

SOUTH AFRICA: CONTESTED TRANSITIONS

The inauguration of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela as President on 10 May 1994 marked the end of an era, indeed the end of a way of life, for South Africa. Or did it? Most South Africans finally became citizens in their own country. Their new constitution guaranteed the equality of all citizens and promised not only equity but redress for the discrimination and injustice of the past. The imagination, persistence, and resilience that characterized opposition to minority rule could now be turned to reconstruction and development. New leaders, new rules, and a new agenda. Yet much remained the same. Even as the new leaders moved into their offices, laws, administrative rules, common practices, interpersonal expectations, and more all reflected the legacy of discrimination and racism.

Many commentators describe South Africa as in transition from apartheid to development. In practice, reconstructing South Africa requires confronting multiple, overlapping, and sharply contested transitions. How, for example, should government be organized? Will local authorities facilitate genuine popular participation or function to entrench elite privilege? Will education fulfill the promise of protesting students and become fundamentally liberating, or will schools remain conservative barriers to change? Can socialist and communist ideas guide national development or will they be discarded as obstacles to economic growth and entry into the global capitalist system? Will vibrant community organizations retain their militancy and autonomy, or will they be constrained and disempowered as they become part of the bureaucracy?

The seminar's major task will be explorations in comparative social history. What are the roots of the current situation, and in what ways do they shape and constrain future possibilities? How do people in majority rule South Africa confront the ideas that have shaped their understanding of their own country as they reconstruct their history? How do official stories interact with popular tales? Who are the story tellers and their audiences?

Participants in this seminar will explore efforts to create a non-racist, non-sexist, democratic South Africa by analyzing these and related contested transitions. Within that common framework students will identify particular arenas of special interest to pursue in more detail.

This seminar has no prerequisites and will not assume particular prior knowledge or experiences. In the expectation that students will have diverse backgrounds and different level of familiarity with Africa, the seminar will enable participants to develop their own interests and their expertise.

This seminar will require both broad and focused reading by its participants. That reading must be critical and analytical. The assigned readings are of course entry points to the topics considered. Accordingly, seminar participants will be expected to develop their own supplementary reading lists throughout the Quarter.

Organization

This course seeks to achieve the breadth of a survey through the interactive style of a seminar. We will meet weekly. I shall take responsibility for introducing the topics, reviewing relevant literature, and suggesting appropriate readings. Class participants will share responsibility for the content and conduct of the seminar, including summarizing and criticizing their readings, contributing to the collective online discussion, and suggesting avenues for developing further the topics we discuss.

Each seminar participant will select, early in the Quarter, a particular organization or individual in contemporary South Africa for continuing attention throughout the course. As the Quarter progresses, seminar participants will focus part of their effort on that organization or individual, including noting current events, developing a relevant bibliography, doing supplementary reading, and sharing their puzzles, observations, and insights with other class members.

Weekly videos (Mondays, 12 noon – 1 pm) will provide additional perspectives on contemporary South Africa. Occasional longer films or other special presentations may be scheduled during the Quarter.

Requirements

A seminar is the product of its participants. Hence, each participant will share in the responsibility for the direction and conduct of the seminar, as well as completing her/his own individual work.

Students will be expected to do the necessary reading for the course, both from the works suggested in the syllabus and from sources they locate themselves. Students will be expected as well to participate in the seminar's collective effort, including reporting on particular readings, presenting their own ideas and insights, providing feedback to their colleagues, and contributing to the collective online discussion.

To facilitate regular and prompt feedback on students' work, the assignments for this seminar will be relatively brief and distributed throughout the Quarter. Students will prepare two Analytic Reviews of selected readings and a Critical Essay on the organization or individual on which they focus. To reinforce the collaborative nature of our work, students will comment online on each week's topic, regularly add to their online scrapbook on their primary focus, and share responsibility for a group presentation on a contested transition in South Africa. At least once during the Quarter, students will present their work to the seminar.

Clearly, this seminar will require initiative, self-direction, and collective responsibility on the part of each participant. Each individual's own work is intended to contribute to a collective product. For that to be possible, each individual's own work must be thorough, creative, and timely.

