

TRANSREGIONAL CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC STUDIES

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE • SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA • LATIN AMERICA



A LOOK AT THE PAST WITH A VIEW TO THE FUTURE

As The New School for Social Research approaches the 75th anniversary of its founding as the University in Exile, we at TCDS are reflecting on two other upcoming anniversaries and their implications for democracy and democratic transition today: the worldwide protests of 1968, which shattered

the status quo and ushered in new forms of democratic participation, and the 1989 revolutions that led to the peaceful dismantling of authoritarian regimes in Central Europe and beyond. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the conflict in Tiananmen Square – the most telegenic events of 1989 – stimulated developments well beyond Central Europe and unleashed the imagination that brought about the end of apartheid and the flowering of pro-democracy movements in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas.

As we reflect on these anniversaries, in this *Bulletin* we share with you insights on the recent events in Burma – the brutal repression of the peaceful marches led by the Buddhist monks, their international implications, and the hope for democratization that the protests inspired. We also invite you to read about the upcoming elections in South Africa and Zimbabwe, both of which hold promise for – and potentially present challenges to – further democratic consolidation and development in southern Africa.

Here in New York we are planning for an exciting spring semester ahead. We have been happy to discover a growing constituency of both faculty and students at The New School who work on issues related to the two large parts of the world that TCDS is engaged in: both the “new” and “old” Europe, and sub-Saharan Africa. To solidify the intellectual space that supports research and teaching focused on these areas, and to share in the work that TCDS conducts in these regions, we have invited interested faculty to join two newly organized groups, the Europe and Africa Committees. These committees are actively involved in planning the programs of the *Democracy & Diversity* Institutes in Krakow and Cape Town, and will ensure a continuous intellectual and pedagogical link between our summer and New York campuses.

Finally, as we approach the 20th anniversary of 1989’s non-violent transformations, we think that it is important not only to celebrate the achievements of negotiated transitions, but to draw from them lessons for future democratic politics. In addition to a student seminar series that will focus on both 1968 and 1989, this coming spring TCDS will facilitate a two-layer conversation of senior and junior scholars at the conference *1989 and Beyond: The Future of Democracy*. Please see the full announcement of the event on our website and in this issue of the *Bulletin* and join us for the event.

Warmest wishes for the holiday season and we look forward to working with you in 2008!

Elzbieta Matynia

Diary of a Bad Year? South Africa's Upcoming ANC Election

JONATHAN FAULL

If South Africans needed a reminder that democracies aren't made or entrenched overnight, 2007 has certainly provided it in spades. Overshadowed by the ruling African National Congress' (ANC) elective National Conference due to be held in December, our politics have taken on all the characteristics of a complex Shakespearian play. Time will tell as to whether it will end in an uplifting and compelling dramatic finale, a farce or a tragedy.

The importance of the ANC's Polokwane National Conference needs underlining: The state president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, is due to step down from office at the end of his constitutionally-prescribed second term which will expire at our fourth democratic elections in the first half of 2009. Notwithstanding a range of important strategic and policy decisions, the National Conference will elect a new ANC leadership collective and decide whether to affirm Mbeki as president of the movement or to elect a new president to guide the party through the next five years. Should a new president of the ANC be elected in December, this individual will, in all likelihood, be our third state president, following in the not so insignificant footsteps of Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki.

The ANC, popularly perceived as the primary liberators of South Africa, straddles our political and public spheres with near hegemony. They rule in Parliament with nearly 75% of representation, lead provincial government in all nine provinces, and hold executive power in five of our six major cities. Not one of the plethora of opposition parties have sufficient legitimacy to mount a significant challenge to the ANC's incumbency. The health of our democracy, our emerging democratic culture, and the foreseeable future of South Africa, is thus intimately tied to the health and machinations of the ANC itself.

