

Draft Bibliography on the South African Truth and Reconciliation

NB. This bibliography is a work in progress. For comments or additions, please contact Mr. Theodore Kamwimbi at tkamwimbi@ijr.org.za or 021 659-7133.

1. South African TRC

1. Books

- Boraine, A., (2000). *A Country Unmasked: Inside South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Boraine, A. and Scheffer, R., (eds.) 1994. *Dealing with the Past. Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*. Cape Town: IDASA.
- Christie, K. (2000). *The South African Truth Commission*, Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press.
- Chubb, K. and van Dijk, L. (2001). *Between Anger and Hope: South Africa's Youth and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Cochrane, J., De Gruchy, John W., and Martin, Stephen (eds.) 1999. *Facing the Truth: South African Faith Communities and the Truth & Reconciliation Commission*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers; Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Edelstein, J. & Gobodo-Madikizela, P. (2002), *Truth and Lies: Stories from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa*, London: Granta Books.
- Giliomee, H. (1996). *Truth Commission: A Struggle for the High Moral Ground*. Johannesburg: South African Institute for Race Relations.
- Graybill, Lyn S. (2002). *Truth and reconciliation in South Africa: miracle or model?*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Hamber, B. & Kibble, S. (1999). *From Truth to Transformation: South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, London: Catholic Institute for International Relations.
- Hayner, Priscilla B. (2001). *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror & Atrocity*, New York: Routledge.
- James, W. & Van der Vijver, L. (eds.) 2000). *After the TRC: Reflections on truth and reconciliation in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.
- Jeffrey, A. (1999). *The Truth About the Truth Commission*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.
- Krog, Antjie (1999). *Country of My Skull: Guilt, Sorrow, and the Limits of Forgiveness in the New South Africa*. Johannesburg: Random House, 1998, and New York: Times Books.
- Mabizela, M., & W.J. Verwoerd, (eds.), 2000. *Truths Drawn in Jest: Commentary on the TRC Through Cartoons*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Meiring, P. (1999). *Chronicle of the Truth Commission: A Journey Through the Past and Present, Into the Future of South Africa*. Vanderbijlpark: Carpe Diem Books.
- Meredith, Martin (1999). *Coming to Terms: South Africa's Search for the Truth*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Posel, D. & Simpson, G. (eds.) 2002. *Commissioning the past: Understanding South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Ross, F. (2003). *Bearing Witness: Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa*, London: Pluto Press.
- Sarkin, J. (2004). *Carrots and Sticks: The TRC and the South African Amnesty Process*. Antwerp: Intersentia.
- Shea, Dorothy C. (2000). *The South African Truth Commission: the politics of reconciliation*, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Taylor, Jane (1998). *Ubu and the Truth Commission*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Tutu, D.M. (1999). *No Future Without Forgiveness: A Personal Overview of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. London: Rider.
- Villa-Vicencio, C., & W.J. Verwoerd, (eds.) 2000. *Looking Back, Reaching Forward: Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press & London: Zed Books.
- Villa-Vicencio, C. & Doxtader, E. (eds.) 2004. *Pieces of the Puzzle: Key Words on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice*, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

- Wilmot James and Linda Van De Vijver (eds.), 2001. *After the TRC: reflections on truth and reconciliation in South Africa*. Cape Town: D. Philip.

2. Book Chapters, Articles, Monographs and Theses

- Adam, Heribert, "The Presence of the Past: South Africa's Truth Commission as a Model?", in A Tayob & W Weisse (eds), *Religion and Politics in South Africa* (1999), pp. 139 -158
- Barrie, GN (1996). "The Norgaard Principles and the Truth Commission". *South Africa Now*, 1(3):8-10.
- Bird, Edward, and Garda, Zureida (1997). *Reporting the Truth Commission. Analysis of Media Coverage of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project, February 1997.
- Borraine, A., "Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: The Third Way" in Robert I Rotberg & Dennis Thompson (eds), *Truth v. Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions*, Princeton, 2000, pp. 141–157
- Bozzoli, Belinda (1998). "Public Ritual and Private Transition: The Truth Commission in Alexandra Township, South Africa 1996". *African Studies* 57,2: 167-95.
- Braude, Claudia (1996). "The archbishop, the private detective and the angel of history: the production of public memory and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *Current Writing*, 8(2):39-65.
- Coger, Dallvan M., et al. (1999). "Truth, Reconciliation, and Amnesty in South Africa – Facing the Truth: South African Faith Communities and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission," *African Studies Review*, 42(3).
- du Toit, André, "The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC): Local History, Global Accounting", *Politique Africaine* 92 (2003)
- du Toit, André, "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission as Contemporary History." *Toward New Histories for South Africa: on the Place of the Past in Our Present*, edited by Jeppie S.. Landsdowne: Juta Gariep.
- du Toit, André, "South Africa as Another Case of Transition from Authoritarian Rule?", (1990), IDASA Occasional Papers, No 32
- du Toit, André, "The Moral Foundations of the South African TRC: Truth as Acknowledgment and Justice as Recognition", in: R. Rotberg & D. Tompson (eds), *Truth V Justice* (2000), pp.122-140
- du Toit, André (1997). No Rest Without the Wicked: Assessing the Truth Commission. *Indicator SA* 14,1: 7-11.
- du Toit, André (1998). Healing the Healers? The TRC's Hearings on the Health Sector. *Indicator SA* 15,1: 13-18.
- du Toit, F. (1999). "Public Discourse, Theology and the TRC: A Theological Appreciation of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission," *Literature & Theology*, 13(4).
- Foster D. "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Understanding Perpetrators." *South African Journal of Psychology* 30, no.1 (March 2000): 2-9.
- Fullard Madeleine (2004), "Dis-placing Race: The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and Interpretations of Violence", *Race and Citizenship in Transition Series*, CSVr: Johannesburg.
- Garman, Anthea (1997), Media Creation: How the TRC and the Media Have Impacted on Each Other. *Track Two* 6, 3-4: 36-37.
- Garman, Anthea (1997), The Media and the TRC: Fragments of the Truth. *Rhodes Journalism Review*, November: 30-30.
- Gibson, James L., Gouws, Amanda (1999), Truth and reconciliation in South Africa: attributions of blame and struggle over apartheid, *American Political Science Review*, vol.93: n°3, p.501-517
- Gobodo-Madikizela, Pumla (1997). "Healing the Racial Divide? Personal Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission." *South African Journal of Psychology*. 27(4), December.
- Graybill, Lyn S. (1998). "South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Ethical and Theological Perspectives". *Ethics and International Affairs* 12: 43-62.
- Graybill, Lyn S. (1998), "Pursuit of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa," *Africa Today*, 45 (1).
- Hamber, Brandon (1997). "Lessons for South Africa about Truth, Justice and Crime in Brazil," *Latin American Report*, 2.
- Hamber, Brandon (1997). *The Burdens of Truth. An evaluation of the psychological support services and initiatives undertaken by the South African TRC*. Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Johannesburg.
- Hamber, Brandon, Maepa, Traggy, Mofokeng, Tihoki, and Van der Merwe, Hugo (1998). *Survivors' Perceptions of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Suggestions for the Final Report*. Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

- Hay, Mark (1999). "Grappling with the Past: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa" *African Journal of Conflict Resolution* 1(1).
- Haysom, Nicholas (2002). 'Negotiating the Political Settlement in South Africa: Are there lessons for other countries?' *Track Two* (UCT: Centre for Conflict Resolution) Vol. 11, No. 3.
- Henderson, Willie (2000). "Metaphors, Narrative and 'Truth': South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission," *African Affairs*, 99(396)
- Henderson, Willie (1999). "Truth and Consequences in South Africa. A PBS Documentary Asks What the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Achieved," *Christianity Today*, 43(4).
- Herwitz, Daniel (2005), "The future of the past in South Africa: on the legacy of the TRC" in *Social Research: South Africa- The Second Decade*, vol. 72, no 3, pp. 531 – 548, University of Michigan.
- Jeffery, Anthea J. (1999). *The Truth about the Truth Commission*. Johannesburg: South African Institute for Race Relations.
- Klaaren, J. (1998). "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the South African Judiciary, and Constitutionalism". *African Studies* 57, 2: 197-208.
- Kraybill, Ron (1988). "From Head to Heart: The Cycle of Reconciliation." *Conciliation Quarterly*, Fall.
- Krog, Antjie (1998). "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: A National Ritual?" *Missionalia* 26,1: 5-16.
- Lewin, Hugh (1999). "The TRC and the Media: The Next Agenda". *Rhodes Journalism Review*, March: 27-27.
- Lewin, Hugh (1998). *South Africa: The Media and the Truth Commission*. Paper presented at the "Dealing with the Past" conference, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin, 27 November 1998.
- Liebenberg, Ian (1996). "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa: Context, Future and Some Imponderables". *South African Public Law* 11: 123-59.
- Liebenberg, I. (1996). "Dealing with the past--truth and reconciliation in South Africa". In Boraine, Levy, & Scheffler, ed. book review. *Politeia*, 15(1):70-73.
- Lyons, Beth S. (1997). "Between Nuremburg and Amnesia: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa". *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine* 49, 4: 5-22.
- Maluleke, Tinyiko Sam (1997a). "Dealing Lightly with the Wound of my People: The TRC Process in Theological Perspective". *Missionalia* 25, 3: 324-43.
- Maluleke, Tinyiko Sam (1997b). "Truth, National Unity and Reconciliation in South Africa Aspects of the Emerging Theological Agenda". *Missionalia* 25, 1: 59-86.
- Mandell, B. B., Damster, G. P., and Hanekom, H. A. (1996). "MASA and a Truth Commission for the medical profession". *South African Medical Journal* 86, 9: 1070
- Marais, D.R. (1999), *The Contact Bureau's Analysis of the TRC Report*. Pretoria: South African Defence Force Contact Bureau.
- Mark Data (1997). Reactions to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Among Members of the General Public. *Press Release*. Principal Investigator: Lawrence Schlemmer. Pretoria: Mark Data.
- Marks, Monique (1995). Community Policing, Human Rights and the Truth Commission. CSVR.
- Media Monitoring Project (1997). *Reporting the Truth Commission: An Assessment of Media Coverage of the TRC, March-September 1997*. Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project.
- Nattrass, Nicoli (1999). "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Business and Apartheid: a critical evaluation". *African Affairs* (London). - vol.98: n°392, p.373-391
- Neke, Gael (1999), "[Re]forming the past: South African art bound to apartheid". *TRC: Commissioning the Past, Online*.
- Parker, Peter (1996). "The Politics of Indemnities, Truth Telling and Reconciliation in South Africa/ Ending Apartheid Without Forgetting". *Human Rights Law Journal* 17: 1-13.
- Pakendorf, Gunther (1999) *What if the truth is a woman? Reflections on Antjie Krog's TRC Report "Country of My Skull"*, University of Cape Town
- Pigou, Piers (2001). "The apartheid state and violence: what has the Truth and Reconciliation Commission found?". *Politikon*. vol.28:n°2, p.207-233
- *Rhodes Journalism Review* (1997). "The Media & the TRC: Is the Truth in the Telling or in the Tale?", (Special Edition).
- Rickard, C. (1999). "Church and State: The Faith Community and the TRC". *Indicator SA* 16,1: 42-44.
- Sanders, Mark (1998). "Ambiguities of Mourning: Law, Custom, Literature and Women before South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *Law Text Culture* 4,2: 105-51.

