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# *JERUSALEMA*: ON VIOLENCE AND HOPE IN A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

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**Abstract:**
*South African crime epic Gangster Paradise: Jerusalema (2008) addresses itself to director Ralph Ziman's take on post-apartheid private enterprise through the transformation of Lucky Kunene from a township boy into a slumlord millionaire. This paper foregrounds Ziman's representations of violence and the religious symbolism of hope as the two essential elements for interpreting Jerusalema. Using critical discourse analysis, the paper argues that Lucky Kunene's hopes for a New Jerusalem in post-apartheid South Africa, even though, given his background, the idea of what exactly that might constitute of is not rooted in any past that he knows of, represent for him a new beginning that he can initiate its violent manifestation in the present while awaiting its full realization in the future. The paper begins with establishing the place of violence in South African films and in Jerusalema in particular, drawing on film realism theory to buttress its argument. Then, focusing on Psalm 137, it assesses the religious symbolism of the film title and how that plays into Lucky's hopes for a New Jerusalem.*

**Keywords:** *Jerusalema,* Post-apartheid South Africa, Violence in Films, Religious Symbolism, South African Cinema

## 1. Introduction

South African crime epic *Gangster Paradise: Jerusalema*[2] addresses itself to director Ralph Ziman's take on post-apartheid private enterprise through the transformation of Lucky Kunene from a township boy into a slumlord millionaire. According to Ziman, the film is "a raw look into

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[2]*Jerusalema (2008)*. http://www.bleedingcool.com/2010/08/31/bleeding-cool-talk-to-ralph-ziman-about-gangsters-paradise-jerusalema/

the crime and corruption of Johannesburg"[3]. Dawid de Villiers[4] locates *Jerusalema* within "an emergent tradition of South African films" in the likes of *Mapantsula* (1988) and *Tsotsi* (2005). However, *Jerusalema* breaks with that tradition in that rather than focusing on the staple of "the political and/or social commitment" that is unique to Third Cinema, it "tells a story of how social commitment itself is subsumed within the capitalist venture"[5] (de Villiers, 2009: 8).

Nevertheless, *Jerusalema'*s popular acclaim, Daniel Lehman argues, derives from the success of *Tsotsi* and its surprise 2006 Oscar for best foreign film that brought critical attention to South African cinema.[6] However, the rivalry that the release of *Jerusalema* stirred between its fans and those of *Tsotsi* led the former to claim that *Jerusalema* is the real deal, with regard to depicting "real life" in Johannesburg. Although Ziman acknowledges *Tsotsi* as a "great film," he maintains that *Jerusalema* is "the first film of the Zuma generation".[7] By that, Ziman sees his film as "a timely political critique" of the economic inequalities bedeviling South Africa two decades into its post-apartheid democracy. In a 2010 interview, he stated that at the time of making the film there was "a lot of dissatisfaction with (Thabo) Mbeki's government, with the ANC (African National Congress), with the fact that 15 years after the end of apartheid, poor people were poorer and worse off than ever before economically, and rich people were richer than they'd ever been".[8] The film captures that dissatisfaction and the wave of violent crimes that resulted from the economic inequalities at its root.

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[3]Quoted in Stecker, J. 2010. Gangster's Paradise: Jerusalema – Q&A with writer/director Ralph Ziman. *Script. http://www.scriptmag.com/features/gangsters-paradise- jerusalema-qa-with-writerdirector-ralph-ziman*

[4]de Villiers, D. W. 2009. After the revolution: *Jerusalema* and the entrepreneurial present." *South African Theatre Journal*. 23: 8-22.

[5] de Villiers, 8

[6]Lehman, D. 2011. 'When we remembered Zion': The Oscar, the Tsotsi, and the contender. *English in Africa* 38 (3): 113-129.

