

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE
**KHOISAN IDENTITIES
AND CULTURAL
HERITAGE CONFERENCE**

ORGANISED BY THE INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL
RESEARCH, UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

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*This publication is dedicated to the greater understanding
and betterment of the lives and status of an important part
of the population of southern Africa – the Khoisan.*



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MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA TO THE
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KHOISAN IDENTITIES AND
CULTURAL HERITAGE
Cape Town, 12-16 July 1997

It is a pleasure to extend greetings to you all on the occasion of the
International Conference on Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage.

The Khoisan have a history that spans thousands of years. Although their
descendants live all over Southern Africa, their languages are seldom spoken
today. It is only now that our country and our region are free that their history
is being recovered. By challenging current perceptions and enriching our
understanding of Khoisan cultural heritage, this conference will contribute to
the renewal of our nation, our region and our continent.

I urge our visitors to explore our beautiful country and take back wonderful
memories with you.

May I wish you every success in your deliberations.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "N. Mandela".

Nelson Mandela
President
Republic of South Africa

June 1997

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Publishers Notes & Errata

- In an attempt at as comprehensive account as possible of this unique conference and gathering, we have included all papers and transcripts of sessions which we have received at the time of going to press. Some papers presented at the conference do not appear as they had already been committed to other publications.

2. While every effort has been made to preserve the original 'Khoisan' orthography of certain papers, we are aware that modern electronic text preparation has distorted some wording. Should any reader be interested in receiving the original text of any paper please contact us
3. This applies particularly in the case of "Doke's Contribution to !Xuu" by Jan Snyman, of the Department of African Languages at the University of South Africa, Pretoria. We have been unable to give anything like a faithful representation to this work. Some of the marks indicating orthography have been added by hand in the paper. The work has thus been omitted, through no fault of the presenter. We do hold a fine finished copy of the paper. This is available to any person wanting a copy. Please do not hesitate to contact us at the address below.
4. Due to size constraints we have been unable to include all the illustrative material submitted. The selections have been made by the editors based on the illustrations being necessary for the understanding of the paper in question. The quality of the published illustrations is totally dependent on the quality of the material submitted.

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Introduction

The issues of identity and cultural heritage have been at the forefront of scholarly and popular debate in southern Africa in recent years. When the United Nations declared its International Decade of the World's Indigenous People in 1995, there was already heightened interest in identity politics in the region. The bid for the return of the remains of the Khoikhoi woman, Saartjie Baartman, to her native land was one of the flashpoints of the political campaigns of what has been termed an emerging "Khoisan Movement" and reached the level of ministerial negotiations between the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology and the French Foreign Ministry. There have been growing political demands in recent years by Khoisan communities in southern Africa for land, the recognition of indigenous languages and improved access to resources like housing and education.

The controversy surrounding the Miscast Exhibition held at the South African National Gallery in Cape Town in early 1996 bore witness to the vibrancy of current scholarly debates around Khoisan history and culture, and raised unsettling and still unsettled questions about the relationship between power and knowledge in the field of Khoisan Studies. In March 1997 a specialised, local conference was held on Saartjie Baartman and in the course of the year two historical journals in South Africa published special issues with a Khoisan focus. There have been also a series of international conferences in the field of Khoisan Studies during the 1990s. In 1991 the first international conference on the Khoisan was held at a Cape Town hotel, followed up three years later by a conference in Tutzing, Germany. It was in Tutzing that the conference delegates suggested that it would be appropriate to hold the third international conference in the series in post-apartheid South Africa instead of the United States of America.

It is against this background of identity politics and conference planning that the Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference, organised by the Institute for Historical Research at the University of the Western Cape, took place at the South African Museum in Cape Town in July 1997. This conference marked a significant break from the previous international conferences in a number of crucial respects. Whereas the meetings at both the Alphen Hotel, Cape Town, and the Bavarian *Schloss* on the shores of the Starnberger See were attended by no Khoisan delegate, there were no fewer than sixty-two Khoisan delegates represented at the post-apartheid Cape Town conference. This reversal in the composition of the conference, where community representatives outnumbered academics, may be seen to have begun a process of breaking down the barriers between the Khoisan as objects of study and the Khoisan as subjective agents in knowledge production, between the debates of scholars and the ongoing political struggles of the Khoisan.

Khoisan representatives were actively involved in the conference at every level from its organisation and planning to the public ceremonies of initiation, poetry reading, the stories and pop songs on the Conference Open Days to the speeches outlining political demands in two scheduled Khoisan Forum Discussions. Khoisan delegates also participated extensively in the more formal academic debates at the conference raising troubling questions in position papers and discussions around issues of collective memory and its challenge to academic knowledge, the importance of labels and the emotional significance attached to names, and especially around the politics of scholarly research and community involvement in such research.

As a member of the History Department at the University of the Western Cape, I was approached by the chair of the Organising Committee, Henry Bredekamp, to edit the proceedings of this historic conference. The speeches at the opening and closing ceremonies and in the two Khoisan Forum Discussions provide a crucial and integral complement to the more formal presentation of written (and in many cases pre-circulated) papers in the academic panels and have therefore been transcribed and reproduced in this conference volume. But rather than publish these written transcriptions and the academic papers in their order of presentation, we felt it would be far more useful and appropriate to regroup spoken and written materials by theme. This broad thematic organisation is also designed to highlight the sweepingly interdisciplinary nature of the conference.

The volume opens with a general introductory section, "The Politics of Khoisan Identity", which seeks to foreground the voices of Khoisan delegates. Along with the opening addresses by the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Lionel Mtshali, and Professor Phillip Tobias of the University of the Witwatersrand, it provides written transcriptions of the speeches delivered by representatives of all of the Khoisan organisations in the two Khoisan Forum Discussions and the closing ceremony, as well as the position papers presented by Martin Engelbrecht of the Khoisan Representative Council of the Northern Cape and Mathambo Ngakaeaja *et al* of the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities of Southern Africa (WIMSA). In section two we look "Beyond the Kalahari Debate" at current debates about ethnicity and archaeological research into the worlds of hunters and herders, their ways of life, their material signatures and conceptual boundaries, and at the interactions between hunter-herders and pastoralists. This is followed by a group of papers dealing with "San Art", both in the form of Matthias Guenther's analysis of the remarkable contemporary artworks of the late Qwaqwa (one of whose paintings is displayed on the cover of this volume) and of interpretations of San rock art, which highlight themes of landscape and gender in particular.

Section four traces diverse aspects of "Khoisan History" during the colonial era from early European stereotypes of "Hottentots" through to the activities of European missionaries among the Khoisan and then to overt expressions of Khoisan resistance in the form of millenarian uprisings in 1788 and 1904-7 or an

emerging ideology of "Khoikhoi Nationalism" in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Papers on music, folklore and dance are drawn together with detailed research into Khoisan linguistics in a section broadly termed "Khoisan Language and Culture". The burning current questions around Khoisan poverty and struggles for survival form the subject of the section "Khoisan Sociology and the Politics of Development", which includes analyses of alcoholism, educational initiatives and tourism among Khoisan communities in Namibia and Botswana today. The volume concludes with a brief section, which touches on aspects of the genetic and medical history of the Khoisan.

To turn to the more practical issue of editorial procedure in the case of the 45 academic papers that feature in this volume (there were a few authors who opted not to have their papers published in these proceedings), a thoroughgoing reworking of content in consultation with authors was not deemed practical given that over half of the academic delegates at the conference are based in Europe, Asia or North America. Editorial changes are therefore limited to minor linguistic changes and the reformatting of documents. In each case we followed the following standard procedure: We imported the abstract into the text, put the papers through a 'spell check', checked them for basic and obvious grammatical errors and tried to standardise the formatting of text and footnotes throughout. As regards the vexed and sensitive issue of terminology, we have simply left the orthography of individual authors intact rather than imposing any standard term(s) and becoming embroiled in debates over the use of labels like San, Bushmen, Khoisan, Khoikhoi, Khoi, Khoekhoe, Khwe, Xam etc.

We sincerely hope that, despite the high costs of publishing such an extensive volume to a limited market, this edition of the proceedings of the 1997 Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference will be accessible to representatives of Khoisan political organisations as well as people in the cultural heritage sector and international scholars from a wide range of academic disciplines.

Andrew Bank
Cape Town
February 1998

Section 1: The Politics of Khoisan Identity

Khoisan Forum Discussion 1 (Transcription)

H.C. Bredekamp (Chairperson):

Ladies and gentlemen, you are all most welcome here now. We are about to start. Before we ask Rev Mario Mahongu of the Khwe in Schmidtsdrift to open this meeting with prayer, there are a few announcements to be made. The procedure for the afternoon will start with an introduction by me of the different Khoisan Representative Groups that are going to make a statement. Their statements will be very brief, at most, five minutes. After the introduction, Mr Gavin Petersen will take over as the facilitator of the session. After statements had been made, the audience will have an opportunity to comment, or more correctly to put questions to the different groups represented here.

We have chosen Mr Gavin Petersen to facilitate this session for a particular reason. Not only because he's also very much aware of his Khoisan roots in the old South Africa as well as in the new; but also because he's someone with a very interesting CV. That includes him being my star history pupil from standard six to standard ten in the early 1970s in a township known as Uitsig. Since then, he has become the Chief Executive Officer of Spier Development Trust, the Executive Director of Spier Management, the Chief Executive of Mnyama Holdings, the Regional President of the Black Management Forum in the Western Cape, a member of President Mandela's Review Commission on the Transformation of the Public Civil Service. And he is a council member of the Cape Technikon and a member of the Board of Management of the Institute for Historical Research of the University of the Western Cape. I think we should give him a hand for that, because his CV shows people of Khoisan descent can also make great strides in the new South Africa.

