# The Rainbow Nation: Conscience and Self Adjudication for Social Justice, Governance and Development in the New South Africa

by

## Dr. Nana Adu-Pipim Boaduo FRC

pipimboaduo@live.co.za, pipimboaduo@yahoo.co.uk

Associate Researcher: Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, Centre for Development Support (Bloemfontein); Lecturer: Faculty of Education, Department of Curriculum Studies (QwaQwa), University of the Free State, South Africa

#### **Abstract**

The colonialists branded Africa as the Dark Continent. When they brought the sun with them to shine on the continent and the darkness was dispersed, they deliberately instituted systems of rule that propagated the dehumanization of Africans in any part of the continent that they settled; plunging Africa into further abyss of darkness, even darker than what they first came to find. The South African experience was outstanding in this plunging perspective. The philosophy of racial segregation endorsed officially by the minority Apartheid government was enforced with brutality unequal to the Hitler genocide. Through this deliberate act of dehumanization the Apartheid system created and nurtured social injustice, education inequality and socio-political segregation. The Apartheid system indoctrinated its kit and kin to falsely believe in white supremacy over other ethnic groups. The fight to end this obnoxious, unsustainable and despicable philosophy led to protracted attacks and alienation among ethnic South Africans. From 1990 to 1993 South Africa ushered in a new philosophical and political ideology of reconciliation which climaxed in 1994. Thus, this political change requires new education to humanize all South Africans. How the new education can humanize South Africans is the core purpose of this analytical paper. The author believes that all South Africans should receive a new education through institutions of learning, especially tertiary. Therefore, higher education institutions need to take a leading role and develop courses to educate, provide guiding initiatives for open consciousness and thus, change mindsets. It is when this is done that there can be selfadjudication, social justice and human rights for the economic, educational, industrial and other developments to provide for a safe life for all.

**Key Concepts**: Adjudication, self-adjudication, alienation, conscience, consciousness, contemporary, conscientice, dehumanize, dehumanization, development, domesticated, humanized, indoctrination, institutionalization, mindset, new education, re-education, refinement, retributive attitudes, retributive emotions, moral judgment, wretchedness.

#### Introduction

South Africa has a problem which is not yet resolved after fifteen years of democracy. This problem is not a problem of sharing of values of either material, spiritual or cultural. It is rather a group of selfish settlers (whites) seeking to have and retain all irrespective of who is left with nothing (Motlhabi, 1987). South Africa, unlike any other country on the planet earth has had a peculiar history of racial segregation officially endorsed and enforced by the state for over half a century (Berki, 1977). This deliberate act of dehumanisation of one racial group by another has been the most inhuman act to be instituted against human beings. Apartheid can best be defined as the deliberate upliftment of the consciousness of the white South African against the deliberate down-trodding of the black South African. This act of dehumanization created and nurtured a problem in which the whole world, overtly and covertly was called upon to intervene to bring it to an end (Motlhabi, 1987; Mathonsi, 1988; Joyce, 1990; Moyana, 1989). Hence, the official institutionalisation of the apartheid policy led its adherents to psychologically indoctrinate their kit and kin to falsely believe that whites are super-human beings while blacks are sub-human (Marks & Trapido, 1987). The fight to end this obnoxious philosophy led to protracted hatred, attacks on innocent people and neighbouring countries by the apartheid fundamentalists which generated hatred among racial groups in South Africa and culminated in the setting up of the "homelands" and the development of townships with no life supporting activities. All of this contributed to the nursing and nurturing of crime hardened individuals bent on revenge at the slightest provocation. In fact, apartheid led to the development of retributivereactive attitudes among all population groups. And thus, the results of the dehumanization process endangered everyone in South Africa. However, apartheid's worst contribution was that it impeded the development and acquisition of worthwhile education for all South Africans including the development of segregated social, political and economic infrastructures. And indeed, as stated above, the worst of all was the nurturing of retributive reactive attitudes among all South Africans leading to all sorts of confrontations at the slightest provocation. And in fact, there had been direct relationship between having a particular emotional response to unjust treatment and properly grasping the wrongness of the wrong as well as the perpetrators' culpability and properly condemning the wrong – which was apartheid.