- Sarkin, Jeremy (1996). "The Trails and Tribulations of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *South African Journal on Human Rights* 12,4: 617-49.
- Sarkin, Jeremy (1997). "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa". *Commonwealth Law Bulletin* 23,1-2: 528-42.
- Siffrin, Geoff, Auerbach, Franz, and Friedman, Steven (1996), "The Truth Commission: Jewish Perspectives on Justice and Forgiveness in South Africa". *Jewish Affairs* 51, Spring: 30-39.
- Smit, Dirkie (1995), "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission - Tentative Religious and Theological Perspectives". *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, No90: 42064
- Simpson, G. (2002). "Tell no lies, claim no easy victories': A brief evaluation of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission". In D. Posel & G. Simpson (eds.), *Commissioning the past* (pp.220–251). Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Simpson, G. and P. Vazyl (1995). "The Commission for Truth and Reconciliation in the New South Africa, " *Temps Modernes*, 50 (585), November-December. In French.
- *South African Journal of Physiotherapy* (2000). "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Document – So What Has Changed?" 56(2).
- Stack, Louise (1998). "The State Security Council, the Courts, and the TRC". *Indicator SA* 15,1: 19-22.
- Stevenson, Judith (1998), "Caught between a rock and a hard place: women, the ANC, history and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission", *Ufahamu*, - vol.26: n°1, p.77-101
- Summerfield, Derek (1997). "South Africa: Does a Truth Commission Promote Social Reconciliation?" *British Medical Journal*, 315(7120).
- Theissen, Gunnar (1998). *Amnesty for Apartheid Crimes? The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and International Law*. Unpublished LL. M. Thesis, University of the Western Cape.
- Theissen, Gunnar, and Hamber, Brandon (1998). "A State of Denial: White South Africans' Attitudes to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission." *Indicator SA* 15,1: 8-12.
- Theissen, Gunnar. (1997). "Between Acknowledgement and Ignorance: How White South Africans Have Dealt with the Apartheid Past." Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.
- Theissen, G. and Hamber B. (1996). *Attitudes of White South Africans Towards the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Apartheid Past*. Johannesburg/ Pretoria: CSVR / South African Data Archive (SADA 0080).
- Thelen, David (2002). "How the Truth and Reconciliation Commission challenges the ways we use history". *South African Historical Journal* no. 47:162-190.
- Thloloe, Joe. (1998). "Showing Faces, Hearing Voices, Tugging at Emotions: Televising the Truth and Reconciliation Commission," *Nieman Reports*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 52(4), Winter.
- Trikamjee, Ashwin (1998). "Representation of the Association of Law Societies of the Republic of South Africa to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *South African Law Journal* 115: 373-78.
- TRC-Report. 1998. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, Vol. 1-5. Cape Town: Juta.
- *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report*. Cape Town: CTP Book Printers and Juta and Company, 1998.
- *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa: report*, 5 volumes (1998/9) in Rhodes House.
- *Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Report*, Volumes 1-7. Cape Town, Juta, 1998 & 2003.
- Valentine, Sue (1997). *To What Extent Did Media Coverage of the TRC Hearings Play a Role in Changing the Way the Public Sees itself, its History, its Responsibility?* Paper presented at the "The TRC and Human Rights Journalism in South Africa" conference, Applied Broadcasting Centre, Johannesburg, 03 October 1997.
- Van der Merwe, Hugo (1998). *The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Community Reconciliation*. Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.
- Van der Merwe, Hugo (1999). *The TRC and Community Reconciliation. An Analysis of Competing Strategies and Conceptualisations*. Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, George Madison University, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution.
- Van der Merwe, Hugo, Dewhirst, Polly, and Hamber, Brandon (1999). "Non-governmental Organisations and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission: An Impact Assessment". *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, 26,1: 55-79.
- Van Zyl, Paul (1999). "Justice in Practice - Dilemmas of Transitional Justice: The Case of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *Journal of International Affairs* 52, No. 2, 647-667

- Verwoerd, Wilhelm (1996). "Continuing the Discussion: Reflections from within the Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *Current Writing* 8, 2: 66-85.
- Villa-Vicencio, Charles (1998). "A Different Kind of Justice: The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *Contemporary Justice Review* 1: 407-28.
- Villa-Vicencio, C. & S. Ngesi 2003. 'South Africa: Beyond the "miracle,"' In (E. Doxtader & C. Villa-Vicencio, eds.) *Through Fire with Water: Understanding the Roots of Division and the Potential for Reconciliation in Africa: 15 Case Studies*, pp. 267-299. David Philip, Cape Town.
- Villa-Vicencio, C. & W. Verwoerd (2000). 'Constructing a report: Writing up the "truth"'. In (I. Rotberg & D. Thompson, eds.) *Truth vs. Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions*, pp.279-294. Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford.
- von Holdt, Karl & Macun, Ian (1999), *Manufacturing apartheid, mining the truth: The TRC, Business and Labour* .
- Whittle, Barbara (1997a). "ALS to submit to TRC". *De Rebus*, 357: 644-45.
- Whittle, Barbara (1997b). "The Legal Profession and the Truth". *De Rebus*, 355: 506-7.
- Whittle, Barbara (1997c). "A True Milestone: The ALS Admitted its Past Failures, Apologised and, in Return, Received a Fair Hearing from the TRC". *De Rebus*, 359: 772-74.
- Williams, Carin (1999), "The TRC: a project of Public Education", *Commissioning the Past: Understanding South Africa's TRC*, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, CSV.R.
- Wilson, Richard A. (2000). "Reconciliation and Revenge in Post-Apartheid South Africa – Rethinking Legal Pluralism and Human Rights," *Current Anthropology*, 41(1), February
- Wilson, Richard A. (1996). "The Sizwe Will Not Go Away: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Human Rights and Nation-Building in South Africa," *African Studies*, 55(2):1-20.
- Winslow, Tom (1997). "Reconciliation: The Road to Healing? Collective Good, Individual Harm?" *Track Two*, 6(3 & 4), December.

2. Truth and Reconciliation

1. Books

- Abel, Richard (1995). *Politics by Other Means: Law in the Struggle Against Apartheid 1980-1994*. Routledge, London.
- Adam, Heribert & Kogila Moodley (1993). *The Opening of the Apartheid Mind. Options for a New South Africa*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Alexander, Neville (1993). *Some are More Equal Than Others. Essays on The Transition in South Africa*. Buchn Books, Cape Town.
- Asmal, Kader; Louise Asmal; and Ronald Suresh Roberts (1997) *Reconciliation through Truth: A Reckoning of Apartheid's Criminal Governance*, 2nd Edition. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Balcomb, A. (1993), *Third Way Theology: Reconciliation and Revolution and Reform in the South African Church During the 1980's*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- Bell, T. & Ntsebeza, D. (2001). *Unfinished business: South Africa, apartheid and truth*. Cape Town: RedWorks.
- Bennum, Mervyn ed. (1995). *Negotiating Justice: a New Constitution for South Africa*. University of Exeter, Exeter.
- Biko, S. (1978), *I Write What I Like*. London. Penguin Books.
- Borer, T.A. (2001). *Reconciliation in South Africa: Defining Success*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Studies.
- Chapman, Audrey R., and Bernard Spong (eds.) 2004. *Religion and Reconciliation in South Africa: Voices of Religious Leaders*. Philadelphia and London: Templeton Foundation Press
- Cochrane, James, De Gruchy, John W., and Martin, Stephen, (eds.) 1999. *Facing the Truth: South African Faith Communities and the Truth & Reconciliation Commission*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- De Klerk, F.W. (1998), *The Last Trek: A New Beginning*. New York: MacMilan.
- Doxtader E. & Villa-Vicencio C., (eds.) 2003. *Through Fire with Water: Understanding the Roots of Division and the Potential for Reconciliation in Africa*: David Philip, Cape Town.

- Du Toit, F. (ed.) 2003, *Learning to Live Together: Practices of Social Reconciliation*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.
- Dyzenhaus, D. (1998), *Truth, Reconciliation and the Apartheid Legal Order*. Cape Town: Juta.
- Dyzenhaus, D. (2003), *Judging the Judges, Judging Ourselves: Truth, Reconciliation and the Apartheid Legal Order*. Oxford: Hart Publishing.
- Friedman, S. and Atkinson, D. (Eds.) 1994. *The Small Miracle: South Africa's Negotiated Settlement*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Gibson, J.L., (2004), *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Gibson, L., Gouws, A. (2003). *Overcoming Intolerance in South Africa: Experiments in Democratic Persuasion*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Goodman, David (1999). *Fault Lines: Journeys into the New South Africa*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Graybill, Lyn S. (2002), *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Miracle Or Model?*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Hassen, E. (1998). *The Soul of a Nation: Constitution -Making in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Hay, Mark (1998). *Ukubuyisana: Reconciliation in South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- Herwitz, Daniel (2003). *Race and Reconciliation: Essays from the New South Africa*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Johnson-Hill, J. (1998), *Seeds of Transformation: Discerning the Ethics of a New Generation*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- Lodge, T. and Nasson, W. (1992), *All, Here and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s*. London: Hurst and Co.
- Mandela, Nelson (1994). *Long Walk to Freedom*. Little, Brown & Co., London.
- Marais, Hein (1998), *South Africa: Limits to Change: The Political Economy of Transformation*. London: Zed Books.
- Meredith, M., & Rosenberg T. (2000), *Coming to Terms: South Africa's Search for Truth*. New York: The Perseus Books Group.
- Meredith, Martin and Tina Rosenberg (1999). *Coming to Terms: South Africa's Search for Truth*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Michie, J., (1997), *The Political Economy of the South African Transition*. London: Dryden Press.
- Nathan, L. (1994), *The Changing of the Guard: Armed Forces and Defense Policy in a Democratic South Africa*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Nina, D. (1995). *Rethinking Popular Justice: Self Regulation and Civil Society in South Africa*. Cape Town: Community Peace Foundation.
- Nolutshungu S. (1983). *Changing South Africa*. Cape Town: David Phillip.
- Nyatumba, K. M. (1997), *All Sides of the Story: A Grandstand View of South Africa's Political Transition*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.
- Saunders, C. (1988). *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class*. Totowa, NJ.: Barnes & Noble.
- Schrire, R. (1991), *Adapt or Die - The End of White Politics in South Africa*. New York: Ford Foundation, Foreign Policy Association.
- Sparks, A. (2003). *Beyond the Miracle: Inside the New South Africa*. Chicago: University Chicago Press.
- Sparks, A. (1994). *Tomorrow is Another Country. The Inside Story of South Africa's Negotiated Revolution*. Cape Town: Struik.
- Spitz, R., & Chaskalson, M. (1999). *The Politics of Transition: A Hidden History of South Africa's Negotiated Settlement*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Spong, B. & Chapman A.R. (eds.). *Religion and Reconciliation in South Africa*. Philadelphia: Templeton Foundation Press.
- Tutu, Desmond (1994). *The Rainbow People of God*. Bantam, London.
- Stedman, S. (ed.) 1994. *South Africa. The Political Economy of Transformation*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner.
- van Vugt, W.E., & G. D. Cloete, (eds.) 2000. *Race and Reconciliation in South Africa: A Multicultural Dialogue in Comparative Perspective*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Verwoerd, Wilhelm. 1997. *My Winds of Change*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Vijver (2001). *After the TRC: Reconciliation in the New Millennium*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Villa-Vicencio, C. A (1992). *Theology of Reconstruction: Nation-Building and Human Rights*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Villa-Vicencio, C. (ed.) 2000. *Transcending a Century of Injustice*. Cape Town: IDASA.
- Villa-Vicencio, C. (2003). *The politics of reconciliation*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

