



Working Paper

South Africa's recent foreign policy towards Africa issues and literature

Author(s):

Pfister, Roger

Publication Date:

2000

Permanent Link:

<https://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-a-003930372> →

Rights / License:

[In Copyright - Non-Commercial Use Permitted](#) →

This page was generated automatically upon download from the [ETH Zurich Research Collection](#). For more information please consult the [Terms of use](#).

CIS / Center for International Studies, Zurich
Zentrum für Internationale Studien, Zürich

Roger Pfister

**South Africa's Recent Foreign
Policy Towards Africa:
Issues and Literature**

Beiträge

Nr. 29 / August 2000

Forschungsstelle für Internationale Beziehungen

Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule

Table of Contents

Part I – Argument

1	Aim and Scope.....	1
2	Introduction.....	1
3	South Africa’s Overall Foreign Policy.....	2
	3.1 General Remarks.....	2
	3.2 The Legacy of the ANC’s Foreign Policy in Exile.....	4
4	Africa after the Cold War.....	5
5	The African Dimension in South Africa’s Foreign Policy.....	6
	5.1 Introduction.....	6
	5.2 Economic Co-operation.....	6
	5.3 Security Policy.....	7
6	South Africa’s Africa Policy: Dominance or Primacy?.....	10
	6.1 Between Theory... ..	10
	6.2 ...and Practice.....	12

Part II – Literature

1	Bibliographies.....	15
	1.1 South African Foreign Policy/Relations.....	15
	1.2 Regional Co-operation in Southern Africa.....	15
2	Sources.....	15
3	Secondary Literature.....	17
	3.1 South African Foreign Policy (General).....	17
	3.2 Foreign Policy of the African National Congress.....	22
	3.3 South Africa in Southern Africa: Regional Co-operation.....	23
	3.4 South Africa in the Organisation of African Unity.....	26
	3.5 South Africa on the Continent.....	27
	3.6 South African Security Policy.....	28

Part I – Argument

1 Aim and Scope¹

The first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994 and the end of the Cold War in Africa set new parameters defining South Africa's foreign policy towards the African continent. On the one hand, Pretoria can for the first time since the Republic's independence in 1961 openly establish and maintain contacts with African states. In the earlier period this policy was mostly pursued secretly. Today, in contrast, South Africa's relations with the African continent are much more an issue of open discussion and they have become a matter of high importance within its overall foreign policy. A new international setting, on the other hand, forces African states to find new ways and means in dealing with the country at the southern tip of the continent.

The purpose of this paper is twofold: first, I present the issues that currently dominate the relations between South Africa and African states. Second, it provides a comprehensive compilation of literature on the identified themes.

2 Introduction

The 1994 democratic elections in South Africa ushered in a new government. Its main aim is the creation of new domestic political and socio-economic structures, but it also signalled a change in the area of foreign policy.

South Africa's position in the Southern African region has always been one of a predominant actor. During the last decade under apartheid it pursued a policy of coercive hegemony or dominance. This is reflected in terms such as *Destabilisation*, *Total National Strategy*, and *Constellation of Southern African States* (CONSAS). All relevant publications on South Africa's foreign policy state and presumed that South Africa's Africa policy was restricted to the Southern African region after the mid 1970s. However, South Africa's influence went far beyond the region ever since the Republic gained its independence in 1961 and this influence carried on right through the 1980s. Contacts with black African states were kept highly secret and no information was publicly available to the public, in particular after the failure of the policy of *dialogue* or *outward movement*. This policy started in the late 1960s under then Prime Minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster but came to a standstill in the

¹ My thanks for the many helpful comments go to Prof. Jürg Martin Gabriel at the Center for International Studies, ETH Zurich, and Dr. Jacky Kalley, Johannesburg.

mid 1970s. Pretoria did not want to lose face again and thereafter kept its initiatives on the African continent secret.

Recent research in Pretoria at the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) and the Department of Defence has brought to light hitherto unknown details of South Africa's contacts with black African states since the former became a Republic.²

A brief introduction to South Africa's recent overall foreign policy is followed by an overview of the issues that dominate the debate on South Africa's recent foreign policy towards the Southern African region and the African continent as a whole.