Except by special arrangement, written work will be expected when due and will not be accepted after the last class meeting.

Readings

Several sorts of readings are necessary for this class: broad overviews of major events and actors, analyses of specific issues and interactions in South African history, politics, and society, and empirical studies of particular people, places, and events. Both to provide alternative perspectives and because historically most South Africans have had limited access to research libraries, scholarly journals, and academic publishers, we will also draw on the observations and analyses presented in novels, poetry, and drama.

The Stanford Bookstore has been asked to stock the following books, all available in paperback editions.

William Beinart, *Twentieth-Century South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Revised Edition, 2001)

Nadine Gordimer, *Burger's Daughter* (Viking Penguin, 1981)

Hein Marais, *South Africa: Limits to Change—The Political Economy of Transformation* (London: Zed Books, Second Edition, 2000)

Among the other books that class members may find useful as basic resources is (available in paperback edition; listed in the Stanford Bookstore as Recommended):

Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, Revised Edition, 2000) [a more conventional history, organized chronologically]

All seminar participants will be expected to review a limited set of basic readings for each seminar topic. Some will be available as a Course Reader, while others will be available through Course Reserves in Green Library and electronically on the course web site: <http://www.stanford.edu/class/history48q>. The History 48Q Course Reader will be ordered online from University Readers and shipped directly. Placing an order provides immediate electronic access to the first 20% of the Course Reader in pdf format. Ordering instructions:

1. Students order online at <http://www.universityreaders.com/students> and follow these exact steps:
2. Click the "Create New Account" button (or enter your existing login information and skip to step 6)
3. Select your State from the dropdown menu.

4. Select your University from the resulting dropdown menu.
5. Enter the fields on the page such as a "login/password" you'd like to use and all applicable "address" info.
6. Click the "Save" button to create your account, and you'll automatically be taken to your university page.
7. At your university page, click the "Add to Cart" button to the right of the course pack you want to purchase.
8. Click on the "Checkout" button on the next page.
9. Review your address info and click on the "Continue" button on the next page.
10. Review our service agreement page and click the "I Agree – Continue Checkout" button on the next page.
11. Select shipping and payment preferences from the dropdown menus. Click the "Continue" button.
12. Enter payment details and click the "Place Order" button to finalize your order. The authorization will take about 5-10 seconds. You'll be prompted with an Invoice screen once your order has been authorized and completed. You will also receive confirmation via email regarding your order.

Readings for each topic are listed in the schedule of seminar sessions. Since some important sources, especially those we identify during the Quarter, may not be on library reserve, seminar participants will need to locate them in the general library collections and share them with other class members.

Seminar participants will need to supplement those suggested readings with other materials relevant to the topics considered and to the domain of transition on which they focus.

Studying contemporary Africa requires regular use of electronic as well as print sources. Course assignments and discussions will therefore encourage students to develop their electronic searching and locating skills for sources available in both print and electronic form.

The list of seminar sessions, topics, and dates, along with suggested readings, is attached. The materials included in Course Reader are marked ^{CR}. The materials available electronically on the course web site are marked ^Ws. Note that the full text of articles in many professional journals is now available to the Stanford community online (library.stanford.edu select E-JOURNALS on the top menu enter the title of the journal in the search box). The lists of readings for each theme are of course themselves introductions to broad topics and themes. Course participants will need, therefore, to develop the skills of addressing a list that contains more readings than can be accomplished within a single week and that must be supplemented by additional readings selected by each individual. Those skills include: identifying quickly the major thrust of the argument presented in an article or book; surveying the contents of a book through its preface, introduction, table of contents, and initial and concluding chapters; associating authors with particular schools of thought and/or methodologies; reading for a narrowly defined purpose; building on reading previously done; and sharing reading responsibilities with other class members. Each week, each class member will need to make judicious choices about what to read and how to read it.

Evaluation and Grading

The primary criteria for grading will be individual progress (in mastery of the course themes and relevant literature and in critical, analytic, and synthetic skills) throughout the Quarter and contribution to the collective effort of the class. Thus, no student will be disadvantaged by a relatively more limited background at the outset.