Philosophically, people have defended and criticised the moral value of retributive reactive attitudes. Defenders have explored their intimate connections with self-respect, resistance to justice, accountability, agency and personhood. The criticism here pertains to the deliberate human action of subjugating another group of humans to subservient position. Furthermore, some philosophers argue that we cannot understand responsibility without these emotions, and that philosophically and culturally, dissolving and overcoming these retributive emotions is both healthy and virtuous.

However, how can these be done when people who know and have power to do what is right deliberately nurture retributive reactive attitudes in an environment where injustice reigns supreme and applied to a particular section of the society? Definitely, people must liberate themselves if such social, political and educational injustices are culminating towards the welfare of only a section of society which justifies a liberation struggle for the people to liberate and free themselves from an unjust system of government.

Indeed, we are clearly aware of how the liberation struggle started and intensified and forced the apartheid political leaders of the settlers to the negotiation table in the early 1990s which finally climaxed on the 27th April 1994, leading to the birth of the New South Africa, dubbed by Archbishop Tutu as the "*Rainbow Nation*". This change was astounding and hailed by the world Commonwealth of Nations as the most significant development in the twentieth century. However, most of the apartheid beneficiaries saw the change as the sale of their superior race birth right by their leaders to black people; the indigenous and majority group of the country; which they felt must be resisted. Thus, the extent of their retributive emotions immediately after 1994 was judgmental which resulted in several insurgent activities organised by white extremists that caused lives to be lost; another event that impacted negatively on social and economic development, and especially foreign investment (Ball & Peters, 2000; Haywood, 1997; Calvert & Calvert, 2001).

# **Changing the South African Mindset with a New Education**

With the birth of what Desmond Tutu called the *Rainbow Nation*, came the need to change the mindset of South Africans. This necessitates the call for a new education which has dawned and must be instituted without further delay. Hence, all South Africans need to change their mindset in order to change their negative retributive reactive attitudes to enhance social justice, defend the rights of the people and their property and see each other as citizens of the *Rainbow Nation*. Certainly, the time to humanize the dehumanized South African is going to be another protracted war; even bigger than the liberation struggle itself (Smertin, 1990). This will thus require reeducation founded on the principles of the humanist philosophy of '*Ubuntu*' and '*Botho*' that is humanness, love, brotherhood and respect (Ozman & Craver, 1986; Morgenthau, 1993). Our higher institutions of learning should serve as the beacon and therefore propagate this sermon of unity, social justice and human rights.

Generally, the dehumanization of South Africans covered both the white and black racial groups. The white South African indoctrinated their kit and kin and in the process dehumanized themselves which narrowed their perceptual conception of reality and interconnectedness. They were deliberately taught to refute the reality that peace and survival are interrelated, multilateral and negotiable. It is therefore true to indicate that white South Africans need to be re-educated and humanized too (Du Toit, 1995; Chazan et al, 1999; Calvert & Calvert, 2001).

In the same vein, Black people who have been deliberately excluded from any worthwhile participation in the apartheid government; including their various counterparts - Indians and coloured - also need to be re-educated. Thus, the new education must help to humanize the dehumanized South Africans and bring about economic development and positive social integration to enhance social justice, enhanced leadership and good governance.

#### **New Education for South Africans**

What should be the goal of this kind of new education being proposed in this discussion? Generally, the goal of all types of education – to be it formal or informal, traditional or cultural – is to cause change; change for every South African (Sivananda, 1990; Rupert, 1979; Boaduo, 2005). Truly, the implicit theory of education is to bring about change and manage that change constrictively, and the indication is that when people receive constructive education they are able to deal with its various manifestations in a manner that is generally acceptable by society. South Africans must get to that stage and negotiate their future positively through dynamic and progressive education that will lead to positive initiatives leading to all forms of new and creative development. It is the view of the author that, it is only when all South Africans have received the new-education and have changed their mindsets and become humanized and do not see themselves as whites, blacks, Indians and coloureds but citizens of the Rainbow Nation can there be integrated economic development, conscience adjudication, self adjudication, social justice and the respect for human rights (Deegan, 2001). Even though reactive attitudes are affective ways of viewing agents of either construction or destruction; this is in response to the good or bad will that are demonstrated in their actions. Truly speaking, retributive attitudes such as resentment, indignation, guilt and contempt are subsets that involve seeing the agent to whom they are directed as having done wrong or right. The correction of past atrocities can be based on the new education where the world view of South Africans in the Rainbow Nation can be directed positively to enhance human worth which in turn will turn into productive niceties contributing further to both social and economic development.