3 South Africa's Overall Foreign Policy³

3.1 General Remarks

In recent years, the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) has become the most important body in the arena of foreign policy making, followed by the Department of Trade and Industry. There are discussions under way to bring these two Departments closer together and even to integrate them completely. On the Parliamentary side, the Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs has gained some importance, while it was almost irrelevant under apartheid.⁴ This illustrates the democratisation in the sense of bringing foreign policy making closer to the electorate. The media, and to a certain extent also the public, now take a more active part in the foreign policy formulation debate.⁵

With the ending of apartheid, Pretoria was able to normalise its position within the international community. It returned to various international organisations from which it was previously excluded. This, combined with President Nelson Mandela's reputation, led to a

² See my Ph.D. project *South Africa's Continental Strategy Beyond the Region, 1961-1992*. It is supported by the Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation's "Young Researchers" programme (<http://www.kfpe.unibe.ch/chrespro.html>) and by Prof. Jürg Martin Gabriel.

³ See chapters 1.1, 2 and 3.1 (Part II) for reading material on that issue.

⁴ SUTTNER, Raymond (1995). *Parliament and Foreign Policy in South Africa Today in: Parliaments and Foreign Policy: The International and South African Experience. A Conference Report*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies, pp.1-12. (Special Reports); SUTTNER, Raymond (1995). Parliament's Role in Foreign Policy, *Indicator SA* 12(3): 74-78; VAN WYK, Jo-Ansie (1998/99). Parliament and the Foreign Policy Process, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.291-306.

⁵ NEL, Philip (1999). The Foreign Policy Beliefs of South Africans: A First Cut, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 17(1): 123-146; VAN NIEUWKERK, Anthoni (1994). Where is the Voice of the People? Public Opinion and Foreign Policy in South Africa, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 1(2): 98-109.

"honeymoon period" which gave rise to unrealistic hopes on a new foreign policy. However, there were also cautious voices.⁶

After decades of white minority rule, reflected in the domination of the DFA by the Afrikaner community, foreign policy could not change overnight. The new government had to be careful not to try to effect change simultaneously. South Africa was rightly described as a "middle power" with limited capacities.⁷ However, scholars have suggested that it could and should take the lead in the promotion of human rights. Given the country's own experience – overcoming apartheid rule and establishing a democratic system, investigating human rights violations under apartheid with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) – South Africa is considered to be predestinated for becoming active in that field internationally.⁸ Foreign policy also had to be legitimised at home, given the great expectations for change and improvement amid the ANC's predominantly black electorate. Finally, South Africa still had to position itself in the North-South divide. In 1995 Rhodes University professor Pau-Henri Bischoff summarised the conflicts of foreign policy makers which have remained until today:

⁶ EVANS, Graham (1991). Myths and Realities in South Africa's Future Foreign Policy, *International Affairs* 67(4): 709-721; GONIDEC, Pierre-François (1997). Afrique du Sud: une nouvelle politique extérieure?, *Afrique 2000*, 27/28: 119-144. (also in: *Afrique contemporaine* 184: 181-198); MILLS, Greg (1997). Leaning all over the Place? The Not-So-New South African Foreign Policy, in: Hussein SOLOMON (ed.). *Fairy Godmother, Hegemon or Partner? In Search of a South African Foreign Policy*. Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies. (Monographs, 13); SOLOMON, Hussein (1997). In Search of a South African Foreign Policy, in: SOLOMON, Hussein (ed.). *Fairy Godmother, Hegemon or Partner? In Search of a South African Foreign Policy*. Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies. (Monographs, 13); VALE, Peter (1992). South Africa's 'New Diplomacy', in: MOSS, Glenn, and Ingrid OBERY (eds.). *From 'Red Friday' to CODESA*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, pp.424-435. (*South African Review*, 6); VALE, Peter (1995). Continuity Rather Than Change: South Africa's 'New' Foreign Policy, *Indicator SA* 12(3): 79-84; VALE, Peter (1997). Ominous Paralysis of Foreign Policy, *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, January 31. (<http://wn.apc.org/wmail>).