[7] qtd. in Lehman, 2011

[8] Connelly, B. 2010. Bleeding Cool talk to Ralph Ziman about *Gangster's Paradise:*

This paper foregrounds Ziman's representations of violence and the religious symbolism of hope as the two essential elements for interpreting *Jerusalema*. It argues that Lucky Kunene's hopes for a New Jerusalem in post-apartheid South Africa, even though, given his background, the idea of what exactly that might constitute of is not rooted in any past that he knows of, represent for him a new beginning that he can initiate its violent manifestation in the present while awaiting its full realization in the future. Temporal interruptions in the fulfillment of that future do not foreclose the possibilities of its reality. Instead, they offer Lucky the opportunity to relocate his mission to a different time and space from where to reappraise and gaze anew into that future. The paper begins with establishing the place of violence in South African films and in *Jerusalema* in particular, drawing on film realism theory to buttress its argument. Afterwards, focusing on Psalm 137, it assesses the religious symbolism of the film title and how that plays into Lucky's hopes for a New Jerusalem.

## 2. A Realism of Violence

In her brilliant analysis of the postcolonial state and the rootedness of the subject in the state and its laws, Rita Bernard identifies the three tropes of "youth, victimhood, and crime"[9] as the most important factors for understanding law and order in South Africa as well as the "new patterns of inclusion and exclusion" in the apartheid and post-apartheid state. Film, as an art form, plays a privileged role in sustaining and questioning the state; and these tropes, which Bernard insists "most clearly mark the differences" between Athol Fugard's novel *Tsotsi* (1980) and its film update by Gavin Hood (2005), become recurring elements for South African filmmakers who navigate the complexities of interrogating the state. Of the three tropes, violence features the most in South African films. Although Lindiwe Dovey contends that many South African filmmakers "assert their power through a critique of, rather than affirmation of, violence, she locates colonial and apartheid violence at

[9]Bernard, R. 2008. *Tsotsi*: On law, the outlaw, and the postcolonial state. *Contemporary Literature.* XLIX, 4: 541-72.

the backdrop of a "violent and exclusionary cinematic nation-building"[10] in the country. Tracing the history of violence in South African cinema to the inception of filmmaking in the country, Dovey cites the example of *De Voortrekkers* (1916) – a film about the Boers' Great Trek and their 1838 defeat of the Zulus at the Battle of Blood River – as an illustration of the point that violence in South African films started as a white-on-black phenomenon. However, it was "only when the retaliatory black-on-white aggression began" that its physical "danger" was recognized.[11]

Contemporary South African filmmakers are still faced with the challenge of balancing the representation of violence in their films. On the one hand, they acknowledge "a history of brutal white violence against blacks, and have inherited a legacy of films they want to repudiate, in which black South Africans have been fashioned as barbarians. On the other hand, apartheid violence has been integrated into post-apartheid era and has emerged in new forms, largely concentrated within the poorest areas of the country, such as the townships and so-called 'informal settlements''.[12] This complex awareness, however, keeps them on their guard against any form of naïve optimism, since violence, as a contemporary reality of post-apartheid South Africa, demands an informed critique which starts by acknowledging its presence.

Ziman navigates this challenge by presenting an innocent Soweto youth whose aspirations to go to the university became a mirage due to lack of funds. Turning to crime, Lucky works his way up from petty crimes to hijacking cars in Soweto and then to hijacking, from "negligent" white landowners, tenement high-rises in Johannesburg's inner city of Hillbrow. Convinced of his ability to appropriate capital by any means necessary toward realizing his "empire waiting to happen," Lucky combines his slickness with street wisdom and persuades tenants to pay rent to him instead, until the condition of the buildings improves. In his understanding of capital and redistribution of wealth among the races in

[10] Dovey, L. 2009. *African film and literature: Adapting violence to the screen.* New York: Columbia University Press, 36
[11] Dovey, 35
[12] Dovey, 50

post-apartheid South Africa, Lucky interprets his actions as an "affirmative repossession." He is merely taking back what originally belonged to his black people—the land, and by extension whatever capital that had accrued to white people therefrom. Unjustifiable as that may sound, Ziman concedes that it was a reasonable argument to make within the political context of South Africa at the time and one he was willing to explore.

