Review

Philosophical analysis of education for the enhancement of development, social justice and good governance in South Africa

Dr. Nana Adu-Pipim Boaduo FRC

Senior Lecturer: Faculty of Education, Department of Continuing Professional Teacher Development,
Walter Sisulu University, Mthatha Campus and Affiliated Researcher:
Faculty of Economics and Management Sciences, Centre for Development Support, Free State University,
Bloemfontein Campus: South Africa

E-mail: pipimboaduo@live.co.za or nboaduo@wsu.ac.za or pipimboaduo@yahoo.co.uk

Abstract

Historically, Africa was branded as the Dark Continent by the colonialists. However, when the sun shone and the darkness was dispersed, another form of deliberate dehumanization started plunging Africa into further abyss of darkness. South Africa was particularly outstanding. The politico-philosophical ideology of racial segregation endorsed officially by the minority Apartheid Government was enforced with brutality. Through this deliberate act of dehumanization Apartheid created and nurtured social and political problems. The Apartheid System led its adherents to psychologically indoctrinate their kit and kin to falsely believe in white supremacy. The fight to end this obnoxious politico-philosophical ideology led to protracted hatred, attacks and alienation. Apartheid, specifically, generated hatred among racial groupings and endangered all South Africans. In 1994, the New South Africa ushered in a new politico-philosophical ideology of reconciliation. It called for a new education to humanize all South Africans. How the new education could be used to humanize South Africans in the new democratic dispensation is the core purpose of this analytical paper. The conclusion that could be drawn is that it is only when all South Africans have received the new education with open consciousness and change their mind sets could development, social justice and human rights be practically practised for the benefit of the citizens of the Rainbow Nation.

Keywords: Adjudication, adjudicator, alienation, conscience, consciousness, contemporary, conscientice, dehumanize, development, domesticated, humanized, indoctrination, institutionalization, mindset, new education, re-education, refinement, retributive attitudes, retributive emotions, moral judgement, wretchedness.

INTRODUCTION

South Africa has a problem. 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 but 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 400 years (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. 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).

The official institutionalisation of the apartheid policy led its adherents to psychologically indoctrinate their kit and kin to falsely believe that the white race is super-human while the black race is sub-human (Marks andTrapido, 1987). The fight to end this obnoxious philosophy led to protracted hatred, attacks on innocent people and neighbouring countries. This action by the

apartheid fundamentalists generated hatred among racial groups in South Africa which culminated into the setting up of the "homelands" and the development of townships with no life-supporting activities. All these contributed in nursing and nurturing of crime-hardened individuals bent on revenge at the slightest provocation.

Philosophically, the practice of apartheid led to the development of retributive-reactive attitudes among all population groups. The results of the dehumanization process endangered everyone in the country. 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. Worst of all was the nurturing of retributive reactive attitudes among all South Africans leading to all sorts of confrontations at the slightest provocation.

Psychologically, 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 and politically, 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 pertains to the deliberate human action of subjugating another group of humans to subservient position who may react anyway.

Furthermore, philosophers have argued that we cannot understand responsibility without these emotions. Philosophically and culturally, dissolving and overcoming 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 reigned supreme and applied to a 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. All these justify a liberation struggle for the people to liberate and free themselves from unjust system of government and such was the case of South Africa.

South Africans 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 that 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 birth right of a superior race by their leaders to blacks; the indigenous and majority group of the country; which they felt must be resisted**.** The extent of their retributive emotions immediately after 1994 was judgemental. This resulted in several insurgent activities organised by the white extremists that caused lives to be lost; another event that impacted negatively on social and economic development, especially foreign investment (Ball andPeters, 2000; Haywood, 1997; Calvert and Calvert, 2001).

Changing the South African mindset with a new politico-philosophical education

With the birth of the **Rainbow Nation**, came the need to change the mindset of South Africans. This necessitated the call for new education which has dawned and must be instituted without further delay. 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.

The time to humanize the dehumanized South African – whites, Indians, blacks and coloureds - is going to be another protracted war; even bigger than the liberation struggle itself (Smertin, 1990). This will require re-education founded on the principles of the Humanist Philosophies of '**Ubuntu**' and '**Botho**' that is humanness, love, brotherhood and respect (Ozman andCraver, 1986; Morgenthau, 1993).

