IN THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(TRANSVAAL PROVINCIAL DIVISION)

CASE NO. 18/75/254

9th DECEMBER 1975

In the matter of:

THE STATE

vs

S. COOPER AND EIGHT OTHERS

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COURT RESUMES ON 9th DECEMBER 1975

STOFFEL JOHANNES VAN DER MERWE, NOG ONDER EED:

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. SOGGOT: M'lord, my learned friend Mr. Pitman is not here, but I have been asked to carry on, and I will deal with matters which perhaps concern him less. Mr. van der Merwe, I want to put some passages to you from Easton. Do you remember that in Easton's main work, that is in "A systems analysis of political life" on page (vii) of the preface he says "this book remains a work confined to the theoretical level". I think you disputed that at one stage.

> "Its primary objects are to elaborate a conceptual structure and suggest where possible some theoretical propositions. Its goal is not to undertake the validation of the statements or to demonstrate definitively the application of such concepts. Testing is closely interwoven with theory, construction, each feeds and grows on the other, but for sustained periods of time it is vital in the development of the discipline that particular attention be given to the separate needs and problems of each".

Now in elaboration of that by Easton himself, I want to refer you to another work "The political system" by David Easton, do you have that? ---- I haven't got it available at the moment.

You haven't got it there. Well, what we have done is we have taken the trouble to photostat the relevant pages, if I can make one available to you. If you would look at page 53 please, may I refer you to the middle of the page.

MR. REES: M'lord, I think if my learned friend is referring

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the witness to a book, he should hand him the book. Also because there may well be passages out of context, and secondly it is desirable to allow the witness to look through the book.

MR. SOGGOT: M'lord, I am quite happy to reverse the process. If I may have that - on page 53 at the bottom:

> "In methodology this is so axiomatic that we need not labour the point here"

and this is the part we rely upon:

> "In strict use of the term fact there is no such thing as a pure fact. What we have in the concrete social world is a series of events in which human beings are involved. It is obviously impossible literally to describe an event, however long we might take or however limited the event in time and space, there is an infinite level of detail possible about an event. The aspect of the event, selected for description of the facts about it, is determined by the prior interest of the observer. The selection is made in the light of frame of reference that fixes the order and relevance of the facts. When raised to the level of consciousness this frame of reference is what we might call a theory - is what we call a theory. In this way even those who may feel they are interested exclusively in facts, must nevertheless be making some theoretical assumptions, otherwise it would be impossible for them to select meaningful facts. A fact is a particular ordering of reality in terms of a theoretical interest".

And then on page 54, which perhaps I can invite you to read without reading it aloud, M'lord has got that. ---- PAUSE

And / ...

And then, Mr. van der Merwe, could we refer you to page 57 please, at the bottom of the page, where he disousses what a conceptual framework is:

"Less metaphorically a conceptual framework consists of those theories and assumptions which an investigator uses in undertaking an analysis within a given field. It serves as a theoretical model to test the relevance of succeeding research".

And if I may interpolate, this, Mr. van der Merwe, is why we say that this man Easton is pre-empirical predictive. It goes on:

"It is a system of working hypotheses adopted and used only as long as it helps to orient empirical research in such a way that socially significant problems are better understood"

And then:

"There is nothing sacrosant about a theoretioal scheme like this, and the same one need not be adopted to help one understand different problems. The supreme test is its utility in understanding phenomena. The systems of hypotheses which can direct research to the greatest variety of significant problems, and which accordingly can help to unify and give meaning to apparently diverse kinds of research, and thereby form the best framework".

And that is our case, Mr. van der Merwe, that is that all Easton is doing is provide a certain working hypotheses as it were signposted for research? ---- Edele, ek dink dit is - ek meen ek sal net graag wil antwoord met 'n paar ander stukkies hieruit. (PAUSE)

Are you ready, Mr. van der Merwe? ---- Edele, ek sou

net / ...

net graag in die verband wil antwoord met iets wat David Easton elders ook geskryf het spesifiek, en spesifiek in antwoord op kritiek wat teen sy benadering uitgespreek is, en die gedeelte kom uit 'n tydskrif met die naam "Social Sciences Information" Vol.12 No.3 van 1973. Maar, Edele, voor ek daarby kom moet ek miskien net eers 'n klein paragrafie uit Easton se boek "Systems Analysis" op bladsy 12. Dit is net die stukkie volgende op wat die Verdediging die vorige keer gekwoteer het, waarin hy dan uiteengesit het - die vorige stukkie - waarin hy uiteengesit het dat sy belangrikste fokus in die uiteensetting van hierdie werk is om 'n ontledingsraamwerk of wat hy noem "a framework of reference - conceptual framework" daar te stel, 'n begripsraamwerk. Dan gaan hy voort en hy sê:

> "This is not to say that our conceptual analysis will in fact be neglectful or devoid of theoretical propositions or generalisations. As we shall see that cannot be avoided anymore than concept formation and theoretical propositions can be entirely ignored in strictly empirical research".