With a four-year statistics of two million robberies in Johannesburg at the time of making the film, Lucky Kunene's life provided Ziman a story "that kind of got under the skin" of a lot of the crimes in the country.[13] Before the media shone its spotlight on Kunene, Ziman had learnt about his activities and it bothered him that no one really seemed to care about it. In the film, however, he will feature an Afrikaner cop who cares, but who nonetheless bemoans how the many years of white-authority abuse now hamstrings legitimate post-apartheid efforts at fighting crime. While Ziman leaves his audience wringing their hands in utter exasperation in the face of an escalating violence, he introduces a Hollywood influence that fuels that violence, hinting that there might be no end in sight yet for the grim reality. Some reviewers have likened *Jerusalema* to such Hollywood crime films like *Scarface* or *American Gangster*, but Ziman insists that its inspiration was Michael Mann's 1995 *Heat*, which in turn informs Nazareth's (Lucky's mentor) idea to rob a cash-carrying armored truck. In fact, following the release of *Heat*, South Africa experienced a wave of copycat crimes in what is called in the country, "cash in transit heist (CIT)," making Johannesburg the CIT capital of the world. Ziman notes that at the time of filming *Jerusalema*, there were between five to ten CIT robberies in the city every day.[14]

With that reality as the immediate backdrop of *Jerusalema*, it is worth noting that while films offer an impression of reality, the impression does not proceed from their reflections of the external world so much as it does from the extent that the films align their meanings with people's

[13]Philbrick, J. 2010. Exclusive: Director Ralph Ziman visits *Gangster's Paradise: Jerusalema. MovieWeb.* http://movieweb.com/exclusive-director-ralph-ziman-visits-gangsters-paradise-jerusalema/

[14] Philbrick, 2010; see also Dovey, 2009

"common-sense" understanding of the world while employing sociocultural "maps of meaning" in their representations of that world.[15] Hence, with the intent to represent truth, actuality, and authenticity in post-apartheid South Africa, Ziman frames *Jerusalema* within the documentary realism mode, enabling his core audience not only to identify but also to connect with the experiences of their daily life as "recorded" by the camera. Nevertheless, Ziman must have been aware of the argument against his genre of choice which insists that "the mapping of cinema on life is hardly natural at all" but a constructed product of technical processes (Andrew, 1984: 47).[16] That awareness bridges the classic film theory debate on what constitutes cinema realism—a material esthetic which explores and exposes brute reality[17] or a spatial esthetic that privileges the centrality of space "without which moving pictures do not constitute cinema".[18] Even when J. Dudley Andrew[19] (1976) contends that by limiting itself to physical realism, the classic theory does not account for the spectator in its basic thesis, he nonetheless acknowledges that whatever the space, cinema realism records its brute reality.

The raw material of realism, then, is shaped into multiple and varied forms in the hands of a documentary filmmaker, who never loses sight of the end product—authenticity. Ziman admits that he "wanted the film to be as authentic as possible . . . [in order to] get acceptance from [its South African] core audience".[20] While that need for authenticity also informed his decision to shoot *Jerusalema* on locations "where the real-

[15]Thornham, S. 1998. Feminist media and film theory. Pp. 213-31. In S. Jackson & J. Jones (eds.) *Contemporary feminist theories* Edinburgh: Edinburgh U Press.

[16] Andrew, A. 1984. *Concepts in film theory.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 47.

[17] Kracauer, S. 1960. *Theory of film: The redemption of physical reality.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[18]Bazin, A. 1967. *What is cinema?* Translated by Hugh Gray. Berkeley: University of California Press, 112

[19]Andrew, J. D. 1976. *The major film theories: An introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[20]Ziman, R. 2010. Interview by Elvis Mitchell. *The Treatment.* KCRW.com, Santa Monica, June 30. Radio.

life events took place," to get the script right and have it translated into other south African languages and street lingo, as well as to cast the right actors for each part, Ziman states that the second reason, which is hinged on the first, was to convey the decay in Hillbrow. Besides the squalor in the tenements that foregrounds existence in Hillbrow throughout the film, the taxi near-accident scene also bears out these reasons. Ziman notes that over the course of a year before he shot the film, he and location photographer Nicholas Hofmeyer took the camera to the streets shooting the city's skyline, the time lapses that became the film's opening sequence, and every other "urban textural" image that caught their attention. On one of such trips, they had just started rolling the camera at an intersection when a speeding taxi drove straight into the side of another taxi. Although the scraping metal turned some heads towards the source of the noise, it appeared somewhat a normal occurrence as people quickly moved on with their businesses. One could question what informed Ziman's decisions, as a "historian," to select and include particular images in the movie, but IMDb reviewer insists that through his choices, Ziman "has single-handedly created parts of a record of SA history no one else has."[21] No doubt, that part of documenting the city as well as its sights and sounds, which Ziman has done since 1994, provided him with valuable footage that his small budget documentary style film could not have otherwise afforded.