Written work will be evaluated as it is submitted. I am happy to meet with seminar participants to supplement the written evaluations.

This course will require a substantial independent and self-sustained effort, as well as a creative contribution to a collective enterprise. For those who accept that challenge, the course should prove demanding, involving, and rewarding.

Schedule of Seminar Sessions

Introduction: Contested Transitions in South Africa (6 January)

Our principal concerns in this initial session are to introduce the course content and organize the seminar, to explore the interests of course participants, and to begin to address general issues of approach and method in the study of contemporary South Africa.

Marais, *South Africa: Limits to Change*, Introduction and Chapter 1

South African History: An Overview (13 January)

What are the major roots of the contemporary transitions in South Africa? How can we use our knowledge of the past, itself contested, to understand the interactions and conflicts of the present? And how does the present inform and revise what we (think we) know of the past? To address those questions, we must explore both history and historiography—*who* has written the history of South Africa? *whose* history has been written? what have been the principal tools for writing that history and what are the consequences of using those tools? who tells the story differently?

Beinart, *Twentieth-Century South Africa*, Part I, Chapters 1-3, 5

————— *supplementary readings* —————

Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, Chronology; Chapters 1-4

Liberation Struggles: From Generations of Resistance to Negotiations (20 January)

The struggle against apartheid in the late 20th century had deep roots. Resistance to white rule in South Africa has taken many forms, including direct armed confrontation, infiltration and subversion, collaboration, negotiation, boycott, individual protest, mass demonstrations, assertion of local culture and experience, nationalism of several sorts and forms, and more. Our first task in this session is to understand the history of resistance in South Africa—ideas, contexts, forms, practices, and outcomes. How has each generation sometimes built on, sometimes ignored, and sometimes rejected earlier approaches? We will consider as well the path to majority rule, which traversed both armed struggle and extended negotiations. Who were the negotiators? For whom did they speak? On whose support could they rely? What made a negotiated transition possible?

Beinart, *Twentieth-Century South Africa*, Part I, Chapter 4; Part II, Chapters 6, 8, 9-10

Marais, *South Africa: Limits to Change*, Chapter 2

^{Ws} Z. Pallo Jordan, "Socialist Transformation and the Freedom Charter," in Bernard Magubane and Ibbo Mandaza, editors, *Whither South Africa?*, pp. 89-110

————— *supplementary readings* —————

[Note: The list of supplementary readings is especially lengthy today to help you work on: (1) developing a clear sense of an author's major concerns and argument after a quick reading, (2) reviewing multiple readings quickly to determine which best meet your needs (and therefore to which you will return), (3) associating authors with a particular approach or school of thought, (4) exploring readings that are available only in the library, and (5) building on previous reading. Hence, you should look at all of these readings and then select a few for careful attention.

Bernard Magubane, *South Africa: From Soweto to Uitenhage: The Political Economy of the South African Revolution*, Chapters I-II, IV, and VIII

Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, Part Four, "The Struggle is My Life" and Part Ten, "Talking With the Enemy"

^{Ws} Richard Ballard, Adam Habib, Imraan Valodia, and Elke Zuern. "Globalization, Marginalization and Contemporary Social Movements in South Africa," *African Affairs* 104, 417 (October 2005): 615-634.

Alister Sparks, *Tomorrow Is Another Country: The Inside Story of South Africa's Negotiated Revolution*, Chapters 4-5 (and skim)

Robert M. Price, *The Apartheid State in Crisis: Political Transformation in South Africa, 1975-1990*, Chapters 5-6, 8-9

Stephen Zunes, "The Role of Non-Violent Action in the Downfall of Apartheid," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 37,1 (March 1999):137-169

- ^W_S Nomboniso Gasa, "Feminisms, motherisms, patriarchies and women's voices in the 1950s," in Gasa, editor, *Women in South African History*
Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, Chapters 5-8

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Historical Construction and Reconstruction (27 January)

With its long history of racial discrimination and systematic exploitation and repression, what was to be the foundation for constructing the new South Africa. Political participation, universal suffrage, and a majority government were and are essential. But what might promote unity in this very divided society? The demand to convict and imprison apartheid's leaders and administrators was loud and strong. But the new South African government opted for reconciliation. A very visible and very prestigious Truth and Reconciliation Commission was created to expose what had happened and for those who cooperated, including assassins and torturers, to grant amnesty. Political compromise? popular theater? an effort to shape attitudes, morals, and ethics?—the TRC remains enigmatic. Whose interests were served? With what consequences?