Dan gaan hy aan en sê:

> "But where such generalisations occur and to the extent that they do they can be accepted as welcome unanticipated dividends of the efforts to establish a logically integrated set of criteria of significance for empirical research".

Die laaste sinnetjie daar bevestig in 'n mate dat sy belangrikste fokus val op die daarstel van 'n "conceptual framework". Maar soos hy nou hier sê:

> "This is not to say that our conceptual analysis will in fact be neglectful or devoid of theoretical

propositions / ...

propositions or generalisations",

En, Edele, dan ..(Mr. Soggot intervenes)

Mr. van der Merwe, can I interrupt you, can you please read on, just the next paragraph? ---WITNESS READS:

"These dividends will themselves lead research directly towards broader general theory. Precisely because of this, as we shall see clearly the discovery of useful categories of analysis really carries us more than just a short step towards the fuller general theory about which I have been speaking as an ultimate ideal. But in spite of the deliberate intrusion of many generalisations which I shall be consciously striving toward in this volume, it is not a fully matured general theory or even a close proximation to one. Rather I shall be exploring a conceptual framework around which the more complex structure of the theory may be possible - may possibly in the slowness of time be added".

Now is that not a definitive description of what he is about? --- Edele, soos ek sê ek betwis die feit nie dat sy belangrikste fokus is op die daarstelling van 'n konseptuele raamwerk nie. Maar die punt wat ek net op hierdie stadium wil maak is daardie wat hy sê:

"This is not to say that our conceptual analysis will in fact be neglectful or devoid of theoretical propositions or generalisations".

In ander woorde daar kom wel teoretiese proposies en veralgemenings in die raamwerk voor, en dit word ..(Mr. Soggot intervenes)

But these are theoretical generalisations which are pre-empirical theory, these are theoretical propositions and

generalisations / ...

generalisations which are the guideposts or the signposts to people like you to do research? ---- Edele, daardie proposisies en veralgemenings wat hy maak is wel empiries van aard, en dit is, ek meen, daar is alle voorbeelde in die boek waar hy proposisies en veralgemenings ondersteun deur verwysing na empiriese gegewens.

Well he obviously got guidance from reality.

MR. REES: M'lord, I am sorry to interrupt at this stage, but the witness just now was busy making a proposition, my learned friend then interrupted him when he was halfway through, and I do not know whether he should not go back to the original proposition and finish that, otherwise I don't know.

COURT: But he is still busy with the same thing, Mr. Rees.

MR. REES: Yes, M'lord, but he was going to compare this other portion that he was busy with.

HOF: Het u not die ander verwysings wat u wil noem? ---- Ja, Edele, dit is korrek. Soos wat ek sê in hierdie stuk is daar dan ten minste sommige proposisies en veralgemenings vervat, en dit vorm in werklikheid die basis vir sy konseptuele raamwerk. En dan, Edele, die aanklag wat ook genoem is dat hy abstrak is ensovoorts, word dink ek redelik goed weerlê deur die feit dat sedert sy werk gepubliseer is, 'n groot aantal mense in die gebied, dit wil sê sowel in die Staatsleer as in die sosiologie wat 'n verwante deel of wat 'n verwant gevat het van sy begrippe gebruik gemaak het en hulle wel geoperasionaliseer het. In die aanhangsel tot hierdie artikel wat hy hier het, verwys hy na as ek reg onthou 'n stuk of 104 werke waarin dit die geval is, waarin ander mense sy konsepte oorgeneem en geoperasionaliseer het. En dan soos wat hy sê ten opsigte van daardie lys, hy sê:

"At / ...

"At the end of this paper I list some research in which one or other form of my concepts have been applied. This list has been collected randomly and makes no claim at being comprehensive or exhaustive".