Battle lines have been drawn between two evenly matched camps, or factions, coalescing around the incumbent ANC president, Mbeki, and his deputy, Jacob Zuma, while a number of dark horses wait in the wings for a crisis that may necessitate the endorsement

of a compromise candidate. The temperature and intensity of the struggle for leadership was raised in the aftermath of Mbeki's dismissal of Zuma as deputy president of South Africa in 2005, after a High Court trial linked Zuma to Shabir Shaik who was convicted of corruption stemming from a multi-billion dollar arms deal. Zuma initially stepped down from his position within the ANC, but a mass rebellion of ANC cadres at the National General Council of the organization in 2005 reinstalled him in the leadership edifice of the party.

Zuma's star has since waxed and waned through a series of court cases linked to alleged corruption, and an explosive rape trial, in which he was acquitted. His supporters allege a conspiracy spearheaded by the President and his cohorts that has abused state institutions to purge the party of Zuma, and consolidate their position in the state and the economy for years to come. Mbeki's sympathizers, concurrently, cite Zuma's lack of judgement (his relationship with Shaik, his corrupt financial advisor; his admission to having had consensual, but unprotected, sex with an HIV positive woman more than half his age whom he had helped to raise); the allegation that Zuma is being used as a Trojan horse by corrupt associates and a disaffected left to leverage state resources; and the potential for ongoing court action to prejudice the Office of the President of the ANC and embarrass the country at large, as their argument for Mbeki's continued incumbency. Suffice to say, myth-creation, the targeted leaking of information, innuendo, whispering

campaigns, and systematic character assassination have marked the strategies of both camps, in a bitter struggle for the future of both the ANC and the country.

Mbeki's rule has brought prosperity to South Africa's entrenched (white) and emerging (black) middle classes; the economy has expanded rapidly through the longest economic upswing since the Second World War; South Africa straddles the world stage as "Africa's Voice"; and the provision of basic services and a nascent welfare net for the poor has accelerated and begun to draw dividends. Yet these gains have been wrought in the context of deepening inequalities between rich and poor, urban and rural; epidemics of AIDS and crime that the President all but denies; and a massive influx of forced and economic migrants from our northern neighbors as a consequence of economic stagnation and collapse (Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique), war (DRC, Somalia, Burundi, Eritrea), and human rights abuses (most of the above as well as Cameroon, Nigeria, and more). Policy prescriptions, many of which are sound, have nevertheless been perceived as having been foisted on the ANC, its formal allies in the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP), and informal partners in civil society. Critics cite technocrats and consultants who rule the roost at the expense of the consultation, consensus and debate that many feel formed the lifeblood of the mass democratic movement and should underpin our democratic consolidation.

Many feel left behind, neglected and

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The 2008 Elections in Zimbabwe: Challenges and Prospects for Change

FRANCIS MUSONI

In March 2008, Zimbabweans will hold an election “combo” to select a national president, members of Parliament, city mayors and ward councilors. This election comes against a backdrop of serious political and economic crisis characterized by general repression and dwindling democratic space; corruption in the public and private sectors; massive brain drain and decline of educational standards; inflation of nearly 14,850%; an unemployment rate of over 80%; shortages of basic food stuffs, fuel, electricity and foreign currency; collapse of the health delivery system; and decline of life expectancy to a mere 40 years.

In preparation for this election, the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) has indicated, ahead of its special congress in December, that they want Robert Mugabe, who has led the country since independence in 1980 and who will turn 84 in February, to have another bite of the cake. If elected, Mugabe will rule the country for five more years before another election takes place. On the other hand, the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), which fell short of a paltry 400,000 votes to topple Mugabe from power in 2002, seems to have lost steam. In addition to a damaging split into two factions in October 2006, the MDC has lost most of its partners and supporters in and outside Zimbabwe.

In light of this disturbing scenario, any progressive mind would ask: *Is there a chance that the 2008 election will bring about positive change in Zimbabwe?* Indians have a proverb that says, “It is better to light the candle than curse the darkness.” Taking a cue from this piece of Asian wisdom, I say yes, there are chances that this election can change things for the better in Zimbabwe.

