporary politics. Considering her style of operation, she is decidedly not a classic public intellectual. She doesn't generate a thought or idea and then seek a debate or discussion to enter. Krog takes into herself ideas, thoughts, feelings and fragments of experience, her own and others'. She eats, cannibalises and then uses them as raw material for poetry (which she is always engaged with regardless of what genre she is actually working in). The resulting product is usually her self, the altered, affected human being, and this is represented in her writing. Titles like *Country of My Skull*, and remarks like "I am busy with the truth, my truth" (1998: 170) are indications that the site, vehicle and repository of Krog's engagement with the big issues of public importance is Krog herself. This performance asserts and affirms individual agency and responsibility. But the very interesting situation that obtains is that this performance is taking place within an enabling context and meeting the need of a desirous public. What the social situation of post-apartheid South Africa shows is that the political terrain has shifted in unexpected ways which have impacts on the constitution of the public sphere. The Constitutional provisions which are rooted in the belief that all South Africans have shared humanity ("ubuntu") and are bound by sharing the same country into a "mutuality as human beings" (Posel), is a significant marker that damage, the personal, the concerns of the Other, and the recognition of trauma and marginalisation has found a place in public discourse. When the TRC was set up as a process to exorcise the past by placing into public not only a research document in which statistics detailed the horrors of the past via scientific methods, but an *experience* in which actual individuals were invited to tell the stories of their lives, that social terrain that animated the public sphere ideals, also shifted dramatically into an encounter with actual Others speaking about self, the intimate and the personal affected by the political.

The further point then to be made about the nature of the post-apartheid, public sphere is that it is permeated by performances of affect which are used to surface issues and experiences that are not able to be captured by the 'logos-centred rationales for deliberative democracy' (in the words of Huspek 2007: 330). That those who speak into it are no longer necessarily public intellectuals in the strict Saidian sense, and that

it is profoundly affected by issues and events beyond its boundaries. Not only is the bounded sense of a national polity and citizenry within a national public sphere being challenged by globalised forces and flows of communication, but the question of what it is to be a responsible, 21st century, human subject now is extremely pertinent. The crucial difference now obtaining in the transnationalising space a Krog speaks into, is that a different type of authority sanctions her capacity to speak. In the case of the classic public intellectual (a Said), the authority rested largely in his recognised excellence as an author and his facility to represent a particular issue and/or people. In the case of Krog, while recognised excellence as an author and capacity to represent are still important, to these must be added the requirements of the regimes of truth, confession, human rights and a performance which demonstrates affectedness, implication and connection to other suffering bodies. For a public figure now to have a hearing in a transnationalising space the person must not just facilitate speech and debate but must also embody pain and empathy.

Krog's is not a classic performance of opposition – not a speaking truth *to* power, it is not the antithesis to the state's thesis in a dialectical public debate. Krog's is a presentation of affect and effect in which the personal and political are entwined. Krog shows a public how an individual, in a complex, rapidly-altering political situation, negotiates an adaptive subjectivity as the primary means of ethical agency. In a reformulation of the much-used Saidian phrase: Krog speaks poetry to power – and by "poetry" I mean aetheticised and affected embodied communication inflected by literary techniques, and by "power", not the political entities in formal government but in the most general sense the structures of the world that exclude and alienate.

Appendix A: Media Coverage of Plagiarism Accusations against Krog

Note: this list is organised by publication and date to show the spread and duration of media attention paid to this issue

Sunday Times 19 February 2006 "Top writers in plagiarism row" by Celean Jacobson.

Mail&Guardian Online www.mg.co.za 21 February 2006 "Antjie Krog denies plagiarism claims".

The Guardian "South African author accused of plagiarism" by Rory Carroll. http://books.guardian.co.uk/news/articles/0,,1714421,00.html accessed 9 February 2009.

Mail&Guardian 24 Feb-2 March 2006 "Krog: publishers may sue" by Colin Bouwer.

Mail&Guardian 3-9 March 2006 "New claims against Krog" by Colin Bouwer.

Mail&Guardian Friday 3-9 March 2006: 4-5 "The Antjie Krog Saga" by Shaun de Waal, Tom Eaton and Colin Bouwer.

The Sunday Independent 5 March 2006 "Repetition and the other perils of plagiarism" by Maureen Isaacson.

Cape Argus 16 March 2006 "A guilty silence in the house of Krog" by Gavin Haynes.

Mail&Guardian 17-23 March 2006 "In Antjie Krog's corner" by Ingrid de Kok.

Daily Dispatch 18 March 2006 "The Antjie Krog affair is bad for South Africa" by Mathew Blatchford.

The Sunday Independent 26 March 2006 "The great South African tongue-lashing: first it was Antjie Krog, now it's Stellenbosch University. Afrikaans is fighting for its survival" by Hans Pienaar.

And the substantial debate in the Litnet Seminar Room online (www.oulitnet.co.za/seminrroom/default.asp accessed 25 February 2008) with contributions by Nelleke de Jager, publisher for Kwela Books; Eve Gray, Strategic Publishing Solutions; Stephen Johnson, MD Random House; Antjie Krog; Annie Gagiano; Johann de Lange; Sam Raditlhalo; Mike Stevenson; Etienne van Heerden; Willemien le Roux; Mathew Blatchford; Helen Moffett; Barbara Adair; Rosalind Morris; Madame Lacoste; Shaun de Waal; Colin Bouwer; Craig Mason-Jones; and Ian-Malcolm Rijsdijk.

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And:

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Appendix B: Texts dealing with the Debate on Public Intellectuals

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Appendix C: South African Media Debates about Types of Intellectuals

A survey of the news media shows that there are debates about:

- **"African intellectuals"** (Chris van Gass "Time for Africa's intellectuals to lead change, says Mbeki" *Business Day* 23 February 2005: 4. The newly formed African Union hosted the "First Meeting of Intellectuals of Africa and the Diaspora", in Dakar, Senegal in October 2004. The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (Codesria, based in Dakar) held a conference in December 2003 on "Intellectuals, Nationalism and the Pan-African idea" and released a book of the papers (*African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development* edited by Thandika Mkandawire) and see Themba Sono. 1994. *Dilemmas of African Intellectuals in South Africa: Political and Cultural Constraints.* Pretoria: Unisa Press.

- **"Revolutionary intellectuals"** (See Jeremy Cronin's "Blank Pages in History should not be Allowed: The Role of Revolutionary Intellectuals" *Umrabulo* 25. http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pubs/umrabulo/umrabulo25/pages.html).

- **"Collective intellectuals"** (Suttner, Raymond. 2005. "The Character and Formation of Intellectuals within the ANC-led South African Liberation Movement." *African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development.* Pretoria: Unisa Press: 117-154).

- **"Organic"** and **"organic-collective intellectuals"** (Mandla Nkomfe "The Role of Intellectuals in our Movement and Society" *Umrabulo* 25 http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pubs/umrabulo/umrabulo25/role.html)

- The **"intelligentsia"** (Mokubung Nkomo "Not many intellectuals in our intelligentsia" *City Press* 15 December 2002: 24).

- The **"White Left"** (Raymond Suttner "What happened to the white left?" 18 January 2005.

- **"White intellectuals"** (Denis Davis "Beyond cheering and pie-throwing" 2 February 2004.

- **"Black intellectuals"** (Mathatha Tsedu "Our black intellectuals shouldn't be so afraid to speak" *Sunday Times* 12 October 2003: 19. Jonathan Jansen "Silent black intellectuals" *City Press* 8 December 2002: 25).

- **"Native intellectuals"** (as in the formation of the Native Club. See Sandile Memela "Black brainpower" *Mail&Guardian* 5-11 May 2006: 19 and "Black intellectuals need space to look at themselves" *Sunday Independent* 21 May 2006: 10).

- **"Afrikaner intellectuals"** ("Afrikaner intellectuals 'do not speak for all'" *Citizen* 9 November 2002: 11); "independent intellectuals" (Aubrey Matshiqi "Talking of power and the intellect" *Business Day* 29 August 2008: 19).

- **“Free-floating intellectuals”, “liberal intellectuals”, self-proclaimed intellectuals** (Xolela Mangcu “Intellectual revolt against ruination” *Business Day* 21 February 2008: 15. And see his book *To the Brink: The State of Democracy in South Africa, 2007).*

- **“Coconut intellectuals”** (Sandile Memela “What makes a coconut intellectual?” *Daily Dispatch* 21 February 2008: 9); ascribed intellectuals (Sipho Seepe “SA’s intellectual activists also show their courage” *Business Day* 4 June 2008: 11).

- **“Reclaimed intellectuals”** from the past (See *African Intellectuals in 19th and Early 20th Century South Africa* edited by Mcebisi Ndletyana. 2008. Cape Town: HRSC Press).

- There are also discussions about the presence or non-presence of “**women intellectuals”, “black women intellectuals”** and **“gay intellectuals”**.

Appendix D: “Genadendal” by Antjie Krog

Genadendal
10 Mei 1798

Drie Morawiese broeders huisves ons
sonder vertoon. Laatmiddage klink die klok
(tot in Stellenbosch sê hulle) galmend
deur die valley. Biduur.
Ons sit met skroom
van aangesig tot (honderdvyftig) aangesig.

My jas is gekreukel, onthou ek, hulle effens in vel,
die kleivloer onder rietmatte lê
in die smal vertrek
loomkleurig in sonlig gesny. My jas bly
my by. Ek ruik hulle, hulle my. Die sendeling
lig sy hande and sê gewoon: mihn lieve vrienden…

en meteens in hierdie eenvoud gewaar ek Hom –
still soos ’n blink bel in my brein voor Hom is almal
naak maar ek sien soos altyd skaar Hy by hulle
by die hongeres by die armes by die skares
sonder hoop die stoppelende swyendes regteloos
dat Hy mens word en in hierdie vertrek na my kyk

dis goed ek is hier dink ek dis goed
ek onthou van my kerk – die fluwelige matriks
vol gesteentes en korrupte kakel en ek voel
Here hoe wég is ek van U hoe small ken ek
maar steeds net myself – kaduks van wit munt
slaan. En hulle? Uitkammers van pruike

poleerders van silwer, afwitters van mure
ken hulle buiten hulleself selfs my binneste bed.
Here wat maak ek? Hoe raak ek ontslae
Van hierdie eksklusiewe smet? Onverwags ’n lied
wat spoel wat swell tot ’n hartstogtelike skel verdriet
feitlik oppermagtig van pyn. (Vir verby of vir vorentoe?)

Ek bly uitgelewer in liturgiese duister sit
met gehawende polse my lippe bloei dig
in sagste sweet hang my hoof
voor die votum vou die sendeling
sy hande na my kant netjies
onverbiddelik in polyste naalde-oog…

Dun kurk ek die ham tot stapeltjies blomblare
waarna die hern hütters gulsig met vurke steek
prits deur mosterdswamme: dít moet jy proe Broeder!

Ons Madeirawyn en wit arak plonk feestelik
die bekers vol. Ek hoor dit nie, sien dit nie –
buite rasper die maan hom mal oor die berge

oor miljoene vanaand dig teen vure ruwe brood en bier
sange verhale dryf kodes landvol uit die kole.
Hoe gee ek die knusse holte prys waarna ek gebore is?
Draai om. Deel uit. En my oorvrete siel? Soek dié nie bloots iets
nuuts om te ril nie? Moet elk nie as sondebok sy geërfde
goudgebinde bene as drag uitspeel en met waardige berou galvrek?

Die keuse stink wellig na voorreg.
terwyl di nag nog klooflangs lê en bloed
reeds aan die pieke bars, is ek op. Sabelkwaste, ink,
waterhouers. Ek sluk haastig koffie, brood, koue wild,
my vingers dom aan my jas. Voetpad uit, my oë tier
op ’n hoogte inderhaas bladsy strek verf meng groene ja

groen is die kleur van balans groen verduur
alle kleur groen word aanhoudend
gebreek om to absorber as verder of nader
swart is net ’n skakering ’n diepste groen
in transparante waterverf is wit verbode. Dimensie
kom deur die weglating…

Die volledige landskop móét ek in ’n raamwerk pak om
ontroering te oorleef die dal orent trek in
perspektief. Die res vul vanself. Maar die sendeling
hand tussen my en die son. Gaspar hou later sambreel.
Ek wuif hulle ongeduldig uit di pad maar toe bars
die palle son brutal van bo en trammel Genadendal in deins.

Ek kry dit nie geteken nie, nie ingepas geskaal
ek vee dit korrel tuur tot dit my oorval die weet
die besef: my bladsye bly altyd ruit, spel altyd afstand,
die invalshoek bly passief. En so wil Madame dié land
deur glas bly waarneem in prentjies en pöesietjies strik.
Stadig sou my hand kon terugtrek ’n klip vasvat en gooi

snakkend deur die gestrekte ruit kon gooi
om in die heuphoog landskap kokhalsend te ontdooi

Lady Anne 1987: 55-57

Appendix E: "Tour into the interior" by Anne Barnard

"Tour into the Interior"
The Letters of Anne Barnard to Henry Dundas (in Robinson 1973 from page 106)

…Mr Barnard furnished on his part two good hams and a half, a large piece of Hamburgh beef, and two tongues. He added a small cask of good Madeira, a box of gin, rum, and liqueurs, and plenty of powder and shot; which baggage, with some other things in great coats which lined the sides of the waggon (and which I did not attend to), he stowed up himself…

Saturday the 5th of May, 1798, we set out in our waggon and eight , – on the front seat of which sat the illustrious Gaspar on his box – behind him Lady Anne Barnard, on her knee an old drawing-book stoutly bound, which had descended from mitre to mitre in the Barnard family, and which little thought in its old age, as Sarah says, that it should be caught turning over a new leaf and producing hasty sketches in the wilds of Africa. By her was Mynheer the "Secretarius," for the express purpose of popping out at the partridges in half a minute when they appeared…

Thursday, May 10th, 1798… The Fathers, of whom there were three, came out to meet us in their working jackets, each man being employed in following the business of his original profession – a miller, a smith – a carpenter and tailor in one. They welcomed us simply and frankly, without artificial gladness or more than hospitable civility, and led us into their sitting-room, a small, but neat apartment, in which there was a chimney and a grate… However, they made us comprehend that the house we were then in was built with their own hands five years ago; that they were sent by the Moravian Church in Germany; that their object was to convert the Hottentots, to render them industrious, religious, and happy; that they had spent some time in looking out for a proper situation, sheltered, of a good soil, near water – and that they had fixed here, – that they had been furnished with money by their Church to collect materials, and to assist them till they could earn something for themselves, – that they had procured some Hottentots to assist them in the beginning of their work and by their treatment of them more had been encouraged to creep round them…

…We retired to our parlour, and, the church-bell now ringing to bring them all together, when the church was full and all was ready, we begged leave to make part of the congregation.

I doubt much whether I should have entered St. Peter's at Rome with the triple crown itself present in all its ancient splendour, with a more awed impression of the Deity and his presence that I did this little church, of a few feet square, where the simple disciples of Christianity, dressed in the skin of animals, knew no purple or fine line, no pride, no hypocrisy. I felt as if I was creeping back seventeen hundred years, to hear from the rude but inspired lips of evangelists the simple sacred words of wisdom and purity.

…about one hundred and fifty Hottentos joined in the twenty-third psalm in a tone so sweet, so loud, but so just and true that it was impossible to hear it without being surprised… The Father's discourse was short, and seemed to be whatever came first without study, – the tone of his voice had no Puritanism in it, it was even and natural; but when he used the words, which he often did, *myne lieve vriende,* "my beloved friends," I thought he felt to them all as his children. Not a Hottentot did I see in this congregation that had a bad passion in the countenance; I watched them closely, – all was sweetness and attention; I was even surprised to observe so few

vacant eyes, and so little curiosity directed to ourselves; I own our dresses, the great coats I have mentioned, well pounded in the waggon, were not very attracting.

…The Father and I climbed the mountain to the right; the sun was warm, and shone inconveniently bright on my paper, – I put him between it and me till such time as little Charles should reach me with my umbrella. I then gave the old man his liberty, but he was pleased to see me work, and would not go. I did not succeed to my wish – the sun was too vertical to give me the proper shadows, and I do not understand drawing from a height.