# Framework for a Culture of Unity and Peace Education in South Africa

The first most important ingredient that comes to mind when we talk of culture of unity and peace is education. The South African concepts of "*Ubuntu*" and "*Botho*" should be carefully ingrained in the philosophy of the new education for dissemination to all citizens. Specifically, education is the only means through which people can be brought together to deliberate on issues that affect their general welfare and well-being. Education forms the base of every development – social, political, economic and industrial; education buttresses successful governance of nations and enhances social justice, and education eliminates ignorance and dictatorship (Boaduo, Milondzo & Adjei, 2009).

Hence, education opens up whole new vistas of understanding enabling people to learn to tolerate others, forgive and forget past atrocities committed against them, what they believe in, and what they would want to achieve collectively. It is both theoretically and practically impossible to talk about a culture of peace if people lack the basic understanding of that very culture and the role it can play in bringing about peaceful integration of people. In brief, education liberates. The basic significant aim of any form of education whether it is formal or informal is to bring about change among people and in societies. It is change to transform the educated into responsible, progressive, dynamic, constructive and reasonable individuals who would be able to play a role in the advancement of the South African society; through the transfer of positive societal, traditional and cultural norms and values.

The new education for the new South Africa, therefore, should serve as the most important single weapon that can be used to change and liberate the South African society and direct its activities in a positive direction. Thus, higher institutions should play a leading role in the propagation of this new education. If South Africans receive this relevant, applicable and responsible new education, it is expected that the people will exhibit advanced levels of change in their reactive attitudes, values, knowledge and skills; and generally, they will display advanced behaviour and values compatible to the level of the new education received.

Furthermore, this new education that people will receive should result in better thinking and reasoning wherein they would know more and argue better so they can contribute positively to meaningful changes in society that will benefit the immediate and distant communities which should reflect an understanding of events both past and present. Thus, their overall level of interaction, tolerance, judgment, cooperation and sacrifice should be at a stage pertinent to the level of the new education, therefore establishing the main ingredients for self adjudication, social justice, human rights and peace; ingredients very important to survival, advancement and development (Binn, 1993; Boaduo, Milondzo & Adjei, 2009).

Furthermore, my contention is that a culture of unity and peace education should be able to:

- use the acquired knowledge, skills and the expertise to live better,
- contribute better to human advancement,
- interact better with other cultural groups and races (thereby eliminating xenophobia and terrorism from society),
- help to bring about the ever-awaiting positive societal changes thereby leading South Africans closer to the allegorical Biblical heaven or the promised land.

When such ideals are achieved through a culture of unity and peace education, cultures and races are fused, then peace, social justice, human rights and respect of other people and their property can be ushered in South Africa for peaceful co-existence. In this way we can overcome the retributive emotions and develop a new culture that aims for the forgiveness for past atrocities.

# Using History and Geography in the New Education for Re-socialization

South Africa is historically, morally, socially, economically, politically and educationally mapping its way through the tumultuous sea of transition and transformation which is progressively transforming all facets of South African society (Marks & Trapido, 1987). The immediate change that needs to be made is the creation and the bringing into focus the existence of an informed conscience (Nkrumah, 1965). This will require a lot of knowing and changing of beliefs and thinking for every South African (Deegan, 2001). Simply put, the mindset of every South African needs to change and this can be realized through a new education in various forms- formal, informal and non-formal. Thus, the government should provide civic education to all citizens of the country through various media based on the value systems of the country which can go a long way to reconcile all the people who will learn that they are part of the nation despite their unique and different language, culture and beliefs (Chazan et al, 1999; Dunn, 1978; Turner & Hulme, 1997; Taylor & Williams 2004)

To talk about economic development, the enhancement of social justice, governance, learning societies and the organization of ethical leadership in a society in which the majority of the people have been deliberately denied living education, or who have never known, experienced or enjoyed the fruits of respect, recognition and peace is tantamount to standing in the middle of the Sahara Desert and craving for a swim in the sea or a bottle of ice-cold water from a fridge (Ball & Peters, 2000; Hansen, 1987; Visser, 2001; Smith, 1999; Visser, 2002; Smith, 1992).