- Waldmeir, P. (1997). *Anatomy of a Miracle: The End of Apartheid and the Birth of the New South Africa*. New York: Viking Press.
- Wilmot, J. & van de Vijver L. (eds.) 2001. *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Wilson, R. (1999). *Reconciliation and Revenge in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Rethinking Legal Pluralism and Human Rights*, AFRAS, University of Sussex.
- Wilson, R. (2001). *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-apartheid state*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Zeki Ergas (1994). *The Catharsis and the Healing – South Africa in the 1990s*. Janus Publishing Company, London, England.

2. Book Chapters, Articles, Monographs and Theses

- Adam, H. (1995). "The Politics of Ethnic Identity. Comparing South Africa". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 18(3):457-475.
- Adam, Heribert (1998). "Trading Justice for Truth". *The World Today*, January: 11-13.
- Adler, G; Webster E. (1995). 'Challenging Transition Theory: The Labor Movement, Radical Reform and Transition to Democracy in South Africa'. *Politics and Society*, 23(1):75-106.
- Asmal, Kader (1992). 'Victims, Survivors and Citizens - Human Rights, Reparations and Reconciliation'. *South African Journal on Human Rights* 8,4: 491-511.
- Berat, Lynn and Yossi Shain (1995). 'Retribution or Truth Telling in South Africa? Legacies of the Transitional Phase'. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 20(1):163-190.
- Berat, Lynn and Yossi Shain (1993). 'Prosecuting Human Rights Violations from a Predecessor Regime. Guidelines for a Transformed South Africa'. *Boston College Third World Law Journal*, 13(2):199-231.
- Bradshaw, Gavin (2002). 'Truth, reconciliation and resolution in South Africa'. *Africanus* vol. 32, no. 1:77-100.
- Christianse, Y (1996). At the fault line--writers in the shadow of truth and reconciliation. *New Coin*, 32(2):70-75
- Coetzee, Jan K. (1994). 'South Africa's Transition in a Broader Context'. *South African Journal of Sociology*, 25(1):10-15.
- De Gruchy, John W. (1994). 'Forgetting or Exorcising the Past'. *South African Outlook*, 124(6):63-65.
- Denkel, A. (1995). "The Problem of Reconciliation". *Philosophical Papers*, 24(1):23-50.
- Dodge, H (1996). "The Role of South African Television as an agent of 'Truth and Reconciliation'". *South African Theatre Journal*, 10(2):148-154.
- Du Toit, André (1995). "Justice and/or Truth". *South African Outlook*, 125(7):52-55.
- Du Toit, André (1994). "Laying the Past to Rest". *Indicator South Africa*, 11(4):63-69.
- Dugard, John (1997). "Is the Truth and Reconciliation Process Compatible with International Law? The Unanswered Question". *South African Journal on Human Rights*, 13, 258-68.
- Dugard, John (1998). "Reconciliation and Justice: the South African Experience". *Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems* 8,2: 277-311.
- Dugard, John (1997a). "Retrospective Justice: International Law and the South African Model". In *Transitional Justice and the Rule of Law in New Democracies*, edited by A.J. McAdams. Notre Dame, IN.: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Foner, Eric (1995). 'We must forget the past' History in the New South Africa. *South African Historical Journal*, 35, 163-176.
- Friedman, Steven and Doreen Atkinson (eds.) 1994. "The Small Miracle: South Africa's Negotiated Settlement". *South African Review*.
- Gagiano, Jannie (1997). 'Truth and Reconciliation'. *Political Issues* - Institute for Futures Research, Univ.of Stellenbosch 7,3: 1-5.
- Gibson, James L. and Gouws, Amanda (1998). "Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Attributions for Blame and the Struggle Over Apartheid." Paper presented at the "1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association" conference, Boston, Mass, 03 September 1998.
- Goldblatt, B. (1996). "Viewing our past through a gender lens". *South Africa Now*, 1(7):23-37.
- Goldstone, Richard (1996). "Exposing Human Rights Abuses. A Help or a Hinderance to Reconciliation?" *Hastings Law Journal*, 18.
- Goodman, David (1999). "Why Killers Should Go Free: Lessons from South Africa," *The Washington Quarterly*, 22(2), Spring.

- Griffiths, Robert (1995). "South African Civil-Military Relations in Transition. Issues and Influences". *Armed Forces and Society*, 21(3):395-410.
- Hamber, Brandon (1997). "Dr. Jekyll and Mr "Hide": Problems of Violence Prevention and Reconciliation in South Africa's Transition to Democracy". In *Perspectives on Aggression and Violence in South Africa*, edited by E. Bornman, R. Van Eeden, and M. Wentzel. Pretoria: Human Science and Research Council.
- Jung, Courtney (1995). 'Ruyterwacht and Reconciliation'. *Indicator SA*
- Lapsley, M. (1998). 'Confronting the Past and Creating the Future. The Redemptive Value of Truth Telling'. *SOC RES* 65: 741-58.
- Liebenberg, Ian, and Duvenage, Pieter (1996). 'Can the Deep Political Divisions of South African Society be Healed? A Philosophical and Political Perspective'. *Politeia* 15,1: 48-61.
- Maja-Pearce, Adewale (1996). 'Binding the Wounds'. *Index of Censorship* 25,5: 48-53.
- Mamdani, M. (1996). "Reconciliation Without Justice". *Southern African Review of Books*, Nov/Dec: 3-5.
- Mamdani, M. (1997). 'Reconciliation Without Justice'. *Southern Review/ SAPEM* 10,6: 22-25.
- Mamdani, M. (1998). 'When Does Reconciliation Turn Into a Denial of Justice?'. *Reconciliation Social Justice/ Sam Noluthungu Memorial Series*, 1:
- Mda, Zakes. (1994). 'The Role of Culture in the Process of Reconciliation in South Africa'. Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation - University of the Witwatersrand. *Seminar Paper* No. 9, 1994.
- Moelendorp, Darrel (1997). 'Amnesty, Truth and Justice: AZAPO'. *South African Journal on Human Rights*, 13:271.
- Mzamane, Mbulelo Vizikhungo (1994). 'Education for a National Culture of Reconstruction and Reconciliation in South Africa' *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, No 86: 72-80.
- Nadasen, S. (1997). 'Restitution, Reconstruction, Reconciliation and Redistribution: Land Reform - Balancing the Interests of the Dispossessed, the Homeless and Development'. *Stellenbosch Law Review*: 360-377.
- Newham, Gareth (1995). 'Truth and Reconciliation. Realising the Ideals'. *Indicator SA*
- Pankhurst, Donna (1999). 'Issues of Justice and Reconciliation in Complex Political Emergencies. Conceptualizing Reconciliation, Justice and Peace'. *Third World Quarterly* 20,1: 239-56.
- Parker, Peter (1996). 'The Politics of Indemnities, Truth Telling and Reconciliation in South Africa. Ending Apartheid without Forgetting'. *Human Rights Law Journal* 17,1/2: 1-13.
- Sacco, T. and Hoffmann, W. (2004). 'Seeking Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: A Social Work Contribution', *International Social Work* 47(2): 157-167.
- Slinn, Peter & John Hatchard (1995). 'The Path Towards the New Order in South Africa'. *International Relations*, 12(4):1-26.
- Suzman, Helen (1996). 'Transformation in South Africa: Cause and Effect'. *Stanford Journal of International Law*. 32, 149.
- Turok, I. (1995). "Restructuring or Reconciliation: South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Programme", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 19(2), pp. 305-318.
- Uys, Pieter-Dirk (1996). "The truth, the whole truth and nothing but". *Index on Censorship*. 5, 1996, 46.
- Van der Merwe, Hugo (1997). "Reconciliation: What Role for Victims and Perpetrators?" *Cantilevers*, 3, First Quarter.
- Villa-Vicencio, Charles (1995). "Telling One Another Stories: Towards a Theology of Reconciliation". In *Many Cultures, One Nation. Festschrift for Beyers Naudé*, edited by C. Villa-Vicencio and C. Niehaus. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau.
- Villa-Vicencio, Charles (1998), "A Different Kind of Justice: The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *Contemporary Justice Review* 1: 407-28.
- Villa-Vicencio, Charles (1998b). *From Coexistence to Reconciliation: The TRC - A Step Along the Way*. Paper presented at the "The Possibilities of Memory and Justice: The Holocaust and Apartheid" conference, Yale University, 08 February 1998.
- Villa-Vicencio, Charles (1997). "The burden of moral guilt: its theological and political implications". *Journal of Church and State*, 39(2):237-252.
- Wilhelm, Daniel (1997). "South Africa-Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995--amnesty--truth commissions--constitutional interpretation--human rights". *American Journal of International Law*, 91(2):36-64.
- Winslow, Tom (1997). "Reconciliation: The Road to Healing? Collective Good, Individual Harm?" *Track Two* 6,3-4: 24-26, 40.
- Zegeye, Abebe, and Liebenberg, Ian (1998). "Pathway to Democracy? The Case of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process". *Social Identities* 4,3: 541-59.