I just want to make sure that we do not leave out anybody, so allow me just to check. People from the Baanbrekersraad of Grickwaland Oos, is hulle hier? Kan hulle net hulle hande wys? Kan die persoon wat die toespraak of die statement gaan maak na vore kom, asseblief? Miskien is dit goed as die Baanbrekersraad se ander mense ook net opstaan, dat hulle net gesien kan word. Dankie die mense het julle gesien. Then we also have the Cape Cultural Heritage Development Council. Could all of them stand up please? The Cape Cultural Heritage Development Council, all representatives here, fine. Mr Joe Little will make a statement on their behalf, thank you. The Griqua National Conference, I now ask those who are all here representing the Griqua National Conference, to stand, including our Paramount Chief Le Fleur. Thank you, you may be seated. Die Karretjiemense van die Karoo, is hulle hier? Dit is die Karretjiemense van mnr Storm, is hulle hier? Mnr Storm kan u dan na vore kom, asseblief, sodat hul kan sien wie die Onderburgemeester van Leeu-Gamka is. Here we have the Deputy Mayor of Leeu-Gamka, that is somewhere between Laingsburg and Beaufort-West. He is the leader of the Karretjiemense delegation at the Conference. Give him a hand, that's right, sure. The Khoisan Representative Council of the Northern Cape, are they here? I don't see them here, are they here? Martin Engelbrecht, is he here? He is not here, okay. Now the //Khomani people of the Kalahari. Petrus Vaalbooi is here and he will explain in a moment why Dawid Kruiper could not make it to be with us today. Could we now also ask for the Mier Community, the Mayor of Mier, Mrs Du Plessis, come forward please. Give her a hand. Mr Gilbert and Mr Julius, are they not here, oh sorry, just stand for a moment. Then we have the Namaquas of Steinkopf, please stand so that the people can see you. Thank you. The Nama Representative Council of Koeboes, Richtersveld, under the leadership of Mr Fredericks must stand up now. Then we come to the !Xu and the Khwe Development Trust. Where is Mr Victorino, the people must see you. Staen op, staen op, there is the representatives of Schmidtsdrift.

We should also introduce and show you the people of Namibia and Botswana that are here. Die Basterraad van Rehoboth se mense staan asseblief. The people of Namibia and Botswana will have their say on Tuesday. In the meantime we ask the representatives of the Barseba Tribal Authority, including the Topnaars, to stand up. Do we have the people of the Etosha Area? The people from the Maiteko Development Trust in Botswana, are not here, okay. Nyae Nyae Development Foundation, are they here? No. Omahaeki South and North Areas in Namibia seem not to be here either. People of West Bushman Land in Namibia? No. Then, let us ask for all the official Representatives of WIMSA, the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa, to stand up. Now you've got more or less an idea of who are here.

Now we will start with the more formal part of this, I therefore call on Ds Mahongu to open the meeting with prayer. We ask all to stand, please.

Ds Mahongu opens with prayer in his mother tongue:

Dierbare Hemelse Vader, ons God, ons kom loof U, ons kom prys U, ons kom dank U. Dankie vir die genade en die liefde Here wat U vir ons gegee het. Dankie vir die beskerming. Dankie vir die versorging. Dankie Here dat ons weet dat U die een is wat omgee, die God van gister, die God van vandag, die God van môre, die God wat altyd daar is om te hoor wanneer U kinders hulle nood oproepe na U toe snuor. Here ons is dankbaar dat U ons tot sover gedra het, dat U ons tot die hede gebring het sodat ons vandag hier kan staan voor U, met ons opperman wat ons op die pad vorentoe kan lei. Dankie vir al die reëlins wat getref is, dankie vir elkeen wat betrokke is, dankie vir elkeen wat 'n lang pad gekom het sodat ons vanmiddag hier kan wees. Dankie Here dat ons al die verrigtinge aan U kan opdra in die verwagting dat U ons sal help net soos U dit in die verlede

gedoen het. Ons vra veral dat U ons as broers en susters bymekaar sal hou en dat ons mekaar in vrede sal aanneem en mekaar sal verdra. Heer dit vra ons alles nie omdat ons dit verdien nie maar enkel uit genade en om Jesus ontwil, met danksegging. Amen.

H.C. Bredekamp:

The first group to make a statement will be the Baanbrekersraad from East Griqualand.

Baanbrekersraad Speaker, Mr. Fortuin:

Thank you Mister Chairman, thank you ladies and gentlemen for this opportunity. I have been asked for convenience sake to speak in English but you will bear with me if it is necessary for me, from time to time, to change over to my mother tongue. I have been involved mainly in the church for the last about 20 years. I come from Kokstad in East Griqualand. Therefore, needless to say, the church I refer to is the Griqua National Independent Church in which I was baptised and brought up. It is my involvement in this Church that has brought about my presence here today because the organisation that I represent, namely the East Griqualand Pioneer Council, has always worked in close co-operation with the Griqua Church in matters pertaining to the Griquas. I have been asked to speak on the matters of identity and culture. I need not elaborate. The place where I come from tells it all. Regarding culture, our Church and community has experienced difficult times in the last 50-odd years and this mainly as a result of what was done to us, or the label that was given to us by the previous government. Therefore the question of identity, ladies and gentlemen, is one that hurts because we have been made, we have been classified, coloureds. Therefore the term that we often use nowadays and that has been used over the years by many of those present here today, has become one that we are proud of. Of course the term I refer to is that of Griqua.

To our youth this term is sometimes seen as an insulting one. It is often regarded that if you are a Griqua, you are something inferior and many of us have now to learn that the Griqua are a nation and, as always, a proud nation. I remember when Mr Le Fleur visited Kokstad he had to say this to those present: I remember he said that he was happy to see that many people now begin to believe that the Griqua is not a gogga but a human being and a proud one.

Geliefdes, die Griekwa Nasionale Independent Kerk het oor die jare die tradisionele simbool van die volk gebly en daarom is sy feesgeleenthede, soos die Nuwejaarsdag gedenkdien by die monument van Kaptein Kok en die jaarlikse fees van die Kerk, twee van die groot geleenthede wat behoue gebly het. Dit was die gebruik van die Griekwas dat die skool altyd verbind was aan die Kerk. Ongelukkig het dié gebruik in Kokstad ten einde geloop in die jaar 1979 toe die kerskool deur 'n staatskool vervang is. Sedertdien het die karakter van die skool heelwat verander. Die streng dissipline wat kenmerkend van die Kerk se betrokkenheid by die skool was, het opmerklik afgeneem. Ook die weeklikse kinderpreek wat in die kerkgebou gehou was, het tot 'n einde gekom. Vandag is dit kommerwekkend wat in ons skole aangaan. Daar is 'n oorbeklemtoning van die akademiese vordering van die leerlinge ten koste van die geestelike ontwikkeling van die kinders. Dit is hierdie agteruitgang wat kommerwekkend is want normes en waardes wat vroeër van onskatbare waarde vir die volk was, is aan die afneem. Aangesien die hoofdoel van onderwys die voorbereiding van leerlinge vir die samelewing is, skyn dit asof daar grootskaalse hersiening van die huidige stelsel nodig is om goeie burgerskap vir die toekoms te verseker. In die lig hiervan skyn daar onmiddellike behoefte te wees om geleenthede vir ons jeug te skep om te leer onderskei tussen reg en verkeerd en of iets aanneemlik of onaanneemlik in ons gedrag is. In hierdie opsig moet daar weer gekyk word na die waardes wat deur ons voorouers gebruik is en vandag soms deur jongmense as oudmodies bestempel word omdat hulle aanvaarbaar vir hul maats wil bly. Werkswinkels in hierdie verband behoort 'n goeie uitwerking te hê. Kinders behoort ook te leer wat van hulle verwag word tydens sosiale geleenthede soos troues, sterfgevalle, begrafnisse, kerkdienste en so meer. Voorligting in hierdie verband behoort op skool gegee te word. Waar nodig behoort geleenthede geskep te word vir kinders en jeugdiges om hul kulturele bedrywighede te beoefen, hetsy op skool of tydens uistappies. Anders sal die meeste van hierdie waardevolle aspekte van ons bestaan verlore gaan soos dit reeds dikwels die geval is. Die belangrikheid van selfrespek asook respek vir ander mense en hul eiendom kan nie genoeg beklemtoon word nie. Uit 'n godsdienstige oogpunt gesien spruit dit voort uit die liefde vir God met jou hele siel, jou hele krag en uit jou hele verstand, iets wat kenmerkend van die Griekwa is. Om hierdie rede was die daarstelling van die kerk altyd 'n prioriteit in die leefwyse van die Griekwa.

Geagte dames en here, in die bruinman se soeke na sy siel moet daar weer gekyk word na dit wat ons voorouers vir ons nagelaat het, om daaraan voort te bou op die pad wat ons in die nuwe bedeling van ons land moet loop. Baie dankie.

Gavin Pieterse (Facilitator):

Good afternoon. For the benefit of our foreign guests I would like to summarise the last piece of our previous speaker's statement. When he switched from English to Afrikaans he commenced by talking about the fact that it was common practice in the days of old in the Griqua tradition that the school was very closely linked to the Church and that formed the basis of the value system which prevailed at the time. However, in 1960 the church school system was replaced by the state school system which changed the entire school community

dramatically. A marked decline in discipline was evident since then. For example, the weekly children's religious programme was put aside. Today there is grave concern about what is happening among the youth in general and particularly in the schools. Academic development has been over emphasised at the expense of spiritual growth and development. The earlier values were left by the wayside. It is the belief of the speaker that a transformation of the present education system is of primary importance. It is absolutely vital that we have to revisit the way we structure our curriculum and the entire academic system in order to go back to the basic values of the communities, in particular as it was lived out by the Griqua community. It is important that the school system should not just be a place where you teach or create opportunities but also a place where a sense for cultural identity is instilled in the students. Guidance at school level is required. He concluded with the remark that in the brown man's search for identity it is critical that we go back to the lessons of our fathers and grasp at the values which were such an endemic part of the Griqua community. I will now ask for the next speaker to come forward. Thank you.