However, before explaining why I think the 2008 election can bring change in Zimbabwe, I wish to point out two huge challenges that might make this election not so meaningful. Firstly, the ZANU PF con-

gress might endorse Mugabe’s presidential candidacy for the 2008 election. If this happens, Mugabe and ZANU PF will use the current heavily-flawed electoral system and militaristic measures to make sure progressive-minded persons do not get into government, let alone win the presidency. Secondly, the opposition movement might fail to resolve its internal squabbles, re-unite and re-gain the local and international support they badly need to make a significant contribution in this election.

Since 2000, ZANU PF’s Central Committee and Politburo members have stood by Mugabe against local and international calls for him to step down because they benefited immensely from his pseudo-nationalistic policies. However, the US, the UK and other western countries have slapped Mugabe and his friends who own the majority of Zimbabwe’s industries with travel bans and other “targeted” sanctions. Attempts to replace Zimbabwe’s major trading partners in the west with the East Asian countries under the much talked about “Look East” policy, have not helped Zimbabwean businesses in any significant way. As such, there is growing discontent about Mugabe’s leadership within the top echelons of ZANU PF. In fact, it is widely rumored that a huge section of leaders close to Vice President Joyce Mujuru and her

husband, a retired army commander believed to have amassed a fortune since independence, are planning to block Mugabe from seeking re-election at the December congress. The only thing that might stop them from doing this is the realization that this move will seriously divide ZANU PF and pave the way for the MDC to take over power. To go around this, they will most likely support Mugabe’s candidacy and then “persuade” him to retire into a titular head of state after the election. This will pave the way for Joyce Mujuru to actively run the Office of the President as a prime minister or vice president. That way, things will certainly change in Zimbabwe.

On the other hand, leaders of the splintered opposition MDC and those driving the civil society organizations have also realized that without building bridges with progressive forces in ZANU PF, they will not change things in Zimbabwe. Even if the opposition was to win the presidency and the majority seats in Parliament in March, they will need a miracle to obtain the support of the security forces whose leaders have declared several times they will never salute a leader without liberation war credentials. Given the extent of internal feuding in both the ruling and the opposition parties, there are great chances for bridge building. Depending on what happens at the December congress, the next few months might see the emergence of a new political formation comprising progressive forces in both the ruling party and the opposition. If indeed it emerges, such a formation stands a better chance of bringing about change in 2008.

Outside the ZANU PF and MDC circles, a lot is happening that indicates the 2008 election is not going to be a “business-as-usual” affair. Following the Zimbabwean police’s brutal attack of the opposition in March 2007, the Southern African Development Committee (SADC) appointed Thabo Mbeki to lead a process of directly encouraging and influencing change in Zimbabwe. Although no official announcements have come from SADC, Mbeki, ZANU PF or the MDC, there are indications that the Mbeki-led initiative might lead to significant changes in Zimbabwe’s electoral system

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CALM BEFORE THE STORM? PERSPECTIVES ON THE CONTINUING CRISIS IN BURMA/MYANMAR

In October 2007, the New School's India China Institute together with the Graduate Program in International Affairs organized a panel of notable scholars and Burmese activists to discuss the crisis in Burma. Following are excerpts from the discussion:

TIM PACHIRAT, *Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs:* The now iconic images of rain-soaked processions of rust-red robes, surrounded and protected by the clasped hands of thousands of ordinary Burmese people signified astounding and breathtaking acts of political courage. Burma's first massive, multi-city protests in over 20 years took on an uncompromising anti-SPDC character, drawing on decades of economic and political oppression that included the massacre of thousands during the pro-democracy demonstrations of 1988, as well as the annulment of the National League for Democracy's (NLD) resounding victory in the 1990 elections, and the subsequent, decades-long confinement of NLD's leader Aung San Suu Kyi.