3. Accountability, Prosecution and Amnesty

1. Books

- Bizos, G. (1998). *No One to Blame? In Pursuit of Justice in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Doxtader, E. & Villa-Vicencio, C. (eds.) 2003. *The Provocations of Amnesty: Memory, Justice and Impunity*, Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.
- du Toit, A. (ed.) 1991. *Towards Democracy; Building a Culture of Accountability in South Africa*. Cape Town: IDASA.
- Goldstone, J. (2000). *For humanity: Reflections of a war crimes investigator*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press.
- Puurunen, T. (2000). *The Committee on Amnesty of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*. Helsinki: The Erik Castren Institute of International Law and Human Rights.
- Rwelamira, Medard R. and Werle, Gerhard, (eds.) 1996. *Confronting past injustices. Approaches to amnesty, punishment, reparation and restitution in South Africa and Germany*. Durban: Butterworths.
- Villa-Vicencio, C. & Doxtader, E. (eds.) 2004. *The Provocations of Amnesty: Memory, Justice and Impunity*. Trenton, N.J: Africa World Press.

2. Book Chapters, Articles, Monographs and Theses

- Adelman, Sammy (1994). "Accountability and Administrative Law in South Africa's Transition to Democracy". *Journal of Law and Society*, 21(3):317-328.
- Barrie, George N. (1997). "Amnesty and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *De Rebus*: 493-94.
- Berat, Lynn, and Shain, Yossi (1995). "Retribution or Truth-Telling in South Africa? Legacies of the Transitional Phase". *Law and Social Inquiry* 20, 1: 163-89.
- Berat, Lynn (1993). "Prosecuting Human Rights Violators From a Predecessor Regime. Guidelines for a Transformed South Africa". *Boston College Third World Law Journal* 13,2: 199-231.
- "Conflicting Reports on and Status of Indemnities. Matter of Public Importance. South Africa Parliament Debates". *Hansard*, No 1, 23 January 1995: 34-74.
- De Gruchy, John W. (1993). "Guilt, Amnesty and National Reconstruction. Karl Jaspers' Die Schuldfrage and the South African Debate". *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, No 83: 3-13.
- Du Plessis, Lourens M. (1994). "Observations on Amnesty or Indemnity for Acts Associated with Political Objectives in the Light of South Africa's Transitional Constitution". *Tydskrif vir hedendaagse Romeins-Hollandse reg* 57,3: 473-81.
- Hamber, Brandon (1997). *Living with the Legacy of Impunity. Lessons for South Africa about Truth, Compensation and Crime in Brazil*. Center for the study of Violence and Reconciliation, Johannesburg.
- Hoexter, Cora (1989). "The Administration of Justice, Defence Indemnities and Standing". *South African Journal of Criminal Justice* 2: 346-52.
- Human Rights Watch/ Africa (1994). *South Africa: Impunity for Human Rights Abuses in Two Homelands: Reports on KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana*. Volume 6, Number 2, New York.
- Keightley, Raylene (1993). "Political Offences and Indemnity in South Africa" *South African Journal on Human Rights* 9,3: 334-57.
- Kollapen, N. (1993). "Accountability: The Debate in South Africa". *Journal of African Law*. Vol. 37, No.1: 1-9.
- Moellendorf, Darrel (1997). "Amnesty, Truth and Justice: Azapo". *South African Journal on Human Rights* 13: 283-91.
- Parker, Peter (1996). "The Politics of Indemnities, Truth Telling and Reconciliation in South Africa. Ending Apartheid without Forgetting". *Human Rights Law Journal* 17, 1/2: 1-13.
- Roht-Arriaza, Naomi, and Gibson, Lauren (1998). "The Developing Jurisprudence on Amnesty". *Human Rights Quarterly* 20: 843-85.
- Sarkin, Jeremy, and Cowen, Susie (1997). "The draft National Prosecuting Authority Bill 1997: A critique". *South African Journal of Criminal Justice* 10: 64-74.

- Simpson, Graeme (1994). *Submission to the Minister of Justice, Mr. Dullah Omar, on the subject of proposed legislation on Amnesty/Indemnity and the Establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, June 1994.
- Van der Vyver, J. D. (1988). "The State President and Indemnity under the Defence Act". *South African Journal on Human Rights* 4: 153-66.
- Varney, Howard, and Sarkin, Jeremy (1997). "Failing to Pierce the Hit-Squad Veil: An Analysis of the Malan-Trial". *South African Journal of Criminal Justice* 10: 141-61.

4. Reparation, Compensation, Restitution

1. Books

- Doxtader, E. & Villa-Vicencio, C. (eds.) 2004. *To Repair the Irreparable: Reparation and Reconstruction in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.

2. Book Chapters, Articles, Monographs and Theses

- Ahwireng-Obeng, F. (1993). "Gender, Entrepreneurship and Socioeconomic Reparation in South Africa." *Review of Black Political Economy* 22 (2)(Fall): 151-165
- Asmal, Kader (1992). "Victims, Survivors and Citizens - Human Rights, Reparations and Reconciliation". *South African Journal on Human Rights* 8, 4: 491-511.
- Douwes Dekker, Loet. (1989). "Reparation and Reciprocity in Relation to Retaliation and Retribution: Some Perspectives." *Business Alert* No. 107 (April). Johannesburg: Wits Business School.
- Fernandez, Lovell (1999). "Reparations for Human Rights Violations Committed by the Apartheid Regime in South Africa". In *State Responsibility and the Individual: Reparation in Instances of Grave Violations of Human Rights*, edited by A. Randelzhofer and C. Tomuschat. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Hamber, Brandon and Tlhoki Mofokeng (eds.) 2000. *From Rhetoric to Responsibility. Making Reparations to the Survivors of Past Political Violence in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.
- Hamber, Brandon (1997). *Living with the legacy of impunity. Lessons for South Africa about truth, compensation and crime in Brazil*. Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.
- Kgalema, L. (1999). "The Impact of Symbolic Reparations (Monuments) in the Lives of the Communities, TRC: Commissioning the Past Conference", University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Mesthrie, Uma Dhupelia (1999). "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights: Some Comparative Thoughts". Paper presented at the "The TRC: Commissioning the Past" conference, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Van der Merwe, H. W. (1995). "Restitution. Neither Witch-Hunt nor Cover-up". *Track Two* 4,35462: 28-31.
- Van der Merwe, HW (1998). "Restitution After Apartheid. From Revenge to Forgiveness". *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*.
- Van der Merwe, Hendrik W. and Thomas J. Johnson (1997). "Restitution And The Accommodation Of An Afrikaner Ethnic Minority In South Africa." *International Journal of Peace Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 27- 48.

5. Healing

1. Books

- Boraine, Alex and Janet Levy, (eds.) 1995. *The Healing of a Nation?*. Cape Town: Justice in Transition.
- Botman, H. Russel and Petersen, Robin M., (eds.) 1996. *To Remember and to Heal. Theological and Psychological Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau.
- Frost, Brian (1998). *Struggling to forgive: Nelson Mandela and South Africa's Search for Reconciliation*. London: HarperCollins.
- Gobodo-Madikizela, Pumla (2003). *A Human Being Died That Night: A South African Story of Forgiveness*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.

- Minow, Martha (1998). *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*. Boston: Beacon Press.

2. Book Chapters, Articles, Monographs and Theses

- Du Toit, André (1994). "Laying the Past to Rest". *Indicator SA* 11,4: 63-69.
- Govier, Trudy, and Wilhelm Verwoerd. "Forgiveness: the Victim's Prerogative." *South African Journal of Philosophy* 21(1) (2002): 97-111.
- Habib, Adam & Lubna Nadvi (2002). "Party disintegrations & re-alignments in post-apartheid South Africa". *Review of African Political Economy* vol. 29, no. 92:331-338.
- Haron, Muhammed (2002). "The Cape Malays: an imagined community in South Africa - a bibliographical essay". *African Research and Documentation* 88: 35-58.
- Huchzermeyer, Marie (2003). "Housing rights in South Africa: invasions, evictions, the media, and the courts in the cases of Grootboom, Alexandra, and Bredell". *Urban Forum* vol. 14, no. 1:80-107.
- Magalasi, Mufunanji (2002). "Ethnicity and marginalisation in South African liberation theatre: Dukuza ka Macu's 'Night of the long wake'". *Journal of Humanities*. University of Malawi no. 16:25-42.
- Maja-Pearce, Adewale. (1996). "Binding the Wounds". *Index of Censorship* 25, 5: 48-53.
- Posel, Deborah (2001). "Race as common sense: racial classification in twentieth-century South Africa". *African Studies Review* vol. 44, no. 2:87-113.
- Gobodo-Madikizela, Pumla (1997). "Healing and the racial divide? Personal reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission". *South African Journal of Psychology* 27 (4): 271-276.
- Rospabé, Sandrine (2002). "How did labour market racial discrimination evolve after the end of apartheid?: an analysis of the evolution of employment, occupational and wage discrimination in South Africa between 1993 and 1999". *The South African Journal of Economics* vol. 70, no. 1:185-217.
- Taylor, Ian (2002). "South Africa's transition to democracy and the 'change industry': a case study of IDASA". *Politikon* vol. 29, no. 1:31-48.
- Uys, Pieter-Dirk (1996). "Tears, anger, forgiveness". *Index on Censorship*, 25(5):44.
- Vale, Peter (2002). "Migration, xenophobia and security-making in post-apartheid South". *Politikon* vol. 29, no. 1:7-29.

6. Human Rights Violations

1. Books

- Adam, H., and Giliomee, H. (1979). *The Rise and Crisis of Afrikaner Power*. Cape Town: David Phillip.
- Arnold, M. (ed.) 1987. *The Testimony of Steve Biko*, London: Grafton.
- Barrell, H. (1990). *MK. The ANC's Armed Struggle*. Johannesburg: Penguin.
- Bernstein, H. (1992). *South Africa: The Terrorism of torture*. London: Christian Action.
- Bernstein, H. (1983). *Death is part of the Process*. London: Sinclair Browne.
- Bornman, E., Van Eeden, R. & Wentzel, M. (eds.) 1998. *Violence in South Africa: A variety of perspectives*. Pretoria: HSRC.
- Brittain, V., and Minty, A. (eds.) 1988. *Children of Resistance. Statements from the Harare Conference on Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa*. London: Kliptown Books.
- Cawthra, G. (1986). *Brutal Force. The Apartheid War Machine*. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.
- Cohen, R., Muthien Y., and Zegeye A. (eds.) 1990. *Repression and Resistance: Insider Accounts of Apartheid*. Hans Zell Publishers.
- Cole, J., Crossroads (1987). *The Politics of Reform and Repression 1976-1986*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Coleman, M., (ed.), 1998. *A Crime Against Humanity: Analysing the Repression of the Apartheid State*. Cape Town: David Phillip.
- Davis, S. (1987). *Apartheid's Rebels: Inside South Africa's Hidden War*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- de Kock, E., & J. Gordin (1998), *A Long Night's Damage: Working for the Apartheid State*. Saxonwold: Contra Press.