Cape Cultural Heritage Development Council Speaker, Chief Joseph Little:

Good afternoon opperhoof Stockenstroom Le Fleur, honoured guests, organising committee members, academics, ladies and gentlemen, but especially children, kinders. I am standing before you this afternoon deeply humble and deeply honoured before God as I understand Him. This is a distinct honour and privilege, something happened and this moment in time was not suppose to happen to me. But it happened because there were people who took the time to put together a Conference of this nature; my blessings go out to these people.

Our very first objective in the Cape Cultural Heritage Organisation is to create a spirit of unity among all South Africans, especially those resorting under the statutory title as Coloured South Africans. I just heard the previous speaker say it and I heard it many times over this weekend. Daar is nie so 'n ding nie. There isn't such a thing. It is just an adjective, right Uncle Joe [Marks]? I stand here as a proud Griqua, traceable through a lineage line. My topic here was to speak on the lineage of the emperorship which is recorded in Van Riebeeck's diary right to 1660. That's when Van Riebeeck asked the emperor, the emperor that came from the tribe. Under that title a treatise was drawn up ... there is a treatise on page 215 of Moodie's *Record*. Please go and check it for yourself. This was written in the books but it is not mentioned ... But we are going to find each other, we are going to find unity as the objective in the Cape Cultural Heritage. We are going to find that unity that is being searched for want die opperhoof het gesê: Ons moet 'n volk word. We must become the most beautiful nation and develop ourselves. In my search for this identity I even ran away to England and Ireland. There some of the people said that I would have a tough time proving that I'm a Khoi met die groen oë en die haakneus. But it's something that is in the blood, it's in my line, ek kan ook oor die lyn gesprink het en White gespeel het. It could have happened but it didn't happen to me. It didn't happen to my parents and I thank God that it didn't happen because we have eventually found each other. We have found each other in the most phenomenal way that we ever could and I believe this is a beautiful country.

Namaqua, Goringhwa, Outeniqua ... Also of another record of the diary. Here where we are sitting, the French Huguenots are honoured up against the walls. But I don't see any of my forefathers' photos there. Yet in this territory as a first nation indigenous people, they were proud people because it was written on the 7th of April 1652 just before Van Riebeeck put his foot on the shore and Dawid Koning stepped on the shore first, he said a handsome, active men who wore a skulking skin over their arm as tolerably prepared and with as much dignity as any of our countrymen can wear them in Europe. And a picture of that you will see some time during the Conference. It is not those little ones walking with tangas, they are not those Strandloperjies, Watermans, Kaapmans. Those type of derogatory terms that were being used for a proud and honourable nation. A nation without whose help the Dutch East India Company would not have made it to the East without major casualties. I know my time is running out, but I want to turn on this one. Please remember, onthou dit, dat dit is deur ons voorvaders dat Europa so maklik gebou is soos hy vandag is, maar daar was 'n wisseling van daardie dinge. Ons dra nog steeds by. We are still contributing towards Europe's economic development. What they came back with some things and I am so glad that I cannot tar everyone here with the same brush. The Professor has got so many wonderful people on board that you who have travelled far and wide to come to us and to say to us "Let us hold hands". Just let us hold hands. We can work this thing out. I thank you.

H.C. Bredekamp:

We call on the Paramount Chief Le Fleur of the Griqua National Conference to appoint the person that will now act as his spokesperson.

Spokesperson for Paramount Chief Le Fleur:

Dames en Here, geagte Konferensie-gangers, dit is vir my 'n eer om die geleentheid te hê om vandag namens die Griekwa Nasionale Konferensie hier 'n paar woorde te sê. Mnr Fortuin van die Baanbrekersraad het oor die Griekwa se aangeleenthede gepraat en ek is baie bly vir sy bydrae en aangesien hy alreeds baie oor die onderwerp gesê het, sal ek probeer om op ander dinge te konsentreer. Ek is bly dat ons vandag die geleentheid

het om ons saak hier te kan bekend maak. Ons, die Griekwas, is 'n inheemse eerste nasie in hierdie land en ons is onsettend trots daarop. By hierdie nasionale konferensie kan ons met trots aan die wêreld sê dat die Griekwa Nasionale Konferensie en die Griekwa in die breek daarvoor gesorg het dat die Khoikultuur deur die eeue behoue gebly het. Dit het begin by Adam Kok I wat destyds die verbrokkende Griekwa en ander Khoi-groepe aan die Kaap bymekaar gemaak het. Gedurende die koloniale tydperk was die Griekwa en die ander Khoivolke op die rand van uiterwring en wanhoop en daarom het Adam Kok dit goed gedink om hulle onder hom te verenig en met hulle onder koloniale bewind uit te trek. So het hulle dan noordwaarts getrek en hulle in die binneland gevestig. Sedertdien het ons 'n verbete stryd gevoer om ons identiteit en ons soewereiniteit teen die koloniale magte te verdedig en te beskerm. Soos wat ons stelselmatig van ons grond en eiendom beroof was het die koloniale magte daarin geslaag om ons geestelik te demoraliseer. Ons mense het knegte op hulle eie gronde geword en die volklike saamhorigheidsgevoel is vernietig en het plek gemaak vir 'n gevoel van individualisme en slegs 'n drang tot oorlewing. Dis teen hierdie agtergrond dat Le Fleur I in die vroeëre jare van hierdie eeu tot die stryd toegetree het. Hy het hierdie verslane en gedemoraliseerde volk met kragdadige optrede teenoor die Engelse regering weer probeer terug bring na hulle volkstrous en hulle nasie bewussyn. Sy missie was, en die Griekwas glo vas dat dit 'n goddelike missie was, dat dit 'n goddelike opdrag was, om die dooie bene van Adam Kok weer lewendig te gaan maak, om te versamel soos wat hulle dood oor die vlaktes van Suid-Afrika verspreid gelê het. Dit was sy missie. Hy moes hul weer bymekaar hark en hy moes hulle weer tot 'n volk verenig. Wat het ons tot dusver gedoen om ons volk teen assimilasië en uiterwring te red. Ons kan hier vandag aankondig dat die Griekwa Nasionale Konferensie 'n memorandum opgestel het waarin ook die ander Griekwa-groepe het saamgespan en 'n memorandum opgestel wat ons aan President Mandela oorhandig het. Ek moet ook sê dat President Mandela self gevra het dat ons hierdie memorandum aan hom moes oorhandig. Ons het in hierdie memorandum al ons aspirasies, al ons strewes, al ons eise, al ons begeertes neergeskryf en ingewerk. Hierdie memorandum het ons aan President Mandela oorhandig en ons het baie lank gewag voordat hy daarop gereageer het, maar as u geheue goed is kan jy onthou dat hy het so'n week of twee gelede met die eerste reaksies op hierdie memorandum na vore gekom het. Daaroor sal ek later iets meer sê. Ons het ook ernstige pogings aangewend om ons volk te beskerm en ons identiteit te beskerm. Ons het gegaan en het ons as Griekwas op die verhoog van die Verenigde Volke gaan bekendstel. Ons het 'n delegasie gestuur na Genève in Switserland waar ons die Griekwas se saak hard en duidelik aan die wêreld gaan stel het. Ons het dit alreeds by twee geleenthede in die verlede gedoen en ons is weer op pad in 'n week of twee na Genève om weer dieselfde ding te gaan doen. Ons gaan weer vir die nasies van die wêreld sê hoe ver die Griekwa in Suid-Afrika met sy stryd om die erkenning van sy identiteit en die beskerming van sy inheemse regte gekom het. Die Suid-Afrikaanse regering is ook ten volle bewus van hierdie ontwikkeling want die Griekwa Nasionale Konferensie het reeds baie dokumentasie daaromtrent aan hulle gestuur. Hierin het ons sterk druk op die regering uitgeoefen en telkens gewys op hulle nalatigheid om te reageer op die eise van die Griekwas.

Benewens dit het ons ook voortgebou op dit wat Adam Kok destyds gedoen het om die verbrokkende Khoistamme bymekaar te maak en onder een vaandel saam te snoer. Aangevuur deur hierdie aspirasies uit ons verlede het ons verdrae gaan onderteken met ander Khoi volke soos die Nama van die Richtersveld wat ook vandag hier verteenwoordig is. Ons het selfs buite ons landsgrense gegaan na ons Khoi broers en susters wat eens eeue gelede saam met ons hier in Suid-Afrika een volk was. Ons het 'n verdrag met hulle onderteken en gevolglik is die Rehoboth Basters van Namibia ook vandag hier. Ons het dus 'n drieledige verdrag gestig, maar ek moet ook hier by noem dat, omdat daar nie in alle opsigte eenheid was tussen die Griekwas van Grikwaland-Oos, die Baanbrekers, en die Griekwa Nasionale Konferensie nie, het ons gegaan en ons het hierdie bande ook weer gaan smee en ons het ook 'n verdrag met hulle gaan teken en dus kan ons sê dat ons en die Baanbrekersraad van Grikwaland-Oos een is onder 'n verdrag. Ons wil hierdie stelsel van verdragtekening verder uitbrei sodat ons uiteindelik by ons doel kan uitkom om die Griekwas in die eerste plek saam te snoer tot een volk en tweedens om ook ons ander Khoi volke saam met die Griekwas onder een Khoisambree saam te bring. Nou kyk ons vinnig na die pad vorentoe.