By the week's end, however, the images of defiance and hope that gave rise to the evocative phrase Saffron Revolution, were being replaced by stories of brutality and despair: cell phone videos posted on YouTube showed truckloads of military and paramilitary groups dismounting and shooting unarmed protestors and a Japanese journalist at close range and beating prisoners with batons and rifle butts while they were loaded in scores onto trucks. Monasteries were raided and monks were detained, beaten and humiliated. The triumphant shouts of "Do-aye!" – "It is our task!" – and the throngs of hand-holding people were now displaced by the dull pop of gunfire, the eerie sight of hundreds of flip flops now lying discarded on bloodstained streets, and enormous regime-installed signs declaring "Tatmadaw and the people, cooperate and crush all those harming the union!" Estimates of the dead range wildly from the regime's figure of 13 to an uncorroborated report from a defecting military colonel of thousands of bodies of executed monks being dumped into mass graves in Burma's jungles.

In the face of all this, Myanmar's foreign minister, U Nyan Win stood before the UN General Assembly and blamed the recent unrest in Burma on a handful of agitators supported by neo-colonial external influences, praised the restraint of Myanmar's military, and – in a sentence notable at once for its banality, its Orwellian doublespeak and its ironic self-indictment – declared before the world that, normalcy – *normalcy* – has now been restored to Myanmar.

I find this declaration of restored normalcy to be extraordinarily sad, not so much because of its weak attempt at propaganda, but rather because of the unintended truth that it conveys for a Burma ruled for over four decades by a repressive military regime: the shooting of peaceful protestors and monks; the night-time raids on monasteries; the division and persecution of the population; in short, the continued rule by fear in a context of economic desperation does indeed constitute normalcy in Burma. It is this very normalcy that is Burma's continuing crisis.

DR. KHIN ZAW WIN, *a long-time prisoner of conscience in Burma and Visiting Fellow at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, described his experience as witness to the Saffron Revolution:* On August 15, without any warning, there was an announcement that the government raised the price of fuel from double to five times: suddenly bus fares – all transportation – went up and it hit people very hard. Student activists staged two marches and were picked up, arrested, and are still in detention. Monks in Pakokku also staged protest marches. A commotion ensued and the monks were roughed up and beaten and held in the monastery.

When news of the mistreatment of monks got out to the rest of the country, the monk's alliance made three demands: that the government should apologize; should release prisoners, including Aung San Suu

Kyi; and should hold meaningful talks with the opposition. If these demands were not met, the monks threatened the regime with excommunication. September 17 was given as the deadline and, as usual, the regime did not respond. The next day excommunication ceremonies were held and monks started protest marches.

This went on for a number of days before the repression began. Just as the world was struck by magnitude of the monk's participation, so the brutality of the crackdown was unheard of. Indescribably, a number of monks who had not been in the protests were now being beaten and shot.

But this was not the end of the story. Because of what happened there have been sudden, unexpected openings. An offer of talks has appeared. Out of the chaos and bloodshed, an opportunity has arisen for democrats and their supporters to help liberalize Burma. It will be hard to make the government change its mind, but we can try our best to have democratic input change the outcome.

SANJAY REDDY, *Assistant Professor of Economics at Barnard College and the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University, spoke about the relationship between India and Burma:*

In recent public discussions, India and China have been identified as countries which are implicit or explicit supporters of the Burmese regime, or which could be major interveners who could potentially affect the future of the regime. The Indian point of view is that India is supporting, or at least tolerating, the regime to maintain Indian influence where it might otherwise be lost entirely due to increases in Chinese economic and political influence.

It has been explicitly stated by India's Minister of External Affairs that there are a number of military governments in the neighborhood, that India takes the question

of the character of the regime to be an internal matter, and that it tries to develop cooperative relations with all neighbors; this view is inconsistent, however, with many of India's historical practices (for instance, opposing the apartheid regime in South Africa or supporting the expulsion of Pakistani military governments from the Commonwealth) and it is, in fact, becoming increasingly difficult to identify a coherent Indian foreign policy doctrine with respect to democracy and human rights.

India's support for the Burmese regime has come out of a commitment to "pragmatism" in elite circles and in particular the foreign policy and defense establishment. It's not something that enjoys obvious and general public support. If it were to become clear that there was general public disapproval of the government's stance and it were to become a more salient issue in domestic politics, I think one could expect that opinion to have an impact on Indian foreign policy. There has been a general ascendancy of the doctrine of *realpolitik* in India, but the government is also susceptible to internal pressure. There remains strong the perception on the part of the public that India ought to have an ethical dimension to its foreign policy which reflects its own ostensible commitment to human rights and democracy.