- Dubow, Saul (1989). *Racial segregation and the origins of apartheid in South Africa, 1919-36*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Dugard, J. (1978). *Human Rights and the South African Legal Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dugard, J., Haysom N. and Marcus G. (1992). *The Last Years of Apartheid: Civil Liberties in South Africa*. Ford Foundation, New York.
- Foster, D., Davis, D. & Sandler D. (1987). *Detention & Torture in South Africa. Psychological, legal and historical studies*. London: James Currey.
- Foster, D., Davis, D. & Sandler, D. (1987). *Detention and torture in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Foster, D. & Sandler, D. (1985). *A study of detention and torture in South Africa*. Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town.
- Gareau, Frederick H. (2004). "South Africa, Apartheid and Terror", in *State Terrorism and the United States: From Counterinsurgency to the War on Terrorism*. Clarity Press: Inc. Atlanta/ Zed Books: London.
- Hanlon, J. (1986). *Apartheid's Second Front. South Africa's War against Its Neighbours*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Human Rights Watch (1991). *The Killings in South Africa: the role of the security forces and the response of the state*. New York, N.Y.
- International Defence & Aid Fund Research Department (1978). *Prisoners of Apartheid. A biographical list of political prisoners and banned persons in South Africa*. London and New York: International Defence and Aid Fund.
- Kalley, A.J. (1989). *South Africa under apartheid: a select and annotated bibliography*. Westport, CT: Meckler.
- Kane-Berman, J. (1978). *Soweto: Black revolt, white reaction*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Kane-Berman, J. (1993). *Political violence in South Africa*. Braamfontein: SAIRR.
- Kasrils, R. (1993). *Armed and dangerous: My undercover struggle against apartheid*. London: Heinemann.
- Laurence, P. (1990). *Death Squads. Apartheid's Secret Weapon*. Johannesburg: Penguin.
- Manganyi, N. & Du Toit, A. (eds.) 1990. *Political Violence and the Struggle in South Africa*. London: MacMillan Press.
- Marks, M. (2001). *Young warriors: Youth politics, identity and violence in South Africa*. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press.
- Marx, A. W. (1992). *Lessons of struggle*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Maylam, Paul (2001). *South Africa's racial past: the history and historiography of racism, segregation, and apartheid*. Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate.
- Pauw, J. (1997). *Into the heart of darkness: Confessions of apartheid's assassins*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.
- Peterson, R.W. (ed.) 1971. *South Africa and apartheid*. New York, Facts on File.
- Price, R. M., and Rosberg C. G. (eds.) 1980. *The Apartheid Regime: Political Power and Racial Domination*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Reed D. (1994). *Beloved Country: South Africa's Silent Wars*: Jonathan Ball Publishers, Cape Town.

2. Book Chapters, Articles, Monographs and Theses

- Amnesty International. (1992). *South Africa. Torture, Ill-Treatment and Executions in African National Congress Camps*. London: Amnesty International, 2 December 1992 (AI-Index: AFR 53/27/92).
- Bonnin, Debby (2000). Claiming spaces, changing places: political violence and women's protests in KwaZulu-Natal. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 26, n° 2: 301-316.
- Campbell, C. (1992). 'Learning to Kill? Masculinity, the Family and Violence in Natal', *JSAS* 18/3.
- Charney, C. (1991). 'Vigilantes, Clientelism, and the South African State', *Transformation*, 16.
- Donen, M. (2000). "Impunity And Gross Human Rights Violations in South Africa". *Murdoch University Electronic Journal of Law*, Vol. 7, No. 2.
- Ellis S., (1998). 'The Historical Significance of South Africa's Third Force', *JSAS* 24/2.
- Foster, D. (2000d). "Review of Eugene de Kock: A long night's damage". *South African Journal of Psychology*, 30 (1), 59.
- Taylor, Rupert (2002). Justice denied: political violence in KwaZulu-Natal after 1994. *African Affairs* vol. 101, no. 405:473-508.
- Watson, P. (1993). "Victim buried alive at murder party - South Africa police probe claims 10". *The Toronto Star*, page 3.

7. Politics of Memory

1. Books

- Bathish, Nisreen & Löwstedt, Anthony (1999), *Apartheid: Ancient, Past and Present*, Webster University, Vienna.
- Beverly Naaidoo (1998). *No Turning Back. A Novel of South Africa*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Coetzee, M. *Boyhood*. (1997). *Scenes from Provincial Life*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Coombes, Annie E. (2003). *History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*, Duke University Press, London
- De Klerk, Frederik W. (1998). *The Last Trek - A new Beginning: The Autobiography*. London: Macmillan.
- Fentress, James, and Wickham, Chris J. (1992). *Social Memory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gebhard, Wolfgang (1991). *Shades of Reality. Black Perceptions of South African History*. Essen: Verl. Blaue Eule.
- Harris, V. (2000), *Exploring Archives: An Introduction to Archival Ideas and Practice in South Africa*. 2nd edition. Pretoria, National Archives of South Africa.
- Joffe, J. (1995), *The Rivonia Story*. Cape Town: Mayibuye Books.
- Julian Kunnie, (2000). *A Comprehensive History of South Africa's Struggle*. England: Westview Press.
- Julian Kunnie (2000). *Why Apartheid Changed its Character in 1990*. England: Westview Press.
- Mathaban, M., *Kaffir Boy* (1986). *The True Story of a Black Youth's Coming of Age in Apartheid South Africa*, New York: Free Press,.
- Nuttall, Sarah and Coetzee, Carli, (eds.) 1998. *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Paton, Alan, (1948). *Cry My Beloved Country*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Saunders, Christopher (1988). *The Making of South African Past. Major Historians on Race and Class*. Totowa, NJ.
- Smith, Ken (1988). *The Changing Past. Trends in South African Historical Writing*. Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers.
- Southern Africa Project (1990). *South Africa's death squads: a report*. Washington, D.C.: Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.
- Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights. (1998). *Crisis in crossroads: a report on human rights in South Africa*. New York, NY.
- Thompson, L. (1985). *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*. NewHaven: Yale University Press.
- Tobias, Saul (1999) *History, Memory and the Ethics of Writing: Antjie Krog's Country of My Skull*, Emory University.

2. Book Chapters, Articles, Monographs and Theses

- Alan Wieder, "Testimony as Oral History: Lessons from South Africa," *Educational Researcher*, August/September 2004.
- Asmal, Kader (1994). "Coping with the Past". *Unisa Latin American Report* 10, 1: 22-27.
- Bester, Rory (1999). "At the edges of apartheid memory". Conference paper, *The TRC: Commissioning the Past*. Wits History Workshop and the Center for Violence and Reconciliation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Biko, Ntsiki (1996). "Justice First". *Index of Censorship* 25, 5: 67-68.
- Bonner, Philip (1994). "New Nation, New History. The History Workshop in South Africa, 1977-1994". *The Journal of American History* 81, 3: 977-85.
- Braude, Claudia, and Spitz, Derek (1997). "Memory and the Spectre of International Justice: A Comment on AZAPO". *South African Journal on Human Rights* 13: 269-82.
- Buur, L. (2002). "Monumental historical memory: Managing truth in the everyday work of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission". In Posel, D. & Simpson, G. (eds.). *Commissioning the past: Understanding South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Cuthbertson, Greg, and Grundlingh, Albert (1992). "Some Problematical Issues in the Restructuring of History Education in South African Schools". *South African Historical Journal* 26: 154-71.
- Duvenage, Pieter (1999). *The Politics of Memory and Forgetting after Auschwitz and Apartheid*. Paper presented at the "The TRC: Commissioning the Past" conference, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 11 June 1999.

- Field, Sean (1999). *Memory, the TRC and the Significance of Oral History in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Paper presented at the "TRC: Commissioning the Past" conference, organized by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV) and the History Workshop (at Wits University). University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa, 11-14 June 1999.
- Foner, Eric (1995.) 'We Must Forget the Past' History in the New South Africa. *South African Historical Journal*,35: 163-76.
- Forsyth, Paul (1992). "The Past in the Service of the Present. The Political use of History by Chief A. N. M. G. Buthelezi 1951-1991". *South African Historical Journal* 26: 74-92.
- Gobodo-Madikizela, P. (2002). "Remorse, Forgiveness, and Rehumanization: Stories from South Africa." *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 42, no.1: 7-32.
- Golan, Daphna (1991). "Inkatha and its Use of the Zulu Past". *History in Africa. A Journal of Method* 18: 113-26.
- Grunebaum-Ralph, Heidi (1996). "Saying the Unspeakable: Language and Identity after Auschwitz as a Narrative Model for Articulating Memory in South Africa". *Current Writing* 8, 2: 13-23.
- Harris, Verne (1999) "They should have destroyed more": The Destruction of Public Records by the South African State in the Final Years of Apartheid, 1990-1994, National Archives of South Africa
- Hurley, M., 2001. "Dealing with the Past in South Africa." In Reychler, Luc and Thania Paffenholz, *Peace-building: A Field Guide*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Leslie, Michael (1994). "Bitter Monuments. Afrikaners and the New South Africa". *Black Scholar*, 24(3):33-39.
- Maharaj, Gitanjali (1996). "The Limit of Historical Knowledge: The Subaltern and South African Historiography". *Current Writing* 8,2: 1-12.
- Norval, Aletta J. (1998). "Memory, identity and the (im)possibility of reconciliation: the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa". *Constellations* (Oxford). - vol.5: n°2, p. 250-265.
- Perry, John (1993). "Political Anthropology: Symbols, Images and Power in South Africa". In *Faces of culture. Explorations in anthropology*, edited by J.e. Hughes. St. Lucia: Univers. of Queensland.
- Reagan, Timothy G. (1991). "The Past in the Service of the Present. A Comparative Study of South Africa and Zimbabwean Social Studies Textbooks". *Journal of Research and Development in Education* 25, 1: 58-63.
- Sasha Polakow-Suransky (2002). "Reviving South African History. Academics Debate How to Represent and Teach the Nation's Past," *Chronicle of Higher Education*.
- Siebörger, R. F. (1994). "Reconceptualising South African School History Textbooks". *South African Historical Journal*, 30: 98-108.
- Wessels, André (1994). "In Search of Acceptable National Symbols for South Africa". *Journal of Contemporary History* 19, 2: 262-87.

8. **Perpetrators**

1. **Books**

- Du Toit, André. 1999. *Perpetrator Findings as Artificial Even-handedness? The TRC's Contested Judgements of Moral and Political Accountability for Gross Human Rights Violations*. Paper presented at the "The TRC: Commissioning the Past" conference, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 11 June 1999.
- Foster, D., Haupt Paul and de Beer, Maresa, (2005). *The Theatre of Violence: Narratives of Protagonists in the South African Conflict*. Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, HSRC Press, James Currey: Cape Town-Oxford.
- Payne, Leigh A. 1999. *Confessions of Torturers: Reflections from Argentina*. Paper presented at the "The TRC: Commissioning the Past" conference, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 11 June 1999.