Generally, the dehumanization of South Africans covered all racial groups. The white South African indoctrinated their kit and kin and in the process dehumanized their own race. The indoctrination narrowed their perceptual conception of reality and interconnectedness. They were deliberately made 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 and Calvert, 2001).

In the same way the black racial groups who have been deliberately dehumanized and excluded from any worthwhile participation in government including their various counterparts - Indians and coloured - also need to be re-educated. The new education must help to humanize the dehumanized South Africans and bring about economic development and positive social integration for social justice, enhanced leadership and good governance.

The New Politico-Philosophical Ideological 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 – be it formal or informal, traditional

or cultural – is to cause change; change for every South African (Sivananda, 1990; Rupert, 1979; Boaduo, 2005). The implicit theory of education is to bring about change and manage that change constrictively. The indication is that when people receive constructive education they are able to deal with its various manifestations in a manner which is generally acceptable by members of that society. South Africans must get to that stage and negotiate their future positively that will lead to productive developments in many sectors.

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 in response to the good or bad-will that are demonstrated in their actions; it is noteworthy. 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 could 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 would turn into productive niceties contributing further to both social and economic development.

Strategic framework for culture of unity and peace education in South African

The first most important ingredient that comes to mind when we talk of culture of unity and peace is education. Specifically, education is the only means through which people could 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. Education eliminates ignorance and dictatorship (Boaduo, Milondzo and Adjei, 2009; Boaduo and Babitseng Boaduo, 2012b).

In short, 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.

In brief, education liberates. And the basic significant

aim of any form of education be it formal or informal, is change. It is change to transform the educand into responsible, progressive, dynamic, constructive and reasonable individual 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 could be used to change and liberate the South African society and direct its activities in a positive direction. If South Africans receive this relevant, applicable and responsible new education, it is expected therefore that the people will exhibit advanced levels of change in their reactive attitudes, values, knowledge and skills; and generally, they would have to display advanced behavioural attitudes and values compatible to the level of the new education received.

Furthermore, due to the level of the new education that people have been received they would be expected to think and reason better, know and argue better so that they are able to contribute positively to bring about meaningful changes in society that would benefit the immediate and distant communities which should reflect their understanding of events both past and present, issues, people, places and things. Thus, their level of interaction, tolerance, judgement and above all 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 in time perspective (Binn, 1993; Boaduo, Milondzo and Adjei, 2009; Boaduo and Babitseng Boaduo, 2012b).

The contention of the author is that, philosophically, whoever receives 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),

• tolerate still better and 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 have been achieved through culture of unity and peace education, when cultures and races are fused then peace, social justice, human rights and respect of other people and their property could be ushered into South Africa for peaceful co-existence. In this way we can overcome retributive emotions and develop a new culture that aims at forgiveness for past atrocities.

History in the Politico-Philosophical Ideological Socialization Process

Currently, 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 the South African society (Marks and Trapido, 1987). The immediate change that needed to be made is the creation and the bringing into focus the existence of an informed conscience (Nkrumah, 1965). This would require a lot of knowing and changing of beliefs and thinking of every South African (Deegan, 2001). Simply put, the mindset of every individual South African is needed to change and this could be realized through the new education in various forms - formal, informal and non-formal. The Government should provide civic education to all citizens of the country through the various media. This civic education based on the value systems of the country could go a long way to reconcile all the people who would learn that they are part of the nation despite their unique and different language, culture and beliefs (Chazan et al., 1999; Dunn, 1978; Turner and Hulme, 1997; Taylor and Williams 2004).

To talk about economic development, the enhancement of social justice, good governance, learning societies and the organization of ethical leadership in a society in which, over 400 years, the majority of the people have been deliberately denied living education, have never known, experienced and 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 iced-cold water from a fridge (Ball andPeters, 2000; Hansen, 1987; Visser, 2001; Smith, 1999; Visser, 2002; Smith, 1992).

Necessity for the New Politico-Philosophical Ideological Education

In the new South Africa, both the old and the new generations need new education that would change the personality and the mindset of each individual. The author strongly advocates for enlightenment education proposed by Sivananda (Sivananda, 1990). Enlightenment education is the only means to bring about economic development, positive social integration and regeneration. The reasons for this claim, as enumerated by several authors, are numerous and a few have been articulated below (Morgenthau, 1993; du Toit, 1995; Taylor and Williams, 2004; Davidson, 1997; Coetzee et al., 2001; Todaro and Smith, 2006).
• The basic aim of enlightenment education is to transform the educand 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 enlightenment education (as opposed to divisive education which was 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 judgement 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, 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 their socio-economic and political problems. These, cumulatively, would 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. It is a task that must be accomplished at all cost.