Appendix F: SABC Sound Archive on Antjie Samuel TRC reports

1.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	JACK CRONJE BEFORE THE TRC
	CONCEPT	PROFILE OF A FORMER COMMANDER OF VLAKPLAAS, BRIG JACK CRONJE, COMPILED BY ANTJIE SAMUEL
	CATNO	T 97/311
	RECORDBC	1997-03-17
2.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	ROELF VENTER AT THE TRC
	CONCEPT	PROFILE OF A FORMER MEMBER OF VLAKPLAAS, COL ROELF VENTER, COMPILED BY ANTJIE SAMUEL
	CATNO	T 97/311
	RECORDBC	1997-03-18
3.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	HECHTER AT THE TRC
	CONCEPT	PROFILE OF A FORMER MEMBER OF VLAKPLAAS, CAPT JACQUES HECHTER, COMPILED BY ANTJIE SAMUEL
	CATNO	T 97/311
	RECORDBC	1997-03-19
4.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	VAN VUUREN AT THE TRC
	CONCEPT	PROFILE OF A FORMER MEMBER OF VLAKPLAAS, WARRANT OFFICER PAUL VAN VUUREN, COMPILED BY ANTJIE SAMUEL
	CATNO	T 97/311
	RECORDBC	1997-03-20
5.	SERVICE	AFRIKAANS STEREO
	CLASS	ONDERHOUD
	PROGRAM	MONITOR
	TITLE	VRYWARING KWESSIE
	CONCEPT	ONDERHOUD DEUR ANTJIE SAMUEL MET DR ALEX BORAINE VAN DIE STIGTING JUSTICE IN TRANSITION OOR DIE VRYWARINGSLYS WAT DEUR DIE NP AANGEKONDIG IS EN GROOT ONTEVREDENHEID BY ANDER PARTYE VEROORSAAK HET
	CATNO	T 94/1235
	RECORDBC	1995-01-17
6.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: SUBPEONAS
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE TRC WHO WANTS TO SUBPOENA ANC LEADERS IN KWAZULU/NATAL FOR ATROCITIES COMMITTED
	CATNO	CDR 00/36
	RECORDBC	1997-02-04
7.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	SPECIAL REPORT
	PROGRAM	AMLIVE
	TITLE	WOMEN'S DAY
	CONCEPT	SPECIAL REPORT BY ANTJIE SAMUEL ON NATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY IN SOUTH AFRICA - IT CONTAINS MOSTLY EXTRACTS OF SONGS BY WOMEN
	CATNO	T 95/195
	RECORDBC	1995-08-09

8. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS ACTUALITY
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE JACK CRONJE AT THE TRC
CONCEPT REPORT BY ANTJIE SAMUEL ON FORMER SECURITY POLICEMAN JACK CRONJE'S TESTIMONY AT THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION WITH ACTUALITY OF MR CRONJE WHO SAYS VLAKPLAAS WAS DIFFERENT UNDER HIS COMMAND
CATNO T 97/304
RECORDBC 1997-03-17

9. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS ACTUALITY
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE BAREND STRYDOM ASKS FOR AMNESTY
CONCEPT JOHN MAYTHAM IN CONVERSATION WITH ANTJIE SAMUEL ABOUT THE APPLICATION FOR AMNESTY BY MASS MURDERER BAREND STRYDOM
CATNO T 97/306
RECORDBC 1997-03-14

10. SERVICE RADIO SONDER GRENSE
CLASS ONDERHOUD
PROGRAM MONITOR
TITLE JACQUES PAUW OOR PRIME EVIL
CONCEPT ONDERHOUD DEUR ANTJIE SAMUEL MET JOERNALIS JACQUES PAUW OOR SY OPSPRAAKWEKKENDE TELEVISIEPROGRAM, PRIME EVIL, WAT OOR DIE BEDRYWIGHEDE VAN VLAKPLAAS BEVELVOERDER, EUGENE DE KOCK, HANDEL
CATNO T 95/675
RECORDBC 1996-10-28

11. SERVICE RADIO SONDER GRENSE
CLASS AKTUALITEIT
PROGRAM MONITOR
TITLE VRYHEIDSFRONT VOOR DIE WVK
CONCEPT VERSLAG DEUR ANTJIE SAMUEL OOR DIE VOORLEGGING VAN DIE VRYHEIDSFRONT VOOR DIE WAARHEIDS- EN VOORSIENINGSKOMMISSIE MET AKTUALITEIT VAN GENL CONSTAND VILJOEN
CATNO T 97/396
RECORDBC 1997-05-19

12. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS ACTUALITY
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE WOUTER MENTZ AT THE TRC
CONCEPT REPORT BY ANTJIE SAMUEL ON THE TESTIMONY OF WOUTER MENTZ AT THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION
CATNO T 97/392
RECORDBC 1997-03-21

13. SERVICE RADIO SONDER GRENSE
CLASS AKTUALITEIT
PROGRAM MONITOR
TITLE KAPT JACQUES HECHTER VOOR DIE WVK
CONCEPT VERSLAG DEUR ANTJIE SAMUEL OOR DIE GETUIENIS VAN 'N GEWESE LID VAN VLAKPLAAS, KAPT JACQUES HECHTER, VOOR DIE WAARHEIDS- EN VERSOENINGSKOMMISSIE
CATNO T 97/393
RECORDBC 1997-03-19

14. SERVICE RADIO SONDER GRENSE
CLASS AKTUALITEIT
PROGRAM MONITOR
TITLE BRIG JACK CRONJE VOOR DIE WVK
CONCEPT VERSLAG DEUR ANTJIE SAMUEL OOR DIE GETUIENIS VAN 'N GEWESE BEVELVOERDER VAN VLAKPLAAS, BRIG JACK CRONJE, VOOR DIE WAARHEIDS- EN VERSOENINGSKOMMISSIE
CATNO T 97/393
RECORDBC 1997-03-17

15. SERVICE RADIO SONDER GRENSE
CLASS AKTUALITEIT

	PROGRAM	MONITOR
	TITLE	KOL ROELF VENTER VOOR DIE WVK
	CONCEPT	VERSLAG DEUR ANTJIE SAMUEL OOR DIE GETUIENIS VAN 'N GEWESE LID VAN VLAKPLAAS, KOL ROELF VENTER, VOOR DIE WAARHEIDS- EN VERSOENINGSKOMMISSIE
	CATNO	T 97/393
	RECORDBC	1997-03-18
16.	SERVICE	RADIO SONDER GRENSE
	CLASS	AKTUALITEIT
	PROGRAM	MONITOR
	TITLE	AO PAUL VAN VUUREN VOOR DIE WVK
	CONCEPT	VERSLAG DEUR ANTJIE SAMUEL OOR DIE GETUIENIS VAN 'N GEWESE LID VAN VLAKPLAAS, AO PAUL VAN VUUREN, VOOR DIE WAARHEIDS- EN VERSOENINGSKOMMISSIE
	CATNO	T 97/393
	RECORDBC	1997-03-20
17.	SERVICE	RADIO SONDER GRENSE
	CLASS	AKTUALITEIT
	PROGRAM	MONITOR
	TITLE	KAPT WOUTER MENTZ VOOR DIE WVK
	CONCEPT	VERSLAG DEUR ANTJIE SAMUEL OOR DIE GETUIENIS VAN 'N GEWESE LID VAN VLAKPLAAS, KAPT WOUTER MENTZ, VOOR DIE WAARHEIDS- EN VERSOENINGSKOMMISSIE
	CATNO	T 97/393
	RECORDBC	1997-03-21
18.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	INTERVIEW
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	MRS BIKO AT THE TRC
	CONCEPT	INTERVIEW BY ANTJIE SAMUEL WITH MRS BIKO, THE WIDOW OF THE LATE MR STEVE BIKO, ABOUT HER TESTIMONY AT THE TRC
	CATNO	T 97/401
	RECORDBC	1997-06-20
19.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	INTERVIEW
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	PW BOTHA ON TRIAL
	CONCEPT	INTERVIEW BY TIM MODISE WITH SABC REPORTER ANTJIE SAMUEL ON THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF FORMER STATE PRESIDENT P W BOTHA IN COURT IN GEORGE FOR REFUSING TO TESTIFY AT THE TRC
	CATNO	T 98/90
	RECORDBC	1998-01-23
20.	SERVICE	RADIO SONDER GRENSE
	CLASS	ONDERHOUD
	PROGRAM	SPEKTRUM
	TITLE	PW BOTHA VERHOOR
	CONCEPT	IRIS BESTER IN GESPREK MET ANTJIE SAMUEL VAN DIE SABC OOR DIE BEGIN VAN DIE VERHOOR VAN GEWESE STAATSPRESIDENT P W BOTHA IN GEORGE NADAT HY GEWEIER HET OM VOOR DIE WVK TE GETUIG
	CATNO	T 98/90
	RECORDBC	1998-01-23
21.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	INTERVIEW
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	WORKERS' DAY
	CONCEPT	INTERVIEW BY ANTJIE SAMUEL WITH SACP MEMBER RAY ALEXANDER ABOUT THE HISTORY OF WORKERS' DAY
	CATNO	T 98/184
	RECORDBC	1998-05-01
22.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	ANC SUBMISSION TO THE TRC

	CONCEPT	REPORT BY ANTJIE SAMUEL ON THE SUBMISSION OF THE ANC AT THE TRC WITH ACTUALITY OF MR THABO MBEKI AND BISHOP DESMOND TUTU
	CATNO	T 98/189
	RECORDBC	1997-05-14
23.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	NP SUBMISSION TO THE TRC
	CONCEPT	REPORT BY ANTJIE SAMUEL ON THE SUBMISSION OF THE NP TO THE TRC WITH ACTUALITY OF NP LEADER F W DE KLERK WHO REFERS TO POLICIES OF THE FORMER GOVERNMENT
	CATNO	T 98/189
	RECORDBC	1997-05-15
24.	SERVICE	RADIO SONDER GRENSE
	CLASS	AKTUALITEIT
	PROGRAM	SPEKTRUM
	TITLE	ANC VOORLEGGING VOOR DIE WVK
	CONCEPT	ANNEMARIE BEZDROB IN GESPREK MET ANTJIE SAMUEL VAN DIE SAUK SE WVK SPAN OOR DIE ANC SE VOORLEGGING AAN DIE WVK
	CATNO	T 98/190
	RECORDBC	1997-05-12
25.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	EVITA BEZUIDENHOUT
	CONCEPT	REPORT BY ANTJIE SAMUEL ON A SPEECH BY THE FORMER AMBASSADOR TO BAPHETIKOSWETI, MRS EVITA BEZUIDENHOUT IN PARLIAMENT WITH ACTUALITY OF MRS BEZUIDENHOUT
	CATNO	T 99/109
	RECORDBC	1999-02-09
26.	SERVICE	RADIO SOUTH AFRICA
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE TRC IN WORCESTER WHERE THE FOCUS WAS ON WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE MID 1980S
	CATNO	CDR 99/0002
	RECORDBC	1996-06-24
27.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: VICTIMS OF APARTHEID
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE TESTIMONIES OF VICTIMS OF APARTHEID THAT WERE OUTSIDE THE BORDERS OF SA
	CATNO	CDR 2000/3
	RECORDBC	1996-08-19
28.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: DIRK COETZEE
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE AMNESTY APPLICATION OF DIRK COETZEE IN DURBAN
	CATNO	CDR 00/30
	RECORDBC	1996-11-08
29.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	INTERVIEW
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: AMNESTY
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL SPOKE TO STEVE CARNIVITZ ABOUT WHO MUST APPLY FOR AMNESTY
	CATNO	CDR 00/33
	RECORDBC	1996-12-11

30. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM PM LIVE
TITLE TRC: AMNESTY
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON AMNESTY GRANTED TO PEOPLE WHO APPLIED
CATNO CDR 00/33
RECORDBC 1996-12-12

31. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM PM LIVE
TITLE TRC: SUBMISSIONS
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE SUBMISSIONS TO BE MADE BY OTHER PROFESSIONS TO THE TRC
CATNO CDR 00/34
RECORDBC 1997-01-17

32. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS INTERVIEW
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE TRC: THAMI MAZWAI
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL SPOKE TO THAMI MAZWAI ABOUT THE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION INSTITUTE WHO IS TO HANDLE THE SUBMISSION OF THE TRC
CATNO CDR 00/34
RECORDBC 1997-01-20

33. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE TRC: PREVIEW
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL GIVES A PREVIEW ON TRC HEARINGS FOR THE NEW YEAR
CATNO CDR 00/34
RECORDBC 1997-01-21

34. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM PM LIVE
TITLE TRC: LINDLEY
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON ATROCITIES OF VLAKPLAAS MEMBERS IN AREAS AROUND LINDLEY IN THE FREE STATE
CATNO CDR 00/34
RECORDBC 1997-01-21

35. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE TRC: DIRK COETZEE
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE AMNESTY HEARING OF DIRK COETZEE
CATNO CDR 00/35
RECORDBC 1997-01-22

36. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM PM LIVE
TITLE TRC: LAWYERS
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE VOICES BEHIND THE AMNESTY APPLICANTS THAT ARE THE LAWYERS OF THE APPLICANTS
CATNO CDR 00/35
RECORDBC 1997-01-22

37. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE TRC: ALMOND NOFOMELA
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE AMNESTY HEARING OF ALMOND NOFOMELA AT THE AMNESTY HEARINGS IN JOHANNESBURG
CATNO CDR 00/35
RECORDBC 1997-01-23

38. SERVICE SAFM

	CLASS	INTERVIEW
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: JOE MAMASELA
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL SPOKE TO JOE MAMASELA ABOUT THE STATEMENT OF DIRK COETZEE TO THE TRC SAYING THAT DIRK LIED IN HIS STATEMENT
	CATNO	CDR 00/35
	RECORDBC	1997-01-23
39.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: ACE MOEMA
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE STATEMENT OF TELLEY MOEMA ABOUT THE KILLING OF HIS BROTHER ACE MOEMA
	CATNO	CDR 00/35
	RECORDBC	1997-01-23
40.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: ALMOND NOFOMELA
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE AMNESTY HEARINGS IN JOHANNESBURG WHERE ALMOND NOFOMELA TESTIFIED ABOUT THE KILLING OF GLORY SEDIBI
	CATNO	CDR 00/35
	RECORDBC	1997-01-24
41.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: AMNESTY
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE AMNESTY HEARINGS IN JOHANNESBURG
	CATNO	CDR 00/35
	RECORDBC	1997-01-29
42.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: PRESS CONFERENCE
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL LIVE FROM THE PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE TRC IN CAPE TOWN
	CATNO	CDR 00/36
	RECORDBC	1997-01-30
43.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: PRESS CONFERENCE
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL LIVE ON THE PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE TRC IN CAPE TOWN
	CATNO	CDR 00/36
	RECORDBC	1997-01-30
44.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: AMNESTY
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON AMNESTY APPLICATIONS TO THE AMNESTY COMMITTEE ABOUT BOMBINGS
	CATNO	CDR 00/36
	RECORDBC	1997-01-31
45.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	INTERVIEW
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: R+R COMMITTEE
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL SPOKE TO COMMISSIONER MAPULE RAMASHALA ABOUT THE WORK OF THE REPARATION AND REHABILITATION COMMITTEE (R+R)
	CATNO	CDR 00/37
	RECORDBC	1997-02-18

46. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE TRC: R+R COMMITTEE
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE R+R COMMITTEE HEARINGS IN OUDTSHOORN ABOUT THE HEALING OF THE OUDTSHOORN PEOPLE
CATNO CDR 00/37
RECORDBC 1997-02-20

47. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM PM LIVE
TITLE TRC
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE TRC WHO WANTS TO STREAMLINE THEIR BULK OF WORK
CATNO CDR 00/37
RECORDBC 1997-02-21

48. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM PM LIVE
TITLE TRC: AMNESTY
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE TRC WHO WANTS JOE MAMASELA AND JAAP VAN JAARSVELD TO APPEAR BEFORE THE AMNESTY COMMITTEE IN PRETORIA
CATNO CDR 00/37
RECORDBC 1997-02-24

49. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE TRC: AMNESTY
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE AMNESTY HEARINGS IN PRETORIA
CATNO CDR 00/37
RECORDBC 1997-02-25

50. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM PM LIVE
TITLE TRC: AMNESTY
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE AMNESTY HEARINGS IN PRETORIA
CATNO CDR 00/37
RECORDBC 1997-02-25

51. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE TRC: AMNESTY
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE AMNESTY HEARINGS IN PRETORIA
CATNO CDR 00/38
RECORDBC 1997-02-26

52. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS INTERVIEW
PROGRAM PM LIVE
TITLE TRC: AMNESTY
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL SPOKE TO BRIAN CURREN ABOUT RACIAL HATRED THAT'S NOT A POLITICAL MOTIVATION FOR AMNESTY
CATNO CDR 00/38
RECORDBC 1997-02-26

53. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM PM LIVE
TITLE TRC: AMNESTY
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE AMNESTY HEARINGS IN PRETORIA
CATNO CDR 00/38
RECORDBC 1997-02-27

54. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT

	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: LAWYERS
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL AND ANGIE KAPELIANIS REPORTS ON THE ROLE THAT THE LAWYERS PLAY AT THE TRC AND WHAT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HEARINGS ARE TO THEM
	CATNO	CDR 00/38
	RECORDBC	1997-02-28
55.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: AMNESTY
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE AMNESTY HEARINGS IN PRETORIA
	CATNO	CDR 00/38
	RECORDBC	1997-02-28
56.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: AMNESTY
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE AMNESTY HEARINGS IN PRETORIA
	CATNO	CDR 00/38
	RECORDBC	1997-03-05
57.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: INFORMERS
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE TRC AND THE ISSUE OF NAMING INFORMERS
	CATNO	CDR 00/38
	RECORDBC	1997-03-07
58.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: BAREND STRYDOM
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL LIVE ON THE AMNESTY APPLICATION OF BAREND STRYDOM
	CATNO	CDR 00/39
	RECORDBC	1997-03-14
59.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: AMNESTY
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE AMNESTY HEARINGS IN CAPE TOWN
	CATNO	CDR 00/39
	RECORDBC	1997-03-11
60.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: EXHUMATIONS
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL SPOKE TO COMMISSIONER RICHARD LISTER ABOUT THE EXHUMATIONS OF BODIES IN NATAL
	CATNO	CDR 00/39
	RECORDBC	1997-03-13
61.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	INTERVIEW
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: JACK CRONJE
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL SPOKE TO COMMISSIONER JACK CRONJE ABOUT THE THEIR WORK AT VLAKPLAAS AND ABOUT HIMSELF
	CATNO	CDR 00/39
	RECORDBC	1997-03-17
62.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: SUBPOENAS

	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE TRC WHO WANTS TO SUBPOENAS PERPETRATORS
	CATNO	CDR 00/42
	RECORDBC	1997-03-26
63.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: WENDY ORR
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL SPOKE TO WENDY ORR ABOUT REPARATION TO VICTIMS
	CATNO	CDR 00/42
	RECORDBC	1997-04-04
64.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: REPARATION
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL SPOKE TO HEAD OF THE REPARATION COMMITTEE ABOUT REPARATION TO THE VICTIMS OF APARTHEID
	CATNO	CDR 00/42
	RECORDBC	1997-04-07
65.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: KILLING FARMS
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE KILLING FARMS USED BY THE SECURITY POLICE TO BURY THE BODIES OF KILLED ACTIVISTS
	CATNO	CDR 00/45
	RECORDBC	1997-04-17
66.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: ALEX BORAINE
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL SPEAKS TO DR ALEX BORAINE DEP CHAIRMAN OF THE TRC ABOUT THE JUDGEMENT OF JUDGE COMBRINK
	CATNO	CDR 00/45
	RECORDBC	1997-04-23
67.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: AMNESTY
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE AMNESTY APPLICATIONS RECIEVED BY THE TRC
	CATNO	CDR 00/46
	RECORDBC	1997-05-12
68.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: ANC SUBMISSION
	CONCEPT	TIM MODISE SPEAKS TO ANTJIE SAMUEL ABOUT THE SECOND SUBMISSION OF THE ANC TO THE TRC
	CATNO	CDR 00/46
	RECORDBC	1997-05-12
69.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: ANC 2ND SUBMISSION
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE SECOND SUBMISSION OF THE ANC TO THE TRC
	CATNO	CDR 00/47
	RECORDBC	1997-05-14
70.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	ACTUALITY
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE

	TITLE	TRC: NP 2ND SUBMISSION
	CONCEPT	SALLY BURDETT SPEAKS TO ANTJIE SAMUEL ABOUT THE SECOND SUBMISSION OF THE NP TO THE TRC
	CATNO	CDR 00/47
	RECORDBC	1997-05-14
71.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: NP 2ND SUBMISSION
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE SECOND SUBMISSION OF THE NP TO THE TRC
	CATNO	CDR 00/47
	RECORDBC	1997-05-15
72.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: MEDIA
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE ROLE THE MEDIA PLAYED DURING THE TRC HEARING IN ATHLONE ABOUT THE TROJAN HORSE KILLINGS
	CATNO	CDR 00/52
	RECORDBC	1997-05-21
73.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: TROJAN HORSE KILLING
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL AND KENNETH MAKATEES REPORTS ON A SPECIAL EVENT HEARING OF TRC ON THE TROJAN HORSE KILLINGS IN ATHLONE
	CATNO	CDR 00/52
	RECORDBC	1997-05-22
74.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	INTERVIEW
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: SEVERANCE PACKAGES
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL SPEAKS TO BHEKI MINYUKU ABOUT THE SEVERANCE PACKAGES FOR THE TRC STAFF
	CATNO	CDR 00/52
	RECORDBC	1997-05-30
75.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: MEDICAL PROFESSION
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE TRC HEARINGS ABOUT THE ROLE OF MEDICAL DOCTORS DURING APARTHEID
	CATNO	CDR 01/5
	RECORDBC	1997-06-18
76.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	INTERVIEW
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: CHRIS HANI
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL SPEAKS TO THE TRC EVIDENCE LEADER ADV KOKIE MOCHE ABOUT THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE HEARING
	CATNO	CDR 01/5
	RECORDBC	1997-06-19
77.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	INTERVIEW
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: DESMOND TUTU
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL SPEAKS TO REV DESMOND TUTU ABOUT THE NP WHO WANTS TO TAKE THE TRC TO COURT
	CATNO	CDR 01/5
	RECORDBC	1997-06-20
78.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT

	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: ADRIAAN VLOK
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE LEAKAGE OF MR ADRIAAN VLOK'S AMNESTY APPLICATION
	CATNO	CDR 01/5
	RECORDBC	1997-06-20
79.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: LADYBRAND
	CONCEPT	A REPORT COMPILED BY GILLIAN NEEDHAM, ANTJIE SAMUEL AND MILLICENT ADAMS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS HEARINGS IN LADYBRAND
	CATNO	CDR 2002/63
	RECORDBC	1997-06-26
80.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	INTERVIEW
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: TONY YENGENI
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL SPEAKS TO TONY YENGENI ABOUT HIS APPEARANCE AT JEFF BENZIEN'S AMNESTY HEARING
	CATNO	CDR 2003/31
	RECORDBC	1997-07-15
81.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	INTERVIEW
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: ALEX BORAINE
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL SPEAKS TO DR ALEX BORAINE ABOUT DATES TO HAND IN SUBMISSIONS TO THE TRC
	CATNO	CDR 2003/31
	RECORDBC	1997-07-16
82.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE TESTIMONY OF JOE SEREMANE AT THE TRC HEARINGS
	CATNO	CDR 2003/55
	RECORDBC	1997-07-23
83.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: WOMEN
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE TRC HEARINGS WHERE ONLY WOMEN ARE TESTIFYING
	CATNO	CDR 2003/55
	RECORDBC	1997-07-28
84.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	AM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: WOMEN
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE TRC HEARINGS FOR WOMEN ONLY WHERE LITHA MAZIBUKO GAVE TESTIMONY ON HER ORDEAL IN AN ANC CAMP
	CATNO	CDR 2003/55
	RECORDBC	1997-07-29
85.	SERVICE	SAFM
	CLASS	REPORT
	PROGRAM	PM LIVE
	TITLE	TRC: MAJOR-GENERAL JAN GRIEBENOW
	CONCEPT	ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE TRC HEARING OF MAJOR-GENERAL JAN GRIEBENOW
	CATNO	CDR 2004/318
	RECORDBC	1997-10-20

86. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE TRC: GLEN GOOSEN
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE RESIGNATION OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION'S INVESTIGATIVE UNIT GLEN GOOSEN
CATNO CDR 2005/221
RECORDBC 1997-10-27

87. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM PM LIVE
TITLE TRC: DUMISA NTSEBEZA
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL IN CONVERSATION WITH TIM MODISE ABOUT DUMISA NTSEBEZA DURING THE TRUTH COMMISSION'S PRESS CONFERENCE
CATNO CDR 2005/223
RECORDBC 1997-10-30

88. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE TRC: CHRISTINE QUNTA
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL GIVES AN OVERVIEW OF THE DISCREPANCIES CHRISTINE QUNTA POINTED OUT AT THE TRUTH COMMISSIONS' AMNESTY COMMITTEE.
CATNO CDR 2005/223
RECORDBC 1997-10-31

89. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE TRC: BENNET SIBAYA
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE CONFESSION MADE BY BENNET SIBAYA AT THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION'S OFFICES.
CATNO CDR 2005/223
RECORDBC 1997-11-04

90. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS DISCUSSION
PROGRAM PM LIVE
TITLE TRC: ESKOM SUBMISSIONS
CONCEPT TIM MODISE IN CONVERSATION WITH ANTJIE SAMUEL ON THE SUBMISSIONS OF ESKOM AT THE TRC HEARINGS.
CATNO CDR 2005/225
RECORDBC 1997-11-11

91. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE TRC: LORD NDLOVU; DON MKHWANAZI; AND JOHAN RUPERT BUSINESS AND LABOUR
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE TRC SPECIAL HEARING ON THE ROLE OF THE BUSINESS SECTOR DURING THE APARTHEID ERA. ACTUALITY OF LORD NDLOVU, DON MKHWANAZI AND JOHAN RUPERT ALSO INCLUDED.
CATNO CDR 2005/225
RECORDBC 1997-11-13

92. SERVICE SAFM
CLASS REPORT
PROGRAM AM LIVE
TITLE TRC: LORD NDLOVU
BUSINESS SECTOR
CONCEPT ANTJIE SAMUEL REPORTS ON THE ROLE OF BUSINESS AND LABOUR DURING THE APARTHEID ERA AT THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION.
CATNO CDR 2005/225
RECORDBC 1997-11-13

Appendix G: Reviews of *Country of My Skull,* Excerpts and Interviews

South African

Sunday Times 19 April 1998. “Choking on the truth, piece by piece” extract from *Country of My Skull*.

Sunday Independent 26 April 1998. “Truth commission book fuses poetic vision with horror of a brutal past”.

Sunday Times 26 April 1998. “Quest for truth bringing more pain and division than healing”.

The Star 28 April 1998. “Intensely personal look at the TRC”.

Beeld 28 April 1998. “WVK ’n storie anderkant woorde, sê Krog oor boek”.

Mail&Guardian 30 April to 7 May 1998. Mark Gevisser “Hope in the place of violence”.

Insig May 1998. Frederick van Zyl Slabbert “Ons storie poëties vertel”.

City Press 3 May 1998. “Holding a search light up to evil of apartheid” by ZB Molefe.

Business Day Afterhours 8 May 1998. “Nothing by the truth from Krog” by Stephen Laufer.

Eastern Province Herald 13 May 1998. “Brilliant insight into TRC”.

Die Burger 13 May 1998. “Antjie moes haar boek skryf om ’n anker te vind” by Stephanie Niewoud.

Pretoria News 13 May 1998. “Part of our shameful history’s soul is bared”.

Rapport 17 May 1998. “Wreed-eerlike verslag van digter-joernalis: Soeke na ’n eie waarheid”.

The Citizen 18 May 1998. “Tutu-worshipping Krog reviews TRC” by Terence Friend.

Die Burger 21 May 1998. “Emosies kry aangrypend gestalte”.

Mail&Guardian 12 to 18 June 1998. “Elusive truths: Antjie Krog’s book on the truth commission has been highly acclaimed. But, argues Claudie Braude, Krog is too creative with the truth.”

Beeld 15 June 1998. “’n Boek waarvan mens nie gou herself nie”.

Rooi Rose 24 June 1998. “Anderkandt die waarheid”, Ruda Landman interviews Krog about *Country of my skull.*

Mail&Guardian 26 June to 2 July 1998. “Flawed by potent version of the truth” by Steven Robins.

Rhodes Journalism Review No 16 July 1998: 27. “Inside Antjie’s Head” by Anthea Garman.

Finance Week 2 to 8 July 1998. “A guilt-stricken orgy of self-flagellation” by Rian Malan.

The Natal Witness 8 August 1998. Sue Segar interviews Krog about *Country of my skull.*

Cape Argus 12 August 1998. “I can finally say: ‘I am an Afrikaner’, declares Antjie Krog” by Peter ter Horst.

Sunday Independent 4 October 1998. Review by Andries Oliphant “Personal journey mixed with fact touches heart of the unspeakable”.

International

Foreign Affairs September 1998.

The Economist 12 December 1998.

Booklist 1 January 1999.

Publishers Weekly 11 January 1999.

The Guardian 23 January 1999.

Sunday Times 24 January 1999 by Barbara Trapido.

New Statesman & Society 5 February 1999.

Library Journal 15 February 1999 by Anthony O. Edmonds, Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana.

The Village Voice 31 March – 6 April 1999.

World Literature Today Autumn 1999.

The New York Times 30 May 1999 by Jeremy Harding.

New Internationalist June 1999.

Washington Monthly July 1999 by James North.

Los Angeles Times 29 August 1999.

Harvard International Review Fall 1999.

Lancet “Rebuilding the Future?”12 September 2000.

Time International “Words of change” 19 April 2004.

Kirkus Reviews.

Literary Review piece by Anthony Sampson, former *Drum* editor and biographer of Mandela.

In addition important international public figures were sought out for comment:

Desmond Tutu: “This is a deeply moving account of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission—South Africa's attempt to come to terms with her often horrendous past. Antjie Krog writes with the sensitivity of a poet and the clarity of a journalist. *Country of My Skull* is a must-read for all who are fascinated by this unique attempt to deal with a post-conflict context. It is a beautiful and powerful book.”

Nadine Gordimer: “Here is the extraordinary reportage of one who, eyes staring into the filthiest places of atrocity, poet's searing tongue speaking of them, is not afraid to go too far. Antjie Krog breaks all the rules of dispassionate recounts, the restraints of 'decent' prose, because this is where the truth might be reached and reconciliation with it is posited like a bewildered angel thrust down into hell.”

Andre Brink: “Trying to understand the new South Africa without the Truth and Reconciliation Commission would be futile; trying to understand the Commission without this book would be irresponsible.”

Douglas Brinkley: “*Country of My Skull* is an unforgettable passion play about the ongoing struggle for political freedom and human rights in South Africa. By analyzing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in such absorbing and poetic detail, Antjie Krog has rendered the world a great service. This elegant manifesto for justice will haunt the soul long after the reading is done.”

Appendix H: Blog posts on Antjie Krog

A selection assembled by the search engine Google Alerts in 2008

Welcome to Subvert the Dominant Paradigm
http://www.africanchameleon.com/

This is an eclectic collection of my experiences and thoughts. I have spent five years living in Africa, one year in Kuwait and have travelled extensively. I spent many years in physics research after gaining my PhD in physics in 1993 and then decided to pursue a career in teaching. My first post was to Zimbabwe - before the current crisis began. That was a very exciting experience and opened my eyes in many ways. I returned to the UK and spent about four years during which I got a PGCE (teaching qualification). I travelled round the world in 2003, learned to fly and skydive in South Africa, went travelling in Mozambique and Namibia and met many interesting people. It was an interesting time to live near South Africa. I now live in central Europe.These reviews are not my won but I strongly recommend these seven books to you.
Country of My Skull by Antjie Krog
Although this deals with the South African Truth & Reconciliation Commission and contains harrowing personal testimonies of suffering, it is a surprisingly uplifting book. The author, an Afrikaner woman journalist and poet, writes with such sensitivity, intelligence and integrity about her country's agony and the ways it is reflected in herself. While one is made all too aware of the capacity for evil in ordinary people, stories of courage, steadfastness and devotion to others (not least from Desmond Tutu) are inspiring. It is interesting to compare this experience with that of post-war Germany or the experiences of the Congolese (told vividly in Adam Hochschild: King Leopold's Ghost) which have never been resolved.

by Charles Christian on Mon 10 Nov 2008 07:34 PM GMT
http://ink-sweat-and-tears.blogharbor.com/blog/_archives/2008/11/10/3971331.html

Ink Sweat & Tears spent last weekend at the seaside – at Aldeburgh in Suffolk (UK) for the Twentieth Aldeburgh Poetry Festival, where Ink Sweat was sponsoring a series of close readings by six poets. Highlights for us included... the debate of Saturday morning between Clive James and Antjie Krog on the role of poetry in culture.

Host of literary talent on Suffolk coast
By Keiron Pim 05 November 2008
http://new.edp24.co.uk/content/WhatsOn/story.aspx?brand=EDPOnline&category=WhatsOn&tBrand=EDPOnline&tCategory=WhatsOn&itemid=NOED05%20Nov%202008%2009%3A59%3A10%3A953

The Suffolk coast is the place to be for book-lovers this weekend, as two literary festivals offer an exciting array of talent. Antjie Krog, the winner of every major literary prize in her native South Africa, a poet renowned for her taboo-breaking work and on-stage intensity. able at www.thepoetrytrust.org. The box office number is 01728 687110.
More on Justice and the Canadian TRC•January 5, 2009

http://tracingmemory.com/

My last post of 2008 raised the issue of justice. What type of justice can come out of a truth and reconciliation commission? Is justice about punishing those responsible for human rights abuses? Is it about reparation or retribution? Is it about righting past wrongs by allowing for new relations of power? Or is it about rectifying national histories to include previously denied or suppressed narratives? I think it's fitting that my first post of the new year continues with this thread, and explores these questions.

I recently read Antje Krog's book entitled "Country of My Skull," which is a personal account of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Krog follows the Commission as a radio journalist covering the events as they unfold. She traces how the proceedings affect her both personally and professionally. One of her insights relates to the highly controversial aspect of granting amnesty in exchange for full truth. In her exploration, she recognizes the entanglement and confusion regarding the terms "truth" and "justice," and explains how their meanings can shift and change.

She asks, "Will a Commission be sensitive to the word 'truth'?" and highlights the different ways in which the concept of truth has been mobilized. She goes on to explain the nuances in definitions of 'justice' and how it relates to 'truth:' "If [the Commission's] interest in truth is linked only to amnesty and compensation, then it will have chosen not truth, but justice. If it sees truth as the widest possible compilation of people's perceptions, stories, myths and experiences, it will have chosen to restore memory and foster a new humanity, and perhaps that is justice in its deepest sense" (16).

I tend to agree with Krog's formulation of justice, and it may be particularly relevant in the Canadian context. Because the focus of the Canadian TRC is on rectifying a lack in historical responsibility, a broader definition of justice must be invoked. The process of reconciliation is not solely about individuals (victims facing perpetrators, whites facing blacks, non-Aboriginals facing Aboriginals for example). It is also about a larger process, of communities and individuals alike taking responsibility for past actions and their current consequences. As Krog notes, perhaps this allows for a deeper sense of justice, one that is focused on communities and individuals alike.

Sunday, November 2, 2008

No Future Without Forgiveness by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

http://spiritbook.blogspot.com/2008/11/no-future-without-forgiveness.html

No Future Without Forgiveness could be profitably read alongside Antjie Krog's equally compelling Country of My Skull, as it considers the emotional toll that such a process of national soul-searching has had upon its participants. As Tutu himself points out, "It is a costly business to try to heal a wounded and traumatized people, and those engaging in that crucial task will perhaps bear the brunt themselves ... we were, in Henri Nouwen's celebrated phrase, 'wounded healers.'" Rachel Holmes, Amazon.co.uk

Kristin in the City Wednesday October 22, 2008
South Africa on my mind
http://kristininthecity.blogspot.com/2008/10/south-africa-on-my-mind.html

My head is completely filled with info, data, thoughts, views, opinions, beliefs and any times unanswered questions on South Africa, the impact of Apartheid on its people, and the workings and impact of its Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It will be like this until Monday night next week, if not always...
I have a multitude of articles to read, hearing transcripts, the AZAPO case, the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, the book "Country of My Skull" by Antjie Krog, and as you know I watched the documentary "Long Night's Journey into Day" last week. A bit overwhelming, not exactly a light topic.
Tomorrow in our Transitional Justice class, Graeme – who is South African – will give us as much input as possible on the issue. He rarely gives any straight answers though, most of the time he's posing more questions than he's giving answers to, and in the end you walk away from an amazing class but your head is spinning and you're trying desperately to get a sense of it all. To grasp it, and cling on to something. I guess that is part of his purpose though, and he definitely gets me thinking...
The TRC and South Africa is also the topic of my Human Rights and the Question of Culture class on Monday. I am writing one of two discussion papers for the class, to be posted online on Friday in time for everybody to read it. I don't know where I will end up but I think I know where to start. But we'll see, I'll write it after Graeme's class.
Gonna try to fall asleep to Without a Trace.

Wednesday, October 8, 2008 "Our Word is Our Weapon"
http://glimpseofvictory.blogspot.com/2008/10/our-word-is-our-weapon.html

Tomorrow is my last day of class. I can't believe it's finally coming to an end. I was not very thrilled about coming to South Africa and I remember when I arrived four months seemed like such a long time. But it's gone by so fast and I've had a blast, really. It's amazing how familiar and normal life is now, when I think to myself "I'm in South Africa" it sounds so different, like another place entirely, but here I am, it's become a home for the time being.
I worry that I haven't changed much, that this trip won't have affected me "enough." I feel so alive and interested here and I'm afraid I will become jaded and apathetic again upon returning to the states.
Last night I went to a poetry reading by Antjie Krog who wrote one of the books we had to read *Country of My Skull* I really like her writing style. She's actually Afrikaans so most of her work is in Afrikaans, and apparently she can't write her poetry in English, it just doesn't come to her that way so she translates it after if she wants. She read some of her Afrikaans poetry, it was interesting, the language is quite harsh. There were three other readers as well and one of them was a hip hop guy from Zimbabwe. He was white and he had dreadlocks all the way down to his waist. He was amazing, his work was really good and he was funny too. His name is Comrade Fatso and I want to get his album *House of Hunger*. The other poetry read was also beautiful. I'm really glad I went.
Posted by Blackonyx at 10.31am

Hans Engdahl Saturday 4 October 2008
http://hansengdahl.blogspot.com/2008/10/on-identity.html

It was one of those almost rare occasions when the students had taken over the discussion: it was about reconciliation and the role of the church especially in South Africa. I was not in the chair and could just savour the moment. We had quickly moved from reconciliation to the question of identity. Steve Biko had been quoted, among other things his statement that "the black man was an empty shell". This empty shell has to be filled and it could be done if that man (or woman) only realized his or her own humanity. One student felt that the more communal aspect was missing, as the African way would be to deliberate and negotiate together about a thing like the common humanity.