2. **Book Chapters, Articles, Monographs and Theses**

- Bayntun C. (2005). "What are we capable of? The motivations of perpetrators in South Africa during the Apartheid era". *Medicine, conflict, and survival*. 21(1):3-18. St George's Hospital Medical School, London.
- Foster, D. (1997a). "The TRC and understanding perpetrators". Unpublished report to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa.
- Foster, D. (1997b). "Perpetrators of gross violations of human rights", *Journal of Community and Health Sciences*, 4(2), 1-34.

- Foster, D. (2000a). "What makes a perpetrator? An attempt to understand". In Villa-Vicencio, C. & Verwoerd, W. (eds.), *Looking back, reaching forward: Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa* (pp. 219-229). London: Zed Press.
- Foster, D. (2000b). "The TRC and understanding perpetrators". *South African Journal of Psychology*, 30 (1), 2-9.
- Foster, D. (2000c). "Entitlement as explanation for perpetrators' actions". *South African Journal of Psychology*, 30 (1), 10-13.
- Tristan Anne Borer, "A Taxonomy of Victims and Perpetrators: Human Rights and Reconciliation in South Africa." *Human Rights Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (November 2003): 1088-1116.

9. Victims

1. Books

- Bernstein, H. (1989). *The world that was ours: the story of the Rivonia trial*. London: SA Writers.
- Diana E. H. Russell, Jo Campling, Diana. E. H. Russell (Eds.) 1997. *Behind Closed Doors in White South Africa: Incest Survivors Tell Their Stories*. St. Martin's Press: London.
- Flannery, R. B. 1994, *Posttraumatic-Stress-Disorder - The Victims Guide to Healing and Recovery*.
- Joffe, J. (1995). *The Rivonia story*. Bellville, SA: Mayibuye Books.
- Puttergill, Charles (1999) Victims representations of gross human rights violations in Pretoria
- Skinner, Donald (1998). *Apartheid's Violent Legacy: A Report on Trauma in the Western Cape*. Cape Town: The Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture.
- Worsnip, Michael (1996). *Michael Lapsley - Priest and Partisan: A South African Journey*. Melbourne: Ocean Press.

2. Book Chapters, Articles, Monographs and Theses

- Asmal, Kader (1992). "Victims, Survivors and Citizens - Human Rights, Reparations and Reconciliation". *South African Journal on Human Rights* 8, 4: 491-511.
- Buur, L. (2003). 'In the name of the victims': The politics of compensation in the work of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In Gready, P. (Ed.). *Political transition: Politics and cultures*. London: Pluto Press.
- Commission of Gender Equality, SANGOCO, and South African Human Rights Commission (1998). *The People's Voices: National Speak Out on Poverty Hearings, March-June 1998*. Johannesburg: CGE, SANGOCO, SAHRC.
- Kagee, A. Price (1995). "Apartheid in South-Africa - Toward a Model of Psychological Intervention". *Journal of Black Studies* 25, 6: 737-48.
- Lala Camerer A. (1996). Victim Movement for South Africa? In Monograph No 3: *Policing the Transformation*.
- Spangenberg, Judora J., and Pieterse, Christel (1995). "Stressful Live Events and Psychological Status in Black South African Women". *Journal of Social Psychology* 135, 4: 439-45.

10. Land Reform, Land Restitution, Forced Removals

1. Books

- Beinart, W. (1994), *Twentieth Century South Africa*. Oxford: Oxford U.P.
- Bundy C. (1989). *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Clarke, James (2002) *Coming Back to Earth: South Africa's Changing Environment*. Jacana.
- Cousins B. (ed.) *At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century* (2000)
- Cross C. and Haines R. (eds.), *Towards Freehold?: Options for Land and Development in South Africa's Black Rural Areas* (1988).
- de Klerk M. (ed.) 1991. *A Harvest of Discontent : The Land Question in South Africa*. 43-62, Cape Town, IDASA.
- Desai, A. (2002). *We are the Poors: Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

- Jeeves A.H and J. Crush (eds.) 1997. *White Farms, Black Labour: The State and Agrarian Change in Southern Africa, 1910-1950*. (Portsmouth: Heinemann; Oxford: James Currey; Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Murray, Christina, and O'Regan, Catherine (1990). *No Place to Rest. Forced Removals and the Law in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Ntsebeza, L. (2005), *Democracy Compromised: Chiefs and the Politics of the Land in South Africa*. Leiden, Brill.
- Platzky, L. and Walker, C. (eds.) 1985. *The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Ramphele, M. and C. McDowell (eds.) 1991. *Restoring the Land: Environment and Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. London: Panos.
- Van Onselen, C. (1996). *The Seed is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, a South African Sharecropper, 1894–1985*. New York: Hill & Wang.

2. Book Chapters, Articles, Monographs and Theses

- Beinart, W. (1998). "Strategies of the poor and some problems of land reform in the Eastern Cape, South Africa." (In: *Communal rangelands in Southern Africa: a synthesis of knowledge: proceedings of a Symposium on Policy-making for the Sustainable Use of Southern African Communal Rangelands*. Alice, South Africa: Dept. of livestock & Pasture Science, University of Fort Hare, p. 81-92)
- Bernstein, H. (1996). 'The Agrarian Question in South Africa', special issue of *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 23.
- Bromley, DW (1995). 'South Africa: Where Land Reform Meets Land Restitution'. *Land Use Policy*, 12(2):99-103.
- Budlender, Geoff (1992). 'The Right to Equitable Access to Land'. *South African Journal on Human Rights* 8,3: 295-304.
- De Wet, Chris (1994). "Resettlement and land reform in South Africa". *Review of African Political Economy* 21,61: 359-373.
- Hall, Ruth (1998). 'Contested Terrain: the Politics of Land Reform in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *M.Phil. Development Studies thesis*.
- Kotzé, Hennie, and Basson, Francis (1993). "Land reform in South Africa. An Overview". *Africa Insight* 23,4: 190-197.
- Kotzé, Hennie, and Basson, Francis (1994). "Land reform in South Africa. Elite Attitudes and Party Politics". *Development Southern Africa* 11,2: 183-97.
- Lipton M. et al (eds.), *Land, Labour and Livelihoods in Rural South Africa* (1997), especially vol. 1 intro and conclusion.
- Murphy, John (1996). "The Restitution of Land after Apartheid: The Constitutional and Legislative Framework". In *Confronting Past Injustices: Approaches to Amnesty, Punishment, Reparation and Restitution in South Africa and Germany*, edited by M.R. Rwelamira and G. Werle. Durban: Butterworths.
- Murray C. and G. Williams (eds.) 1994, 'Land and Freedom in South Africa', special issue of *Review of African Political Economy*, 21.
- Nadasen, S. (1997). "Restitution, Reconstruction, Reconciliation and Redistribution: Land Reform - Balancing the Interests of the Dispossessed, the Homeless and Development". *Stellenbosch Law Review*: 360-377.
- Rangan, Haripriya & Mary Gilmartin (2002). "Gender, traditional authority, and the politics of rural reform in South Africa". *Development and Change* vol. 33, no. 4: 633-658.
- Steinberg, Jonny, *Midlands* (Jonathan Ball, 2002) – a vivid journalist's account of land conflicts in the Natal midlands.
- Williams, G., 'Setting the Agenda: a Critique of the World Bank's Rural Restructuring programme for South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies* (JSAS), 22 (1996) and 'Liberalizing Markets and Reforming Land in South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 16 (1998).

11. Politics of Transition

1. Books

- Abel, R. L. (1995), *Politics by Other Means: Law in the Struggle Against Apartheid*. New York: Routledge.
- Adams Charl (ed.) 1993. *Affirmative Action in a Democratic South Africa*. Kenwyn: Juta.
- Alexander, N. (1993), *Some Are More Equal Than Others: Essays on the Transition in South Africa*. Cape Town: Buchu Books.