Geography in the Politico-Philosophical Ideological Socialization Process

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 must 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 have been greedy few South Africans who would always want to take everything and cling to that irrespective of the consequences. The South African scenario has been a glaring example of greed and not until the people are completely provided with the new education and are able to discard their anger and stand against such greed, be united, respect people and property and contribute to economic development to benefit South Africans, there cannot be human rights and social justice.

Furthermore, De Vries (in Bird, 1993) has argued 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 and 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. 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 thus work for societal disintegration (Kaufmann, 1968; Boaduo and Babitseng Boaduo, 2012a and b).

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 being proposed 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 the new enlightenment education.

Segregation in everything - education, settlements, resorts, hotels, in busses and on the 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.

Politico-Philosophical Ideological Educational Freedom for emerging South Africa

In this discussion, the author has presented as an example political education that shaped the South African political and social environments before 1994. This is provided to address the significance of the influence of political ideology on education provision.

The hard won freedom of South Africans is freedom for all the people who live in the country. It is freedom to respect, protect and keep. 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 the liberation struggle.

Pertinent to the success of all revolutions is that of change of mindset, retributive attitudes, personality and perceptions from those who governed us before the revolution to the new enlightenment education. The new enlightenment education should help South Africans to cultivate positive, energetic, broad and constructive consciousness and develop worthwhile conscience. The Apartheid political 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.

Furthermore, the hard won South African freedom is liberation. This liberation is not the replacement of masters. It is that which quantitatively and qualitatively

changes both the individual South African through rebirth or renaissance and re-education. It is a human renaissance. We need the new enlightenment education to instil social justice, respect for human rights and make people disciplined. The individual South African makes the South Africa 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 take it to be.

Our liberation struggle altered the total out look of our people in many ways. For instance, geographical integration had been much more pronounced than any other change, making masters feel that they have lost their strong hold on their servants; and servants feel that they are now equal to their masters. This is not very important at present. What is important is not the position lost or gained but the changing of the consciousness and the mind set of all South Africans. Negative thoughts are destructive and must be shed in its totality, for instance the concepts of baas and kaffir. April 1994 ended all the emptiness, desperation, passivity and the bass-kaffirhood tradition. These concepts have no place in the new education dictionary of the consciousness of the new constructive South African.

The Need for Progressive Politico-Philosophical Ideological Education

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 integration of society, success, survival and unity. People must learn and develop a completely new ego, attitudes and perceptions. South Africans need to develop a new mind set though the new enlightenment education. The change going on in every South African is what the author would like to brand as revolutionary consciousness awakening. It is the most definite essential ingredient of any successful revolution. This is a major task that every responsible South African citizen should contribute to make it achievable by all means (Motlhabi, 1987).

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. These constitute the three stages in the individual's mental growth and awareness from the domesticated mind to be freed, indoctrination cast aside and a positive consciousness put in its place. The new South African should come out of the liberated mind.

Dawning of the new era in the South African Education System and its problems

A new era has dawned. The new South African should come out of the liberated mind. This calls for a daunting task to be articulated by all - the aged, the old, the youth and the toddlers (du Toit, 1995). To be able to achieve this, the aged and the young should receive the new enlightenment education to develop a new mindset. The militant South African youth of yesteryears should be transformed into constructive, productive and peace loving youth. The youth should realize that objective social reality does not exist by chance but as a product of human action (consider the liberation struggle). It is not transferred by chance. If men and women produce social reality, then transformation that leads to social reality is a historical task and this is really a task for all South Africans. Human rights, therefore, is a 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 the new 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.

Further more the South African revolution as a qualitative change has been both physical and mental. In this context, the physical revolution or liberation came to a close in April 1994. It is left with the mental revolution or liberation. This started with Steve Biko unofficially in the 1970s at the launching of the Black Consciousness Movement, but officially recognized after April 1994. This has been the beginning of an era which altered the peoples' whole outlook to life, development, society, politics, and culture and made them aware of themselves as subjects of the negative historical process.