While I was listening I was just struck by the fact that identity just now is the very thing that everybody is talking about; and rightly so. The course we are having now is the going on its third year and it is becoming more and more relevant as time goes on. What strikes me more this year than before is that there are a number of unresolved conflicts or circumstances that become actualized while we are following the trail of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission etc. Students are concerned on a very personal level. One student has for example witnessed the American student Amy Biehl being killed in Gugulethu (1993) and had lots of inside information but also personally not had the opportunity to be debriefed on his experiences.

What I want to say is that everyone seems to be struggling with his or her identity because a country in transformation requires a continuous rethinking of who we are. I hasten to add that I also am struggling with the same question. But why is it so? The light that I saw flashing by at this rather rare moment of students having taken over the discussion had however little to do with South Africa; at its best this is how South Africa works, it triggers off a reflection that is a common truth for all humankind.

This was such an occasion. What struck me, and I saw the light for a very short moment, was the fact that identity now is the real global thing. It is not at all restricted to any particular group or place. I could imagine, even if I am not quite sure, that young Swedes who travel a lot and many do, also end up in the same predicament: new impressions and new chances of new experiences just add to the problem. It is not that easy just to return home to old Sweden – but also not so easy to identify with another particular environment.

Our students in this course are from South Africa, Angola, Congo (Kinshasa), Nigeria and Sweden. It means very enriching comments when these come. But I was thinking of something else: all the leading thinkers who have taken on themselves to tell us that identity formation in the end has to do with the ability to relate to the stranger: philosophers like Hans-Georg Gadamer and Jacques Derrida, theologians like Miroslav Volf and leadership moguls like Stephen Covey, all stress this aspect. It is the in thing to say now. And it is right. Could we also do what these people say and we would come a long way in making this world a better place.

I together with Professor Antjie Krog run a post-graduate course this semester on "The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and its Theological Perspectives".

Posted by Hans Engdahl at 23:10

The Country of My Skull by Antjie Krog
http://maribou.livejournal.com/238335.html

This book was brilliantly written and very important. And informative. And oh holy cow, it's so sad and hard to read and I had to put it down about a million times. (Subject: South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and the author's experiences reporting thereon - the subtitle is *Guilt, Sorrow, and the Limits of Forgiveness in the New South Africa*.)

Siyahamba: A Mennonite Family's Sojourn in South Africa Thursday, October 2, 2008
greater things than these
http://joeannasawatzky.blogspot.com/2008/10/greater-things-than-these.html

At the moment I am also reading *Country of My Skull* by Antjie Krog, an account of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the author's own coverage of it (the TRC was set up by the ANC government in the mid-late nineties as an attempt to heal the wounds of the past by giving voice to those whose stories of loss had been suppressed). I am at a point now where the author is recounting how the ANC counselled individual members not to apply for amnesty for abuses they had committed in retaliation for apartheid, even though personal amnesty was the only kind of amnesty the TRC would hear. Rather, a certain ANC leader had told the author that the ANC would apply for "collective amnesty"--not even an option according to the TRC. The ANC was pursuing this course of action in order that individual members might have one another's back, shielding one another from the shame of disclosing participation in abuses, however retaliatory or "defensible" in light of a supposed "just war". Such a stance, then, in effect, amounted to a continuation of suppression of stories for "innocent" victims caught in the midst of violent acts – the very thing the ANC had hoped to ameliorate in creating the TRC. The author reports that the ANC had thus chosen party unity over truth, or party unity over the overall healing of the country--for all its citizens, regardless of party.
Posted by Joe and Anna at 2.32am

alongwaygone
http://alongwaygone.livejournal.com/984.html

29 September 2008 @ 06:53 pm
I just started reading the "Country of my Skull" by Antjie Krog. I am so excited about it. I am almost nervous to start it because I want it to be everything I hope it is, everything i need it to be. i'll keep you posted.

Thursday, October 2, 2008
Rocking the Rhodent- a Profile on Alice Mckay
Posted by Meg at 6.03am http://4burstbubbles.blogspot.com/2008/10/rocking-rhodent-profile-on-alice-mckay.html

Alice Mckay nicknamed "Gran" by her roommate, lights a Dunhill Light at her desk. Inhaling deeply, she hums along to Counting Crows, her favourite band. Alice came to Rhodes an outspoken, irreverent and amusing ANC supporter, and has remained the same person since. While many other people have transformed themselves into the people they supposedly wish to be, Alice has never compromised herself in order to "conform to the boxed-in version of a typical Rhodent"…
Alice picks up 'Country of My Skull' by Antjie Krog, and turns the book over in her hands, carefully studying the cover illustration. "I don't want to live a lie and live within constructs that are not my own" she says, while discussing her political views and religious beliefs. "I have always been an open minded person, that's the one thing I cannot stand- these BCOM students who just study for a well paying job one day. They're capitalist monsters who are all jumping off the same bridge".
She is politically incorrect, sometimes rude, but most times she is honest, straightforward and a rebel who stands up for what she believes in. Alice walks through campus a true Rhodent, one who embodies the spirit of forward thinking and humanitarian views. She is a leader in her own right, a red wine-loving African who is defiant in her views on life. She will never give herself up to "the slaughter of open minds" that many others do, and expresses her anger at the political apathy of the students who did not register to vote in the IEC elections next year. "Those too lazy to get a sticker in their ids should just immigrate to Canada and New Zealand- South Africa doesn't need a whole bunch of idiots living here".
It is this combination of her wicked sense of humour and anti-establishment attitude that smashes boldly through the Rhodes student cliché, placing her indefinitely among the minority of students who have managed to scrape through first year with their personalities and standards unscathed by negative influence. Laughing, she tells me she wants to be an English teacher, and does not care about the salary issue. "Life is not about money, and if we all just realised that, people would be a lot happier. I want to teach and love and learn, not gloat over my new BMW and a mock-Tuscan 'villa'".

Saturday August 23 2008
http://weareinafrica.blogspot.com/2008/08/you-are-hanging-on-by-very-thin-thread.html

Antjie Krog is a journalist, poet, and author. She wrote lots of things, but as far as I'm concerned, she's the author of Country of My Skull, a crushingly powerful novel chronicling the work of the Sotuh African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It (along with Mandela's biography and Jo's suggestion) is a big reason I'm in Africa at all, a big reason I'm working on transitional justice, and a big reason my thesis is taking the shape it is. So like - it's a bit of an understatement to say that the book had an impact on me. And I got to interview her.

The night before, I was a little intimidated. When I read the book, I wrote down some of the excerpts that hit me the most, and I was re-reading those so that I could get fired up and prep for the interview. I stopped, and said out loud - half to Jo, half to myself, "I don't think I can interview this woman. She's just too good." How am I - with my clumsy words, my clanking thoughts, to speak with, to confront in some way, the author of some of the best poetry and finest prose I've ever seen?

Jo told me to shut up, which was a good thing, and so the next day after interview #1 I found myself making the long trek out to the University of the Western Cape where she's and "Extraordinary Professor" (possibly, that is simultaneously the awesomest and most accurate job title ever). That was a story in itself - two minibus rides, with a transfer in the township of Delft, a couple of hours waiting on campus, and some serious getting lost there. But I saw her, and I did the interview. All I can really say for sure is that she talk as she writes. Which, consdiering that she writes in her first language (Afrikaans) and did the interview in English, is pretty amazing. She said a lot - a lot about language, and its use in (or its being?) politics. It was all amazing, and I'm going to treasure the recording.

Oh, and she signed my book. I was embarrassed to ask, but she seemed happy to do it. And she wrote a little note about what we had talked about, and then drew a picture, of a fish. She was very emphatic that transition has to be about transformation - of people; potentially the process of becoming human that Tutu talked about. The fish in question is the sole - it starts its life as pretty much a normal fish, but as it matures it undergoes a radical transformation to a flatfish - one eye migrates so that they are both on one side, and the mouth moves around to the bottom. At the end, its seemingly an entirely different animal...but one that can survive well on the ocean bottom. She labelled it as a "soul fish" - I'm not sure if that was on purpose or a 2nd language slip, but either way I think it's lovely.

Anyhow, she write crazy awesome, and is crazy awesome, and I got to interview her...so maybe I'll throw in a couple of bits from the book:

“No poetry should come forth from this. May my hand fall off if I write this.

So I sit around. Naturally and unnaturally without words. Stunned by the knowledge of the price people have paid for their words. If I write this, I exploit and betray. If I don’t, I die. Suddenly my grandmother’s motto comes to mind: when in despair, bake a cake. To bake a cake is a restorative process.”

Posted by Teddy at 10.41pm

14 September 2008 @ 07:07 pm
http://recycledfaery.livejournal.com/89116.html

My Country, My Shame
The days of bending over backwards to accommodate, of gritting the teeth in tolerance, are over. Reconciliation will only be possible if whites say: Apartheid was evil and we were responsible for it. Resisting it was justified - even if excesses occurred within this framework. Mbeki says that if this acknowledgment is not forthcoming, reconciliation is no longer on the agenda.
An Afrikaner son from a National Party home. NG Kerk, Voortrekkers, Rietfontein Laerskool and Wonderboom Hoer. God has given South Africa to the Afrikaner. Willing to die, but also to murder for this land.
It's them! It's truly them... I go cold with recognition. The specific salacious laughter, that brotherly slap on the hairy shoulder, that guaffing circle using crude yet idiomatic Afrikaans. The *manne*. More specifically the Afrikaner *manne*.
The nightmare of my youth.
The bullies with their wives – the chatty women with impressive cleavages and well-behaved children.
Aversion. I want to distance myself.
They are nothing to me.
I am not of them.
When the amnesty hearing begins, I go sit on a a bench close to them. To look for signs – their hands, their fingernails, in their eyes, on their lips – signs that these are the faces of killers, of The Other.
What do I have in common with the men I hate the most?
They all say they did the dirty work for you and for me. And all of us a trying to deal with that, with the responsibility of that, with the guilt of such a claim...
And hundreds of Afrikaners are walking this road – on their own with their own fears and shame and guilt. And some say it, most just live it. We are so utterly sorry. We are deeply ashamed and gripped with remorse. But hear us, we are from here. We will live it – right here – with you, for you.
The above quotes taken from Antjie Krog's Country of my Skull
My reaction:
I feel the guilt of the past sticking to me like tar.
It cannot be removed. I cannot wash it off.
I, who was part of the privileged Afrikaner race and who then ran away from the country of my birth when things got rough, how can I forgive myself for *that*?

Berlin Safari
July 8, 2008 by Sean Jacobs
http://theleoafricanus.com/2008/07/08/berlin-safari/



Back in Brooklyn, but here's the final picture from my German Safari; with painter Mustafa Maluka (soon relocating to Finland) and one of my favorite writers, Antjie Krog (her poetry especially) in Berlin.

From here to Finvara
Wednesday May 07 2008
http://kelseyhoppe.blogspot.com/2008/05/sometimes-times-we-live-in-overflow.html

Sometimes the times we live in overflow with light...
I was reminded of Antjie Krog's excellent book, *Country of My Skull: Guilt, Sorrow, and the Limits of Forgiveness in the New South Africa*, this evening and so reread some. Here's a great part:
"And I wonder: God. Does he hear us? Does he know what our hearts are yearning for? That we all just want to be human beings ... some with more colour, some with less, but all with air and sun. And I wade into song ... in a language that is not mine, in a tongue I do not know. It is fragrant inside the song, and among the keynotes of sorrow and suffering there are soft silences where we who belong to this landscape,…all of us,…can come to rest. Sometimes the times we live in overflow with light."
Posted b Kelsey at 12/06am

Book Review: Country of My Skull by Antjie Krog By Alistair Boddy-Evans
http://africanhistory.about.com/od/africanhistorybookcase/fr/MySkullBook_2.htm

If you want to understand modern South Africa you must understand the politics of the last century. There is no better place to start than with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Antjie Krog's masterwork places you in the mind of both oppressed black freedom fighters and entrenched white Afrikaner.
The very pages are suffused with the people, and their struggle to come to terms with decades of Apartheid. The overwhelming need for understanding and release, or closure as American psychologists put it, speaks in volumes throughout the eloquent writing in this book.
If you are going to buy one book about modern South Africa, make it this one...

Oliver's Blog
A scattershot description of my life in South Africa.
http://oliverborzo.blogspot.com/2008/04/greetings.html

Wednesday, April 23, 2008
Since I got here I've also read a few murder mysteries I borrowed from my boss, two books by Alexandra Fuller, *Country of My Skull* by Antjie Krog, *Lolita*, *The Common Reader* by Virginia Wolf, and a novel set in 11th century Britain about the Norman invasion. I'm currently as far as the book of Ruth in the King James Bible, halfway through a book on African history, and working my way through a massive book on physics.
Posted by Oliver Borzo

http://kombuis.wordpress.com/2008/08/28/pissaladiere-vir-alda-iets-vir-wipneus-en-dankie-vir-my-ma/

My mom subscribed to the Encyclopedia of Rock for my eldest brother, which led to him having a preternatural knowledge of people like Muddy Waters and Little Richard. She brought home the first Bob Dylan album, and explained who he was and what he was doing. When I lived in England and got so homesick I wanted to thow myself off Battersea bridge, she'd read Antjie Krog to me over the telephone and tell me to stay just one more year.

http://fondlywithcheese.wordpress.com/2008/07/22/summer-reading/

Last but far from least, is this:
A Change of Tongue by Antjie Krog is without a doubt the best book I have read in the last two or three years. THE BEST. Considering how much I read and that I worked in a book store for the past few years, this is a large feat, my friends. It's rare to come across an author who writes with as much poise and literary genius as Ms. Krog does; this is a piece of non-fiction which reads like a novel. As a white South African, Krog describes the change and pain of belonging during the time when South Africans are discovering their new places in a democratic environment. And as a non-South African, one can easily relate to it, as we've all experienced transformation in one way or another.

Remembering, forgetting, forgiving?... The experience of South Africa...
“You can’t forget what you don’t know…`
Sevgul Uludag
caramel_cy@yahoo.com
We fly to Istanbul to take part in the panel and forum of the Heinrich Böll Foundation called : `Coming to Terms with the Past: Different Fields, Different Experiences…` The speakers are myself and Andreas Paraschos from Cyprus and Antjie Krog from South Africa.
When I hear that she will be a speaker, I have to call all my friends and explain:
`You know what? Krog is coming to Istanbul! She had written a book called My Country of Skulls and then they made a movie called In My Country starring Juliette Binoche and Samuel Jackson… It`s a stunning film and won the Peace Prize at the Berlin Film Festival in 2004…`
Finally I meet her, a woman in her 50s with short, white hair… She too says she is excited about our work in Cyprus concerning the `missing` and `mass graves…`
She was a radio journalist when they set up the `Truth and Reconciliation Commission` in South Africa. In essence, they call on the public and say that there will be an amnesty to those who confess to the crimes they have committed - they would be pardoned if they come forward and confess in front of the `Truth and Reconciliation Commission`. But if they don’t confess the crimes they have committed and if there are witnesses to these crimes, then they would have to go to jail… This is the South African model of finding out what has happened in the past and dealing with it. Krog is a radio journalist and she would broadcast for two years (yes, TWO YEARS) live, what was going on in these commissions. In her presentation in Istanbul, she focuses on `Why, one should deal with the past…`
Here is a summary of what she says:
`It’s a controversial subject. Some people are saying we should forget… That is the whole idea of going forward psychologically… But others are saying, `You can only forget, what you know… If you don’t know, you cannot forget…`
In many ways, I didn’t know what happened in apartheid. It is crucial to deal with the past, if you want to make a future… If I think that apartheid had nothing to do with it, that no violence happened during apartheid, I would not be willing to make a contribution to the new South Africa because I would think, all those things that had happened, I didn’t do anything wrong so why should I now, make contributions? So it is important, if you want to build a future that you have to know what happened. It determines your future.
And with the stories you hear, you realize that racism and apartheid could only be withheld with violence. There were killings, violence and torture to keep the systems intact. And we need to know that…
My people, Afrikaaners had been colonized by the British and there was a war fought in 1900 against the British. And the British put my people in concentration camps. These were the first concentration camps in the world, it wasn’t done by the Germans but by the British. And a third of my population died in those camps. That was never dealt with when the war was over. They had said `Ok let’s forgive and forget and move forward…` What happened is that the grief and the anger of that war became privatized. No one talked about it except us. And because there was no truth established around it, it became mythology! All English were bad! Because no facts were put on the table, we could say, it’s only us who suffered.
Changing the truth is a very dangerous thing – I believe by privatizing our anger at the British, that made us do apartheid. My people thought that the English were against us and in fact, the whole world is against you! So we must make laws to protect ourselves, even if those laws kill other people, it doesn’t matter – we protect ourselves. So one injustice makes us `injustice doers` in a way…

There's also another important thing for dealing with the past and that is to prevent making an `evil` out of others. And by not saying anything about ourselves, it means `we can do nothing wrong!` It's not us, it's them! That is so problematic because it will make something evil, it becomes `sexy`! They are the `evil` and we are the `saints` and people are fascinated with this!
How did we cover as journalists, the `Truth Commission` in South Africa? I was asked to head the team that covered these different stories. So one of the first lessons that we learnt was to realize that if you talk about the past, you have to expect that there are more than `one truth`. If you are not ready to deal with more than one truth, you shouldn't deal with the past. Because for people, the past has different versions. Maybe those versions are lies – but it's a reality in their lives. So even if people are believing lies, you have to be aware that, that is the truth that shaped their lives. You have to accommodate all these different truths so that you create a legitimate reporting voice if you accommodate all these truths. You must question all these truths. You have experts where you discuss the different versions, you analyze why the different lies have made this.
I think it is important to report how you feel as a reporter while doing this so that other people and other countries, don't take your story away. It's like saying `Can I live with this? What is it in this that I cannot tolerate?` A country itself decides, what it can forgive and why it can't forgive… Others shouldn't tell you `This you can forgive, that you can't forgive…` It's the country itself that has to make that decision.
Final word: Are we truly prepared for this? It's extremely important to prepare the ground for any truth telling and that means to explain international incidents, to explain the context, explain the jargon, `transitional justice` etc. We had a lot of groups coming from South America coming to explain and prepare the ground for `truth telling`… What is the difference between `forgiveness` and `reconciliation`? You have to prepare the ground, otherwise people wouldn't participate in the process…`
http://www.toplumpostasi.net/index.php/cat/11/col/96/art/1701/PageName/Editorden

Sunday, May 25, 2008
http://66squarefeet.blogspot.com/search?q=Antjie+Krog

My country
South Africa. What to say?
From, *Country of grief and grace*

i)(but if the old is not guilty
does not confess
then of course the new can also not be guilty
nor be held accountable
if it repeats the old
things may then continue as before
but in a different shade)
Antjie Krog, Down to my Last Skin, 2000

Selasa 2008 November 11
http://my-lawyer-case.blogspot.com/2008/11/africans-need-for-self-belief.html

Africans – A Need for Self Belief

At a book-reading event in Lagos, Nigeria, let us picture a South African (Antjie Krog) reading from her bestseller book on Truth and Reconciliation Hearings. It was organized by a local group on the Arts.