DR. ASHIN NAYAKA, *founding director of the Buddhist Missionary Society, New York and visiting scholar at the Department of History, Columbia University, spoke about the role of Buddhist monks in politics:*

There is a history of conflict between Burma's two dominant poles: religion and military tyranny. The Saffron Revolution is not a power struggle but is a struggle between righteousness and the un-righteous. The Saffron Revolution arose from the Buddhist concept of nonviolence and a moral code of truth, self-sacrifice and self-mortification. We [monks] came into the streets chanting a clear message: bring about a compassionate regime and a more harmonious society. We came out for a happy ending but the military government's response was tragic, painful, a crime against humanity. Buddhism is the face of the nation, the soul

of the nation. Killing Buddhist monks, torturing them, is destroying the Burmese way of life.

This bloody crackdown against a democratic movement led by thousands of monks is a crisis of international value; if it is not addressed by the international community, the situation is likely to continue.

The Saffron Revolution came out of a religious obligation to speak out against what is happening in our country and the struggle is totally justifiable from the Buddhist point of view. The future of Burma will be determined by our courage and determination for peaceful struggle, but we need international support to reach this goal. We must change the direction of Burma, and we don't want to carry this painful legacy into the future. Our common future should be one of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

For more information on the situation in Burma and what you can do to help, please visit www.regimechangeinburma.org.

Diary of a Bad Year

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alienated from the fruits of the transition. The organized left and the poor have rallied to the cause of Zuma in a coalition of the disaffected, perceiving the ANC Deputy President as open, empathetic and in tune with people, as opposed to Mbeki who is often portrayed as aloof, arrogant, out-of-touch and patronizing.

The ghosts of scandals past have reappeared this year: The spectre of Mbeki's AIDS denialism resurfaced through the firing of his progressive and orthodox deputy health minister (while his allegedly alcoholic, obsessively eccentric and ineffective health minister remained untouched), and the publication of damning statements and writings attributed to President Mbeki in a new biography. The arms deal is very much with us as international probes in Germany and Britain gather apace, while an ex-ANC member of Parliament published an inside account of the alleged ANC-led, government cover-up. Conspirators alleging the abuse of state institutions for political gain have drawn vindication from Mbeki's

suspension of the director of the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) amid a cloud of innuendo relating to the imminent arrest of the national commissioner of police, Jackie Selebi, who is alleged to have colluded with, and materially benefited from, relationships with organized crime. Selebi remains in his post, seemingly immune from his poor record in fighting crime and the significant mud thrown at his name, while the fastidious Pikoli awaits his fate from a presidential commission headed by a senior ANC politician. Zuma, in the interim, has lost a series of court appeals aimed at staving off his being recharged by the NPA for corruption, and the air is thick with rumors of an impending arrest.

Drama, farce or tragedy? Perhaps all three. We have embraced the Chinese curse to live in interesting times. But the stakes are very high for both the ANC as an organization, and the quality of our democratic future. Amid the hubbub of the ANC's internal wrangling, positive precedents have been established within the ANC for debate and through the structures of representative government, where patterns of accountability and oversight have strengthened as power blocs are redefined. We may yet emerge from the next fifteen months with a strong and united ANC that has thrown off the yoke of the leadership "crisis" through compromise and concessions; stronger, more independent state institutions; a democratic culture marked by vigorous and intense debate, accountability and transparency; an affirmed judiciary who operate without fear or favor; and a definitive separation of powers to underpin our democratic trajectory for years to come. The permutations are endless – good and bad – and only time will tell. For the millions of South Africans who will not be counted among the ANC delegates who will convene at Polokwane this December, the matter is all but out of our hands.

15 November, 2007

Jonathan Faull is Political Researcher for the Political Information and Monitoring Service (PIMS) at the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA). Jonathan is also the Africa Coordinator of the Democracy & Diversity Institute in Cape Town.