⁷ LE PERE, Garth (1998). South Africa – an "Emerging Power", *Global Dialogue* 3(1): 12; VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, Janis (1998). South Africa's Emergence as a Middle Power, *Third World Quarterly* 19(3): 435-455.

⁸ KLAAREN, Jonathan (1994). Human Rights Legislation for a New South African Foreign Policy, *South African Journal on Human Rights* 10(2): 260-275; SEYMOUR, Vernon (1996). *Global Dialogue, Human Rights and Foreign Policy: Will South Africa Please Lead*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. (Southern African Perspectives, 55); SEYMOUR, Vernon (1996). Human Rights and Foreign Policy: A Window of Opportunity? *Indicator SA* 13(4): 84-88; SPENCE, Jack E. (1998). *The New South African Foreign Policy: Moral Incentives and Political Constraints*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, Institute for Strategic Studies. (ISSUP Bulletin, 1/98); SUTTNER, Raymond (1997). South African Foreign Policy and the Promotion of Human Rights, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.300-308; *Through a Glass Darkly? Human Rights Promotion in South Africa's Foreign Policy*. Proceedings of a workshop convened by the Foundation for Global Dialogue and the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs. Johannesburg: Foundation for Global Dialogue, 1996. (Occasional Paper, 6)

The management of this foreign policy inheritance has needed to be reconciled with a rather complex and unique domestic political dispensation. A preoccupation has been to respond to the international community's invitation to rejoin its international deliberations. In all this a conservative interpretation of the RDP in foreign policy has tended to encourage continuity in relations with the North. Politically the endeavour to be a part of Africa and the South remains a must. How to achieve an optimal balance in the two sets of relations has still to be found. This has to be achieved if the country wants to take full advantage of the opportunity to stand out as an African power, able to play a symbiotic role between North and South and in so doing, put its own stamp on international relations.⁹

3.2 The Legacy of the ANC's Foreign Policy in Exile¹⁰

The ANC's experience in exile impacts on the formulation of the current foreign policy. After the ANC was declared illegal in South Africa in 1963/64, the international dimension of its struggle became increasingly important. Particularly within the UN, where it had a special status since 1974, it gained experience in the international arena.

Only little has been written on the ANC's past foreign policy.¹¹ Until recently an informed debate was difficult given the ANC's exile status and the lack of primary sources. But since 1996 the archives of the ANC Exile Missions can be consulted at the ANC Archives at Fort Hare University in Alice, Eastern Cape.¹²

An interesting study in that context has been undertaken by British geographer Anthony J. Christopher. His findings indicate that the ANC's geographic priorities seem to have continued after 1994. Of the 28 ANC exile missions existent in 1985, ten were in Africa and twelve in Europe. After assuming power, the ANC government increased the number of embassies on the African continent from 4 to 21, while retaining the 16 in Europe.¹³

⁹ BISCHOFF, Paul-Henri (1995). *Democratic South Africa One Year After: Towards a New Foreign Policy*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. (Southern African Perspectives, 46)

¹⁰ See chapter 3.2 (Part II) for reading material on that issue.

¹¹ ALDEN, Chris (1993). From Liberation Movement to Political Party: ANC Foreign Policy in Transition, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 1(1): 62-81; ELLIS, Stephen (1991). The ANC in Exile, *African Affairs* 90(360): 439-447; FOURIE, André (1992). Non-Alignment as a Foreign Policy Orientation of the African National Congress, *Politikon* 19(2): 81-98; JOHNSTON, Alexander, and Siphos SHEZI (1993). The ANC's Foreign Policy, in: JOHNSTON, Alexander, Siphos SHEZI, and Gavin BRADSHAW (eds.). *Constitution-Making in the New South Africa*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, pp.169-180; THOMAS, Scott (1996). *The Diplomacy of Liberation. The Foreign Relations of the African National Congress since 1960*. London: I.B. Tauris. (Ph.D., Department of International Relations London School of Economics and Political Science, 1989)

¹² See <http://www.lib.ufh.ac.za/library/lib-page.htm>

¹³ CHRISTOPHER, Anthony John (1994). The Pattern of Diplomatic Sanctions against South Africa, 1948-1994, *GeoJournal* 34(4): 439-446; THOMAS (1996).