A renowned female Nigerian journalist – Chris Anyanwu – who was incarcerated during the infamous Abacha Military Government of Nigeria also paired with her on stage. She too had her own turn to read from her book based on her prison experience.

It appeared as a truly balanced set up.

This scenario paints a recurrent picture of awaiting validation and approval outside African continent before many needed initiatives are taken.

Consider the latest fad for a product promotional show, where a multinational company invites a music star from abroad supported with very impressive local artistes. The former plays for much less time but goes home with much higher fees.

(Good for the foreign artistes as many talented creative persons are accorded respect in their home countries)

It is the way they want to be perceived and they naturally get a commensurate reward for that.

On the other hand, the local stars are expected to count themselves lucky for the opportunity and they are treated as such by the local organizers.

This brings me to ask:

Are some Africans still mentally enslaved and if this were to be true, could this be worse than the physical slavery as experienced in the past?

Let us look at another instance. After a short stay, a foreigner on being prompted would say: Yes! I enjoyed my stay in that country, they are very friendly!

But deeply when you look amongst the people you will find it difficult to see this so-called attribute in play.

So what brings about the contradiction? Are we really friendly to ourselves? Are we really friendly to a foreigner?

On the intellectual platform, we continue to witness jam packed symposia, workshops and the likes. Attendees all clad in appropriate dresses, purportedly listening in rapt attention, coupled with the expected demeanor reserved for such events.

The scenario goes like this: At the centre stage is a globally renowned egghead or expert, who is supported by our local African intellectual heroes who are given the chance to add few words after the main speaker.

They talk about business, corporate governance, ethics and human development.

Of late a well of motivational speakers are springing up.

This is a new idea expected to lift up the self inflicted impoverished spirits as we go through these challenging times. And I cannot but agree with that.

The motivational rounds, I believe help if only they can be extended to the teeming citizens in the remote villages using their local dialects!

But where are the real wheeler-dealers within these halls? The power brokers at the helm of affairs in governance? Those who make things happen.

Where are those who hold the destiny of African nations within their grips? Of course, they invite them to most of these intellectual gatherings of rhetoric, philosophies and theorems.

However, the decision makers could possibly mumble to themselves in their privacy asking if all the postulations are needed.

To buttress this point, not too long ago, I also noticed on TV an event in Lagos. What struck me was the large attendance of first class Nigerian intellectuals -mostly well dressed- as I could identify some of them and as in many cases, the star attraction was not even a prominent Nigerian decision maker.
I was thinking: that the gentleman, the guest speaker and the likes of him, get listened to in his country where his postulations are considered and some used for the general benefit of his fellow country men. His talent gets appreciated.
Over here in a typical African country, one asks: what happens after all attendants disperse from these halls? What do the local influencers amongst the audience do thereafter? What do they do with strategies of new knowledge that they have imbibed, how do they make all of these become a reality for the betterment of all in the country?
On the other hand, could it be just for making an appearance and to be seen to belong?
Do they internalize what must have transpired at such events, waiting for that opportunity to persuade those at different levels of governance, in politics and business?
Lastly we need to consider our own people worthy of being celebrated if they have done well. I believe there are many Nigerians who can hold their own anywhere in the world, who can speak the language we all understand for more fruitful results within our space.
We need to start now. We need to be bold to encourage them to come forward, stand behind the rostrum, share their knowledge, and use such for the common good and the rest of humanity, visionary politicians inclusive.
But there is a hope that this will happen not too far into the future: that is, going by the quiet revolution going on amongst the young people who are getting unconsciously detached from the experience of the vestiges of the colonial mentality this being the attitude of most older generation (the post-independence generation)
Young people making statements by their efforts, attitudes and utterances, breeding a new crop of confident partakers of this planet, who could hold their own any where in the world. They are fast acquiring new knowledge and putting them to practice showing positive results in many spheres of human endeavor despite the failed governance in some African countries.
And if you ask me what is mainly responsible for this?
The increased education and exposure through the Western media (mainly the TV) and the Internet, despite the misgivings about the aforementioned. Nothing is perfect in life.
I believe we will get there..
Muyiwa Osifuye is a photographer based in Africa. He works within the thematic, documentary and commercial modes. (catch a glimpse of his limited edition works at http://www.pictures-of-nigeria.com) His documentary works explore the rich cultural heritage of his country, Nigeria. Major international exhibitions and events continually show his thematic works which address cogent issues that he feels are necessary for a global understanding. He is a regular columnist in a prominent Nigerian newspaper and a budding writer; sharing his thoughts and perception about humanity as a whole.
diposkan oleh Xiang Mi @ 05:04

Bibliography

A note on the organisation of the Bibliography:

- I have separated out from the Bibliography Krog's published poetry and books and the articles in the *Mail&Guardian* that were significant in drawing a publisher's attention to her journalism production. These appear in the **Antjie Krog Bibliography**.
- I have also placed the newspaper articles in which Krog appears as a subject or writer into a separate bibliography which I have called the **Media Archive on Antjie Krog**.
- I have placed Krog's TRC radio work as catalogued by the SABC in **Appendix F: SABC Sound Archive on Antjie Samuel TRC Reports**. Radio interviews with Krog are in **Antjie Krog in the SABC Sound Archive**.

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"Intellectuals need to lead the way forward" by Zamikhaya Maseti. *City Press* 24 October 2004: 25.

"Intellectuals overlook tyranny's true progenitor" by John-Kane Berman. *Business Day* 14 December 2004: 7.

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"Native Club was formed to redress imbalances of the past" by Titus Mafolo. *City Press* 21 May 2006: 23.

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"Native club will challenge Eurocentric ideas" letter by Motshabi Kabelo, Noordwyk, Midrand. *The Star* 26 May 2006: 13.

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"Lost natives render themselves useless" by Sango Patekile Holomisa. *Business Day* 1 June 2006: 13.

"A coconut knocks on the door of the Native Club" by Rhoda Kadalie. *Business Day* 1 June 2006: 13.

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"Culture club: diplomacy seems to be the trump card in the game of two clubs" by Sheena Adams. *Saturday Star* 17 June 2006: 15.

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"Native Club is not a black Broederbond" by Sam Raditlhalo. *City Press* 18 June 2006: 22.

"Native Club works on basis of distinction, not discrimination" letter by Thabang Motsoeneng, Soweto. *City Press* 18 June 2006: 24.

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"More challenges for the Native Club" by Saliem Fakir. *The Star* 11 July 2006: 12.

"Don't club the natives, club the club culture" letter by Justin G Steyn, Birchleigh, Kempton Park. *The Star* 13 July 2006: 17.

"No cocooning" letter by Solly Moeng, Cape Town. *Business Day* 13 July 2006: 10.

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"Let the darkies meet whenever they want to" by Abbey Makoe. *Saturday Star* 29 July 2006: 14.

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"Is misdaad die problem?" by Sydney Gregan. *Afrikaner* 10 August 2006: 4.

"The Native Club's exclusivity sends out the wrong message" letter by Justin G Steyn, Birchleigh. *Saturday Star* 12 August 2006: 14.

"Native Club is needed to correct past imbalances" letter by Bright Banda, Mofolo Central. *City Press* 20 August 2006: 24.

"Nation showing a healthy appetite for debate" *Sunday Independent* editorial 26 August 2007: 8.

"Success hard won by women intellectuals" by Margaret Lenta. *Sunday Independent* 27 August 2006: 10.

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"Native Club must soon see a bigger picture, or fail" by Suren Pillay. *Cape Times* 9 October 2006: 9.

"SA has to find new forms of identity" by Mokopi Mokotedi and Pakiso Tondi. *City Press* 5 November 2006: 30.

"A new language of non-racialism needed" by Michael Cardo. *Daily Dispatch* 16 December 2006: 13.

"African nativist intellectuals need to counter settler colonialism" by Bennie Bunsee. *Cape Times* 17 January 2007: 11.

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"Hotheads masquerading as intellectuals" by Max du Preez. *The Star* 24 May 2007: 18.

"Met 'native', setlaar and al' tot reg in die leeukuil" by Kirby van der Merwe. *Die Burger* 23 June 2007: 10.

"Native Club gets down to its real business, at last" by Sipho Seepe. *Business Day* 27 June 2007: 15.

"Intellectuals need to think outside the collective box" by Leslie Mxolisi Dikeni. *Cape Times* 23 August 2007: 9.

"A few things to keep in mind about intellectuals" by Mokubung Nkomo. *Business Day* 4 September 2007: 11.

"Desertion of the intellectuals has deep roots" by Patrick Laurence. *Sunday Independent* 21 October 2007: 8.

"Challenge for ANC 'not about Mbeki, Zuma': the party needs to decide whether it is time to replace its entire generation of leaders, says Pallo Jordan" by Mpumelelo Mkhabela. *Sunday Times* 28 October 2007: 14.

"An intellectual revolt" by Tsakani Nethengwe. *Witness* 22 November 2007: 17.

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"Our intellectual ancestors" by Xolela Mangcu. *Daily Dispatch* 4 February 2008: 13.

"The taming of the intellectuals" by Nithaya Chetty and Denyse Webbstock. *Mail&Guardian* 7 February 2008: 6.

"What makes a coconut intellectual?" by Sandile Memela. *Daily Dispatch* 21 February 2008: 9.

"Intellectual revolt against ruination" by Xolela Mangcu. *Business Day* 21 February 2008: 15.

"Importance of balance in intellectual game" by Thando Mpulu. *Daily Dispatch* 3 March 2008: 11.

"Intellectuals take on what went wrong" by Wilson Johwa. *The Weekender* 22 March 2008: 4.

"Accumulating knowledge" by Yunus Momoniat. *Mail&Guardian* 27 March 2008: 5.

"Tossing money at intellectuals will not improve performance" by Mathew Blatchford. *Daily Dispatch* 1 April 2008: 7.

"We need to protect intellectual thought" by Sello S Alcock and Primarashni Gower. *Mail&Guardian* 10 April 2008: 8.

"Intellectuals are out of touch" letter by Bennie Jacobs, Rust-ter-Vaal. *The Star* 4 June 2008: 10.

"SA's intellectual activists also show their courage" by Sipho Seepe. *Business Day* 4 June 2008: 11.

"Talking of power and the intellect" by Aubrey Matshiqi. *Business Day* 29 August 2008: 19.

"It's the intellectual's ideas that count, not his sponsors" by Xolela Mangcu. *Sunday Times* 31 August 2008: 18.

"Wanted: readers to push our public intellectuals" by Xolela Mangcu. *Business Day* 4 September 2008: 11.

Antjie Krog Biography

1952
- 23 October – born Anna Elizabeth Krog on Middenspruit in Kroonstad, named for her grandmother Anna Elizabeth.

1968
- Going steady with John Samuel.

1970
- Publication of nine poems in Kroonstad High School yearbook.
- "Dorp gons oor gedigte in skoolblad." By Franz Kemp. *Die Beeld* 16 August 1970.
- *Dogter van Jefta* published by Human&Rousseau.
- Matriculated.

1971
- Student doing BA at UOFS.
- "My Beautiful Land" appears in *Sechaba*, 5(1) January 1971: 16.
- "Antjie se gedig misbruik teen ons land." *Rapport* 28 March 1971: 3.
- Dot Serfontein. "Antjie se skoolgedig verduidelik: Dot skryf oor haar dogter." *Rapport* 4 April 1971: 9.
- Colin Legum. "Afrikaans protest cry sparks a big row." in Daily Dispatch, 17 May 1971.

1972
- *Januarie-Suite* published by Human&Rousseau.

1973
- Winner of Eugene Marais Prize.

1974
- Working for *Die Burger* in Cape Town.
- *Mannin* published by Human&Rousseau (edited by DJ Opperman).
- *Beminde Antartika* published by Human and Rousseau (edited by DJ Opperman).
- *"Ons praat 'n ander taal" Karel Schoeman in Suid-Afrika* by Antjie Krog for Die Burger 12 April 1974.
- 22 July 1974 married Andries Albertus (Albie) van Schalkwyk in Wepener.

1975
- Andries born. Living in Cape Town with Van Schalkwyk and doing Opperman's third-year Afrikaans class and his "poetry laboratory" at honours level at Stellenbosch where she meets Gerrit Olivier, a future editor.
- Interviewed by Dene Smuts for *Beeld* on Saturday 30 August 1975.

1976
- Worked at *Die Burger*, Cape Town.

- 22 April 1976: petition for divorce in Bloemfontein Supreme Court. Further date set for 16 June.
- Returned to Kroonstad from Cape Town. On 2 or 4 October married John Samuel an architecture student at UOFS. Doing BA Hons in English at UOFS.
- Moved to Pretoria for four years.

1977
- Wins Reina Prinsen-Geerlig Prize for Literature for *Mannin* and *Beminde Antartika.*

1978
- Daughter Susan born

1979
- Son Philip born
- Participates in SABC yearly boekeveiling on 14 August.

1980
- Returned to Kroonstad to live at Middenspruit.
- Writes for Volksblad about Annesu de Vos 12 November 1980.

1981
- *Otters in Bronslaai* published by Human&Rousseau.

1982
- Louise Viljoen of Stellenbosch University reviews *Otters in Bronslaai* for *Vaderland* 29 April 1982.
- *Cape Times* "Women's role in Afrikaans poetry" by Jan Rabie. Antjie Krog mentioned with five others, 22 September 1982.

1983
- Starts working at Mphohadi Technical College in Maokeng.
- MA degree awarded by University of Pretoria. Thesis "Familiefigure in die poësie van DJ Opperman."
- 9 April – son Willem Krog Samuel born.
- Krog votes yes in the referendum to determine whether whites South Africans are willing to create a tricameral parliament involving 'coloureds' and Indians. *Beeld* 29 October 1983.

1984
- *Eerste Gedigte (Dogter van Jefta* en *Januarie Suite)* published by Human&Rouseaau.
- "Everywoman's Poet Laureate – Antjie Krog Samuel" in *Fair Lady* 13 June 1984 (part of the "Woman You Are: Our Series about Women and Fulfillment). Poems in English printed in this article were translated for *Fair Lady* by Krog.
- "Taal kan vir himself sorg" Antjie tells audience at the Afrikaans Olympiad in Bloemfontein. *Volksblad* 18 July 1984.

1985

- *Jerusalemgangers* published by Human&Rousseau.
- *Mankepank en ander Monsters* published by Taurus.
- Starts teaching at Mphohadi Teachers' Training College as a lecturer in Afrikaans and English – 1985 to 1986. (White schools won't accept her without a teaching diploma, *Oosterlig* 16 August 1985.)
- Tells the Afrikaanse Letterkundevereniging at UPE that "Die Afrikaanse letterkunde van vandag is feitlik een groot neurose", *Oosterlig* 16 August 1985.

1986

- *Beeld* asks Krog and AP Grove to write pieces about the book *DJ Opperman – 'n Biografie,* 3 November 1986.
- Fair Lady Book Week 3 to 6 November at the Baxter Theatre Krog participates with Stephen Watson and Douglas Reid Skinner, Petra Muller, Patrick Cullinan, Paul Alberts, Omar Badsha, Andre Brink, Reza de Wet, Menan du Plessis, Steve Jacobs, Mewa Ramgobin, Etienne van Heerden and Lettie Viljoen. *Die Burger* 6 November 1986.

1987

- Writes about being challenged by Book Week audience to justify writing in a state of emergency, *Die Suid-Afrikaan* January 1987, *Fair Lady* 4 February reprinted from *Die Suid-Afrikaan.*
- Gets involved in furore around the firing of Dene Smuts as editor of *Fair Lady,* letter to *Die Burger* 16 April andr esponse by Ton Vosloo. *Rapport* 19 April 1987 reports on the public disagreement between Krog and Vosloo.
- 27 April – wins Rapport Prize for *Jerusalemgangers.*
- *Cape Times* 27 April 1987 "Afrikaans press under fire" report on the prize ceremony where Wits University Prof Ernst Lindenberg attacked the Afrikaans press saying it didn't inform the Afrikaans public of events in the country regarding the black population. Krog(h) remarked she considered the prize money to be a reward for the emotional trauma of having to wait for the result. This is not reported by Afrikaans papers.

1988

- *Cape Times* 12 March 1988 review of *Jerusalemgangers* "Krog's latest is not easy to read".
- Elected on to the executive of the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde, met representatives of Congress of South Africa Writers at meeting in Broederstroom.
- *Die Vaderland* 4 July 1987 reports she warned against discourses about "alternative and worker Afrikaans". Krog said: "Words must break free of the borders and aspirations of groups … for a free literature and free writers."
- *Die Volksblad* 6 October 1988. Krog at the Nasionale Leeskring-seminaar said apartheid had come between writer and reader. "Leser en skrywer is saam in die web van hierdie land." Douglas Reid Skinner present.
- Joined Cosaw. Starts doing poetry workshops in rural areas (1985-1991).
- Dot Serfontein resigns from the Skrywersgilde in a letter to *Die Burger*.

- October: Brink writes piece on the Afrikaners for *National Geographic,* mentions Krog.
- *Rapport* 14 October 1988 "Bevry Afrikaans van die Gilde" at the 15th annual meeting of the board of the Gilde. Die Gilde "…laat die skrywers nie uit hul hokke kom nie".
- *Vrye Weekblad* 13 October 1988. Krog writes "Wat van Kuzwayo en Stockenström" in a review of Cherry Clayton's *Women and Writing in South Africa*.
- *Rapport* 16 October 1988. SABC does not allow Joan Hambidge to read a Krog poem ("Die Skryfproses, as sonnet…description of her husband from head to toe!") over Radio South Africa on the programme Digterkeuse.
- 5 November – HAUM-Literêr seminar in OFS. Krog delivers "Die leser, die boek and die skrywer".
- 25 November – "Women Speak" with Antjie Krog, Nadine Gordimer, Miriam Tlali, Achmat Dangor and Mzwakhe (Mbuli?). Cosaw event in Soweto.
- Krog starts writing for *Vrye Weekblad's* books page.
- *Vrye Weekblad* 15 December 1988. Krog writes a column about the meaning of 16 December (the Day of the Vow) for her.