TCDS ANNOUNCEMENTS & UPCOMING EVENTS

NSSR Interdisciplinary Memory Conference, February 2008

Democracy & Diversity alumnae and PhD candidates in sociology at NSSR Yifat Gutman (Krakow 2006), Lindsey Freeman (Krakow 2006), and Amy Sodaro (Krakow 2003, NSST 2004, Cape Town 2006) decided to use their mutual interest in memory studies, in part inspired by their individual experiences at the Krakow Institute, to form an interdisciplinary memory studies group at the NSSR. The Interdisciplinary Memory Group, composed of advanced doctorate students in sociology, psychology, and political science who are working on memory-related topics for their dissertations, found their discussions so stimulating that they decided to open them to the broader communities of The New School and beyond. The result is the upcoming conference: *Is an Interdisciplinary Field of Memory Studies Possible?*

Co-sponsored by TCDS and the International Center for Transitional Justice and supported by The New School for Social Research, Eugene Lang College and The New School Provost's Office, this conference will bring together leading scholars in the field of memory studies, including Bill Hirst, Jeffrey Olick, Dominick LaCapra, Eviatar Zerubavel, Robin Wagner-Pacifci, Daniel Levy, Barbie Zelizer, Jonathan Veitch, Louis Bickford, Atina Grossman, Rich McNally, and others, as well as advanced graduate students. The interdisciplinary conference will be held February 7-9 at The New School for Social Research. For more information, please visit the website: www.nssrmemoryconference.com.

1989 and Beyond: The Future of Democracy

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the conflict in Tiananmen Square – the most telegenic events of the year 1989 – stimulated developments well beyond Central Europe, and unleashed the imagination that brought about the end of apartheid and the flowering of pro-democracy movements in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas. As we approach the 20th anniversary of 1989's non-violent transformations, we believe it is important not only to celebrate the collapse of communism and the achievements of other negotiated transitions, but also to draw from them lessons for future democratic politics.

We are convinced that these non-violent, yet radical political changes contributed not only to major shifts of power, but also to a significant shift in thinking about the ways of ending dictatorships. This is why we plan to focus on two broad questions that – we hope – will generate important new insights: *What did we learn from these revolutions?* and at the same time, what did we miss, overlook, or – given the American intervention in Iraq, for example – *What did we not learn from them?* We believe that asking these questions transcends regular academic exercise, as it is of importance for future democratization projects throughout the world.

The conference, hosted by TCDS at The New School, is organized in close collaboration with **Research Network 1989** (directed by Chris Armbruster: www.cee-socialscience.net/1989), and the **World History Network** (www.worldhistorynetwork.org). The organizing committee, which includes, among others, Patrick Manning, Andrew W. Mellon Professor of World History at the University of Pittsburgh; Pdraic Kenney, Professor of History at Indiana University; and Chris Armbruster of Research Network 1989, is planning to publish the conference procedures in a book in 2009.

The conference *1989 and Beyond: The Future of Democracy* will be held at The New School for Social Research in late spring 2008. Please visit our website (www.newschool.edu/tcds) for more information.

The 2008 Elections in Zimbabwe

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and media laws. There might be a change of the Constitution before the next election in Zimbabwe. If this happens, there is no way that things will remain the same.

As for the USA, the UK and other western countries, it has since dawned on them that the targeted sanctions hit the target, but hit hardest those that were unintended. There is no doubt that ordinary Zimbabweans have suffered the most in the past few years that the country has been under the sanctions. The run-up to the 2008 election should be an opportunity for such countries to review their policies on Zimbabwe in order to avoid throwing away the baby with the bath water. When that happens, there will be change for the better, at least for ordinary Zimbabweans.

Francis Musoni is a Zimbabwean student studying for a PhD in history at Emory University in Atlanta. He was a participant at the Democracy & Diversity Institute in Cape Town in 2006.