Ek het reeds genoem dat ons binne die volgende twee weke weer op pad is na Genève om ons saak hard en duidelik te gaan stel. Wat die Forum betref is dit baie gevaarlik om op hierdie stadium te skat wat ons daaruit sal kry. Ons beskou die feit dat die regering 'n week of twee gelede in Kimberley aan ons gesê het dat hulle die Griekwas se identiteit in Suid-Afrika erken en dat hulle boonop erken dat die Griekwas in Suid-Afrika nie net 'n minderheid is nie maar wel 'n inheemse minderheid is. Dit beskou ons as 'n mylpaal, ons beskou dit as 'n stap in die regte rigting, maar ons beskou dit ook as die begin van die stryd wat ons met die regering wil aanknoop. Wat ek daardeur wil sê is dat ons nou hierdie Forum wil gebruik om met die regering in baie ernstige onderhandelinge betrokke te raak, want die Griekwas het groot aspirasies, groot eise wat hulle aan hierdie regering van die dag gaan stel. Ons verwagtinge is groot en ons gaan alles in ons vermoë doen om die Griekwas se identiteit ten volle in hierdie land erken te kry. Ons wil nie net die Griekwas se identiteit erken hê nie, ons wil hê Suid-Afrikaanse regering moet die beskerming van Griekwas se regte in die land se grondwet inbou om daardeur te verseker dat die Griekwas in hierdie land as 'n inheemse volk beskerm gaan word.

Ons wil ten slotte dank uitspreek aan die konferensie vir die feit dat hulle 'n bydrae gemaak het om die Khoi en daardeur ook die Griekwa se belange te bevorder. Ons, soos ek reeds in my toespraak gesê het, sal geen steen onaangeroer laat om die doelwitte wat ons vir onself as volk gestel het te bevorder en na te streef nie en

daarom sal ons dit waardeer as daar bydrae kan kom, hulp kan kom uit watter oord oorkal, daarom voel ons dat hierdie konferensie tog 'n baie groot hupstoot aan ons strewes kan gee. Baie dankie.

Chief Joe Little:

Just to summarise this briefly. The Griqua National Conference thanks the organising committee for the presence of international personalities here. It was pointed out that the Griqua National Conference has commenced to work along the lines of what Adam Kok I had in mind when he started to unite the various Khoi groups that had been broken up and dispersed throughout Southern Africa. They submitted a memorandum about the grievances and aspirations of the Griqua people to President Mandela. They also sent a delegation to the United Nations in Geneva to state the Griquas' case. Within the next week or two another delegation will travel to Geneva to speak on behalf of the Griqua National Conference. As far as the unification of the Khoi people is concerned treaties were successfully negotiated with, on the one hand the Rehoboth Basters and on the other hand the Baanbrekersraad of East-Griqualand. The National Conference will carry on fighting for Griqua rights. The recognition by the South African government of the Griquas as an indigenous minority is seen as a first step in the right direction. They now want the government to include the protection of Griqua rights in the South African constitution. In conclusion, appreciation was expressed for the fact that Conference can further the interest of the Khoisan and thereby aid the Griquas in their quest to reach their aspirations.

Karretjemense van die Karoo Speaker, Mnr. Storm:

Menecr voorsitter, hooggeplaaste gaste, dames en here.

Baie dankie vir die geleentheid om vandag hier voorspraak te kan doen vir en iets te sê aangaande die Karretjemense van die Karoo. Ek het betrokke geraak by hierdie mense se lewensomstandighede deurdat ek 'n ouderling van my Kerk is en ook as onderwyser in 'n plaasgemeenskap werksaam is. Die lewe van die mense het my diep geraak.

Wanneer ek lidmate op plaas gaan besoek, moet ek die betrokke dag die eenaar van die plaas vroeg oggend skakel om toegang tot die plaas te verkry. Ek moet die kerkdiens wat ek vir die mense hou sò struktureer dat ek niks sê wat die mense te slim sal maak nie. Jy moet sorg om jou werk gou klaar te maak sodat die hek agter jou gesluit kan word. Soms gebeur dit dat tydens so 'n besoek die mense moeilike vrae aan jou stel. So, byvoorbeeld, was daar die persoon wat verwys het na die baas wat ook vir hulle godsdiens hou en uit die Bybel lees. Maar as hy die Bybel toegemaak het en hulle gaan werk dan vloek en skel hy en vergeet skoon dit wat hy so pas gelees het en wat hy vir hulle geleer het. Die persoon wou toe weet wat hom te doen staan in so 'n situasie. Moet ons lewe soos jy ons leer of moet ons die voorbeeld van die baas volg? 'n Mens is dan regtig in 'n moeilike posisie. En dan wonder jy wat moet jy dan doen.

En dan gebeur dit ook dat as jy die volgende Sondag op die plaas kom, dan het die eenaar die mense dronk gemaak sodat hulle alles omvergooi.

Dit kom ook voor dat jy aan nuwe intrekkeers vra of hulle kinders al skoolgaan. Soms kry jy as antwoord dat die kind nie 'n identiteitsdokument nie. Jy doen dan moeite om die identiteitsdokument te bekom. Maar al te dikwels gebeur dit dat die kind na 'n paar weke die skool moet verlaat omdat die ouers van die plaas af moet weggaan.

'n Ander probleem wat dikwels voorkom is dié van 'n man en die vrou wat al veertig jaar lank saamleef sonder dat hulle wettig getroud is. En dan word vertel dat die man nie weet waar sy vorige vrou is nie of die vrou weet nie wat van haar vorige man geword het nie. En dan moet jy probeer om hierdie dinge reg te maak.

'n Veel erger probleem is egter dat die Karretjemense voel dat hulle geen identiteit het nie, hulle behoort nêrens nie, hulle het nie 'n vaste tuiste nie. En as jy as onderwyser of ouderling van die kerk probeer om die mense te help, dan bots jy soms met die gereg. Nou lieue vriende, die mense verlang maar net om 'n tuiste te hê. Hulle verlang maar net om in 'n standvastige gemeenskap te wees. Hulle verlang om vir hulle kinders 'n toekoms te bou, want hulle voel dat daar ook vir hulle 'n kans gegee moet word want dit is immers hulle wat die landbou sover gebring het. Die kleinbaas het wel landbou kollege toe gegaan, maar as hy terugkom dan staan hy daar en ou Freek moet sê wat gedoen moet word. Die kleinbaas het wel die boekekenne, maar dit is ou Freek, met die liefde vir die grond, die liefde vir die diere, die liefde vir die plaas, wat die werk moet doen. Maar omdat Freek nie skoolgeleerheid gehad het nie, daarom is Freek 'n niks. Freek se hare is te kort. Miskien het die baas op die skoolbank gaan sit vir meer kennis, maar dit is Freek wat elke maand sorg dat daar geld in die baas se bankrekening is. Dis Freek wat die volstruis moet groot maak en dan is dit die baas wat 'n nuwe kar koop en Freek kry 'n tweerand. Freek soek nie skoen om skool toe te gaan nie en as Freek daarvoor sou praat, dan kry hy maklik te hore "Ag my hotnot, vat maar die pad. Gaan, die groot pad is julle wêreld, julle kan mos nie regkom tussen mense nie."

Dit is soos dit gaan met hierdie mense en hulle soek ook maar na 'n identiteit. Hulle soek na 'n tuiste. Hulle soek om êrens te behoort. En dit is die mense, toe ons met hulle praat oor die geleentheid om na hierdie konferensie toe te gaan, was hulle eers opgewonde en daarna het hulle gesit en het hulle al minder gekom na

die vergaderings waar ons die konferensie bespreek het, want waarmee is die 'hotnots' nou weer besig? En dan kom jy by ons ander vriende, ons geleerde mense, en dan sê hulle: "Ag, wat maak julle nou so met die 'hotnots' en die 'boesmans'? Ons behoort tog nêrens nie. Los maar die dinge." En uiteindelik was ons, by die laaste samekoms maar net sewe mense. En twee het toe uiteindelik saam gekom want die baas het soveel druk op die ander uitgeoefen sodat die wat wel gehelp het om ons hier te bring, toe ook later gesê het: "Ag ons hoop julle 'hotnots' gaan darem nou iets kry." En dis die hoop waarmee die mense ons gestuur het, dat daar tog êrens iemand sal hoor, om deur middel van wetgewing, die lewe vir dié mense makliker te maak. Dat hulle ook op 'n vaste plek kan bly, dat hulle ook 'n kultuur kan beoefen, en dat daar ook 'n plekkie onder die son vir hulle sal wees. En dit is wat hulle vir ons gesê het: "Gaan, ons sal vir julle bid en ons hoop dat mense ook daar kennis sal neem van hoe dit met ons gaan." En liewe vriende, baie van daardie mense het gesê: "Meester, praat net Afrikaans. Ons wil nie 'n ander taal praat nie. Dit is die taal waarmee hulle groot geword het."

En kan ek net 'n laaste ding byvoeg wat die standaard twee's en die drie's sê met hulle geskiedenis navorsing oor die Khoisan? En die paar van hulle wat gister in die museum was, het gevra: "Meester, die mense lyk vir ons so regtig, is dit die mense, is dit hoe ons mense die ander dag hier in die Kaap geloop het? Nou waar is ons mense nou? En toe het ek gesê: "Julle moet probeer uitvind." En kyk hier, die bloed lynle loop sterk en soos iemand gesê het: "Dit lyk soos my Oupa wat daar sit." En dit was vir hulle net so aangenaam om hier te wees. En ons wil ook vir prof. Bredekamp en almal wat vir ons die geleentheid geskep het om hier te kan wees, baie dankie sê. Ons hoop ook ons Karretjiesmense sal vanuit hierdie konferensie iets goed kan kry. Baie dankie.