1989

- Teaching at Brent Park Hoërskool (1989-1992). Teaches Afrikaans and English, coaches singing, hockey and long-jump. Participates in two marches.
- Gives course in creative writing at UOFS during the year for Prof Hennie van Coller, in the Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands.
- January – four Afrikaans poets including Krog invited to the UCT Summer School.
- *City Press* 9 July 1989 "Authors join pilgrimage to ANC". 9 to 12 July – attended Idasa conference between Afrikaans writers and ANC at Victoria Falls with Andre Brink and Etienne van Heerden. Others present: Breyten Breytenbach, Jeremy Cronin, Vernon February, Mongane Wally Serote, Barbara Masekela. Writers endorsed selective cultural boycott. Volksblad 19 July 1989 Krog gives statement on boycott, "n mens verkies a boikot bo geweld."
- 27 July *Beeld* reports that Dot Serfontein is angry with the writers who met with the ANC.
- *Die Suid-Afrikaan* August 1989 – Krog writes "Waarom praat ons van 'vroue' skrywers?" based on visit to Victoria Falls.
- *Lady Anne.* released in August by "radical" publishing house Taurus, edited by Gerrit Olivier, according to Joan Hambidge in *Beeld* 18 September.
- *Cape Times* reviews *Lady Anne* by Jan Rabie on 9 September 1989. "One of South Africa's top Afrikaans poets, Antjie Krog, proves to be something of a feminist with the publication of her seventh volume…"
- Joan Hambidge in *Beeld* 18 September 1989 says "Antjie Krog se *Lady Anne* wys sy kan sonder Opperman werk."
- Radio Suid-Afrika 21 September 1989 – Betta van Huysteen anchors a discussion on the future of Afrikaans with various writers including Krog.
- On Sunday 29 October 1989 Ahmed Kathrada, Rivonia trialist who was jailed for life and now newly released from Robben Island is given a reception with

other ANC leaders at Soccer City stadium in Soweto and before a crowd of 80 000 he reads four lines from Krog's "My Mooi Land".

- October/November *Die Suid-Afrikaan* carries a letter from Annemarie van Niekerk of Umtata in response to Krog's piece on women writers, "Antjie Krog 'jammerlik naíef".
- November: the furore over the menstrual chart in *Lady Anne* is aired in *Die Transvaler, Die Volksblad, Beeld* and on "Woman's World".
- *Rapport* 20 November "Groot digters verskil nog oor boikot" quotes Hein Willemse for and Wilma Stockenstrom against. AFrikaanse Skrywersgilde met in Broederstroom this week.
- *Beeld* 25 November – Krog and Brink at Paris Idasa-ANC Summit meeting.
- *Beeld* 1 December – "Antjie Krog by Parysberaad: ANC kuier in Afrikaans, maar werk is als Engels".
- Hans Pienaar in *Weekly Mail* 8 December 1989 writes "Antjie, the poet from Kroonstad, takes up an angry pen" and "Antjie's prison of roses in Kroonstad".
- *Die Suid-Afrikaan* December 1989 – Krog writes "Niemand was 'n skoon wit papier nie" about the Victoria Falls ANC meeting and the Skrywersgilde reaction.

1990

- Joined ANC.
- OFS managing member of Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde.
- Teacher at Brent Park High School.
- *Rapport* 4 February 1990 – Krog interviewed by Jan Rabie about FW de Klerk's announcements.
- March 1990 starts writing for *De Kat.*
- April Groen Kongres takes place.
- April – unsuccessful march of coloured and black students (from Maokeng) into white Kroonstad.
- 21 April announcement that Krog has won Hertzog Prize from the Akedemie van Wetenskap en Kuns in Afrikaans press.
- 26 April *The Star* – "Free State's controversial Antjie joins establishment as prize winner." Mentions anti-apartheid activities and that the publisher of *Lady Anne* Taurus is also anti-establishment.
- Translator of Afrikaans version of the Dutch "Die Rottevanger van Hameln". Publisher Daan Retief.
- June receives Hertzog Prize. *Vrye Weekblad* of 29 June reports that she said she would use part of the prize to buy Afrikaans children's book for the Cosaw library. She criticised the akademie saying "die akademie is nie my bybie nie".
- July – resigned from NGK after they refused to allow the Brent Park school choir to hold a weekend musical workshop at the church youth centre.
- August *Leadership* – interviewed by Pippa Green, "New Jerusalem".
- 14 August reported in Afrikaans press that Krog participated in a march from Brentpark.
- September – car vandalised, "ANC" spray painted on her Fiat, 8 September *Beeld.*

- Idasa and the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde hold a "Writers' Indaba". Reported in Idasa's *Democracy in Action* October/November 1990. Krog said Afrikaans "had failed this country", it would need to reflect a broader reality to survive.
- At Skrywersgilde annual meeting Krog says "bevry Afrikaans van gilde". Shortened version of speech in *Die Burger* 16 October 1990.
- *Vrye Weekblad* 19 October runs "Debat oor boikot was nodig" and interviews Krog.
- GKSA announced Krog as member of member of the Psalmkommissie, *Beeld* 22 October 1990. Reports on Krog supporting the ANC and being a Christian.
- Krog participates in the *Weekly Mail* Book Week in Johannesburg and Cape Town (4 to 17 November).

1991

- January – GKSA decides to not go forward with the other two churches on the Psalms Commission because of Krog's membership in the ANC. The NG and Hervormde Kerk decided to go ahead with the GKSA.
- *Vrye Weekblad* 1 February – Krog writes and says this is the last she will say about her speech at the UCT Summer School "Hoe hoorbaar is die digter?"
- *Rapport* 3 February 1991 – "Los van die Afrikanerlaer" 'n gans ander wêreld het vir my oopgestaan" an excerpt from Antjie Krog's piece in the collection *Afrikaners tussen die tye* edited by Bernard Lategan and Hans Müller published by Taurus.
- *Insig* March does a piece on Krog and the "psalm-beryming".
- *Citizen* 14 June 1991 – Antjie Krog counted as one the Afrikaners who should be recognised for fighting against apartheid by DP MP Kobus Jordaan from Umhlanga.
- *New Nation* Focus on Writers 30 August to 5 September speaks of Krog as "of all the Afrikaans poets Antjie Krog is probably the best known amongst non-Afrikaans speakers".

1992

- *Voëls van anderste Vere* published by Buchu Books.
- Three Million Gang leader George Ramasimong ("Diwiti") murdered on 25 February (*Die Volksblad* 6 July 1992).
- UWC and UCT refuse Krog a senior lectureship because she doesn't have a PhD. *Vrye Weekblad* 29 May to 4 June 1992 "Burokratiese misvat."
- 16 June – Poetry International Poetry Festival, Rotterdam. Krog reported as saying democracy is more important to her than Afrikaans in *Beeld* of 22 July 1992.
- For murder of Three Million Gang leader, ANC member Dennis Victor Bloem arrested, Krog investigated but not charged, 5 July *Rapport*.
- *Die Transvaler* 6 July 1992 – Krog will testify for the state. Reported that a gun was found at Krog's house and Samuel and Bloem are old acquaintances.
- *Weekly Mail* 10 to 16 July – "The rebel poet, the activist… and the dead gang leader" by Mark Gevisser. "She is Afrikanerdom's renegade poet, an elegant wordsmith and eloquent conscience, one of only two white ANC members in town." [The other being Cecile Antonie also arrested for the murder but released and charges dropped].

- *Die Suid-Afrikaan* October/November – Krog writes about Poetry International in Holland and Gerrit Olivier interviews Krog about an authentic South African literature and what she said at Poetry International in Holland.
- December – resigned as member of the Psalmkommissie of the Dutch Reformed Churches, *Beeld* 3 December 1992.
- *Deurloop: Keur uit die essays van Dot Serfontein saamgestel deur Antjie Krog*. Cape Town and Johannesburg: Human&Rousseau.

1993

- 21 February Radio South Africa programme The Poet Speaks – Patrick Cullinan translates Krog into English along with readings of Baudelaire, Rilke, Cavafy and Montale.
- *The Star* 12 April – It's ANC facing ANC in this trial" by Jo-Anne Collinge.
- *Beeld* 22 April announces Krog will become editor of *Die Suid-Afrikaan* in May in Cape Town.
- Krog delivers a lecture at the Wits Winter Forum on the theme "Have you seen the mirror? Meta-fictional questions".
- *The Cape Times* 19 August 1993 – *Die Suid-Afrikaan* re-launched with new editor poet Antjie Krog and redesigned by Jennifer Sorrell.
- Krog writes for *Sash* September 1993 reviews *Op Koueberg* by Phil du Pless.
- *Die Suid-Afrikaan* 30 September "Grahamstad Fees" by Krog, Sandile Dikeni and Phylicia Oppelt who go to the festival and give their impressions.

1994

- *Siklus. Beminde Antarktika en Mannin* in een band published by Human&Rousseau.
- *Pryslied 10 May 1994* – Krog's praise poem written for Mandela. (Read on SABC with Charmaine Gallon on 20 April 1995.)
- 16 May SABC Radio South Africa "Woman's World" Marinda Claassen in conversation with Antjie Krog, executive editor of *Die Suid-Afrikaan*.
- July Krog reads work by Ingrid Jonker at the National Arts Festival in Grahamstown
- 24 July Radio SA "The Poet Speaks" – Krog talks to Joan Hambidge about her poetry and her life.
- *Die Suid-Afrikaan* July/August, Krog writes about *Dealing with the Past: Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa* (Idasa) "Amnestie mag nie amnesia wees nie".
- *Democracy in Action* August, Krog writes "Untold damage of Anglo-Boer War" version of the speech she gave at the Truth and Reconciliation Conference.
- *Die Suid-Afrikaan* 31 August, Krog speaks to Prof Sizwe Satyo and Sandile Dikeni about the two iimbongi at the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela.
- *Die Suid-Afrikaan* October, Marijke du Toit and Antjie Krog investigate feminism.
- 4 October *Sowetan* carries "Focus on healing" an edited version of Krog's speech to the Truth and Reconcilation conference. *Die Burger* carries it in Afrikaans.

- 10 October SABC Afrikaans Stereo – Susan Booyens interviews Krog about *Die Suid-Afrikaan.* Questions involve writers meeting the ANC, feminism, Krog reads a Sotho praise song.
- *The Natal Witness* 16 December Khaba Mkhize writes "Let the truth set us free" and quotes Krog's speech to the Truth and Reconcilation Conference.

1995

- *Gedigte 1989 – 1995* published by Hond.
- *Relaas van 'n Moord* published by Human and Rousseau.
- Krog contributes to *The South African Road: The Healing of a Nation?* edited by Alex Boraine and Janet Levy. Cape Town: Justice in Transition.
- Beeld 14 January announced that Krog becomes SABC radio journalist in the parliamentary team using the name Samuel. First broadcast on Monitor on 13th.
- 17 January SABC Afrikaans stereo – Samuel interviews Dr Alex Boraine about justice in transition.
- 27 January letter to *Die Burger* by Hannes de Beer of Welgemoed "Hemel behoede ons taal as Antjie dit so 'mix'".
- 20 April SABC Oral history project. Charmaine Gallon interviews Krog who talks about working in radio and enjoying the world of sound.
- May/June *Die Suid-Afrikaan* Krog writes "Sien jou by die parlement!"
- 15 July *Democracy in Action* Krog reviews Christina Landman's *The Piety of Afrikaans Women*, "Piety of oppression and pain".
- July Act governing TRC promulgated.
- November 1995 made head of the SABC TRC team. Reports as Antjie Samuel.

1996

- 21 March *Mail&Guardian* Jane Rosenthal reviews *Relaas van 'n Moord.*
- 13 April *Beeld* Krog to be the leader of the SABC radio TRC team.
- 24 May *Mail and Guardian* Krog writes "Pockets of humanity".
- 1 November – Krog writes"Truth Trickle becomes a Flood." *Mail&Guardian*
- 1 November *The Cape Times* "A country in transition and the truth" Mike Nicol reports on the Fault Lines symposium at which Krog speaks.
- 6 December *Mail&Guardian* reports on an initiative to form a new Afrikaans organisation. "The gathering received a tongue-lashing from Afrikaans writer Antjie Krog who said Afrikaners had a culture of intolerance."
- 13 December *Mail&Guardian* reports the Constitution was signed this week at Sharpeville.
- 24 December – Krog writes "Overwhelming Trauma of the Truth." *Mail&Guardian,* 24 December 1996-9 January 1997. 10-11.

1997

- *Account of a Murder* published by Heineman (translated by Karen Press).
- 7 February – Krog writes "The Parable of the Bicycle." *Mail&Guardian,* 7 February 1997.
- Invited to Aix-en-Provence for the Cite de Livre Book Festival in March as part of a group of seven SA writers.
- Writes "Unto the Third or Fourth Generation." *Mail&Guardian,* 13 June 1997.

- 17 November *The Star* reports that Justice Malala (senior writer for the *Financial* Mail) and Antjie Krog have received the Foreign Correspondents' Award for 1997. Krog for her series of articles on the TRC.
- *Beeld* 19 November Krog appears before Broadcast Complaints Commission about a charge of racism involving the resignation of Glenn Goosen head of TRC investigations. Programme on SAFM "TRC in review".
- *Weekend Saturday Argus* 29-30 November "Goosen hits SABC for poor reporting: report on TRC 'malicious'".
- *Mail&Guardian* 23 December reports that Krog is among the "Next hot one hundred" South Africans (named with Ingrid de Kok and Jann Turner as writers to watch).

1998

- Keynote speech at the Conference on Women and Violence organised by the World Bank in Washington.
- Participated in the Nach der Poezie.
- *Die Dye Trek Die Dye Aan: saamgestel deur Johann de Lange en Antjie Krog*. Cape Town: Human&Rousseau and Tafelberg.
- *Sunday Independent* books page by Maureen Isaacson 8 February "Another big book that looks at the country's shameful past and takes the reader to the heart of what it means to be a South African today, seen through the lens of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, is *Country of My Skull* by the Hertzog prize-winning poet Antjie Krog."
- April release of *Country of My Skull.* Johannesburg: Random House.
- *Sunday Times* 19 April "Choking on the truth, piece by piece" extract from *Country of My Skull*.
- *Sunday Independent* 26 April Maureen Isaacson reviews *Country of My Skull.* "Truth commission book fuses poetic vision with horror of a brutal past".
- *Sunday Times* 26 April review of *Country of My Skull* "Quest for truth bringing more pain and division than healing".
- *The Star* 28 April. "Intensely personal look at the TRC".
- *Beeld* 28 April "WVK 'n storie anderkant woorde, sê Krog oor boek".
- *Mail&Guardian* 30 April to 7 May by Mark Gevisser "Hope in the lace of violence".
- *Insig* May by Frederick van Zyl Slabbert "Ons storie poëties vertel".
- *City Press* 3 May "Holding a search light up to evil of apartheid" by ZB Molefe.
- *Business Day Afterhours* 8 May "Nothing by the truth from Krog" by Stephen Laufer.
- *Eastern Province Herald* 13 May "Brilliant insight into TRC".
- *Die Burger* 13 May "Antjie moes haar boek skryf om 'n anker te vind" by Stephanie Niewoud..
- *Pretoria News* 13 May "Part of our shameful history's soul is bared".
- *Rapport* 17 May "Wreed-eerlike verslag van digter-joernalis: Soeke na 'n eie waarheid".
- *The Citizen* 18 May "Tutu-worshipping Krog reviews TRC" by Terence Friend.
- *Die Burger* 21 May "Emosies kry aangrypend gestalte".

- *Weekly Mail&Guardian* 12 to 18 June "Elusive truths: Antjie Krog's book on the truth commission has been highly acclaimed. But, argues Claudie Braude, Krog is too creative with the truth."
- *Beeld* 15 June "'n Boek waarvan mens nie gou herself nie".
- *Rooi Rose* 24 June "Anderkandt die waarheid", Ruda Landman interviews Krog about *Country of My Skull.*
- *Mail&Guardian* 26June to 2 July "Flawed by potent version of the truth" by Steven Robins.
- *Finance Week* 2 to 8 July "A guilt-stricken orgy of self-flagellation" by Rian Malan.
- *The Natal Witness* 6 July Krog writes "Afrikaners must stop whingeing and do: concrete steps must be taken to stop the language being eroded." Speaks of "co-ordinating parliamentary reporting for all languages". In July Ton Vosloo instigated a meeting around an Afrikaans movement (follow-up to a meeting in 1996) included Krog, Van Zyl Slabbert, Jakes Gerwel, Neville Alexander, Carel Boshoff, Herman Giliomee.
- *Cape Argus* 22 July Krog writes about the end of white decision-making in SA.
- *The Star* 24 July Krog writes "Risk is first step to reconciliation".
- *Saturday Star* 25 July Krog writes "How can SA become one?"
- *The Natal Witness* 8 August Sue Segar interviews Krog about *Country of My Skull* "The sins of the fathers".
- *Cape Argus* 12 August "I can finally say: 'I am an Afrikaner', declares Antjie Krog" by Peter ter Horst.
- *Sunday Independent* 4 October review of *Country of My Skull* by Andries Oliphant "Personal journey mixed with fact touches heart of the unspeakable".
- Stichting Poetry International in Rotterdam "Suid-Afrika Jaar" 9 to 11 October.
- *Mail&Guardian* 4 December reports that a series of docudramas called "Saints, Sinner and Settlers" will be broadcast, Krog will research Lord Kitchener.
- *Die Burger* 8 December "VSA ateljee koop filmregte op Krog se boek oor WVK".