MEETINGS

In Fall 2007, TCDS was pleased to host the following visitors: **Samuel Abraham**, President of Bratislava International School of Liberal Arts, Slovakia; **Thomas Bierschenk**, Universität Bielefeld, Germany • **Nassirou Bako-Arifari**, University of Abomey-Calavi; Director of the Research Center on Social Dynamics and Local Development, Benin • **Lyaila Ivatova**, Department of Political Science, Kazakh National University, Kazakhstan • **Radim Marada**, Department of Sociology, Masaryk University, Czech Republic • **Robert Kwasnica**, President of the University of Lower Silesia, Wroclaw, Poland • **Sigrid Meuschel**, University of Leipzig, Germany • **Srdjan Darmanovic**, Dean of Political Science Faculty; Director of the Center for Democracy and Human Rights, Podgorica, Montenegro • **Maciej Kozłowski**, Director of the Middle East Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland • **Barbara Falk**, Director of Academics and Head of the Department of Defence Studies at Canadian Forces College, Toronto, Canada • **Andrzej Tymowski**, Director of International Programs, American Council of Learned Societies.

TCDS ALUMNI NEWS

MONICA CIOBANU (Krakow 2001, NSST 2001) is a fellow at the Institute for the Study of Ethics in Public Life at Plattsburgh College of the State University of New York where she is also assistant professor of sociology; she spent the summer doing field work in Romania on the Truth Commission for her current research project on issues of memory and transitional justice in Eastern Europe.

IRIT DEKEL (Krakow 2002, NSST 2002), and **MICHAEL WEINMAN** (Krakow 2002) announce the arrival of Ido on November 27, 2007, a healthy, happy baby boy. Michael, who is currently Tutor at St. John's College in Annapolis, MD, published *Pleasure in Aristotle's Ethics* in August 2007.

BARBARA FALK (Krakow 1997), who is Director of Academics and Head of the Department of Defence Studies at Canadian Forces College in Toronto, is researching political trials during the Cold War for an upcoming book. Most recently she has written "The Relevance of the Dissident Oeuvre to the Middle East Today, or...Why the Palestinians Ought to Read Michnik and How Iran could be the Next Poland" for the edited volume *From Samizdat to Tamizdat*.

WILLIAM GUMEDE (Cape Town 2005, participant; Cape Town 2006 & 2007, faculty) has founded a think tank, The Centre for Growth & Equality, that will be based in South Africa.

MARIA HETMAN (Krakow 2006) has taken a position with AmeriCorps as Adult Literacy Program Assistant at Christopher House in Chicago. As program assistant she teaches ESL to adults, teaches writing to GED students, and is responsible for literacy programming and special events and workshops.

PIOTR KACZYNSKI (Krakow 2007) is currently a Research Fellow at the Center for European Policy Studies in Brussels, Belgium.

SARAH KOCH-SCHULTE (Krakow 2001) has taken a position with Amnesty International as manager of major gifts in the northeastern United States.

AGNIESZKA KOSCIANSKA (Krakow 2004) defended her doctoral dissertation, "Women of Spirit," on gender and religion in contemporary Poland. She currently teaches anthropology at the University of Warsaw and is co-editor, with Renata E. Hryciuk, of *Gender: Perspektywa antropologiczna* (*Gender: An Anthropological Perspective*, University of Warsaw Press, 2007).

BHEKINKOSI MOYO (Krakow 2001), Research Fellow for TrustAfrica in Dakar, recently edited the volume *Africa in Global Power Play* (September, 2007).

HELENA PATZER (Krakow 2005), a PhD student at Warsaw University, has received a Kosciuszko Foundation scholarship to study at Harvard University for the fall semester, 2007.

MARTIN PALECEK (Krakow 2002, NSST 2005), currently Vice-Dean of Humanities at University of Hradec Kralove in Czech Republic, will be a visiting scholar at the University of Oslo, Norway in spring 2008.

NATALIA SARATA (Krakow 2004) is a founder and board member of The Women's Space Foundation, a feminist NGO in Poland.

DENISE WALSH'S (Krakow 1997; Cape Town 2001) dissertation, "Just Debate: Culture and Gender Justice in the New South Africa," was selected as the winner of Best Dissertation Prize for the Women in Political Research Section of the American Political Science Association. She is currently Assistant Professor of Politics and Studies in Women and Gender at University of Virginia.