The primary reading assignment for this session is to explore the web site of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission <<http://www.doj.gov.za/trc>> . You should be sure to locate and skim a copy of the Commission's Final Report (*which may not be available on the TRC site*).

To support that review of primary source materials, each student should locate and list at least three sources (print or electronic) on the TRC, including analyses that are sharply critical of the TRC and its role, and read and be ready to report on one of those sources.

————— *supplementary readings* —————

Antjie Krog, *Country of My Skull* (a very personal account of the TRC)

- ^W_S Elizabeth Stanley, "Evaluating the Truth and Reconciliation Commission," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 39,3(September 2001):525-546
- ^W_S Fullard and Rousseau, "An imperfect past: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in transition," in Daniel et al., *State of the Nation: South Africa 2003–2004* [Note that the annual editions of the *State of the Nation* and other HSRC publications are available online: www.hsrc.co.za.]
- James L. Gibson and Amanda Gouws, "Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Attributions of Blame and the Struggle Over Apartheid," *American Political Science Review* 93,3 September 1999):501-517
- Wilmot James and Linda van de Vijver, editors, *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, especially Colin Bundy, "The Beast of the Past: History and the TRC"

Constructing the New South Africa: Mass Democracy and the Entrenchment of Privilege (3 February)

Today we focus on the first of the series of overlapping transitions that we will consider. A major challenge of this era, both before and after the 1994 election, is to write the rules for what has been termed the New South Africa. What interests are to be given the strongest protection? Why? How? What is the appropriate division of authority and responsibility among national, provincial, and local leaders? What are the desirable, and reasonable, boundaries between public and private? between individual and community? How should the rules themselves be written and modified? How can broad participation be assured and minority interests recognized without entrenching privilege or impeding change?

Marais, *South Africa: Limits to Change*, Chapters 3, 8

- ^{CR} Richard Calland, "Democratic Government, South African Style 1994–1999," in Andrew Reynolds, editor, *Election '99 South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*, pp. 1–15
- ^{CR} Roger Southall and John Daniel, "The State of Parties Post-Election 2004: ANC Dominance and Opposition Enfeeblement," in Daniel et al., *State of the Nation: South Africa 2004–2005*, pp. 34–57
- ^{CR} Richard Calland, *Anatomy of South Africa: Who Holds the Power?* "Conclusion. Money and Power: The New Establishment"

supplementary readings

- ^W_S Glenn Adler and Eddie Webster, "South Africa: Class Compromise . . ." *Southern Africa Report* 15,2 (2nd Quarter 2000): 3-7
- ^W_S Carolyn Bassett and Marlea Clarke, "South Africa: . . . Class Struggle," *Southern Africa Report* 15,2 (2nd Quarter 2000): 7-10
- Tshidiso Maloka and David Gordon, "Chieftainship, Civil Society, and the Political Transition in South Africa," *Critical Sociology* 22, 3 (1996): 37-55
- Ashwin Desai, *We are the Poors: Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, Chapter 13: Mpumalanga's New War
- Andrew Reynolds, editor, *Election '99 South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki* (Oxford: James Currey, 1999)
- Roger Southall, "The South African Elections of 1994: The Remaking of a Dominant-Party State." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 32, 4 (December 1994): 629-655
- Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, Chapter 9

Identities: Persistence and Transition (10 February)

Often, the history of South Africa is presented as the story of the creation and mobilization of identities, especially those of race and ethnicity. Yet for many South Africans, that assertion is itself a contentious claim. We are born Black, or Zulu, or Indian, or female, they insist. In this view, people cannot choose or easily modify who they are. Others, however, insist equally energetically that identities are socially constructed and can therefore be socially modified. Since we too face discrimination because of race and skin color, we too are black, asserted South African militants who were themselves legally categorized as Indian or Coloured. In this session we consider identities—asserted and assigned, inherited and created—as another of South Africa's contested transitions.