Edele, net so om daardie argument dat sy konsepte on-operasionaliseerbaar is uit die weg te ruim. En dan gaan hy spesifiek daaroor op bladsy 41 van hierdie stuk, ek kan vir u 'n afskrif daarvan laat kry mettertyd, gaan hy spesifiek oor die moontlikheid om 'n teorie van revolusie rondom sy begrippe te konstrueer. Hy sê:

"Even though I have not sought a partial theory of change a systems analytical approach is not without some guidelines about the direction in which a theory of revolution might move. Clearly such a theory could not omit reference to the failure of a political system to meet demands of its members through adequate outputs, to the special activities to the politically relevant members of the system, to the responsiveness of the authorities, to needs and demands, to the effect of feedback on the use of violence, and to the myriad of conditions leading to the decline of support for a given regime. A theory of revolution would also mean to distinguish clearly between withdrawal of support for the regime and authorities. This would represent the political aspects of revolution, and efforts to change the social environment in my technical sense. This would enable us to differentiate conceptually between a social and purely political revolution. Finally, in so far as demands for change were directed towards

the / ...

> the political community rather than to the regime and authorities alone, we would be confronted with what in the literature is called a nationalist revolution, something very different as we know from a regime or social revolution although often occurring simultaneously".

En dan meer spesifiek op die vorige punt af op bladsy 43: "Peculiarly enough .." of miskien moet ek net 'n paragraaf vroeër begin:

> "A third class of specific criticism deals with the kind of contribution to knowledge represented by my work. It is said that the shortcomings of systems analysis, as with other contemporary scientific attempts at generalising about politics, lies in its inability to produce lawlike assertions and predictions. The complaints have been lodged that not one generalisation can be found in my writings. Peculiarly enough, the complainants are correct in their assessments but wrong in their observations. They are patently in error when they say generalisations are not to be found. My writings abound with them, as any simple effort to propositionalise my work would show".

Edele, die punt wat daaruit voorkom is dat hoewel die fokus van Easton se werk staan op 'n hoër vlak van teorie konstruksie, is daar in sy werk baie proposisies en empiriese veralgemenings te vinde, wat maklik operasionaliseerbaar is. Ten opsigte van byvoorbeeld spesifiek die hele konsep van steun vir die stelsel en legitimiteit wat daarmee saamgaan, het Easton saam met 'n ander persoon 'n hele boek, of 'n hele stuk navorsing, empiriese navorsing onderneem, en sy eie teorie of

kan / ...

kan ek sê sy eie konsepsuele raamwerk geproposisionaliseer en in die praktyk bewys. Sodat hierdie konsepsuele raamwerk van Easton wel empiries ondersteun word aan die een kant, aan die ander kant die moontlikheid laat om 'n verskynsel soos byvoorbeeld revolusie aan die hand daarvan te bespreek, en ook, sal ek sê, dit word ook in die praktyk word daardie begrippe gebruik. Daar is ook twee ander werke van ...(Hof kom tussenbei)

HOF: Hierdie "Political systems" op bladsy 58, die laaste sin wat met "nevertheless" begin, lees dit vir uself, het dit betrekking op die saak? ---- POUSE - Edele, ja, dit het vir my betrekking op die saak, in die sin dat Easton daar aanvoer dat agter alle empiriese werk wat gedoen word, hierdie basiese assumpsies gemaak moet word, kan ek maar sê oor wat is relevant en wat is nie relevant nie, en dit is dan juis in my oordeel, ek weet nie, hy sê "that one way of promoting the maturisation of a discipline is to raise their assumptions to the point of consciousness for purposes of careful examination". In ander woorde dat enige empiriese ondersoek behoort gerugsteun te word deur, of sal ek sê word gerugsteun/deur basiese assumpsies oor wat is relevant en nie vir so 'n tipe ondersoek. En dit is juis in daardie opsig waar die verband van my hele vertrekpunt met Easton vir my funksioneel was. In dié sin dat dit 'n raamwerk is aan die hand waarvan 'n mens 'n hele klomp veralgemenings en proposisies logies uiteen kan sit. Edele, 'n mens sal ook in hierdie verband moet in gedagte hou die ideaalstelling wat daar volop in Easton se werk is dat die ideaalstelling van 'n omvattende algemene teorie aangaande politiek, wat alles omvat en alles verklaar, wat soos wat hy sê iets is waarheen gestreef moet word, hoewel dit nog nie op hierdie

stadium / ...

stadium bereikbaar blyk nie. En ek wil sê dat daardie stelling daar op nie net die Staatsleer nie, maar op feitlik meeste of - laat ek liewer sê meeste van die sosiale wetenskappe van toepassing is.

HOF: Mnr. van der Merwe, is dit 'n geleë oomblik om die verdaging te neem? ---- Dit is goed, Edele.

U sal onthou waar u opgehou het? ---- Ja, ek sal onthou.

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