"Reality," as a caption of "real life," is however not enough. Ziman knew that and so made directorial choices to graft one reality (constructed) onto another (documented) for commercial purposes and in order to avoid the lackluster circular argument that "what was filmed really happened; therefore, it is true"[22]. *Jerusalema*, as Ziman points out, "was based on a real guy who was hijacking building, but we did expand it into a bigger story, and we did fictionalize it to make it commercial…".[23] Ironically, this decision speaks to how capital influences both the actions of the filmmaker and those of the protagonist in the film, who each had

[21]Hotlevy. 2009. Incredible film: Shame about lack of mainstream distribution. On IMDb. 2008. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0783532/?ref_=nv_sr_1

[22] Hampe, B. 1997. *Making documentary films and reality videos.* New York: Owl Books, 31

[23] Quoted in Connelly, 2010

to make decisions for his future based on the reality before him or his perception of that reality. That notwithstanding, Ziman's success at stirring within his audience convictions of authenticity is borne out by the following reviewers' comments on IMDb which variously assert (albeit with varying degrees of exaggerations) that the movie not only "accurately portrays the universal genesis of crime and loss of innocence" (davetherave-1) but also is "based on true events" (Silver82), "an apt depiction of township life" (Maropeng_Radebe), and "totally authentic" (Tsepo_Modise). Jefferson Cody's (2008), statement that Ziman's "vivid . . . gangster epic [is] highly commercial and hardly politically correct, but reeking with authenticity" adds to the attestations of Ziman's success at depicting "reality." Ziman, however, believes that the narrative of *Jerusalema* resonated with South Africans given the questions of land ownership, land redistribution, the lack of affordable housing for the working class, as well as the growing crime wave "that had taken over South Africa" in the years leading up to the end of apartheid.[24]

### 3. Religion and the Symbolism of Hope

To understand *Jerusalema,* one has to consider how Ziman deploys temporality in his construction of the multi-layered religious symbolisms and imageries that string together the film's narrative, with particular attention to its title and the names of some of the characters. *Jerusalema* opens with a montage of the Johannesburg skyline and cityscape. Shot in time-lapse photography, the minute-long sequence, "accompanied by a haunting soundtrack and agitated by percussion," converts the images "into a world beset by surging clouds, shivering grass and fast-creeping shadows" (de Villiers, 2009: 9).[25] Throughout the film, the iconic Hillbrow tower remains a reference point which anchors both the imagery of the narrative and the gaze of the audience. Besides providing the viewer with a marker for localizing the inner city as an apocalyptic but doomed territory – thus revealing the irony in the title "Jerusalema" – the Hillbrow tower, de Villiers notes, functions for Lucky "as a totem of his ambition." Camera cuts often contrast the beauty of the Hillbrow skyline with the rot down below whenever they descend to street level,

[24] Quoted in Philbrick, 2010
[25] de Villiers, 9

framing the façade of the apartment buildings and a foreground filled with an outline of bare branches covered in urban garbage.

By way of providing engaging visuals of the Johannesburg outlaw culture, the film draws heavily from the complex imagery of Psalm 137, recasting Hillbrow as a new fallen city on a hill.[26] Hillbrow, as a representation of the new South Africa, gleams from a distance—a New Jerusalem on a hill replete with hopes of salvation for its people. However, from within, it is a festering decay, the decay that Lucky tries to take advantage of and turn it into gold in a city "fathered by gold." In his bid to depict reality as he saw it, Ziman decided to let the audience see "how rundown and devastated Hillbrow really was".[27] Hence, he profoundly navigates his desire to make a film that offers "a harsh but realistic look" at Johannesburg (Sunday Times, 2008), while at the same time reflecting the hopes and aspirations of some of its citizens to have an existence beyond the squalor of their everyday life and to benefit from the gains of a new post-apartheid South Africa.