Gavin Petersen (Facilitator):

A plea for recognition and a passion for a cause does not really need an explanation. I just want to summarise what the representative of the Karretjies people had to say. He related his personal experience as a community leader and a teacher within the community where the plight, social welfare conditions of these people were so appalling that he had no choice but to get involved through the church and on a very personal level. He explained the day-to-day hardships and the experience, the relationship between the farm worker and the farm owner, the deeply engrained racism and all they really asked for was a place under the sun. It's people who are in search for an identity, people who are crying out to the world to say "Please recognise us. We know that this is our land but somehow when we look around ourselves and we look at our living conditions, it doesn't appear that way." When they try to organise themselves the resistance comes from both sides, the farming community and the white community and also from the intellectual communities. The plea summarised by citing an example of some of their children who watched the exhibit here at the conference yesterday of their fore-fathers and they were so confused and they said "Where are our people now?" and he related the story and said: "Spend some time at the conference and look around. After all you'll see so many of us that look like your grandparents." That is the reality of these people. Thank you very much.

H.C. Bredekamp:

We listen now to the voice of a member of the //Khomani of the Kalahari Park, Mr Petrus Vaalbooi.

Khomani of the Kalahari Park Speaker, Petrus Vaalbooi:

Ek begroet die Konferensiegangers. Dis vir my 'n voorreg om hier te kan wees. Eerstens wil ek net 'n verskoning maak vir my leier, Dawid Kruiper. Ek is Petrus Vaalbooi van die //Khomani in die Kalahari. Dawid Kruiper, ons leier van die Khoisan kan nie hier wees nie deur die dood van sy broer en toe het hy vir my gevra om deur te kom. Daarom moet ek verskoning vra omdat ek in Afrikaans moet praat. Dis 'n hartseer storie om dit uit te bring wat gemaak het dat ek vandag Afrikaans moet praat. My ma kan die taal praat, maar ek nie daarom vra ek verskoning. Ek wil 'n paar punte uitlig. My ma het op die boerplase toe ons gebore is, daarom het ons nooit kans gehad om die taal te praat nie, want sy moes werk. Sy voel nou spyt omdat sy nie ons kan help nie, maar ons kan nie praat nie, ek en my broer en my suster. Die gesprek wat ons gevoer het moet die taal raak. Ons pleit en die pleit van die Khoisan is dat die taal in gebrul sal word na die skole dat ons kinders en aangeslag ook dit kan leer soos in Namibië, waar die taal geskryf en geleer word. By ons het Afrikaanse skole dit destyds nie gedoen nie. Wat hartseer is, is dat ons ontnem is van ons taal, van ons identiteit en van ons grond. In 1898 was my voorvaders, my oupa, in Mier gebly, maar dit word nie vandag erken nie, dit word ook nie erken dat my oupa hier was nie. Dis wat 'n mens baie hartseer maak, 'n mens baie laat dink en ook 'n sprankie hoop in jou bring as 'n mens kyk dat daar sê baie mense hier vandag saam is want ons weet wat die konferensie vir ons beteken.

Nou ek hoop dat hierdie konferensie sal veroorsaak dat ons ons taal, ons identiteit, ons grond wat ons ontnem is sal terug kry, want ons wil aansluit by die sterkste liggaam in die Khoisan, die Griekwa, om te help met die druk van ons regering te praat om 'n deel van ons erfenis weer te kan optel. Ek wil ook 'n boodskap oordra om dankie te sê aan al ons volksgenote van my voorvaders om hulle baie dankie te sê. As ek kyk na die grysbarende dan sien ek die gesigte wat lyk soos die wat ek ken, Adam Kok en die wit mense, wit gesigte maar die been is dieselfde soos dit van Dawid Kok wat daar by ons is en daarom sê ek vandag baie dankie aan hulle wat die moed en die deurstellingsvermoë het om dit vir ons te kan doen, om vir ons te kan instaan, om 'n lig te

kan maak en 'n deur te kan oopsluit. Aan wat ek baie dankie wil sê is die President Mandela wat hierdie weg vir ons gebaan het. Ek weet, was dit nie vir hom nie sou ek nooit in my hele lewe hier gewees het nie.

Ek wou so bitter graag in die 1970 jare gegaan het as 'n soldaat maar toe ek by die aanklagkantoor kom, by die polisieestasie, het ek daar 'n gesprek met hulle gevoer, het hulle my gevra na my identiteitsdokument, toe gee ek hulle my persoonskaart en toe sê ek vir hulle dat hier's 'n ding wat ek gekry het maar ek weet nie wat dit is nie, want dis nie wat ek is nie. My pa is 'n hottentot en my ma is 'n boesman gebore. Ek is 'n kleurling genoem. Toe sê ek vir hulle, dan moet hulle vir my regering toe vat sodat ek vir die regering kan sê ek is nie dit nie. Toe skuur hulle al die papiere uit mekaar en toe sê hulle vir my dat ek moet weg gaan. Dis hartseer as 'n mens daaraan dink, maar vandag voel ek sê bly terwyl ek op die see beweeg toe dink ek hierdie is 'n groot dag en dis net vir my om vorentoe te kyk en vorentoe te staan en ek kan baie dankie sê aan ons grootleiers en ons voorleiers. Baie dankie.

Gavin Petersen (Facilitator):

Ladies and gentlemen, I just want to translate Mr Vaalbooi's speech and summarise it. Firstly, Mr Vaalbooi wants to apologise for the absence of Mr Dawid Kruiper, the leader of the //Khomani in the Kalahari. Mier area. He is attending his brother's funeral. Secondly, he would like to apologise for the fact that he can't speak the language of his mother, the real //Khomani language. He also believes that this is one of his greatest losses. He hopes that the educational institutions will try to help to keep the language of his mother and maybe the language of his children alive. He really feels bad about the fact that during the past they lost their language, they lost their identity and they also lost their land and their culture. He hopes that this conference will help them to get back what they've lost. He thanks us all on behalf of all his fellow Khoisan groups and their forefathers. Thank you.

Mier Community Speaker, Ds. Willemse:

Dames en Here, ek is gevra om namens die Mier gemeenskap wat ook bestaan uit Khoisan groepe u in te lig. Dit is egter vir my noodsaaklik om u eerstens in te lig omtrent Mier. Mier, Verland, Mierland. Omtrent 260 km noord van Upington in die hart van die agter-Kalahari lê die landelike gebied Mier, omtrent 388 000 hektaar groot, in 'n omgewing waar mens skrefies- en hoederpootjie-oog na 'n pragtige, ja unieke wyc oop landskappe van kontraste en uiterstes kyk. 'n Harde eindelose, ontsagwekkende landskap, gekenmerk deur tipiese natuurlike bakens soos kameeldoringbome, vaalkamele, witgatte, golwende rooi en bleekwind sandduine en strate. Vir party oningelighes is dit 'n dorland, vir ander weer 'n sandland maar vir die wat dit ken, vir die wat daar is en al daar was en muskien die voorreg gesmaak het om die duin sand deur sy/haar vingers en tone te laat gly. 'n Grootse pragtige wêreld wat hom nie eintlik laat voorskryf deur of geboonde is aan grense nie. En waar die eindeloosheid, die uitgestrektheid en die horison net nie wil ophou nie. 'n Wêreld waarin kontraste 'n holistiese eenheid vorm, 'n wêreld waar ongenaakbare droogtes en pragtige reëns, yskoue koues en versengende hitte die reëlmatige en eentonige gekners van windpompe of kragkoppe en die bittige onstuimigheid van 'n tipiese Kalahari donderstorm die majesteuse gebrul van die Kalahari leeu en die bekende getjij tik van die geitjies, die fier gemsbok en beskeie steenbokkie, die trotse kameeldoringboom en die eenvoudige ghabba-Kalahari appel, die sagte volmaan en 'n halfverterende Kalahari son so baie in gemeen het en die grootsheid van hierdie omgewing vorm. Dit is die Kalahari, dit is ook waar Mier geleë is. Mier word direk in die noorde deur die Kalahari-Gemsbok Nasionale Park, direk in die weste deur Namibië, en direk in die ooste deur Botswana begrens. Dit is in kort meer omtrent Mier.

Dames en here, ek wil u kortliks inlig. Ons is in 'n gebied waar 'n groot gedeelte van ons ouers en voorouers vroeër Namasprekende mense was. Maar as gevolg van die vorige bedeling het ook hulle getalle geweldig afgeneem. Die afname in die Namasprekende persone daar is ook geaffekteer deur die feit dat Namibië onafhanklik geword het. Ons is baie na aan Namibië en het baie goeie bande met ons bure daar gehad. So dit is as gevolg daarvan dat baie min van ons mense deesdae by magte is om Nama te praat. In ons gebied is ook huidiglik 'n Boesman grondeis. Dit is reeds erken, maar die ironie daar is en ek dink dit is vandag miskien die regte tyd om u sodanig in te lig, is dat hierdie eis word teengestaan deur mense soos ek en u. En ek laat u hier met die volgende woorde wat ons heel dikwels daar gebruik, en dit is as die een kan lewe moet die ander ook lewe. Ek dank u.