4. Africa after the Cold War

When the ANC was elected into office in 1994, it found itself running a country on a continent which had undergone profound changes since the end of the Cold War. Despite various international initiatives Africa's economic indicators still show a decline. With the end of the Cold War, Africa also became increasingly marginalised in a political sense.¹⁴

France, Great Britain, the US, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund increasingly took the stance that Africa's political and economic decay was home-made. The strategies propounded to solve them were "good governance" and Structural Adjustment Programmes. The end of the Cold War also affected security policy. The UN would still legitimise measures to keep the peace or to enforce peace, but increasing responsibility was placed on the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and regional security organisations.

Politically the consequence was a "second wave" of democratisation. Elections took place in many countries but setbacks also had to be noted. In the *economic* sphere two trends were triggered off: liberalisation on the one hand, regional and continental economic co-operation on the other. Examples are the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Lagos Plan of Action. In terms of *security policy*, SADC debated the creation of a Conference for Security and Co-operation in Southern Africa (CSCSA); in West Africa, ECOWAS created a Military Observer Group (ECOMOG); and the OAU established a Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution Centre in Addis Ababa.

These new realities profoundly impacted on South Africa's foreign policy towards the region and the continent as a whole. The new government had to position itself so that its economic and military predominance would benefit the entire region. On the continental level, the question arose what position South Africa would take opposite other regional powers, e.g. Nigeria in West Africa. This question is also of importance in the on-going discussion on the restructuring of the UN Security Council and the creation of a new permanent seat for Africa therein.¹⁵

¹⁴ Thomas M. CALLAGHY ("Africa and the World Political Economy: Still Caught between a Rock and a Hard Place") and John W. HARBESON ("Africa in World Politics: Amid Renewal, Deepening Crisis") in: John W. HARBESON, and Donald ROTHCHILD (eds.). *Africa in World Politics: Post-Cold War Challenges*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1995. pp.41-68; 3-20. (2nd Edition)

¹⁵ KÖCHLER, Hans (1996). *The United Nations and International Democracy: the Quest for UN Reform*, *Revue yougoslave de droit international* 43(1/2): 243-261; LANDSBERG, Chris (1995). *Another Debate on Order? Restructuring the United Nations Security Council*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, Institute for

5. The African Dimension in South Africa's Foreign Policy

5.1 Introduction

Regarding its foreign policy towards Africa the ANC government was put before the choice "between old loyalties and new responsibilities".¹⁶ As briefly indicated above, the new ANC government paid tribute to old loyalties, in particular with respect to Africa. Publications from former President Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki – Head of the ANC's Department of International Affairs until 1994, then Deputy President, and since 1999 President –, and the ANC Department of International Affairs show: Pretoria now feels a great responsibility and loyalty towards the African continent and in particular towards the Southern African region:

South Africa cannot escape its African destiny. If we do not devote our energies to this continent, we too could fall victim to the forces that have brought ruin to its various parts. [...] We are inextricably part of southern Africa and our destiny is linked to that of a region, which is much more than a mere geographical concept.¹⁷

[...] South Africa is of course very much part of the African continent. [...] the fate of a democratic South Africa is inextricably bound up with what happens in the rest of the continent. [...] what happens elsewhere on the continent will inevitably affect South Africa [...].¹⁸

[...] our foreign policy should reflect the interests of the continent of Africa [...].¹⁹

5.2 Economic Co-operation²⁰

The same publications and documents indicate the importance of economic relations. The proposed argument is that they should not only be in the interest of South Africa but also to

Strategic Studies. (ISSUP Bulletin, 3/95); NWOSU, Nereus I. (1996). Nigeria and the Quest for Security Council's Permanent Membership: Problems and Prospects, *Pakistan Horizon* 49(3): 33-44; SANU, Olu (1995). Nigeria's Bid for Security Council Permanent Seat, *African Journal of International Affairs and Development* 1(1): 10-12.

¹⁶ BORN, Kerstin (1997). Die südafrikanische Aussenpolitik seit 1994: der ANC zwischen alten Loyalitäten und neuen Verpflichtungen, *KAS-Auslandsinformationen* 13(10): 81-100.