1999

- Krog made Parliamentary Editor for SABC Radio. Also head of radio news team country-wide to report on the second election.
- Invited by the Malian Minister of Culture to be one of 10 poets on the La Caravane de le Poésie which retraced the slave route from Gorée Island back to Timbuktu.
- *Sunday Times* 18 April "Choking on the truth, piece by piece" extract from *Country of My Skull.*
- May: Krog and Phil Molefe interview Nelson Mandela for SABC TV.
- *Sunday Times* 20 June Krog wins Alan Paton Award shared with Stephen Clingman who wrote *Bram Fischer: An Afrikaner Revolutionary*.
- *Die Burger* 29 June reports "Samuel" will leave the SABC for personal reasons. Krog says "Ek weet nie of ek meer kan skryf nie, dalk is ek nou te oud…"

- *Sunday Independent* 8 August reports on "Women to the fore at Zimbabwe Book Fair" with two-day indaba with keynote address by Krog.
- Krog writes "A Hundred Years of Attitude." *Mail and Guardian,* 8 October 1999.
- Her play *Waarom is die wat voor toyi-toyi altyd vet* appears at Aardklop Festival, Potchefstroom.
- Krog writes "Excerpts from a diary to Timbuktu." *Mail and Guardian,* 23 December 1999.
- *Country of My Skull: Guilt, Sorrow, and the Limits of Forgiveness in the New South Africa* published. New York: Times Books.

2000

- *Kleur kom nooit alleen nie*. Kwela Books.
- *Down to My Last Skin: Poems*. Random House.
- *The Citizen* 24 January "Kani, Krog share Hiroshima award" for contributions to peace awarded in Stockholm yesterday. (2000 award for peace and culture).
- *Die Volksblad* 14 February "Soeke na waarheid" review of *Country of My Skull.*
- March *Waarom is die wat voor toyi-toyi altyd vet* opens at Market Theatre in Johannesburg translated by Krog into English *Why is it that those who toyi-toyi in front are always so fat?.*
- June Fest'Africa in Kigali. Led the English session at a conference on Writing as a Duty of Memory, held in Rwanda. *Mail&Guardian* 2 to 8 June.
- Krog writes "Remembering the day Rwanda turned against itself." *Mail and Guardian,* 15 to 22 June 2000.
- 7 July *Mail&Guardian* reports that SA Communications for Development is releasing a three-part series "Landscape of Memory" in which Krog interviews Debra Matshoba who testified at the TRC.
- Krog writes "The mothers of new nations." *Mail&Guardian* 4 to 10 August.
- Krog writes "The writing of desire" about Brink's novel *The Rights of Desire* in *Mail&Guardian* 25 to 31 August.
- Antjie Krog makes a plea for white action at the Human Rights Commission Racism Conference *Cape Times* 8 September. Krog called for a "White prince of reconciliation" (*Mail&Guardian* 15 September).
- 15 December *Mail&Guardian* reports that Krog, Colin Legum and Margaret Legum. Jonathan Shapiro, Tony Grogan and Mike King have signed the "Declaration of Commitment by White South Africans".

2001

- Participated in the Barcelona Poetry Festival.
- *Down to My Last Skin* wins inaugural FNB Vita Poetry Award. (*Citizen* 22 May 2001.)
- Krog translating Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom* (*Beeld* 1 September 2001.)
- Wins RAU prize for *Kleur Kom Nooit Alleen Nie.* (*Beeld* 20 October 2001.)
- November begins editing Books and Culture section for Rapport (until end April 2002).
- Gave talk on success of the TRC at the Chile/South Africa conference on globalisation and South/South Co-operation held in Santiago, Chile in

November. (*Sunday Independent* carried edited version "Healing stream that petered out too soon" 2 December).

2002

- Thabo Mbeki quotes her poetry in parliament at his State of the Nation address on 8 February.
- *Met Woorde soos met Kerse: Inheemse Verse Uitgesoek en Vertaal deur Antjie Krog.* Kwela Books. Includes praise poem by Thabo Mbeki delivered in Xhosa and English when Nelson Mandela took leave of Parliament on 26 March 1999. *Star* 3 April 2002.
- *Country of My Skull* is to be made into a film. *Cape Times* 9 April 2002. Juliette Binoche will play Krog, *Beeld* 10 April 2002.
- May: Second Edition of *Country of My Skull* published leading to further reviews.

2003

- *Mamma Medea* by Tom Lanoye translated by Krog into Afrikaans for Queillerie. (*Burger* 24 February).
- *A Change of Tongue,* Krog's second book in English, published by Random House.
- 19 June 2003 – Krog selected as part of a panel of eminent South Africans to advise President Thabo Mbeki on appointments to the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious, and Linguistic Communities.
- 4 July 2003 ECN reports that Tutu leads a reconciliation march during the Grahamstown Festival with Antjie Krog, Albie Sachs, Zubeida Jaffer and Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela.
- Krog is the winner of the Suid-Afrikaanse Vertalersinstituut (SA Translators' Institute) prize for *Met Woorde soos met Kerse*. Also mentioned for translation of *Long Walk to Freedom* and *Mamma Medea*.
- September 16 to 18 "Literary Responses to Mass Violence" at Brandeis University, Krog on programme.

2004

- Keynote speaker at Winternachten Literature Festival in Den Haag.
- Poetry International Festival in Rotterdam: keynote speech in defence of poetry.
- Berlin Literature festival: keynote speech.
- Invited by the Rockefeller Foundation to be resident in writing at Bellagio in Italy.
- 6 February Krog appointed to Stellenbosch University Council.
- *The stars say 'tsau': /Xam poetry of Diä!kwain, Kweiten-ta-//ken, /A!kúnta, /Han#kass'o and //Kabbo.* Selected and adapted by Krog, Kwela Books.
- Krog writes "Embarrassed by forgiveness." *Sunday Times,* 4 March 2004.
- Featured writer at the Time of the Writer Festival 22-27 March at the Centre for Creative Arts, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- *Cape Argus* 16 April reports that Krog has been given an honorary doctorate by Stellenbosch University.

- *Change of* Tongue wins 2004 Bookseller's Choice Award. *ThisDay* 19 August.
- *Eerste Gedigte: Dogter van Jefta en Januariesuite*. Cape Town: Human&Rousseau.
- 27 September *The Mercury* reports that Antjie Krog has been named 75th on the list of the 100 Greatest South Africans.
- October – curator of the Tradewinds Poetry Festival in Cape Town.
- 14 October given an honorary doctorate (Dlitt) by the University of the Free State.
- Made Extraordinary Professor attached to the Faculty of Arts at the University of the Western Cape.
- LIASA (the Library Association of South Africa) choose *Country of My Skull* and *A Change of Tongue* as two of the top 10 books of the South African democracy.

2005

- Krog gives lecture: "Fact bordering fiction" at UKZN Durban and PMB campuses.
- Krog participated in a poetry festival in Indonesia as part of former Dutch colonial group visiting Djakarta, Bandung and Lampung performing with local poets.
- Opened poetry festival in Colombia; did readings in Bogota, Medillin and Kali.
- Read poetry at the Nigerian Arts Festival in Lagos. Shared a panel with Nigerian journalist Christina Anyanwu.
- Attended poetry festival in Saint Nazaire Acte Sud in France.
- Did a travelling poetry show with Tom Lanoye in Belgium and the Netherlands.
- 18 February *Mail&Guardian,* "Cheat, loots and thieves" Robert Kirby accuses Krog of plagiarising Ted Hughes.
- April: Krog announced as a member of the international jury for the 5th International Literature Festival in Berlin (September).
- 9 May receives honorary doctorate from Stellenbosch University.
- *Nuwe Stemme 3* edited by Antjie Krog and Alfred Schaffer published by Tafelberg.
- 24 June *Country of My Skull* the movie, directed by John Boorman released in South Africa, starring Juliette Binoche and Samuel L Jackson.
- 5 July Krog delivers a tribute to Andre Brink on his 70th birthday at the Baxter Theatre, Cape Town.
- 5 October Krog delivers "The F(r)iction of Autobiographical Writing" at UKZN Pietermaritzburg campus.
- November *'n Ander Tongval* released by Human&Rousseau, published by Tafelberg, Afrikaans translation of *A Change of Tongue.*

2006

- Participated in a literary festival in Vienna.
- Participated in the poetry festival HAIFA in Harare.
- Writer's retreat at Civitella, Umbertide in Italy.

- Krog curates the 10th Spier Arts Summer Season Open-Air Poetry Festival 3 to 4 February. First outing of Philip Miller's *TRC Cantata* (Krog approached him after hearing his music for the film *Forgiveness*, she is the text advisor.)
- 19 February *Sunday Times* "Top writers in plagiarism row". Celean Jacobson reports on Stephen Watson's accusations against Krog.
- 21 February www.mg.co.za "Antjie Krog denies plagiarism claims". Also *The Guardian* by Rory Carroll in Johannesburg "South African author accused of plagiarism".
- *Mail&Guardian* 24 February-2 March. "Krog: publishers may sue" by Colin Bouwer.
- *Mail&Guardian* 3-9 March. "New claims against Krog" by Colin Bouwer. *Friday:*4-5 "The Antjie Krog Saga" by Shaun de Waal, Tom Eaton and Colin Bouwer.
- *The Sunday Independent.* 5 March. "Repetition and the other perils of plagiarism" by Maureen Isaacson.
- *Cape Argus.* 16 March. "A guilty silence in the house of Krog" by Gavin Haynes.
- *Mail&Guardian* 17-23 March. "In Antjie Krog's corner" comment by Ingrid de Kok.
- *Daily Dispatch.* 18 March. "The Antjie Krog affair is bad for South Africa" insight by Mathew Blatchford.
- *The Sunday Independent.* 26 March. "The great South African tongue-lashing: first it was Antjie Krog, now it's Stellenbosch University. Afrikaans is fighting for its survival" by Hans Pienaar.
- Litnet Seminar Room (www.litnet.co.za/seminrroom/default.asp) pieces by: Nelleke de Jager, publisher for Kwela Books; Eve Gray, Strategic Publishing Solutions; Stephen Johnson, MD Random House; Antjie Krog; Annie Gagiano; Johann de Lange; Sam Raditlhalo; Mike Stevenson; Etienne van Heerden; Willemien le Roux; Mathew Blatchford (Dept Engish and Comparative Literature, University of Fort Hare; Helen Moffett; Barbara Adair; Rosalind Morris; Madame Lacoste; "Last time, this time" by Antjie Krog (20 March); Shaun de Waal; Colin Bouwer; Craig Mason-Jones; Ian-Malcolm Rijsdijk.
- March *Body Bereft* and *Verweerskrif* published by Umuzi. Written during six weeks on a writer's retreat at Chateau de Liavigny.
- March Spier Festival: TRC Cantata by composer Philip Miller, directed by Janice Honeyman. (Claudia Braude "Making art from tribulation" *Mail&Guardian* Friday 5 to 11 May: 4).
- April: Krog co-ordinated and chaired the panel on art and the media at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation's "TRC: Ten Years On" conference in Cape Town.
- April: "Vonkverse" project involving Litnet, Krog and writer Charles J Fourie. Launched at KKNK with 6 Cape poets and video, music and dance.)
- *Rapport* 21 May. "Skrywers en die gewraakte p-woord".
- "A space for the disgraced" by Antjie Krog in *Mail&Guardian* 15-21 September: 31 (reaction to Adriaan Vlok's atonement by footwashing.)
- October-November: tour of Belgium and Netherlands with Tom Lanoye. 29 November literary theatre at Oude Libertas Amphitheatre in Stellenbosch *Kaap d(i)e Gooie Woord* multimedia production.

- 26 November Antjie Krog, Kopano Ratele, and Nosisi Mpolweni-Zantsi, (University of the Western Cape) present "*Ndabethwa Lilitye*: Language and Culture in the testimony of one Person before the TRC" at the Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness conference at UCT.

2007

- Krog curates Spier Poetry Festival, 9 and 10 February (English, Afrikaans, Belgian, Egyptian, Nigerian and Portuguese poets as well as those speaking SA African languages).
- Krog writes "De la Rey: Afrikaner Absolution." *Mail&Guardian* 30 March to 4 April 2007: 23.
- 2 April plenary speaker at the African Philosophy Conference at Rhodes University.
- 20 April given honorary doctorate by NMMU.
- July publication of *Fynbosfeetjies/Fynbos Fairies* (Umuzi).
- 12 to 17 August speaker at the International Association for Analytical Psychology Congress XV11 Cape Town.
- Protea Prize for Poetry for *Verweerskrif. Rapport* 9 September 2007.
- Krog mentioned in JM Coetzee's new novel *Diary of a Bad Year* as writing with "white heat" (See *Sunday Independent* 17 September 2007: 17).
- National Arts Festival production of *Lady Anne* in Grahamstown, July.
- Aardklop festival production of *'n Ander Tongval* with Annette Kellerman as Dot Serforntein and Nina Swart as Antjie Krog. Premier was at the KKNK (reported 29 September *Burger*).
- October publication of Krog-Brink translation of Ingrid Jonker's poems as *Black Butterflies.*
- *Rapport* 11 November 2007. Krog called an "African intellectual" by Jakes Gerwel.

2008

- Saturday 12 July Krog speaks on "When does age creep into poetry?" at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin with Johannes Kühn from Germany, Adam Zagajewski from Poland and hosted by Sebastian Kleinschmidt editor of *Sinn und Form* magazine in Berlin as part of a poetry festival from the 5th to the 13th.
- 14-15 August at the Baxter Theatre in Cape Town, Antjie Krog's experimental memoir, *A Change of Tongue* / *'n Ander tongval*, has been worked into an Afrikaans play directed by Jaco Bouwer, this is part of the Vleis, Rys & Aartappels Teater Feesmaal.
- 15-17 September Indian-SA Shared Histories Festival at the Wits Origins Centre. Krog and Urvashi Butalia speak on a panel about "Division and Memory: Writing on Partition and the TRC".
- 7 October 2008 Wits/*Weekender* poetry evening at Wits. Krog, Leon de Kock, Gabeba Baderoon, Comrade Fatso (Samm Farai Monro) and Bianca Williams read poetry.
- 18 October Random House/Struik MD Stephen Johnson leaves for the Frankfurt Book Fair to promote, in particular, the work of Krog and Ivan Vladislavic.

- 28-30 October Krog speaks at the TRC 10th anniversary review conference (organised by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, the Foundation for Human Rights and the Desmond Tutu Peace Centre).
- 10 November launch of *Open: Erotic Stories from South African Women Writers* (Oshun) includes writing by Krog.

Antjie Krog Awards and Accolades

Literary awards for poetry
1973: Eugene Marais Prize for *Januarie-Suite* for "the most promising young writer"
1976: Reina Prinsen-Geerlig Prize for *Mannin* and *Beminde Antartika*
1987: The *Rapport* Prize for *Jerusalemgangers*
1990: The Hertzog Prize for *Lady Anne*
2001: The FNB Vita Poetry Award for *Down to My Last Skin*
2001: The RAU Prize for *Kleur Kom Nooit Alleen Nie*
2003: The South African Translators' Institute prize for *Met Woorde Soos Met Kerse*

Awards for journalism
1997: The South African Union of Journalists' Pringle Award for the TRC reporting
1997: The Foreign Correspondents' Award for the *Mail&Guardian* features on the TRC

Awards for *Country of My Skull*
1999: *The Sunday Times* Alan Paton Award
1999: The BookData/South African Booksellers' Book of the Year prize
1999: An honourable mention in the 1999 Noma Awards for Publishing in Africa
2000: The Olive Schreiner Award for the best work of prose published between 1998 and 2000
Listed as one of "Africa's 100 Best Books of the Twentieth Century"
2000: The Hiroshima Foundation Award (shared with John Kani)

Other literary awards
2004: The Bookseller's Choice Award for *A Change of Tongue*
2004: *Country of my Skull* (no 1) and *A Change of Tongue* (no 10) were nominated in the top 10 books of the 10 years of South African democracy by the South African libraries (LIASA)
2004: Krog received the Kanna Award at the Klein Karoo Kunstefees for "innovative thinking"
2004: The Nielsen BookData Booksellers' Award of the Year for *A Change of Tongue*

Honorary doctorates and academic prizes conferred on Krog
2007: Honorary Doctorate from Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
2005: The Open Society Prize from the Central European University (previous winners were Jürgen Habermas and Vaclav Havel)
2004: Honorary Doctorate from the University of Stellenbosch in 2004
2004: Honorary Doctorate from the University of the Free State in 2004
-----: Honorary Doctorate from the Tavistock Clinic of the University of East London, UK

Antjie Krog in the SABC Sound Archives

1.	SERVICE	VOORDRAG-VERSAMELING
	CLASS	POESIE EN VOORDRAG
	TITLE	ANTJIE KROG
	CONCEPT	**ANTJIE KROG, BEKENDE DIGTER, LEES SES VAN HAAR EIE GEDIGTE VOOR - SAMESTELLING BESTAAN UIT AL DIE BESKIKBARE ARGIEFMATERIAAL (Afrikaans audio, possibly also English – Famous poet, Antjie Krog reads six of her poems – the programme comprises all available archives between October 1979 and August 1980)**
	CATNO	T 93/1406
	RECORDBC	**1979-10-05 – 1990-08-09 (Broadcast)**
	DURATION	9.59
	RESTRICTION:	**SLEGS VIR DIE VERVAARDIGING VAN RADIO OF TV PRODUKSIES EN IN OORLEG MET KLANKARGIEFPERSONEEL (Restriction on the use of this material: Only for radio and TV productions and in consultation with SABC Sound Archives)**
	PRODUCER	GALLON, CHARMAINE
	CONTENTS	UIT DIE BUNDEL "GROEN": "AFRIKAANSE ABASADARIUM" (1.56) - OPGETEKENDE ORALE TRADISIE: "MUTLA" (0.40) - "SEPHEDI/TWEE KLEIN VOELTJIES" (0.57) - "DIE RYM WAT EEN MINUUT NEEM OM TE LEES" (2.48) - "WIELANEL" (1.55) - "I THINK I AM THE FIRST LADY ANNE OP TAFELBERG" (3.03)
2.	SERVICE	AFRIKAANSE DIENS
	CLASS	ONDERHOUD
	CONCEPT	**ROBERT YOUNG IN GESPREK MET ANTJIE KROG, SKRYFSTER OOR HAAR BUNDEL "OTTERS IN BRONSLAAI". (Afrikaans Audio: Robert Young chats to writer Antjie Krog on her poetry volume – Otters in Watercress ???)**
	CATNO	T 81/423
	RECORDBC	**1981**
	DURATION	3.34
3.	SERVICE	AFRIKAANSE DIENS
	CLASS	BESPREKING
	PROGRAM	LEESKRING OOR DIE LUG
	TITLE	**ANTJIE KROG** **DOT SERFONTEIN (poet mom)**
	CONCEPT	**'N REEKS PROGRAMME WAARIN RUDA LANDMAN EN NIC SWANEPOEL MET SUID-AFRIKAANSE LETTERKUNDIGES GESELS. DIE PUBLIEK KRY OOK DIE GELEENTHEID OM TELEFONIES VRAE AAN DIE LETTERKUNDIGES TE STEL (Afrikaans Audio - A programme series in which Ruda Landman and Nic Swanepoel chat to South African writers. Listeners chat to/question the writers)**
	CATNO	T 83/61-62
	RECORDBC	**1983-02-17**
	DURATION	45:00
4.	SERVICE	RADIO SUID-AFRIKA
	CLASS	ONDERHOUD
	PROGRAM	SKRYWERS EN BOEKE
	CONCEPT	**MOHAMED SHAIKH GESELS MET ANTJIE KROG NA DIE TOEKENNING VAN DIE RAPPORTPRYS VIR HAAR BUNDEL "DIE JERUSALEMGANGERS". (Afrikaans Audio – Mohamed Shaikh chats to Antjie Krog after she received the Rapport Prize for her poetry volume,The Jerusalem Goers ???)**
	CATNO	T 88/728
	RECORDBC	**1987-03-27**
	DURATION	7.55
5.	SERVICE	RADIO SUID-AFRIKA
	CLASS	ONDERHOUD
	PROGRAM	SKRYWERS EN BOEKE
	CONCEPT	**RINA THOM IN GESPREK MET ANTJIE KROG OOR HAAR DIGBUNDEL,"LADY ANNE"- SY LEES TWEE GEDIGTE UIT DIE BUNDEL VOOR. (Afrikaans audio – Rina Thom chats to Antjie Krog about her poetry volume, 'Lady Anne'. Antjie also reads two of her poems from the volume.)**