Gavin Petersen (Facilitator):

Our speaker, very graphically, very beautifully, lyrically introduced the house to his community, the landscape, the area called Mier. It's community of Khoisan people, bordering Botswana and Namibia and it is not something that you can actually translate. It is sheer poetry. The brief message he has for the conference is that this is an area where the communities, for decades, largely spoke Nama. The language, however, has been on a rapid decline since the apartheid era and was further facilitated after the Namibian liberation where the people were actually divided, very close relations existed for many years in those living in the now Namibian borders. He also mentions that the claims for restitution has been resisted by all of us here somehow and we need to start looking seriously at what we are doing about indigenous people. His final message was, for you to live; let others live as well. Thank you.

H.C. Bredekamp:

The Steinkopf people will now take the floor.

Steinkopf Speaker:

(Spoken in mother tongue, Nama, and also in Afrikaans)

Vriende, Dames en Here, hooggeplaastes en alle leiers,

Ek is dankbaar om hierdie geleentheid te kry. Ek sal nie lank praat nie want ek het nie 'n lang storie nie. Ek praat vanmiddag namens die Nama mense van Steinkopf. Van gister af het ons gehoor hoedat met hierdie mense gehandel is in die verlede. Hierdie mense is verstoot, hulle is verdryf van hulle gronde, hulle is misken. Baie dinge is hulle ook ontnoem. Hulle is ontnoem van hul kultuur en leefwyses, hulle is ontnoem van hulle erfenisse. En ek sal graag een ding in die toekoms, in die tyd wat kom, wil sien. En dit is dat hierdie taal in die skole as vak aangebied sal word. Ons is grootmense, ons se dae word klaar. Maar ons se kinders en ons se jongmense, hulle kan hierdie taal laat voortleef. Op hierdie manier, voel ek, sal ons verseker dat hierdie taal en kultuur sal voortleef en bewaar word. Miskien sal hierdie gedagte in die tyd wat kom, in die toekoms, vir ons waar word. Baie dankie.

Gavin Petersen (Facilitator)

Our speaker offered warm greetings and expressed her sincere gratitude for the opportunity to speak. She spoke on behalf of the Nama people of Steinkopf, which is an area in Namaqualand. She proceeded by saying that we have already heard about the plight of these people over the last day or so. The way they had been treated, the rejection, how they have been driven off their land and disowned. They have been robbed of many things but the worst of that was the culture and the lifestyle and the heritage itself. Her only wish and her biggest passion and vision and dream is to see in the near future that the language will be reintroduced into the schools for the children. We as grown-ups have not much time left, but through the children the language can live on. This was her message. Thank you.

Prof. H.C. Bredekamp:

The second last group will be the Namas of the Richtersveld.

Richtersveld Speakers:

(In mother tongue and also Afrikaans)

Dames en Here ek groet u in die eerste plek. Ek sal probeer kort praat omdat ons baie sprekers is. Dit is vir my 'n baie seer saak, as ek moet hoor dat mense wat sê hulle is Khoi mense nie hulle se taal het nie. Dit is wat die apartheid aan ons gedoen het. Vandag is my versoek omdat ons as mense hier bymekaar is moet ons daaroor praat. In die eerste plek kom ons van die plekkie wat gesê word Richtersveld wat teen die Oranjerivier geleë is. Ons is ook van die Khoisan mense, die Namavolk. Almal die persone wat vandag hier is, is ons nasie. Ek glo ook dat hulle my so aanvaar en weet wat die apartheidswet aan ons gedoen het. Ons was Khoikhoi gewees en hulle het ons identiteit verander. Hulle het ons Kleurlinge genoem. Die vraag is wat is 'n kleurling? Alles wat gekleur is, van verskillende kleure, wat nie een kleur het nie, dit noem ons 'n kleurling. Daar was voedsel wat aan die voëls voorsien was wat van koring, mielies en van alle pitvoer gemeng was. Dit het ons Namavolk kleurlinge genoem. Dus kan 'n mens nie 'n kleurling wees nie. Nou wat ek vandag by die regering van vandag vra is, ons wat weet dat ons 'n volk is, ontvang ons as 'n volk. Maak ons identiteit reg. Die taal wat ons het, help en ondersteun ons daarmee. Dat ons hierdie taal as 'n vak ook by ons skole kan kry om te kan lees en skryf. Want ons voorvaders het dit so gehad en die apartheidregering het dit van ons ontnoem. As ons praat van ons grond dan praat ons van ons moeder. En as ons dit vra dan vra ons dat ons soos ons voorvaders moet leef. Soos ons gepraat het sal ons nou afsluit. Die wat vandag gespreek het is voorsitter Frederiks en JJ Links namens die ondervoorsitter. Baie dankie.

Koeboes Community Speaker:

Dear conference goers, I want to convey the message of the Nama Representative Council of Koeboes. The Namas of Koeboes mandated the representatives to demand the following rights from the government. Firstly, they feel that the government must issue the mechanism or the means to preserve the Nama language. This means that the government must recognise Nama as an official language. It also means that Nama must be included in our school syllabus and in our school curriculum. In fact it must be recognised as a school subject. Secondly, the Namas of Koeboes feel that the Nama language must be employed as a medium in education and training in general at our schools. Thirdly, the Namas also feel that the RDP must accommodate the restoring and upliftment of the Nama lifestyle. Lastly, they feel that the government must issue the Namas of Koeboes with the means to utilise and preserve the Koeboes Richtersveld resources as their forefathers did. Thank you.

H.C. Bredekamp:

We thank Mr Colin Young of Steinkopf for the translation. Finally, Mr Robert Derenge will now speak on behalf of the Khwe of Schmidtsdrift.

The Khwe of Schmidtsdrift Speaker, Mr Robert Derenge:

(In mother tongue and Afrikaans)

In die eerste plek bedank ek die chiefs, opperhoof en die voorsitter, prof. Bredekamp, en sy komitee wat die reëlings getref het. Ek kan ook laat weet, ons is ook, ons word ook erken, ons die Khwes is ook van die Khoisan wat vroeër tyd was in Suid-Afrika. En deur die oorloë het ons gevlug tot Namibië en sover het ons opgegaan tot Angola toe. Maar ons het ons taal behou en ons praat nog vandag ons taal. Ons is twee groepe wat in Schmidtsdrift bly en in tente woon in 'n groot gesukkelheid wat ook reg sock om huise te kry, om gronde te kry. Maar ons het onlangs 'n plaas gekoop, die plaas se naam is Platfontein. Maar ons dinge is nog nie reg nie, dit moet onderhandel word deur die regering van die provinsie, dat ons huise gebou word dat ons trek na Platfontein toe. Daarom ons het ook gesê met die taalkundiges wat by ons gekom het in Schmidtsdrift, ons taal moet ook erken word. Dat ons taal moet ook geskryf word, dat ons kinders moet ons taal leer in die skool, dat ons kan ook ons taal in die breë wêreld erken dat ons kan deur die regering se beskerming ons taal sonder vrese kan praat. Op hierdie stadium as ons begin ons eie taal praat by ander mense dit lyk asof hulle weet nie waarvandaan kom die taal nie. Maar ons kan niks maak nie, dit is nie ons wat so gemaak het nie. Die Here het ons geskape dat elkeen kan sy taal praat en sy taal behou. Daarom is ek baie bly oor hierdie geleentheid wat die Here vir ons gegee het dat die Khoisan moet gestig word dat ons die sterk leier, die opperhoof kry wat vir die hele volk sal saambind en saamtrek. Ek is baie trots op volgens dit. Ek dink ons sal mekaar ondersteun en groot kry en 'n volk op sy eie bestaan dat ons erken word. Ek bedank ook die mense wat ons genooi het vir die vergadering dat hulle self met hul eie ore hoor en self kan deelneem. As ons van hier af terug gaan na ons mense toe, ons gaan vir hulle vertel wat het ons hier gepraat wat het ons hier gedoen. Dit is vir ons baie belangrik in ons toekoms en die Here sal saamstaan dat ons saam hierdie stryd deurgaen. Ek sê baie dankie.

Gavin Petersen (Facilitator):

Just a brief summary. The speaker presented himself as part of the Khoisan group who as a result of all the wars and the different struggles in the past have fled north as far as Namibia and even Angola. But in spite of their dismissal it has been almost a miracle that they have managed to retain and protect their language. They are part of two groupings in Schmidtsdrift seeking rights to decent housing and education and also the repatriation of their land. They've managed to acquire or buy their own land or farm recently but the struggle on the housing front still continues. The most important point is that they support the notion of one strong leader under which all the different groupings can be united to wage this particular struggle. He thanked all the organisers and everybody else for this opportunity. Thank you.

We have 10 minutes before we have to leave this room. I am going to ask for any pertinent questions to be posed to any of the speakers in front here or any comment you would like to make. Any questions, any comments? At the back there. Just identify yourself and to whom you direct your question or comment to, please.

Koert Konza:

Ek is Koert Konza en ek wil graag aan die Grikwa-leier 'n vraag vra. Ek was as jong seun by oom Andrew le Fleur aan huis en daar het iets my baie getref. Een van die Griekwa boere het kom kla dat 'n skaap gesteel was. En hy het in 'n bakkie met mense 'n ent van die huis af stilgehou, en die mense het uitgeklim en al singende na die huis toe aangestap. Dit het my nogal baie getref. En toe kom oom Andrew na die deur toe en hy maak die deur oop en hy vra toe vir die meneer nou wat is die probleem? En hy sê toe hy kom nou net rapporteer dat daar 'n skaap gesteel is op sy plaas. En oom Andrew sê toe nou ja hy sal nou ingaan op die saak. En toe draai die man om en hy vra vir die vroumense toe om die presente te gee en daar word toe komberse en kussings aan oom Andrew oorhandig. En wat so knoddig was vir my, toe vra oom Andrew ook daarna waar is die geldbakkies, so asof hy net belangstel in die geld. So wat ek wil weet, wat was meneer Andrew le Fleur se posisie in die hiërargie van die Griekwawolk? Ek het vrae wat ek ook graag aan die Koeboes mense wil vra, dis nou in verband met die Suid Afrikaanse Volksvereniging. Voor ek aan meneer le Fleur of enige iemand wat die vraag kan beantwoord, I just want to translate to you.