- ^E_R Leroy Vail, "Introduction: Ethnicity in Southern African History," in Leroy Vail, editor, *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, pp. 1-19
- ^E_R Deborah Posel, "Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth-Century South Africa," *African Studies Review*, 44,2(September 2001):87-113
- ^W_S Xolela Mangcu, "The state of race relations in post-apartheid South Africa," in Daniel et al., *State of the Nation: South Africa 2003-2004*, pp. 105-117
- ^W_S Bentley, Kristina and Adam Habib. "Racial Redress, National Identity and Citizenship in Post-Apartheid South Africa," in Adam Habib and Kristina Bentley, editors, *Racial Redress and Citizenship in South Africa*, (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2008), 3-32.
- ^W_S Ivy Matsepe Casaburri, "On the Question of Women in South Africa," in Bernard Magubane and Ibbo Mandaza, editors, *Whither South Africa?*, pp. 137-159
- Gordimer, *Burger's Daughter*

supplementary readings

- ^W_S Edward Ramsamy, "Post-Settlement South Africa and the National Question: The Case of the Indian Minority," *Critical Sociology* 22, 3 (1996): 57-77
- ^W_S Teresa Dirsuweit, "The Problem of Identities: The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex Social Movement in South Africa," in Ballard, Habib, and Valodia, editors, *Voices of Protest: Social Movements in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, in pp. 325-347
- Dubow, *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa*, Chapters 1 (Introduction) and 8 (Conclusion)
- "Feminism and Democracy: Women Engage the South African State," Special issue of *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 32,2 (November 2005), including:
- ^W_S Shireen Hassim, "Voices, Hierarchies and Spaces: Reconfiguring the Women's Movement in Democratic South Africa," *Politikon* 32,2 (November 2005):175-193
- ^W_S Natasha Erlank, "ANC Positions on Gender, 1994-2004," *Politikon* 32,2 (November 2005):195-215

From the RDP to GEAR: Old Socialism and New Capitalism (17 February)

For much of their history, the African National Congress and its allies, especially the unions and the Communist Party, linked opposition to apartheid to opposition to capitalism as an economic, social, and

strategy for mobilization against discrimination and oppression. Many people expected post-apartheid South Africa to have a radically different education system. Yet much of the debate today seems to assume that once they have been desegregated, schools will be organized and function pretty much as they have in the past. Here, then, is another of South Africa's contested transitions. What are the competing agendas? Whose agendas are they? What are the current forms of struggle in this domain?

- ^W_S Michael Cross and Linda Chisholm, "The Roots of Segregated Schooling in Twentieth-Century South Africa," in Mokubung Nkomo, editor, *Pedagogy of Domination: Toward Democratic Education in South Africa*, pp. 43-74
- ^F_R Linda Chisholm, "The State of South Africa's Schools," in John Daniel et al., *State of the Nation: South Africa 2004–2005*, pp. 201-226
- ^W_S Crain Soudien, "The "A" Factor: Coming to Terms With the Question of Legacy in South African Education," *International Journal of Educational Development* 27, 2 (March 2007): 182-193.
- ^F_R African National Congress, *The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework*, "Developing Our Human Resources," pp. 58-68
- ^F_R *The Children's Charter of South Africa* (Adopted by Children's Summit of South Africa, 1 June 1992)
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- supplementary readings —————
- ^W_S Jonathan Jansen and Nick Taylor. *Educational Change in South Africa 1994–2003: Case Studies in Large-Scale Education Reform* (Washington: World Bank, 2003). [www1.worldbank.org/education/globaleducationreform/pdf/SouthAfricacasestudy.pdf {2007.01.02}]
- ^W_S Vally, Salim. "From People's Education to Neo-Liberalism in South Africa," *Review of African Political Economy* 34, no. 111 (2007): 39-56.
- Jonathan D. Jansen, "The Race for Education Policy After Apartheid," in Yusuf Sayed and Jonathan D. Jansen, editors, *Implementing Education Policies: The South African Experience*, pp. 12–24
- Jonathan Jansen, "Knowledge and Power in the World System: The South African Case," in Jonathan Jansen, editor, *Knowledge and Power in South Africa: Critical Perspectives Across the Disciplines*
- ^W_S Joel Samoff, "Bantu Education, People's Education, OBE: Whither Education in South Africa?" in Everard Weber, editor, *Educational Change in South Africa: Reflections on Local Realities, Practices, and Reforms* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2008)