Admittedly, in the new South Africa, both the old and the new generations need a new education that will change the personality and the mindset of each person. Therefore, we strongly advocate for an enlightenment education (Sivananda, 1990); an enlightenment education is the only means to bring about economic development, positive social integration and regeneration. The reasons for this claim are numerous (Morgenthau, 1993; du Toit, 1995; Taylor & Williams, 2004; Davidson, 1997; Coetzee et al, 2001; Todaro & Smith, 2006), and thus, a few are articulated as:

- The basic aim of enlightenment education is to transform the educated into enlightened, informed and sociable independent individual. Socialization therefore is inherent in enlightenment education.
- Through enlightenment education, socialization and integration can be achieved for a
  divided society where the thinking of many citizens is based on race, colour, origin,
  language, names and ethnicity.
- After the enlightenment education, the people would then realize the essence of unity in diversity; meaning that we are different but we share the same space and have common goal- to develop economically, socially, politically and live and work together in peace and harmony. That is the meaning of the concepts *Rainbow Nation* many colours that fuse to give a distinct picture of harmony, peace and beauty (Davidson, 1999; Morgenthau, 1993).

Furthermore, when people have received an enlightenment education (as opposed to divisive education as propagated during the apartheid era which sought to divide people) it is expected that:

- The people will use the acquired knowledge and skills to exhibit changes in everything that they do reactive attitudes, values and morals.
- They would be expected to reason and argue better, tolerate better, know better and integrate better.
- Enlightenment education brings economic development and positive change. Such development and change should reflect among other things; the understanding of events, people and places, their levels of interaction, tolerance, judgment and above all co-operation. These should be at a level pertinent to the extent of the enlightenment education. South Africans need this enlightenment education.
- They are able to analyse retributive attitudes and act accordingly.
- They are able to identify retributive emotions and moral judgment and act accordingly.
- They are able to avoid retributive emotions that have negative consequences.
- They know the relationship between retributive emotions and forgiveness.

All these are very important not only to survival, co-existence, economic and social development and advancement, but for the protection of the people, hence their safety, dignity and their property as well (Binn, 1993; Eze, 1997; Shore, 1983).

Other expectations from enlightenment education are that people who receive it should be able to use the acquired skills, knowledge and expertise to live better, contribute better to human advancement, interact better with other racial groups, and understand events and issues from a broad perspective in order to be able to contribute better to the solutions of socio-economic and political problems. These, cumulatively, will lead to respect for human beings, their property and rights. In South Africa, where series of generations have been deliberately denied enlightenment education; one should not expect the rights of humans to be respected by many in the country. This is a task that must be tackled by the provision of the new enlightenment education; a task that must be accomplished at all cost.

Geographically, Nature knows why the locations of places on the planet earth are what they are. Philosophically it is Nature's way of refinement. Natural refinement leads to excellence and excellence leads to perfection. The perfection can be understood from the point of view of geographical enlightenment education. The main essence is the indispensable quality that makes geographical enlightenment education able to teach that the planet earth and its environment as well as the people who inhabit it vary from place to place.

This helps to foster integration to be able to benefit from each other mutually (Fairhurst, 1993; Harper, 1992; Sivananda, 1990). Unfortunately, there were a greedy few South Africans who would always want to take everything and cling to them irrespective of the consequences. The South African scenario has been a glaring example, and not until the people are completely provided with the new education will they be able to discard their anger and stand against such greed, be united, respect people and property and contribute to economic development to the benefit South Africans, there cannot be any human rights or social justice.

Also, De Vries (in Bird, 1993) argues that geographical enlightenment education makes knowledge of the physical characteristics of people and places, environmental perceptions and behaviour become the basis for understanding the interrelationships and the need for humans to integrate and live together and respect each other's rights. Therefore coming from Europe, Asia or Australia to settle in Africa or leaving Africa to settle in Europe or America does not, in any way, pillage us into war (Hitchner & Levine, 1967). We all need enlightenment education to be able to live amicably together as one no matter where we come from or the colour of our skins. Hence, each of the diverse groups of the *Rainbow Nation* has a contribution to make towards the social, political educational and economic development of the nation (Coetzee, 1986). The focus should therefore be on the strengths of all the parts that form the whole of South Africa instead of a few from such groups exhibiting hegemony and hatred and who work for societal disintegration (Kaufmann, 1968).