The question is basically addressed to Mr Andrew le Fleur with regards to his hierarchy in the Griqua nation. Who is going to address that question? His position in the hierarchy. We'll hold that question – there is Cecil le Fleur.

Jansen, Griqua National Conference:

Ek is nie Cecil le Fleur nie, ek is Jansen van die Grikwa Nasionale Konferensie. Ek wil graag vir die meneer wat die vraag gestel het, sê dat hy moet sê na wie verwys hy? Watser Andrew?

Koert Konza:

Ek weet daar is baie Le Fleurs, maar dit was 'n spesifieke meneer Andrew le Fleur en hy was geadresseer as hoofman. En my stiefma is eintlik Griekwa en sy het ons genceem destyds, toe is ek nog baie jonk, toe het ons aan huis gegaan daar vir die naweek.

Jansen:

Meneer, ongelukkig kan ek nie daai vraag verstaan nie want die Andrew wat ek van weet is jare laas gesterwe wat die opperhoof was. En hierdie opperhoof wat nou hier sit is Andrew A. Stockenstroom le Fleur die tweede. So ek weet nie na wie hierdie persoon eintlik verwys nie.

Gavin Petersen (Facilitator):

Is daar 'n tweede vraag?

Eugene Hans, Cape Cultural and Heritage Organisation:

My name is Eugene Hans. I belong to the Cape Cultural and Heritage Organisation. What I would like to know is, we are having this conference here, at the conclusion of the conference, would we have anything cohesive in place that we can carry on from? We have identified ourselves as this, the people, the Khoi people, but I think that we have talked enough now; I mean so far to this point I am very glad through the grace of God that we are here and we are what we are. But I would like to sort of know when we are going to have a structure in place for the whole Khoi nation that we can go on with because as I've heard, the first speaker, he had a very prominent point. He has got the idea that we should take God first and then we should have transparency and then we must have accountability and then we'll get unification in diversity. Thank you Mr Chairman.

Gavin Petersen (Facilitator):

As your question is directed, I would assume to the conference organiser, I am going to ask prof. Bredekamp to explain to us what is the objective of this conference and this gathering in particular, and what they are hoping will come out of this.

H.C. Bredekamp

I think that is an important question. I also have to add that I think none of us here present can predict the outcome of this conference. We have not come to this conference with a blueprint. We only wanted to create space for people to voice their concerns, not only as academics, but also for people that identify themselves with their Khoisan heritage and culture. The outcome of this conference will therefore depend on the academics as well as the Khoisan representatives. Because I don't think that anyone of us can take it upon ourselves to say: This is what we want this conference to be. The Institute for Historical Research of the University of the Western Cape only wants to be a facilitator and nothing more at this stage. It's your opportunity to make something of it. I think it is equally important to make this point: that this is only the beginning of a battle. As prof. Richard Lee of Toronto University will say tomorrow: "It is a battle. The beginning of a battle for identity", and that is what we must understand. It is not a battle for land, that is not the purpose of this conference, but it is that you can understand that it is a beginning of a battle for identity in the new South Africa and in Southern Africa. Thank you.

Gavin Petersen (Facilitator):

I'm going to allow the gentleman in front, whose hand was up before you unfortunately, because, depending on how long the question is, we have got two more minutes. So I'm afraid I'm going to have to ask you to give this gentleman in front a chance. There is a microphone here. Thank you.

Namibian Institute of Educational Development Speaker:

Thank you. I will try to be very brief. We are here at this conference to learn a little bit of what is actually going on. We are from the National Institute of Educational Development and I would rather speak to the language development part as language as a means of cultural transmission and to preserve cultural identity. We are all language developers. First of all I just want to say to those of you who speak of your wish to introduce your language into schools, I will not commit the government to this part but from the side of the Institute of Educational Development in Namibia neither, we can assure you that we are seeking ways to collaborate across the border with our Khoisan people so we can establish links and the language is developed through the primary school up to secondary level. The first Khoisan children will write the language in grade twelve, matric next year. That's just the part of the offering.

Gavin Petersen (Facilitator):

Thank you for that contribution but as you are Namibian, you will have a chance on Tuesday. I am going to finish with the South African over there to ask the final question. Thank you sir.

Suid-Afrikaanse Interkerke, Eerwaarde Green:

Geagte Dames en Here.

Ek is eerwaarde Green van die Suid-Afrikaanse Interkerke oor die dinge en ook die Nasionale Voorsitter van Afrikaanse Landelike Stedelike Krisis Komitee. Ek wil net vandag vir u sê, jy kan nie 'n land het as jy nie 'n taal het nie. Jy moet 'n land en 'n taal hê en daarom moet ons almal veg daarvoor. Die ander kant van die saak is dit, by CODESA, hier is baie mense wat vandag hier sit, politicians. Toe daar onderhandel word vir die Nama taal het hulle geweier om daardie taal van ons te erken. En vandag sit ons soos 'n Esau wat sy geboortereg gaan verkoop het en nou weer terug wil kry. Ek dink hierdie persone is verantwoordelik vir die taal van ons geboortereg wat hy gaan verkoop het. Die politicians wat vandag hier sit, hulle was daar by CODESA gewees om vir daardie taal te veg. Net soos Esau die kans gehad het om sy geboortereg te behou het hy dit gaan verkoop aan Jakob en nou wil hy dit weer terug hê. Meneer voorsitter, ons kan nie 'n land het as ons nie 'n taal het nie. Ons moet 'n land en die taal hê.

Gavin Petersen (Facilitator):

Baie dankie. It was not a question, it was a statement, simply to the effect that you cannot have a land without a language and that the negotiators at CODESA sold us out. I am afraid that I have to conclude here. We've run out of time. We've contracted to finish at ten. We will have ample opportunity during the rest of the conference to ask as many questions as we want. For my part, thank you very much for allowing me to be part of this. Baie dankie. Dit was regtig 'n eer en 'n voorreg en ek wens die konferensie en almal van hulle voorspoed toe and really successful deliberations. I thank you very much and please if we can be back in the hall here by 17:30 promptly. Thank you.

Official Opening

H.C. Bredekamp:

The congregation may be seated. Good evening ladies and gentlemen. We call now on Reverend Chris Wessels to lead us in prayer.

Reverend C. Wessels:

Come let us pray. Dear Lord Jesus Christ, we thank you for the opportunity that we have tonight to meet in this way. We thank you that in the past few years so much has happened in our beloved country which made it possible, oh Lord, that we could also meet tonight in this particular hall. We thank you for all the miracles, we thank you for all the changes but we pray that you will also be with us during this conference where we hope to focus on a people that have been marginalised, suffering through centuries to the point where they lost all that they had: their language, their country, their dignity. We pray that the dignity of the Khoisan people will be restored and that you will lead us through this conference to do exactly that. We thank you for the University, the Institute for Historical Research for organising this conference and we pray that you will put your blessing on all that has been organised and that you will be with us because you have created us in your image in spite of the fact that we do not look the same. We thank you that we may follow you because you, by becoming man, have restored the dignity of man. Please also restore the dignity of each and every South African and give us all a rightful place in the sun in our beloved country. We ask this in Jesus's name with thanksgiving. Amen.

H.C. Bredekamp:

The choir of the Griqua National Conference will lead us in the singing of the National Anthem. We ask you all to stand.

Choir: (also sings Griqua anthem)

H.C. Bredekamp:

Thank you. And we thank them particularly for the singing of the Griqua anthem. We also thank the Chief Director of the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology who had shown the Rector of the University of the Western Cape, prof. Cecil Abrahams, the way to the table. Prof. Abrahams will introduce the Minister now.

Vice-Chancellor and Rector of the University of the Western Cape: Prof. Cecil Abrahams:

Honourable Minister, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. As the Rector of the University of the Western Cape, I am especially pleased to have this opportunity to introduce the Honourable Minister of Arts, Science and Culture, Lionel Mtshali. The Honourable Minister attended Kingsley, Anglican and St Augustin's primary schools and he obtained his Bachelor's Degree and UED from Rhodes University. He obtained his Honours degree from the University of South Africa, his Bachelor of Education degree from the University of Zululand and his Masters degree in education from the Orange Free State. The Honourable Minister has been a teacher and principal for twelve years, an inspector and circuit inspector for twelve years, a chief inspector for seven years. He was Minister of Education and Culture in the KwaZulu-Natal Government for three years and four months and he has been a member of Parliament in the National Assembly since 1994. He assumed his position of Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology in September 1996. Minister Mtshali has been a very active South African particularly in his communities working in the area of education in a very serious manner where he has been responsible for dealing with private schools and the paying of private teachers in the KwaZulu-Natal Government Service. He has interacted with rural communities and traditional leaders. He has been active in schools and rearranging the priorities in the buildings of schools. He has participated in the planning of modern colleges of education in KwaZulu-Natal and he's also been very active in the planning of skill centres in the rural areas and townships. Minister Mtshali comes to us with a political career which begins with the Inkatha Freedom Party in 1975. He has been the chairperson of the IFP Education Study group, he is the IFP Education spokesperson and he is also Chairperson of the IFP Parliamentary Caucus. He serves on the following Parliamentary Committees: Chairperson of the Adult Joint Committee, Member's Pension Benefits. He is on the Constitutional Affairs and Education Committee and he is Deputy Chairperson of Parliamentary Committees. Minister Mtshali has travelled extensively within the African continent and in Europe and America. The Institute for Historical Research, University of the Western Cape, is especially pleased that he could make himself available this evening to open this session and to speak to us.