	CATNO	T 89/843
	RECORDBC	**1989-08-03**
	DURATION	12.11
6.	SERVICE	RADIO SUID-AFRIKA
	CLASS	BESPREKING
	PROGRAM	MONITOR
	TITLE	DOLF VAN NIEKERK CHRIS BARNARD **ANTJIE KROG** GERHARD J BEUKES LINA SPIES
	CONCEPT	**BETTA VAN HUYSSTEEN LEI 'N BESPREKING OOR DIE TOEKOMS VAN AFRIKAANS WAARAAN VERSKEIE SKRYWERS EN LETTERKUNDIGES DEELNEEM (Afrikaans audio – Betta van Huyssteen anchors a discussion on the future of Afrikaans, in which various writers take part.)**
	CATNO	T 89/917
	RECORDBC	**1989-09-21**
	DURATION	23:13
	CONTENTS	DIE ONTSTAAN EN ONTWIKKELING VAN AFRIKAANS WORD BESPREEK **(the origin and development of Afrikaans is discussed)**
7.	SERVICE	RADIO SUID-AFRIKA
	CLASS	POESIE EN VOORDRAG
	PROGRAM	SKRYWERS EN BOEKE
	CONCEPT	**ANTJIE KROG, VANJAAR SE HERTZOGPRYSWENNER VIR POESIE, LEES VAN HAAR JONGSTE GEDIGTE VOOR - DIE OPNAME IS GEMAAK BY DIE EUGENE MARAIS SKRYWERSVERENIGING TYDENS DIE GROEN - KONGRES IN PRETORIA. (Afrikaans audio – This year's Hertzog Prizewinner, Antjie Krog, reads some of her latest poetry. This recording was done at the Eugene Marais Writers' Association during the Green Congress in Pretoria))**
	CATNO	T 90/268
	RECORDBC	**1990-05-10**
	DURATION	5.55
8.	SERVICE	RADIO SUID-AFRIKA
	CLASS	POESIE EN VOORDRAG
	PROGRAM	SKRYWERS EN BOEKE
	CONCEPT	**ANTJIE KROG LEES 'N GEDIG VOOR UIT HAAR BUNDEL "LADY ANNE" TYDENS DIE OORHANDIGING VAN DIE HERTZOGPRYS VIR POESIE AAN HAAR VIR DIE BUNDEL. (Afrikaans audio – Antjie Krog reads a poem from her volume 'Lady Anne' during the award ceremony where she received the Hertzog Prize for Poetry for this volume)**
	CATNO	T 90/663
	RECORDBC	**1990-08-09**
	DURATION	3.40
9.	SERVICE	RADIO SOUTH AFRICA
	CLASS	POETRY PROGRAMME
	PROGRAM	THE POET SPEAKS
	TITLE	FROM LANGUAGE TO LANGUAGE
	CONCEPT	**PATRICK CULLINAN TRANSLATES AFRIKAANS POET, ANTJIE KROG INTO ENGLISH AND READINGS OF BAUDELAIRE, TRANSLATED BY ROY CAMPBELL - FURTHER READINGS OF RILKE, CAVAFY AND MONTALE, (English Audio)**
	CATNO	E 93/409
	RECORDBC	**1993-02-21**
	DURATION	32.07
10.	SERVICE	PRIVAATVERSAMELING
	CLASS	LESING
	PROGRAM	DIE MARGINALISERING/ONDERDRUKKING VAN GAY SKRYWERS. **(The marginalization/suppression of gay writers…or not)** PHIL DU PLESSIS, BEKENDE DIGTER, LEWER 'N SEMINAAR GETITLED "PERSPEKTIEF VAN 'N GESKRYFDE" OOR DIE SUB-TEMA 'DIE MARGINALISERING/ONDERDRUKKING VAN GAY SKRYWERS, AL DAN NIE', TYDENS DIE AFRIKAANSE SKRYWERSGILDE SE TWEEJAARLIKSE BERAAD TE MASELSPOORT
	CATNO	T 93/37

	RECORDBC	**1993-04-22**
	DURATION	14.55
	PRODUCER	GALLON, CHARMAINE
	CONTENTS	PERSPEKTIEF OP DIE EIE WAT GEIDENTIFISEER KAN WORD IN ANDER GAY SKRYWERS SE WERKE - VERWYS NA DIE VOLGENDE WERKE TER ILLUSTRASIE: "ISIS, ISIS, ISIS" (ETIENNE LEROUX) - "PEEPSHOW" (STEPHEN GRAY) - **"OTTERS IN BRONSLAAI" (ANTJIE KROG)** - "DIE HEMEL HELP ONS" EN "SLAGPLAAS" (KOOS PRINSLOO) - "AS DIE NOOD HOOG IS" (WILHELM LIEBENBERG)
11.	SERVICE	PRIVAATVERSAMELING
	CLASS	LESING
	TITLE	HET JY DIE SPIEEL GESIEN? - METAFIKSIONELE KWESSIES
	CONCEPT	**LOUISE VILJOEN, KENNER VAN METAFIKSIE VAN STELLENBOSCH, BIED 'N LESING AAN ONDER DIE TEMA "HET JY DIE SPIEEL GESIEN? - METAFIKSIONELE KWESSIES", TYDENS DIE WITS WINTERFORUM (Meta-fictional expert Louise Viljoen of Stellenbosch delivers a lecture under the theme Have you seen the mirror? Meta-fictional questions/issues during the Wits winder forum)**
	CATNO	T 93/636-637
	RECORDBC	**1993-07-17**
	DURATION	18.52
	PRODUCER	GALLON, CHARMAINE
	CONTENTS	PETER-JOHN MASSYN LEI DIE SESSIE IN EN STEL DIE PANEEL VOOR - MASSYN NOEM VOORBEELDE VAN BOEKE WAT AS METAFIKSIE GEKLASSIFISEER WORD - IS DIE TEKS WAT INBUIG OP HOMSELF (7.10) - METAFIKSIE IS SELF-REFLEKSIEF EN SELF-BESINNEND - GRENSE TUSSEN WERKLIKHEID EN FIKSIE IS DIE KENMERKENDSTE EIENSKAP **(the borders/boundaries between reality and fiction is the key quality or characteristic of meta-fiction)**
12.	SERVICE	PRIVAATVERSAMELING
	CLASS	LESING
	TITLE	HET HY DIE SPIEEL GESIEN? - METAFIKSIONELE KWESSIES
	CONCEPT	**ANTJIE KROG, BEKENDE DIGTERES EN JOERNALIS, BIED 'N LESING AAN ONDER DIE TEMA "HET JY DIE SPIEEL GESIEN? - METAFIKSIONELE KWESSIES", TYDENS DIE WITS WINTERFORUM (Afrikaans audio – well-known poet and journalist, Antjie Krog, delivers a lecture under the theme Have you seen the mirror?. Meta-fictional questions during the Wits winter forum)**
	CATNO	T 93/638
	RECORDBC	**1993-07-17**
	DURATION	10.36
	PRODUCER	GALLON, CHARMAINE
	CONTENTS	AS GEVOLG VAN HAAR ONVERMOE OM OOR DIE ONDERWERP TE KAN PRAAT, HET SY INGEWILLIG OM OP TE TREE
13.	SERVICE	AFRIKAANS STEREO
	CLASS	ONDERHOUD
	PROGRAM	SKRYWERS EN BOEKE
	TITLE	ANTJIE KROG
	CONCEPT	**DANIEL HUGO IN GESPREK MET DIE DIGTER, ANTJIE KROG, OOR DIE TYDSKRIF, "DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN", WAARVAN SY DIE NUWE UITVOERENDE REDAKTEUR IS (Afrikaans audio – Daniel Hugo chats to poet Antjie Krog about the bilingual magazine, Die Suid-Afrikaan, of which she is the new executive editor.)**
	CATNO	T 93/1164
	RECORDBC	**1993-09-30**
	DURATION	7.12
	PRODUCER	HUGO DANIEL
14.	SERVICE	RADIO SOUTH AFRICA
	CLASS	INTERVIEW
	PROGRAM	WOMAN'S WORLD
	TITLE	ANTJIE KROG
	CONCEPT	**MARINDA CLAASSEN IN CONVERSATION WITH ANTJIE KROG, EXECUTIVE EDITOR OF 'DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN', A BI-LINGUAL NEWS MAGAZINE, WHO IS PERHAPS BEST KNOWN IN THIS COUNTRY FOR HER POETRY (English audio)**
	CATNO	T 94/725

RECORDBC **1994-05-16**
DURATION 9.00
CONTENTS **GREW UP IN KROONSTAD - MOTHER ALSO PUBLISHED BOOKS - RESPONSE TO 'DOGTER VAN JAFTA' - HERTZOG-PRIZE FOR 'LADY ANNE' - LINKS WITH ANC, EXPERIENCES - MAGAZINE NOT FOR AFRIKANER, BI-LINGUAL ALTERNATIVE MAGAZINE - NOT WRITING POETRY ANYMORE, WHY?**

15. SERVICE RADIO SOUTH AFRICA
CLASS POETRY PROGRAMME
PROGRAM THE POET SPEAKS
TITLE ANTJIE KROG
CONCEPT **ANTJIE KROG TALKING TO JOAN HAMBIDGE ABOUT HER POETRY AND LIFE (English audio)**
CATNO E 94/233
RECORDBC **1994-07-24**
DURATION 32.37

16. SERVICE AFRIKAANS STEREO
CLASS ONDERHOUD
PROGRAM KLANKBORD
TITLE ANTJIE KROG
CONCEPT **SUSAN BOOYENS IN GESPREK MET DIE BAIE BEKENDE DIGTER/JOERNALIS, ANTJIE KROG, OOR HAAR LEWE BY DIE TYDSKRIF "DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN" (Afrikaans audio - Susan Booysens speaks to very well-known poet/journalist, Antjie Krog, about her time at the magazine, Die Suid-Afrikaan)**
CATNO T 95/248
RECORDBC **1994-10-10**
DURATION 21.57
PRODUCER BOOYENS, SUSAN
CONTENTS "DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN" IS NOU 10 JAAR OUD - ANTJIE IS DIE REDAKTEUR - DIE AARD VAN DIE TYDSKRIF - ROL VAN DIE TYDSKRIF IN DIE ONTMOETING TUSSEN AFRIKAANSE SKRYWERS EN DIE ANC SKRYWERS - DIE VRAAG RONDOM DIE FUNKSIE EN MISIE VAN DIE TYDSKRIF HET ONTSTAAN - INHOUDELIKE VAN DIE FEESUITGAWE - NEEM HAAR BESLUITE UIT VOLSLAE DOMHEID - SKUIF VAN KROONSTAD NA KAAPSTAD - DIE INHOUD VAN DIE TYDSKRIF IS DIT WAT SY DAAR IN WIL HE - ANTJIE LEES 'N GEDEELTE OOR 'N STOKGEVEG WAT IN AFRIKAANS VERTAAL IS, VOOR - FEMINISME IN DIE UITGAWE BEKYK - VERTALINGS VAN POESIE HET BAIE PLAASGEVIND BY DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN - ANTJIE SPEEL 'N SOTHO PRYSLIED VOOR - SY VERTEL DIE VERHAAL VAN DIE LIED - LIED WORD NIE VOORGESPEEL NIE – AANPASSING IN DIE KAAP - TYD VIR EIE KREATIEWE SKRYFWERK

17. SERVICE MONDELINGE GESKIEDENIS
CLASS ONDERHOUD
TITLE ANTJIE KROG
CONCEPT **CHARMAINE GALLON IN GESPREK MET DIE DIGTER, ANTJIE KROG, OOR HAAR POESIE EN LEWENSGESKIEDENIS - ANTJIE LEES 'N PAAR GEDIGTE VOOR (Afrikaans audio –Charmaine Gallon chats to poet, Antjie Krog, about her poetry and life story. Antjie reads a few of her poems)**
CATNO T 95/230-231
RECORDBC **1995-04-20**
DURATION 37.53
PRODUCER GALLON, CHARMAINE
CONTENTS UIT "DOGTER VAN JEFTA" LEES SY **"MA" ('mother')** VOOR - ANTJIE LEES **"BLARE" ('leaves')** VOOR - "MA" IS GESKRYF TOE SY IN ST 9 WAS ('ma' was written when she was in Std 9) - IN KROONSTAD IN 1959 GEBORE EN MA WAS 'N JOERNALIS **(antjie was born in kroonstad in 1959 and her mother was a journalist)** - HET DUS EIENAARDIGE VAKANSIES AANGEPAK - VERHOUDING TUSSEN ANTJIE EN HAAR MA, DOT SERFONTEIN - OUDSTE VAN VYF KINDERS **(she was the eldest of five children)**, TWEE DOGTERS EN DRIE SEUNS - OP PLAAS GROOTGEWORD, MAAR AS GEVOLG VAN GEWELDIGE HOOIKOORS HET SY VEEL GEMIS – IN BLOEMFONTEIN STUDEER - VANAF ST 3 DAAGLIKS GESKRYF **(started writing daily from Std 3)** - IN MATRIEK IS HAAR GEDIGTE IN "DOGTER VAN JEFTA" GEBUNDEL - ANTJIE LEES **"DOGTER VAN JEFTA" (daughter of Jafta)** VOOR - INHOUDELIKE VAN DIE GEDIG WORD BESPREEK - EEN VAN DIE JONGSTE DEBUTANTE - PROBLEEM RONDOM JONG DIGTERS - JONG

DIGTERS HET NIKS VAN HULLE EIE STEM NIE - **LEES 'N LIEFDESGEDIG VIR HAAR MAN OOR HY UITHOU DES ONDANKS (reads a love poem for her husband who survives despite?) - LEES NOG 'N GEDIG VIR HAAR MAN VOOR (reads another poem for her husband) - LEES UIT ONGEPUBLISEERDE BUNDEL TWEE GEDIGTE (reads two poems from an unpublished volume)** - ORALE KWALITEIT VAN HAAR POESIE - INVLOED VAN HAAR MA **(influence of her mom)** - BELANGRIKHEID VAN KLANK VIR HAAR **(importance of sound for her)** - WERK NOU VIR RADIO EN GENIET DIT OMDAT DIT DIE WERELD VAN KLANK IS - NA BLOEMFONTEIN VIR **"DIE BURGER" IN KAAPSTAD** KOM WERK - OPPERMAN SE SKRYF-LABORATORIUM BYGEWOON - NA PRETORIA, GETROUD, NA KROONSTAD, GESKEI **(divorced)** - WAS VIR TWEE JAAR REDAKTEUR VAN "DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN" **(was editor of Die Suid-Afrikaan for two years)** - 1978 EN 1990 BEKROON VIR HAAR POESIE - BESPREEK HAAR BUNDELS - HET VIER KINDERS WAARVAN DIE OUDSTE, ANDRIES, DERDE JAAR STUDENT IS - GEDIGTE VIR HAAR KINDERS GESKRYF - DOGTER NOU IN MATRIEK - REDE WAAROM SY SKRYF - SKRYF HET VIR HAAR OORLEWING GEWORD - SKRYFPROSES - POLITIES BETROKKE GEDIGTE VAN DIE BEGIN AF GESKRYF - ANTJIE LEES **"PRYSLIED 10 MEI 1994" (praise-song 10 May 1994) WAT VIR PRES MANDELA GESKRYF IS (which was written for Nelson Mandela)**, VOOR - HOOGTEPUNTE IN HAAR LEWE AS SKRYWER: VERBLYF BY OPPERMAN OM "OTTERS EN BRONSLAAI" AF TE HANDEL - ONTMOETING MET DIE ANC SKRYWERS TYDENS DIE WATERVALBERAAD - EERSTE MANDELA RALLY IN BLOEMFONTEIN - DIE LEWE AS SKRYWER EN DIE LEWE AS MENS IS NIE TE SKEI NIE - BESKRYWING VAN HAARSELF AS SKRYWER EN AS MENS - AS MENS GEE SY NIE OM OM KOMPROMIEE AAN TE GAAN NIE, MAAR NIE AS SKRYWER NIE - BESKOU NIE HAARSELF AS 'N DIGTER/SKRYWER NIE, WANT SY WEET NOOIT OF SY WEER GAAN SKRYF NIE - WAAROM OPPERMAN HAAR MET DIE EINDE VAN "OTTERS EN BRONSLAAI" BYGESTAAN HET - GEDIG HANDEL OOR SUSANNA SMIT - TEGNIES HET SY BAIE SLUHEDE BY OPPERMAN GELEER - GESTELD OP HAAR PRIVAATHEID, MAAR IN HAAR GEDIGTE IS SY NIE PRIVAAT NIE - HET GEEN TOEKOMSVERWAGTINGE NIE EN IS NET VERBYSTERD OOR ALLES WAT SY BELEEF HET.