Certainly, geographical conscious awakening plays a potential role in every aspect of social change. What happens to a person's consciousness determines whether that person has been humanized or dehumanized (Akinpelu, 1981; Nkrumah, 1965). There is no neutrality in this respect because nobody ever rises beyond the level of the consciousness awakening. Every social act results in an individual's consciousness being either deformed, dehumanized and destroyed (as has been the case during the apartheid era) or transformed, recreated and humanized through protracted education (as is required through the enlightenment education and should be the case in the new South Africa). The essence of consciousness in true humanization involves the raising of people's consciousness upon the nation. Individuals are made conscious of their consciousness in order to be human (Nkrumah, 1965). A dehumanized person has no conscience and does not know the rights of a humanized person. This has been the South African fallacy even after the liberation, and this is one reason for enlightenment education.

Segregation in everything - education, settlements, resorts, hotels, in busses and on streets - was used during the apartheid era to degrade and dehumanize not only the black people but also the whites too. In this respect, there is the constellation of postulates, a series of propositions that slowly and subtly, with the help of the media and institutions of learning; worked their way into the consciousness of South Africans and shaped their narrow view of their country. These same means (educational institutions and the media) must, this time, be used in a positive way to reverse and reshape the views, retributive attitudes and values of the new South African for the good of the *Rainbow Nation*.

#### South Africa's Hard Won Freedom and Aftermath

The hard won freedom of South Africans is a freedom for all the people who live in the country. It is a freedom to respect, protect and keep, and if it is a revolution, it is a revolution for all South Africans and no one should either sit on the fence or be sidelined. Many of the people did it for all by sacrificing their lives to make it come about, because the world saw that it was necessary and the geography and history of the land supported it.

Pertinent to the success of all revolutions is the change of mindset, retributive attitudes, personality and perceptions from those who governed before the revolution to the enlightenment education. The enlightenment education should help South Africans to cultivate positive, energetic, broad and constructive consciousness and develop worthwhile conscience. The apartheid philosophy narrowed the mental and reasoning capabilities of all its adherents to believe that they were right without respect to the geography and history of the land they came to occupy.

The hard won freedom is also about liberation; liberation not for a replacement of masters, but liberation for a quantitatively and qualitatively change of South Africans through a rebirth or renaissance, and re-education. Thus, a human renaissance and enlightenment education to instill social justice, respect for human rights to assist human discipline based in the idea that the individual makes society, therefore, if the individual (South African) changes positively, the whole society will automatically respond to the change. This change is not as simple as we might think, however we must remember that our liberation struggle altered the total outlook of our people in many ways. For instance, geographical integration has been much more pronounced than any other change, making masters feel that they had lost their strong hold on their servants; and servants feeling that they are now equal to their masters. Yet, this is not very important overall, what is important is not the position lost or gained but the changing of the consciousness and the mindset of all. We know and apartheid has taught us that negative thoughts are destructive, so we must shed them totality. For instance, the concepts of baas and kaffir must be something of the past, because April 1994 should have ended all the emptiness, desperation, passivity and the bass-kaffirhood tradition. These concepts have no place in the new education dictionary or in the consciousness of a newly constructive South African.

# The Need for Progressive Change: The Liberated Mind

In every revolution, the conquest of the mind - in this case the conscience and consciousness of the people - is very essential. The magical, naive and creative critical consciousness of the people must be identified. This constitute the three stages in the individual's mental growth and awareness from the domesticated mind to the free wherein indoctrination is cast aside and a positive consciousness is put in its place, a process for the new South Africa, so the new South African can forth with a liberated mind.