Hope signposts a future, a future replete with unlimited possibilities for new starts and a better life. However, Lucky's voice heard in the opening sequence is rendered in the past tense, indicating a completed, irreversible history. But then, that finality falls apart in the coda, with Lucky escaping to Durban, for a fresh beginning that stands to repeat the previous cycle. This idea of the past leading up to the present subjects the place of the future to scrutiny. Nevertheless, De Villiers concludes that *Jerusalema* "invokes a futureless world" (11). It is difficult for one to agree with such a verdict for, given that the Christian end-time is a process infused with life's interruptions, Lucky's present could also stand in for the future of his past, even as it prefigures another and unknown future for him, a future of his hopes as well as the hopes of the many disadvantaged others like him, disadvantaged in the operations of time in history.

Therein lies another significance of the metaphor of *Jerusalema*: Jerusalem, the biblical city to which the nations go up to indicates that

[26] Lehman, 2011
[27] Quoted in Stecker, 2010

the future that Lucky seeks is tied to the assurances of his hope, the conviction of an end not yet seen. The Prophet Zechariah, in an apocalyptic description of the day of the Lord, outlines a vision for the end time, when even foreign nations will make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem to acknowledge God's universal reign. "Everyone who is left of all the nations that came against Jerusalem," the prophet said, "will go up *year after year* to bow down to the king, the Lord of hosts . . ." .[28] Even when the eschatology is clothed in a repetitious cycle of predestined annual events, Lucky, by escaping to Durban, has proven that he can operate outside of these preordained activities by relocating his Jerusalem to another time and space, which can allow him to re-write, like the biblical patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the new rules of engagement, even if temporarily. It was hope that sustained Abraham when, while waiting for the fulfillment of the promise made to him by God, "he sojourned in the promised land as in a foreign country, dwelling in tents with Isaac and Jacob, heirs of the same promise; for he was looking forward to the city with foundations, whose architect and maker is God".[29] For as long as Lucky's hopes remain alive, *Jerusalema* cannot be said to "invoke a futureless world." Lucky's mother visits him in prison, hands him a copy of the bible, and demands that he read one of the best-known psalms, Psalm 137. Written in exile following the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem in 607 BCE, the psalm expresses a deep yearning by the Jewish people for the Holy City, the city of Abraham's hope. It recounts their sadness at the request of their captors to sing "a song of the Lord in a foreign land." But how could they sing their sacred song in an alien land? It was that sorrow that moved them to vow never to forget Jerusalem and to visit vengeance on those who call for its destruction:

If I forget you, O Jerusalem
May my right hand forget its skill
May my tongue cling to the roof of my mouth
If I do not remember you
If I do not consider Jerusalem my highest joy [. . . ]
Tear it down, they cried

[28] *New American Bible*. Revised Edition. 2015. United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, Zechariah 14:16; Emphasis added
[29] New American Bible, Hebrews 11: 9-10

Tear it down to its foundations.[30]

Ziman employs the psalm to expand the biblical allusions at the Passover Seder earlier in the film with Leah Friedlander's family. The "new dawn [and] new day" which Lucky evokes at the beginning of the film cannot be attained until Hillbrow, which he tells his girlfriend Leah "is like a new Jerusalem," is reclaimed and restored. But how could he realize this Jerusalem of his dream when he does not even have the requisite political, financial, or legal capital to begin with? Could Ziman be poking fun at Lucky, and by extension the population that he represents, for being such unrealistic dreamers? Maybe not; but while one ponders those questions, it is also not certain what interpretations Ziman intends the audience to reach from the character of Leah. Is Leah Lucky's potential escape route out of a life of crime? She takes Lucky to her family Passover Seder in a rich white suburb. At the meal, they intone the promise of "next year in Jerusalem," which underscores both the title and the imagery of the film. In the course of his affair with Leah, Lucky improves his lifestyle – moves into a gated home in the suburb, and acquires the BMW convertible of his dream. However, the history behind Leah's name muddles up the water quite a bit for any attempt at locating the symbolic purpose of her role in the film. Leah in the Bible is a fifth generation descendant of Abraham and the mother of six of the twelve sons of the Hebrew Patriarch Jacob that make up the tribes of Israel. But she is better known as the mother of Judah, the forebear of King David and Jesus. The positive overtones of Leah's name, notwithstanding, the viewer also recalls the deception with which her father, Laban (who is also Jacob's uncle), tricked Jacob into marrying Leah first instead of her sister, Rachel, whom he had intended to marry.[31]