SHARON WASHINGTON (Cape Town 2000) founded Anthropologi Educational Consulting, LLC, an education company that takes an anthropological approach to education, providing tutors for students and professional development for teachers, school leaders, and community organizers.

MALGORZATA WERNER (Krakow 2003, NSST 2004) is a journalist working for the foreign desk of the Polish Daily, *Dziennik Polska Europa Swiat*.

HONORS & AWARDS

Father Michael Lapsley

HONORARY DOCTORATE IN THEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL

TCDS congratulates our friend and colleague, Father Michael Lapsley, visiting professor at The New School for Social Research in 1998, who will be awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Theology by the University of KwaZulu Natal at the university's graduation ceremonies in spring 2008. Father Lapsley is a prominent theologian and human rights activist in South Africa. A member of the ANC, Father Lapsley went into exile in Zimbabwe in 1976, where he remained until after Mandela's release. While in exile, Father Lapsley was the victim of a letter bomb attack in which he lost both hands and an eye. Upon returning to South Africa, he established the Institute for Healing Memories in Cape Town.

Shireen Hassim

2007 VICTORIA SCHUCK AWARD

TCDS congratulates our friend and colleague Shireen Hassim, whose book *Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa: Contesting Authority* (2005) has been awarded the Victoria Schuck Award for the best book published in the previous calendar year on women and politics. Dr. Hassim is professor of political studies at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and teaches at the Cape Town *Democracy & Diversity* Institute.

THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Transregional Center for Democratic Studies
80 Fifth Avenue, Room 517
New York, NY 10011

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Transregional Center for Democratic Studies

Phone: 212.229.5580

Fax: 212.229.5894

Email: tcds@newschool.edu

www.newschool.edu/tcds

Elzbieta Matynia, *Director*
Julie Fratrick, *Program Coordinator*
Amy Sodaro, *Editor, TCDS Bulletin*

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Photo by Amy Sodaro.



Events/Announcements

OCTOBER 8

The Crisis in Burma: a panel discussion with Elzbieta Matynia (NSSR; TCDS), Jonathan Bach (Graduate Program in International Affairs), and Burmese Activist and Eugene Lang College student, Khin Phyu Htway.

NOVEMBER 12

Maciej Kozłowski (Director, Middle East Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Poland) gave a talk on "Jan Karski: First Witness to the Holocaust."

DECEMBER 3

Kosovo's Final Status in Historical Context: a panel discussion with Professors Ivo Banac (Yale University), Larry Wolff (NYU), and Susan Woodward (CUNY); Moderated by Anna Di Lellio (former UN Consultant, Temporary Media Commissioner of Kosovo, and professor in the Graduate Program in International Affairs, The New School).

Watch for TCDS's upcoming announcement of the 2008 Democracy & Diversity Institute in Krakow, Poland.

FEBRUARY 7-9, 2008, THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Is an Interdisciplinary Field of Memory Studies Possible?

Leading scholars come together with advanced graduate students for an interdisciplinary conference on memory studies at NSSR.

SPRING 2008, THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Democratic Moments & Social Change, from 1968 to 1989 and beyond

This student seminar series will broadly consider the historical events of '68 and '89 and their impact on democratic processes and social change around the world, addressing the regional and global implications of these – and other – democratic moments as understood from historical, political, social and philosophical perspectives.

SPRING 2008, THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

1989 and Beyond: The Future of Democracy

The fall of the Berlin Wall, the conflict at Tiananmen and the break up of the Soviet empire were events of global significance in 1989. Yet, 1989 may equally well be remembered as the year that signaled the end of apartheid and the flowering of pro-democracy movements in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas. In anticipation of the 20th anniversary in 2009, senior scholars and advanced graduate students will gather at NSSR to reflect on two broad issues: What did we learn from 1989? And, perhaps more importantly, what did we not learn?

For information on these and other TCDS spring events, please visit our website: www.newschool.edu/tcds.