Thus, for South Africa to be able to uphold and enhance economic development, social justice and human rights there is a need to shed the old ego, retributive attitudes and perceptions and remove the deliberately implanted negative doctrines of apartheid detrimental to the integration of society, success, survival and unity. People must learn and develop a completely new ego, attitudes and perceptions. Hence, South Africans need to develop a new mindset, a change need to be going on in every South African for a revolutionary consciousness awakening, indeed, the most definite essential ingredient of any successful revolution. This is a major task; however, every responsible South African citizen should contribute to make it achievable by all means (Motlhabi, 1987).

## The Dawning of the New Era and its Problems

A new era has dawned upon South Africa, and the new South African should produce the liberated mind. This call calls for a daunting task to be articulated by all - the aged, the old, the youth and the toddlers (du Toit, 1995). And to be able to achieve this, the aged and the young should receive the enlightenment education to develop a new mindset.

Therefore, the militant South African youth of yesteryears should be transformed into constructive, productive and peace loving youth. And the youth of today should realize that objective social reality does not exist by chance, but as a product of human action (consider the liberation struggle) and strategic planning (not chance). Hence, if men and women produce social reality, then transformation that leads to social reality is a historical task and this is really, therefore a task for all South Africans, and in a similar context, human rights is another task that must be tackled and achieved through the combined efforts of all South Africans. In other words, the new era, the new South Africa and the new society with an enlightenment education is in a state of transformation with reality, transforming everything (the people, their character, their mindset, thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, values and morals) and the people transforming reality (inter-racial unions, institutions and settlements desegregations).

This tide of events that has started in the new South Africa cannot be halted (just as the liberation struggle, with its impediments could not be halted) until it has come to its natural peak where reality and the people will have been completely transformed and merged as one. These are the only times that we would be able to talk about conscience adjudication, self adjudication, learning society, ethical leadership and human rights and actually practice them.

Furthermore, the South African revolution is a qualitative change that has been both physical and mental. In this context, the physical revolution or liberation came to a close in April 1994, now it is about the mental revolution or liberation which started with Steve Biko who unofficially (but officially recognized after April 1994) in the 1970s launched the Black Consciousness Movement, an era which altered the peoples' whole outlook to life, development, society, politics, and culture, and made them aware of themselves as subjects of a negative historical process.

#### **Conclusion**

This paper has sketched what is required in South Africa to live up to the concept "Rainbow Nation". Thus, the education proposed can be called "Democratic Civic Education" and that our institutions of higher education should develop courses that will ascribe to the principles discussed in this paper. It is important to alert all progressive South Africans that philosophically, physical slavery is easy to fight because it is tangible, it can be seen and easily attacked and defeated. However, mental slavery is intangible and cannot be seen and attacked and defeated, yet it is as dangerous as the HIV/AIDS virus, and therefore the last enemy in South African society. Consequently, we must all join hands to fight and defeat it through the use of enlightenment education (Sivananda, 1990). Remembering that to succeed in this endeavour, we need a new mindset to find ourselves and our self-worth to develop positive human consciousness, and take the responsibility to find the truth about ourselves and the "Rainbow Nation". For the new generation both black and white, we need to become aware and know that our parents did not tell us the truth about our country, therefore we must find the truth ourselves through enlightenment education and place our country in a win-win position so that it can aspire to become a great nation in the new millennium.

#### References

Akinpelu, J.A. (1981) An introduction to philosophy of Education. Oxford: Macmillan.

Ball, A.R. & Peters, B.G. (2000). Modern politics and governments. (6<sup>th</sup> ed.). London: Palgrave.

Berki, R.N. (1977). The History of political thought: A short introduction. London: Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa. N.J.

Binn, T. (1993). Geography and education. UK Perspective. In *Progress in Human Geography*, 1791: 101-110.