- Ahluwalia, D. P. (2002). "The struggle for African identity: Thabo Mbeki's African renaissance", in *African and Asian Studies*, Vol. No: 1, Issue No: 4. pp. 265-277(13). Brill Academic Publishers.
- Bell, T.K., & D.B. Ntsebeza (2001). *Unfinished Business: South Africa, Apartheid and Truth*. Cape Town: Redworks.
- Benart, Ed, and Twala, Mwezi (1994). *Mbokodo: Inside MK. Mwezi Twala. A Soldier's Story*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.
- Benson, M. (1986). *Nelson Mandela*. London: Penguin.
- Davenport, T. (1998). *The Birth of a New South Africa*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Davies, R., et al, (1988). *The Struggle for South Africa. A reference guide to movements, organisations and institutions*, 2 vols. London and New Jersey: Zed Books.
- De Klerk, Willem (1991), *FW de Klerk – The Man in his Time*, Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers.
- Dingake, M., (1987). *My Fight Against Apartheid*. London: Kliptown Books.
- Dubow Saul (2000). *The African National Congress*. Sutton Pocket Histories Series. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing.
- Du Plessis, L. and Corder, H. (1994). *Understanding South Africa's transitional bill of rights*. Kenwyn: Juta.
- Ebrahim H., *The Soul of a Nation: Constitution-Making in South Africa* (1998)
- Ellis, S., and Sechaba, T. (1992). *Comrades against Apartheid. The ANC & the South African Communist Party in Exile*. London and Bloomington & Indianapolis: James Currey & Indiana University Press.
- Ellmann, S. (1992). *In a Time of Trouble: Law and Liberty in South Africa's State of Emergency*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fatton Jnr., R. (1986). *Black Consciousness in South Africa: The Dialectic of Ideological Resistance to White Supremacy*. SUNY Press, New York.
- Feit, E., (1962). *South Africa: The Dynamics of the African National Congress*. London, New York, Ibadan: Oxford University Press.
- Feit, E., (1971). *Urban Revolt in South Africa 1960-1964. A Case Study*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Friedman S. and D. Atkinson (eds), *The Small Miracle: South Africa's Negotiated Settlement* (1994)
- Frost, B. (1998). *Struggling to Forgive: Nelson Mandela and South Africa's Search for Reconciliation*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Gastrow, P. (1995). *Bargaining for Peace: South Africa and the National Peace Accord*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.
- Gastrow, S. (1985). *Who's Who In South African Politics*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Gastrow, S. (1987). *Who's Who in South African Politics*. Number 2. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Gastrow, S. (1990). *Who's Who in South African Politics*. Number 3. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Geldenhuys, D. (1984). *The Diplomacy of Isolation*. South African Foreign Policy Making .Johannesburg: Macmillan.
- Giliomee, Hermann & Simkins, Charles (eds.) 1999. *The Awkward Embrace: One Party Domination and Democracy*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Grundy, K. (1971). *Guerilla Struggle in Africa. An Analysis and Preview*. New York: Grossman.
- Grundy, K. (1988). *The Militarisation of South African Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Guelke, Adrian (1999). *South Africa in Transition: The Misunderstood Miracle*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Haferburg, C. & Ossenbrugge, J. (eds.) 2003. *Ambiguous Restructurings of Post-Apartheid Cape Town: The Spatial Form of Socio-Political Change*. Munster & London: Lit Verlag.
- Hadland A. and J. Rantao, *The Life and Times of Thabo Mbeki* (Rivonia, 1999).
- Harvey, R. (2001). *The fall of apartheid: the inside story from Smuts to Mbeki*. Houndmills: England; New York: Palgrave.
- Hirschmann, D. (1990) "The Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa". *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 28 (1), March.
- Hirson, B. (1979). *Year of Fire, Year of Ash; The Soweto Revolt: Roots of a Revolution?*. London: Zed Books.
- Horowitz, D. (1991). *A Democratic South Africa?: Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Horrell, M. (1971). *Action, Reaction and Counter-Action. A brief review of non-white political movements in South Africa*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.
- Howarth, D., & Norval A. (1998), *South Africa in Transition: New Theoretical Perspectives*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Johns, S. & Hunt Davis, R. (eds.) 1991. *Mandela, Tambo and the African National Congress: the struggle against apartheid, 1948-1990: a documentary survey*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Johnson R.W. and L. Schlemmer (eds.), *Launching Democracy in South Africa: The First Open Election, April 1994* (1994), provides the greatest detail on the 1994 elections.
- Juckes, Tim J. (1995). *Opposition in South Africa: The Leadership of Z. K. Matthews, Nelson Mandela, and Stephen Biko*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Kane-Berman, J. et al. (1990). *Beating apartheid and building the future*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.
- Karis, T., Carter, G. & Gerhart, G. (eds.) 1990. *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics In South Africa, 1882-1964*. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1972, 1973, 1977).
- Klug, H. (2000). *Constituting Democracy: Law, Globalism, and South Africa's Political Reconstruction*. Cambridge, England; New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.
- Lodge T. (1999). *Consolidating Democracy: South Africa's Second Popular Election*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press; London: Global.
- Lodge, T. (1999), *South African politics since 1994*. Johannesburg, pp.102-103
- Lodge, T. (2003). *Politics in South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Lodge, T. (1983). *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Lodge, T. (ed.) 1986. *Resistance and Ideology in Settler Societies*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Luthuli, A. (1987). *Let My People Go*. Glasgow: William Collins.
- MacShane, D., Plaut, M., Ward, D. (1984). *Power! : Black workers, their unions and the struggle for freedom in South Africa*. Boston, Mass.: South End Press.
- Mandela, N. (1994). *Long Walk to Freedom*. Little Brown and Company: London.
- Mandela, N. (1986). *The Struggle is My Life*. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.
- Mandela, N. (1990). *One Nation, One Country*. New York, N.Y.: Phelps-Stokes Institute for African, African-American, and American Indian Affairs.
- Mandela, W., Benjamin A. (eds.) 1985). *Part of My Soul*. London: Penguin.
- Mangena, M. (1989). *On Your Own. Evolution of Black Consciousness in South Africa/Azania*. Johannesburg: Skotaville.
- Manganyi, N.C. (ed.) 2004. *On Becoming a Democracy: Transition and Transformation in South African Society*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press.
- Marais H., (1998). *South Africa: Limits to Change: the Political Economy of Transition*. London; New York: Zed Books; Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Mare, G., and Hamilton, G. (1987). *An Appetite for Power. Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa*. Johannesburg and Bloomington: Ravan Press and Indiana University Press.
- Marx, A. (1992). *Lessons of Struggle. South African Internal Opposition, 1960-1990*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mbeki, G. (1991). *Learning from Robben Island. The Prison Writings of Govan Mbeki*. London, Athens [Ohio] and Cape Town: James Currey, Ohio University Press and David Phillip.
- Mbeki, G. (1984). *South Africa. The Peasants' Revolt*. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.
- Mbeki, T. (1998). *Africa: The Time Has Come*. Cape Town: Tafelberg, Johannesburg: Mafube Publishers.
- McKinley, D. (1997). *The ANC and the Liberation Struggle: A Critical Political Biography*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand. University Press.
- Meer, F. (1990). *Higher than Hope. A Biography of Nelson Mandela*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Meer, F. (1987). *The Trial of Andrew Zondo. A Sociological Insight*. Johannesburg: Skotaville.
- Meli, F. (1988). *South Africa Belongs to Us. A History of the ANC*. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.
- Motlhabi, M. (1985), *The Theory and Practice of Black Resistance to Apartheid: A Social-Ethical Analysis*. Johannesburg: Skotaville.
- Motlhabi, M. (1988). *Challenge to Apartheid. Toward a Moral National Resistance*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans.
- Mtolo, B., (1966). *Umkhonto we Sizwe. The Road to the Left*. Durban: Drakensberg Press Limited.
- Mufson, S. (1990). *Fighting Years. Black Resistance and the Struggle for a New South Africa*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Nolutshungu, S.C. (1982). *Changing South Africa: Political Considerations*. Cape Town: David Phillip.
- Odendaal, A. (1984). *Vukani Bantu! The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912*. David Philip, Cape Town.

- Orr, W. (2000). *From Biko to Basson*. Saxonwold: Contra Press.
- Orkin, M. (1987). *Disinvestment, the Struggle and the Future. What Black South Africans Really Think*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Orkin, M. (Ed.) 1989. *Sanctions Against Apartheid*. Cape Town and London: David Phillip and Catholic Institute for International Relations.
- Ottaway, David (1993). *Chained Together: Mandela, de Klerk, and Struggle to Remake South Africa*. New York: Times Books.
- Ottaway, M. (1993). *South Africa: the Struggle for a New Order*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Ozgur, A. (1982). *Apartheid, the United Nations & Peaceful change in South Africa*. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Transnational Publishers.
- Pityana, N. B., Ramphela, M., Mpumlwana, M. and Wilson, L. (eds.) 1991. *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness*. Zed Books, London.
- Price, R. (1990). *The Apartheid State in Crisis*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.
- Reynolds, A. (ed.) 1994. *Election '94 South Africa: The Campaign, Results and Future Prospects*. James Curry, David Philip, St Martins Press, London, Cape Town and New York.
- Roux, E. (1972). *Time Longer Than Rope. A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Sampson, A. (1999). *Mandela: the Authorised Biography*. HarperCollins Publishers; London.
- Smuts, D., and Westcott, S. (1991). *The Purple Shall Govern. A South African A to Z of Nonviolent Action*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Southall, Roger (ed.) *Opposition and Democracy in South Africa*, (Frank Cass: London), 2001
- Sparks, A. (1994). *Tomorrow is Another Country: The Inside Story of South Africa's Negotiated Revolution*. Wynburg; Sandton: Struik Books.
- Sparks, A. (1996). *Tomorrow is Another Country: The Inside Story of South Africa's Road to Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sparks, A. (1990). *The Mind of South Africa. The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid*. London: Heinemann.
- Spitz R. and Chaskalson, M. (2000). *The Politics of Transition: A Hidden History of South Africa's Negotiated Settlement*. Oxford: Hart Pub.
- Tambo, A. (1987). *Preparing for Power. Oliver Tambo Speaks*. London: Heinemann.
- Van der Merwe, H. W. (1989). *Pursuing Justice and Peace in South Africa*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Waldmeier P. (1997). *Anatomy of a Miracle: The End of Apartheid and the Birth of the New South Africa*. London: Penguin Books.
- Walshe, P. (1970). *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa. the African National Congress 1912-1952*. London: C. Hurst & Company.
- Worden, N. (2000). *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Segregation and Apartheid*. Oxford; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

2. Book Chapters, Articles, Monographs and Theses

- African National Congress. Address to the Nation by ANC President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, on the Assassination of Martin Thembisile (Chris) Hani, 10 April 1993.
- African National Congress. (1992). *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Complaints by Former African National Congress Prisoners and Detainees*.
- Bird, Edward, and Garda, Zureida (1997a). *Reporting the Truth Commission. Analysis of Media Coverage of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Johannesburg: Media Monitoring Project.
- Bird, Edward, and Garda, Zureida (1997b). "Reporting the Truth Commission". *Gazette (Leiden, Netherl.)* 59,4-5: 331
- Brown, Susan (ed.) 2005. *Economic Transformation Audit 2005: Conflict and Governance*, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation: Cape Town.
- Davis, Gavin (2003). "The electoral temptation of race in South Africa: implications for the 2004 election". *Transformation* no. 53:4-28.
- Dugard, John (1988). "Soldiers or Terrorist? The ANC and the SADF Compared". *South African Journal on Human Rights* 3: 221

- Eldridge M. and J. Seekings (1996). 'Mandela's Lost Province: The African National Congress and the Western Cape Electorate in the 1994 South African Elections', *JSAS* 22/4. A. Reynolds (ed.), *Election '94 South Africa* (Cape Town, 1994)
- Ellis, Stephen (1994). "Mbokodo: Security in ANC Camps, 1961-1990". *African Affairs* 93,371: 279-98.
- Friedman, Steven, "South Africa: Entering the Post-Mandela Era" *Journal of Democracy* 10.4 (1999) 3-18 <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v010/10.4friedman.html>
- Giliomee, Hermann "South Africa's emerging dominant party regime" *Journal of Democracy* 9.4 (1998) 128-142 <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v009/9.4giliomee.html>
- Hudson, Peter (2000). 'Liberalism, Democracy and Transformation in South Africa'. *Politikon* 27/1: 93-102.
- Hyslop, Jonathan (1999), 'Shopping during a Revolution: Entrepreneurs, Retailers and White Identity in South Africa's Democratic Transition'. Paper presented at *The TRC: Commissioning the Past*. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 11-14 June 1999.
- McGreal Chris (2002). "Special Report: Thabo Mbeki's catastrophe" *Prospect Magazine*.
- Minty, Abdul (1993). 'South Africa. From Apartheid to Democracy'. *Security Dialogue*, 24, 69-84.
- Murray, Christina (1984). "The Status of the ANC and SWAPO and International Humanitarian Law". *South African Law Journal*: 402
- Natrass, N. (1994). 'Economic Restructuring in South Africa: The Debate Continues', *JSAS* 20, is more supportive of the reorientation.
- Nicoli Natrass & Jeremy Seekings (2001). "'Two Nations'? Race and Economic Inequality in South Africa Today" *Daedalus* January 1, <<http://web.lexis-nexis.com/executive/>>
- Shapiro, Ian (1993). 'Democratic Innovation. South Africa in Comparative Perspective'. *World Politics*, 46(1).
- Shaw, Mark. 1993. The Goldstone Commission in the Public Eye. *Indicator SA* 11,1: 55-60.
- Simpson, M. (1994). 'The experience of nation building. Some lessons for South Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 20(3).
- Southall, Roger (1998). "The Centralisation and Fragmentation of South Africa's Dominant Party System" *African Affairs* 97
- Southall, Roger (2000). "The state of democracy in South Africa" *The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* No. 3, Vol. 38, <<http://web.lexis-nexis.com/executive/>>
- Stephen M. Davis (1992), *Apartheid's Rebels: Inside South Africa's Hidden War* (1987), and H. Barrell, 'The Turn to the Masses: The African National Congress' Strategic Review of 1978-79', *JSAS* 18/1
- *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: One Law for One Nation*, Act 108 of 1996.
- Whiteford, Andrew and Seventer Dirk Van (1999). "Winners and Losers: South Africa's Changing Income Distribution in the 1990s," *WEFA Southern Africa*, Pretoria.