CONCLUSION

Philosophically, sociologically and anthropologically, physical slavery is easy to fight against in every political environment because it is tangible, could be seen and easily attacked and defeated. However, mental slavery, on the other hand, is intangible and could not be seen and easily defeated as expressed by Steve Bantu Biko in the following quote. *"…the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. Once the latter has been so effectively manipulated and controlled by the oppressor as to make the oppressed believe that he is a liability to the white man, then there*

will be nothing the oppressed can do that will really scare the powerful masters", (Biko, 1978: 74). It is as dangerous as the HIV/AIDS virus. It is the last enemy in the South African society. We must all join hands to fight and defeat it through the use of the new enlightenment education. To succeed in this endeavour, we need a new mindset to be able to find ourselves and self-worth, develop positive consciousness, get humanized and take the responsibility to find the truth about ourselves and our country. For the new generation both black and white, we become aware and know that our parents did not tell us the truth about our country during the apartheid era. We must find the truth ourselves through the new enlightenment education and place our country in a win-win position so that South Africa could aspire to become a great nation in the new millennium.

REFERENCES

Akinpelu JA (1981). An introduction to philosophy of Education. Oxford: Macmillan.

Ball AR, Peters BG (2000). Modern politics and governments. (6th Ed.). London: Palgrave.

Berki RN (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 NAP, Babitseng BSM (2012a). Political Bases of Education – Politics of Education. Lambert Academic Publishing Saarbrücken, Deutschland (Germany).

Boaduo NAP, Babitseng BSM (2012b). Philosophical bases of Education: Philosophy of Education. Lambert Academic Publishing Saarbrücken, Deutschland (Germany).

Boaduo NAP (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 Academic Development: Instructions in Higher Education within the context of a technological, globalised knowledge-based society. Gaborone. University of Botswana, October 2005:1-5.

Boaduo NAP, Milondzo KS, Adjei A (2009). Genesis of Peace Education in an era of Xenophobia and Terrorism: The Case of Africa. In The J. Pan Afri. Stud., 2(9):March 2009.

Calvert P, Calvert S (2001). Politics and society in the third world (2nd Ed.). London: Pearson Longman.

Chazan N, Lewis P, Mortimer RR, Stedman SJ (1999). Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa (3rd Ed.). Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publisher.

Coetzee JK (Ed.) (1986). Development is for people. Johannesburg: Macmillan Publishers South Africa Pty Ltd

Coetzee, J.K., Graaf, J., Hendricks, F. andWood, G. (Eds.) (2001). Development: Theory Policy and Practice. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Davidson B (1997). Modern Africa: A Social and Political History (3rd 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 EC (Ed.) (1977) Postcolonial African philosophy: A critical reader. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers

Fairhusrt UJ (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 National University studies on peace and regional security. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Harper RA (1992). At issue: What is Geography's contribution to general education? In J. Geog. May/June 1992. 1(2): 4-25

Heywood P (Ed.). (1997). Political corruption, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Hitchner DG, Levine C (1967). Comparative Government and Politics. New York: Dod, Mead andCompany 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 (Eds.) (1987). The politics of race, class andnationalism in twentieth century South Africa. London: Longman Group UK Limited.

Mathonsi EM (1988). Black matriculation results: A mechanism of social control. Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers, Educational Division

Morgenthau HJ (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 HA, Craver SM (1986). Philosophical Foundations of Education (3rd Ed.). London: Merill Publishing Company, A Bell and Howell Company.

Shore H (1983). The Struggle for Mozambique: Eduardo Mondlane. London: Zed Press.

Sivananda SS (1990). Enlightened Education. Durban: Divine Life Society of South Africa.

Smertin Y (1990) Kwame Nkrumah. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Smith DM (1992) Redistribution after apartheid: Who gets what where in the New South Africa. In Area, 24(4):350-358.

Smith DM (1999). Social Justice and the Ethics of Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa. In Ethics, Peace and Environment: 2(2): 157-177.

Taylor I, Williams P (editors) (2004). Africa in international politics: External involvement on the continent. London: Routledge.

Todaro MP, Smith SC (2006). Economic Development (9th Ed.). London: Pearson Addison Wesley.

Turner M, Hulme D (1988). Governance, administration and development: Making the State work. London: Palgrave.

Visser G (2001). Social Justice, Integrated Development Planning and Post-Apartheid Urban Reconstruction. In Urban Studies: 38(10):1673-1699.

Visser G (2002). Social Justice and Geography: Towards a South African Geographical Research Agenda. In Acta Academica: 2002, 34 (1):68-87.