Reconstruction and Development: Policy Choices (10 March)

We conclude the Quarter by exploring the broad transformation agenda in contemporary South Africa, as it has evolved from the Reconstruction and Development Programme of the 1994 election to Growth, Employment, and Redistribution through the 1999 election. What has been the trajectory of these efforts to build the new South Africa on the legacy of apartheid? Why? With what consequences for the future?

- ^W_S John S. Saul, "Cry for the Beloved Country: The Post-Apartheid Denouement," *Monthly Review* 52,8(January 2001):1–51 (a critique of this article and Saul's reply are also on the course web site)
- ^W_S John S. Saul, "The Strange Death of Liberated Southern Africa," in John S. Saul, *Decolonization and Empire*, pp. 147-179
- ^F_R Roger Southall, "Introduction: The ANC State, More Dysfunctional than Developmental?" in Buhlungu et al., *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*, pp. 1-24
- ^W_S Gillian Hart, "Changing Concepts of Articulation: Political Stakes in South Africa Today," *Review of African Political Economy* 34, no. 111 (2007): 85-101
- Beinart, *Twentieth-Century South Africa*, Part III, Chapters 11, 13
- Marais, *South Africa: Limits to Change*, Chapters 8-9
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- supplementary readings —————
- ^W_S Roger Southall, "The state of party politics: Struggles within the Tripartite Alliance and the decline of opposition," in Daniel et al., *State of the Nation: South Africa 2003–2004*
- ^W_S Xolela Mangcu, *To the Brink: The State of Democracy in South Africa* (Scottsville, SA: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press, 2008), "Will he Pull us back or Push us over the Brink? Jacob Zuma and the Prospects for Democracy," pp. 153-182

- ^W_s Mare, "The state of the state: Contestation and race re-assertion in a neoliberal terrain," in Daniel et al., *State of the Nation: South Africa 2003–2004*, pp. 25–52
- ^W_s Roger Southall, "Introduction: Can South Africa be a developmental state?," in Buhlungu, et al., editors, *State of the Nation: South Africa 2005–2006*, pp. xvii–xlv
Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, Part Eleven, "Freedom"
Neville Alexander, *An Ordinary Country: Issues in the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy in South Africa*, Chapter 7: "South Africa: Example or Illusion?"
- ^W_s Ashwin Desai and Richard Pithouse, "'What stank in the past is the present's perfume': Dispossession, Resistance, and Repression in Mandela Park," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 103,4(September 2004): 841–875
- ^W_s Richard Ballard, Adam Habib and Imraan Valodia, "Conclusion: Making Sense of Post-apartheid South Africa's Voices of Protest," in Ballard, Habib, and Valodia, editors, *Voices of Protest: Social Movements in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, in pp. 397-417
- ^W_s Sheila Meintjes, "Naked women's protest, July 1990: 'We won't fuck for houses,'" in Gasa, editor, *Women in South African History*
- ^W_s Michael MacDonald, "The Political Economy of Identity Politics," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 103,4 (September 2004):629–656

Video Schedule (Mondays, 12-1 pm)

Jan	12	<i>We Jive Like This</i>	
Jan	19	—	Martin Luther King, Jr. Day
Jan	26	<i>Generations of Resistance</i>	
Feb	2	<i>Maids and Madams</i>	
Feb	9	<i>In a Time of Violence, Part 1</i>	
Feb	16	—	Presidents' Day
Feb	23	<i>In a Time of Violence, Part 2</i>	
Mar	2	<i>In a Time of Violence, Part 3</i>	
Mar	9	<i>Testing Hope: Grade 12 in the new South Africa</i>	

Joel Samoff
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