- Bird, J. (1993). The Changing of Geography: A critical guide to Concepts and methods (2nd Ed.) Oxford: Claredon Press.
- Boaduo, N.A.P. (2005). Vision 2016 and Self-reliance: How can an innovative and vibrant education system contribute to its realization? In *Lonaka: Bulletin of the Centre for Acadeic Development: Instructions in Higher Education within the context of a technological, globalised knowledge-based society.* Gaborone. University of Botswana, October 2005 pp. 1-5.
- Boaduo, N.A.P., Milondzo, K.S. & Adjei, A. (2009). Genesis of Peace Education in an era of Xenophobia and Terrorism: The Case of Africa. In *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 9, March 2009.
- Calvert, P & Calvert, S. (2001). Politics and society in the third world (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). London: Pearson Longman.
- Chazan, N., Lewis, P., Mortimer, R., Rothchild. & Stedman, S.J. (1999). Politics and Society in contemporary Africa (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publisher.
- Coetzee, J.K. (ed.) (1986). Development is for people. Johannesburg: Macmillan Publishers South Africa Pty Ltd.
- Coetzee, J.K., Graaf, J., Hendricks, F. & Wood, G. (eds.) (2001). Development: Theory, Policy and Practice. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davidson, B. (1997). Modern Africa: A Social and Political History (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). London: Longman.
- Deegan, H. (2001). The Politics of the New South Africa: Apartheid and after. London: Pearson Longman.
- Dunn, J. (editor.) (1978). West African States: Failure and Promise A study in comparative politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Du Toit, P. (1995). State building and democracy in Southern Africa: Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Washington DC: United State Institute of Peace Press.
- Eze, E.C. (editor) (1977) Postcolonial African philosophy: A critical reader. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

- Fairhusrt, U.J. (1993). The Humanities: Demise, Dilemma: Addressing the challenge of Africa 2001. In Dialogue with the Future Volume 1 number 1 p. 66.
- Hansen, E. (ed.) (1987). Africa: Perspectives on peace and development. United Nations University studies on peace and regional security. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Harper, R.A. (1992) At issue: What is Geography's contribution to general education? In Journal of Geography. May/June 1992. Volume 1, Number 2 pp. 4-25.
- Heywood, P. (editor). (1997). Political corruption, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Hitchner, D.G. & Levine, C. (1967). Comparative Government and Politics. New York: Dod, Mead & Company Inc.
- Joyce, P. (Compiler) (1990). The rise and fall of apartheid: The chronicle of a divided society as told through South Africa's newspapers. Johannesburg: Struik Publishers.
- Kaufmann, W. (1968). Existentialism from Dostoevsky to Sartre. The basic writings of existentialism, many never before translated. New York: Meridian Books The World Publishing Company.
- Marks, S. & Trapido, S. (editors) (1987). The politics of race, class & nationalism in twentieth century South Africa. London: Longman Group UK Limited.
- Mathonsi, E.M. (1988). Black matriculation results: A mechanism of social control. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers, Educational Division.
- Morgenthau, H.J. (1993). Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace, brief edition revised by Kenneth W. Thompson. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Motlhabi, M. (1987). The theory and practice of black resistance to apartheid: A social-ethical analysis.
- Nkrumah, K. (1966). Consciencism. London: Panaf Books.
- Nkrumah, K. (1965). Neo-colonialism: The last state of imperialism. London: Panaf Books.
- Ozman, H.A. & Craver, S.M. (1986). Philosophical Foundations of Education (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed.). London: Merill Publishing Company, A Bell and Howell Company.

- Shore, H. (1983). The Struggle for Mozambique: Eduardo Mondlane. London: Zed Press.
- Sivananda, S.S. (1990). Enlightened Education. Durban: Divine Life Society of South Africa.
- Smertin, Y. (1990) Kwame Nkrumah. Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- Smith, D.M. (1992) Redistribution after apartheid: Who gets what where in the New South Africa. In *Area*, Vol. 24, No. 4. December 1992, pp. 350-358.
- Smith, D.M. (1999). Social Justice and the Ethics of Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa. In *Ethics, Peace and Environment*: Vol. 2. No. 2. pp.157-177.
- Taylor, I. & Williams, P. (editors) (2004). Africa in international politics: External involvement on the continent. London: Routledge.
- Todaro, M.P. & Smith, S.C. (2006). Economic Development (9<sup>th</sup> ed.). London: Pearson Addison Wesley.
- Turner, M. & Hulme, D. (1988). Governance, administration & development: Making the State work. London: Palgrave.
- Visser, G. (2001). Social Justice, Integrated Development Planning and Post-Apartheid Urban Reconstruction. In *Urban Studies*: Vol. 38. No.10. pp. 1673-1699.
- Visser, G. (2002). Social Justice and Geography: Towards a South African Geographical Research Agenda. In *Acta Academica*: 2002, Vol. 34. No. 1. pp. 68-87.