12. Legacy of Apartheid

1. **Books**

- Adam, H. (1971), *Modernizing Racial Domination*, Berkeley and Los Angeles
- Alexander, N. (2002). *An Ordinary Country. Issues in the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy in South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press.
- Andrews, P. and Ellmann, S. (eds.) 2001. *The Post-apartheid Constitutions: Perspectives on South Africa's Basic Law*. Johannesburg: Witswatersrand University Press; Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Archer, R. and Bouillon, A. (1982). *The South African Game: Sport and Racism*. London: Zed Press.
- Barbarin, O. and Richter, L. (1999). *Mandela's children: Growing up in post-Apartheid South Africa*. Routledge, New York.
- Beinart W. and Dubow S. (eds.) 1995. *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa* London: Routledge.
- Bond, P. Elite Transition. *From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa* Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 2000
- Bonner P. and Segal L. (1998). *Soweto: A History*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.
- Bonner, P. Delius, and D. Posel (eds.) 1993. *Apartheid's Genesis, 1935-1962*. Ravan Press; Johannesburg.

- Chapman, Audrey R. and Rubenstein, Leonard S., (eds.) 1998. *Human Rights and Health: The Legacy of Apartheid*. Washington, DC: American Association for the Advancement of Science.
- Crush, J., Jeeves, A. and D. Yudelman (1991), *South Africa's Labour Empire: A History of Black Migrancy to the Gold Mines*
- Daniel, J. A. Habib and R Southall (eds.) *State of the Nation: South Africa 2003 – 2004*. Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2003
- Davenport, R. and C. Saunders, *South Africa – a Modern History*, 5th ed. London: Macmillan, 2000
- Desmond, C. (1971), *The Discarded People: An Account of African Resettlement in South Africa*. Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- Duncan, Jane and Seleokane, Mandla (eds.) 1998. *Media and Democracy in South Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers.
- Centre for Policy Studies (1989). *South Africa at the End of the Eighties: Policy Perspectives 1989*. Johannesburg: Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Witwatersrand.
- Ebrahim, Hassen (1998). *Soul of a Nation – Constitution-making in South Africa*. Cape Town, Oxford University Press.
- Friedman, S. and Atkinson, D. (eds.) 1994. *The Small Miracle*. Johannesburg: Ravan.
- Geldenhuys D. (1984). *The Diplomacy of Isolation: South Africa's Foreign Policy Making*: Johannesburg: Macmillan.
- Glaser, D., *Politics and Society in South Africa*, London, Sage, 2001.
- Glaser C., *BoTotsi: the youth gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976* (2000)
- Greenberg S. (1987). *Legitimizing the Illegitimate: State, Markets, and Resistance in South Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Guelke A., *South Africa's Transition. The Misunderstood Miracle*, (London, 1999).
- Hain, P. (1971). *Don't Play with Apartheid: The Background to the Stop the Seventy Tour Campaign*. London, Allen and Unwin.
- Henrard, K. (2002). *Minority Protection in Post-apartheid South Africa: Human Rights, Minority Rights, and Self-determination*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Humphries, R., (ed.) 1995. *Civil Society after Apartheid*. Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies.
- Jarvie G. (1985). *Class, Race and Sport in South Africa's Political Economy*. Boston/ London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Leach, Graham. *The Afrikaners – Their Last Great Trek*. Johannesburg, Southern, 1989.
- Lelyveld, J. (1985). *Move your Shadow: South Africa, Black and White*. New York: Time Books.
- Lipton M. (1986). *Capitalism and Apartheid: South Africa, 1910–1986*. Aldershot: Wildwood House and Cape Town: David Philip.
- Loubser, J.A. (1987). *The Apartheid Bible. A Critical Review of Racial Theology in South Africa*. Maskew Miller Longman, Cape Town.
- Mallaby, S. (1992). *After Apartheid: the Future of South Africa*. New York: Time Books.
- Marais, H. *South Africa. Limits to Change*, 2nd ed. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2001
- Meredith, Martin (1994). *South Africa's New Era: the 1994 Election*. London: Mandarin.
- Merrett, Christopher. 1994. *A Culture of Censorship. Secrecy and Intellectual Repression in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Murray, C. (1992). *Black Mountain: Land, Class and Power in the Eastern Orange Free State, 1880s to 1980s*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Murray, M.J. (1994). *The Revolution Deferred. The Painful Birth of Post-Apartheid South Africa*. London: Verso.
- Mzamane, M. (1982). *The Children of Soweto*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- O'Meara, D. (1996). *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948–1994*. Randberg, South Africa: Ravan Press.
- Posel, D. (1991). *The Making of Apartheid 1948–1961: Conflict and Compromise*. London: Routledge.
- Price R, *The Apartheid State in Crisis: Political Transformation in South Africa 1975–1990* (1991)
- Ross R., A. (2000). *Concise History of South Africa*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Seekings J. (1992). *Heroes or villains?: Youth politics in the 1980s*. Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Slabbert, Frederik Van Zyl., *Afrikaner/ Afrikaan*, Cape Town, Tafelberg, 1999.
- South African Council of Churches (1994), *The Truth will set you free*. Edenvale: Edenvale Printers.
- Terreblanche, Sampie (2003). *The History of Inequality in South Africa, 1652-2002*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Thompson, L. (2001). *A History of South Africa*. Yale Note Bene. Yale University Press. New Haven and London.
- Western, J. (1981). *Outcast Cape Town*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.

- Worden, N. (2000). *The making of modern South Africa: conquest, segregation, and apartheid*. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell.

2. Book Chapters, Articles, Monographs and Theses

- Adam, Heribert (1995). "The politics of ethnic identity: Comparing South Africa". *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18, 3: 457-475.
- Adhikari, Mohamed (2002). "Ambiguity, assimilationism and anglophilism in South Africa's Coloured community: the case of Piet Uithalder's satirical writings, 1909-1922". *South African Historical Journal* no. 47:115-131.
- Alegi, Peter C. (2002). "Playing to the gallery?: sport, cultural performance, and social identity in South Africa, 1920s-1945". *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* vol. 35, no. 1:17-38.
- Alexander, Neville (2000). "Manuel Castells and the new South Africa". *Social Dynamics* vol. 26, no. 1:18-36.
- Allen, Danielle Burger (2002). "Race, crime and social exclusion: a qualitative study of white women's fear of crime in Johannesburg". *Urban Forum* vol. 13, no. 3:53-79.
- Benit, Claire (2001). "The rise or fall of the community?: post-apartheid housing policy in Diepsloot, Johannesburg". *Urban Forum* vol. 13, no. 2:47-66.
- Breytenbach, W.J. (2001). "The Presidency and Inequality in South Africa: Implications for the Consolidation of Democracy". Paper prepared for the Institute for Future Research by the Department of Political Science, University of Stellenbosch,.
- Bundy, C. (1989). 'Around which corner?: Revolutionary Theory and Contemporary South Africa', *Transformation* 8.
- Chait, Sandra (2000). "Mythology, magic realism and white writing after apartheid". *Research in African Literatures*, vol. 31, n° 2: 17-28.
- Coetzee, D. C. (1994). "The real challenge to the church in the new South Africa". *Word & Action* Autumn, 18-20
- Coetzee, Pieter (2002). "Interventionism, authoritarianism, and the liberal State in South Africa". *Philosophia africana* vol. 5, no. 2:53-70.
- Glaser C. (1998). "We Must Infiltrate the Tsotsis": School Politics and Youth Gangs in Soweto, 1968–1976', *JSAS* 24/2.
- Goodman, Tanya and Price, Max (1999). *Continuing the TRC Project: The Use of Internal Reconciliation Commissions to Facilitate Organisational Transformation - The Case of the Wits Health Sciences Faculty*. Paper presented at the "The TRC: Commissioning the Past" conference, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 11 June 1999.
- Herbst, Jeffrey (2003). "Analyzing apartheid: how accurate were US intelligence estimates of South Africa", 1948-94? *African Affairs* vol. 102, no. 406:81-107.
- Johnstone, F., (1970). 'White Prosperity and White Supremacy in South Africa Today', *African Affairs*, 69
- Kistner, Wolfram (1994), *The Legacy of the Past in the New South Africa*. Cape Town: Studies and Reports by the Ecumenical Foundation of Southern Africa.
- Kritzinger, J. J. (1994). "Christians in South Africa the Statistical Picture". *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 50, 3: 610-618.
- Lombard, K. (2003). *Report of the First Round of the SA Reconciliation Barometer Survey*. Rondebosch, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation: Cape Town.
- Malan, Rian (1998). "Media: They Also 'Didn't Know'". *Frontiers of Freedom: A Publication of the South African Institute of Race Relations*, 1st Quarter: 3-6.
- Marks S. and Trapido S. (eds.) 1992. *Social History of Resistance in South Africa*, *JSAS*, 18/1.
- Moll, T., 'Did the Apartheid Economy "Fail"?', *JSAS* 17/2 (1991).
- Natrass, N. and Seekings, J. (2001). "Race and Economic Inequality in South Africa", in *Daedalus*, 45-72.
- Osaghae, E. (1996). 'The Global and Regional Contexts of South Africa's Democratic Transition', *Politikon*, 23 (2).
- Osaghae, E. (1997). 'The Missing (African) Link in the Comparative Analysis of South Africa's Transition', in *African Sociological Review*, 1 (2).
- Saunders, C. (1999). 'Of Treks, Transitions and Transitology', *South African Historical Journal*, 40.
- Saunders, C. (1992). 'The Transition in Namibia and the South African Case' in Etherington, N. (ed.), *Peace, Politics and Violence in the New South Africa*. Oxford.
- Seekings, J. (2003). 'Inequality, Mobility and Politics in South Africa'. Paper presented at the 19th International Political Science Congress, Durban: South Africa.
- Shaw, M and Gastrow, P. (2001). 'Stealing the Show? Crime and its Impact in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Daedalus*.

CONTENTS

South African TRC.....	1-5
Truth and Reconciliation.....	5-8
Accountability, Prosecution and Amnesty.....	9-10
Reparation, Compensation, Restitution.....	10-10
Healing.....	10-11
Human Rights Violations.....	11-12
Politics of Memory.....	13-14
Perpetrators.....	14-15
Victims.....	15-15
Land Reform, Land Restitution, Forced Removals.....	15-16
Politics of Transition.....	16-20
Legacy of Apartheid.....	20-22