Could Leah then represent "something of a false destination" for Lucky? Does she represent a Promised Land, which, like Moses in the bible, Lucky could only behold but not take possession of?[32] These questions point to the film's attempt at suggesting that, after all, Lucky's redemption may not lie with a white middle-class family. Maybe like the

[30] Psalm 137: 5-7
[31] NAB, Genesis 29: 1-30
[32] NAB, Numbers 27: 13

biblical Jacob, Lucky "has been tricked into wedding his future to a veiled Leah"—again pointing to a possible dashed hopes of his New Jerusalem.[33] But Ziman disagrees. In an interview with he says: "I'd always seen [Lucky's] relationship with Leah as being somewhat inspirational. . . . I think to him she is his doorway to this new world, into places elegant and affluent and all the things that he's always wanted his whole life."[34] However, the question remains as to what extent does Lucky's new South Africa continue to be elusive because of the unresolved tensions inherent in its social, cultural, racial, economic, and political makeup. Ziman makes no attempt at answering this question for his audience and he should not. Reality evolves and the audience is well aware that Lucky's reality, even when it is a documentary film realism combined with a constructed realism, will continue to evolve as long as Lucky sustains the hope for its realization.

Through a retrospective voiceover narration, Lucky informs the audience of his two heroes, Karl Marx and Al Capone—one a philosopher of revolution and the other, a gangster entrepreneur. The viewer first notices the uncanniness of this clever combination that "normalizes theft by delegitimizing *all* property claims" (de Villiers, 2009: 10; emphasis in the original). But beyond the playful and irreverent positing of Capone as Marx's shadow-double, de Villiers aptly points out, "the film symbolically collapse[s] the historical dialectic of revolution into the non-eschatological present of global capitalism" (10). *Jerusalema* is more than just a crime thriller spiced with religious symbolisms. As Ziman puts it, the film "explores the will of the entrepreneurial spirit to assert itself in the face of degradation and decay" (Ziman in Sunday Times, 2008). According to the *Sunday Times* (2008) of South Africa, by reaching down into "a culture of lawless acquisitiveness rooted deeply in South Africa's colonial and apartheid history and culture," *Jerusalema* makes an attempt at posing the question that no South African film has thus far asked: "How does Lucky Kunene in Hillbrow in 2008 differ from the rapacious, racist, old 'randlords' of Johannesburg?" While not directly responding to that question, the film score speaks to how, even in spite of the history embodied by the question, Lucky could keep his

[33] Lehman, 2011: 125
[34] Jamil Philbrick, 2010

hopes alive. Drawing from an African hymn of the same name as the film title, the score ties together the film's narrative not only because it conveys "the underlying emotional state of the characters, helping the audience [to] see and feel the subtext of the film,"[35], but because it also underlies "a continuing sense of hope" among the people of the new South Africa.[36] "A lot of things can interfere and distract your success," the score says, but "give yourself strength and don't be scared/ it shall be like in Jerusalema/ step by step it will be alright."

## 4. Conclusion

Like *Tsotsi, Jerusalema* presents "cinematic images of organized crime, economic disparity, racial conflict, and gender relations" in post-apartheid South Africa.[37] But *Jerusalema* inflects the Christian notion of an end time, which Daniel Berthold-Bond interprets not as "the final event in the divine plan," but as "the 'new world' of prophecy".[38] This "New Jerusalem," evident in the title and dominant in the soundtrack, contrasts with its socio-political counterpart in the new South Africa which Lucky is impatient for its manifestation. No doubt, his conceptions of the new South Africa are replete with tensions, as Johannesburg represents for him "a city fathered by gold, mothered by money and then commandeered by white men with cruelty and greed." At the same time, however, Lucky speaks of and imagines "the new South Africa [that constitutes] a new dawn, a new day, a fresh start, a clean page, a new beginning." Hence, like Nazareth, his former-boss-turned-acolyte, Lucky opts to initiate the redemption of the new social order at the moment even while, also like his mother, he persists in the hope for that future not yet seen—both religiously and socio-politically.

[35] Ziman in Stecker, 2010

[36]Ziman in Sunday Times. 2008. *Jerusalema* breaks ground for SA film. *Press Reader*. http://www.pressreader.com

[37] Lehman, 2011: 114

[38] Berthold-Bond, D. 1988. Hegel's eschatological vision: Does history have a future? *History and Theory* 21 (1), 22.