Mr Lionel Mtshali, Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology

Master of ceremonies, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. I feel very honoured to be called upon this evening to open this historic conference. Allow me to begin my address this evening by saying how pleased I am to be speaking at such an important conference in the history of South Africa. This conference is historically important for various reasons. Firstly, it sets out to address the issue of Khoisan identities. As you all know the struggle over identity has always been and continues to be a highly charged political issue in

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South Africa. Indeed, the history of this country has been tied up with issues of identity. Apartheid and colonialism undermined peoples' identities by undermining their cultures. Apartheid was about defining peoples' identities according to their race. As prof. Tobias said in his opening address to the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa Symposium last year and I quote: "During the apartheid era, the entire life and destiny of everyone in South Africa was determined by an official and totally unscientific system of race classification. Every citizen's supposed race was determined by often ludicrous and insulting means." This classification was then used to govern every aspect of that person's life. This legacy means that the understanding and reaffirmation of identities continues to be highly important in the lives of South Africans, not least of all people of Khoisan descent. There have been many conferences and symposia to discuss Khoisan identity and culture, many books and exhibitions dedicated to the subject. But these academic interventions have generally excluded the very people on whom they focus, namely the Khoisan themselves. In this way, the production of knowledge has traditionally served to further oppress the Khoisan people who are all aware of the shameful history of many museums, both in South Africa and internationally, that have represented the Khoisan people in a multitude of derogatory ways. This conference is significant because it brings together academics and people of Khoisan descent in an open discussion forum in which the people who have for so long been the objects of research and knowledge are finally being recognised as active subjects, who will play a central role in determining the nature of representations of Khoisan culture. What it is really about is human rights, for cultural identity and cultural rights are integral to the creation of a democracy based on human rights. The cultural policies of my ministries are based on the belief that in articulating human rights through culture and in the affirmation of identities, it becomes clear that the cultural rights of one grouping have everything to do with those of the nation as a whole. Cultural rights are human rights and the new South African nation is built on the guarantee of these rights through the constitution. It is this guarantee and active promotion of current rights which is the basis of our common cultural interests. What I hope is that this conference and future conferences of this nature will keep in focus that the wish to understand must always be the wish to challenge oppression. One of the biggest problems faced by the Khoisan cultures is the way in which they are seen as static or as nearing extinction. This has a negative effect on the preservation of temporary Khoisan cultures which extends far beyond the rock art with which they are often exclusively associated. I hope that the delegates of this conference will focus on the preservation of Khoisan cultures in a way which summons the position of these cultures as an integral part of contemporary South African culture and lays the basis for the political and economic empowerment of the Khoisan people. The government's heritage policy recognises the importance of promoting living culture. I hope that this conference will go some way in encouraging all South Africans to gain knowledge of and celebrate the living culture of the Khoisan peoples, their oral traditions, dances, customs and art forms. This can only enrich our common cultural heritage. Let me say once again how pleased I am that this conference is taking place in South Africa at this important time in our country's history. I would like to wish you a productive and enjoyable time together. I thank you.

Chair: H.C. Bredekamp

Thank you, Honourable Minister. I know that your holiday was interrupted because of this conference. Yes, Ladies and Gentlemen, his presence here tonight, signifies a special commitment, a sacrifice on his part to share this evening with academics and people of Khoisan descent. That reminds me that a few weeks ago I got a call from the President's office. The President, realising he couldn't accept our invitation called on me to collect his message for the conference. I now wish to read that brief message of the President of this country to us all here. Mr Mandela says:

"It is a pleasure to extend greetings to you all on the occasion of the International Conference on Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage. The Khoisan have a history that spans thousands of years. Although their descendants live all over South Africa their languages are seldom spoken today. It is only now that our country and our region are free, that their history is being recovered. By challenging current perceptions and enriching our understandings of Khoisan cultural heritage, this conference will contribute to the renewal of our nation, our region and our continent. I urge our visitors to explore our beautiful country and take back wonderful memories with you. May I wish you every success on your deliberations".

Signed, Nelson Mandela, President of the Republic of South Africa, June 1997.

Dr Janette Deacon: Introduction of Professor Phillip V Tobias

I have great pleasure in introducing Emeritus Professor Phillip Tobias as our keynote speaker this evening. He is without doubt one of South Africa's most outstanding academics and is a scholar of international repute. Although he retired officially in 1993 from his position as Professor of Anatomy and Human Biology at the University of the Witwatersrand Medical School, he continues to play a key role in the field as Professor Emeritus and Honorary Professorial Research Fellow at the Palaeoanthropology Research Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand. And this is at an age when many of his contemporaries only watch television. Where much of us would be proud to have authored over 100 publications, Phillip Tobias has written or co-authored over 900 and the range of topics he has covered would leave you breathless. Where a few people

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have been awarded honorary doctorates, Phillip Tobias has received twelve. Where ordinary people may be invited a dozen times to give prestigious lectures, Phillip has given over 100. With experience like this, you cannot be surprised that we selected him to give this keynote address.

But there is another reason. As a teacher and student of human anatomy, he has had a long-term interest in the variation in the human species over the past two or three million years. He has studied aspects as diverse as chromosomes and the brain, the skeleton and behaviour, and the archaeological traces of the Khoisan peoples. He has been especially interested in tracing the history of scientists like Charles Darwin and Raymond Dart.

We extend a warm welcome to him this evening as he talks to us about "Myths and Misunderstandings about Khoisan Identities and Status".

Myths and Misunderstandings about Khoisan Identities and Status

Phillip V. Tobias

Professor of Anatomy and Human Biology, Emeritus

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

The Khoisan peoples of southern Africa are unique in at least one respect: More myths and misunderstandings have been held about them – and especially the San – than any other of our planet's populations known to me, I should like to look at some of these myths, and try to show how the researchers of the past 45 years have overturned them.

It is an appropriate time for the holding of this Conference on Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage, as we are in the middle of the third year of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People. On 21st December 1993, the United Nations adopted a resolution to proclaim this decade and it began on 10th December 1994. Its goal was stated to be, "To strengthen international co-operation for the solution of problems faced by indigenous people in such areas as human rights, the environment, development, education and health". Each year 9th August is set aside as the International Day of Indigenous People.

Who are the indigenous people of South Africa? A full list has not yet been compiled and of course much depends on how we define "indigenous people". It is hoped that the Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, scholars and representatives of the peoples of our country will soon address their minds to this broad question. Meantime, it may safely be claimed that both academics and political authorities would agree that the Khoisan be included as "indigenous peoples".

We owe our gratitude to the Institute for Historical Research of the University of the Western Cape, and the chairman of the Organising Committee of this Conference, Professor Henry Jatti Bredekamp, the Director of that Institute, and his Organising Committee, for giving us the opportunity to thrash out some of these questions. They could not have chosen a better time, for another reason – namely that, with the return of South Africa to UNESCO, heritage initiatives are becoming increasingly significant, both internationally and here in our own country.

On Naming Names

Against the background of South Africa's recent history, it is most important that great care be taken when labels such as Khoisan are applied to segments of the population. During the apartheid era, the entire life and destiny of everyone in South Africa was determined by an artificial, arbitrary and totally unscientific system of race classification. South Africa occupied a unique position in the world, in that it based its constitution, legislative system and practically every other phase of life on differential treatment of different sections of its population. These groups of people were spoken of as "races". Under the suffocating mentality of apartheid, all aspects of life came to be dominated by the classificatory status of every man and woman.

"The idea of race gained a tenacious grip on the minds of South Africans and, especially, of the political leaders. It became a national neurosis of the obsessional variety". I wrote those words in my little book, "The Meaning of Race" in 1961 and elaborated on them in the Second Edition (Tobias, 1961a, 1972).

Every citizen's supposed race was determined, usually by ludicrous and insulting means, such as pencils being placed in the hair of a subject! Once labelled, like zoological specimens, each person was subjected to a series of laws governing where she or he was permitted to live, what jobs might be held or not held, what schools and universities might be attended or not attended, what entertainment, hotel and restaurant facilities might be enjoyed or not enjoyed, with whom marriage and sexual relations were permitted or forbidden. Every aspect of life depended on one's "racial classification". Not far below the surface were notions of superiority and inferiority, purity and impurity. There were connotations of discrimination and segregation. Hence the allocation of people to groups and the naming of names were highly sensitive issues. Any thought that people were being singled out for special labels, with special consequences according to the label, was a curse to the great majority of South Africa's population.

In attempts to avoid the stigma of racial classification as in the apartheid regime's policies, at least two gatherings of scholars were held to try to arrive at suitable names which were not insulting to the peoples concerned and which were not loaded with ideas of inferiority and superiority. One of these was convened in Cape Town in November 1964 by Monica Wilson: those present were an archaeologist, Ray Inskeep, three anatomists and physical anthropologists, Lawrence Wells, Trevor Jones and myself, and one social anthropologist, Professor Wilson herself. The second and much larger meeting was a national interdisciplinary workshop convened by Professor Trevor Jenkins and myself in June 1971, under the aegis of the Royal Society of South Africa and the South African Institute for Medical Research. The 40 participants included anatomists and physical anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, human geneticists, language experts, medical scientists and social anthropologists. It was agreed to use different terms for the biological populations, language groups and the peoples' economies or modes of subsistence (Jenkins and Tobias, 1977). In this