¹⁷ *Foreign Policy in a New Democratic South Africa: A Discussion Paper, October 1993*. Johannesburg: African National Congress, Department of International Affairs, 1993. pp.10-15; *Foreign Policy Perspective in a Democratic South Africa*. Johannesburg: African National Congress, Department of International Affairs, 1994 (December). pp.10-15. See also MANDELA, Nelson (1993). South Africa's Future Foreign Policy, *Foreign Affairs* 72(5): 89f.

¹⁸ MBEKI, Thabo (1991). South Africa's International Relations: Today and Tomorrow, *South Africa International* 29(4): 234.

¹⁹ MBEKI, Thabo (1994). Foreign Policy in a New Democratic South Africa, in: *International Perspectives: Extracts from Addresses by Thabo Mbeki, Salim Ahmed Salim, J.D. Barroso, Lord Carrington*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, pp.1.

²⁰ See chapters 1.2 and 3.3 (Part II) for reading material on regional co-operation in Southern Africa.

the advantage of the region and the African continent. Given South Africa's past, the ANC and its exponents try to reassure black Africa and the neighbours of the government's non-hegemonic intentions:

A democratic South Africa should therefore *explicitly renounce all hegemonic ambitions* in the region. It should resist all pressure to become the "regional power" at the expense of the rest of the sub-continent; instead, it should seek to become part of a movement to create a new form of economic interaction in Southern Africa based on *principles of mutual benefit and interdependence*. [...] We are conscious of the need for any plan or programme seeking to *promote greater co-operation and integration in Southern Africa* to take account of the acute imbalances in existing regional economic relations. [...] South Africa should avoid using regional co-operation or integration as a vehicle for the one-sided promotion of its immediate interests. Instead, it needs to recognise that balanced and mutually *beneficial co-operation and integration* can be of considerable significance to the efforts of a democratic South Africa to place its economy on a new growth path.²¹ (emphasis by the author)

These intentions and declarations are well-meant, but figures present another picture. Table 1 on trade between South Africa and sub-Saharan Africa since 1994 shows an enormous trade surplus to the advantage of South Africa. The necessity of implementing compensatory mechanisms addressing this unequal balance, particularly in the Southern African region, is an important aspect of South Africa's economic foreign policy. This is evidenced by the recent trade dispute between Zimbabwe and the Republic.

Solutions can be found in bilateral negotiations. However, multilateral structures such as SADC, the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) should assume more importance as arenas for these discussions.

5.3 Security Policy²²

The plans for the establishment of a Conference for Security and Co-operation in Southern Africa (CSCSA) were briefly mentioned above. This move is an interesting and stimulating signal for increased co-operation between former enemies. However, it must be noted that, for the moment, it is wishful thinking rather than reality. Nothing concrete has been decided or as yet put in place. Compared with the steps taken towards economic co-operation progress here lags behind.

Given this experience it is of paramount importance that the security aspect no further be neglected in comparison to the economic dimension. In his suggestions well-known academic

²¹ ANC 1994, pp.11.

²² See chapter 3.6 (Part II) for reading material on South Africa's security policy.

Peter Vale argues along the example of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE). He suggests eight *baskets* which should be part of a CSCSA: Health, Women, Technology and Education, Migration, Law and Human Rights, Security questions, Economic options, and Agriculture.²³

In December 1994, the governing ANC also argued that security can no longer be reduced to military security: “Security is not only limited to military matters; it has important political, economic, social and environmental dimensions. Additionally, the security of the state is dependent on meeting the social, cultural, political, economic and human rights needs of its people”.²⁴

In other words, the necessity for co-operation in the field of security policy is widely recognised. Form and structure of such co-operation are still a matter of debate. Suggestions from the academic world are plentiful. Researchers from the Institute for Security Studies (Pretoria), the South African Institute of International Affairs (Johannesburg), and the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (Durban) are consulted by the respective government departments.

²³ VALE, Peter (1991). The Case for a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Southern Africa (CSCSA), in: Anthoni VAN NIEUWKERK, and Gary VAN STADEN (eds.). *Southern Africa at the Crossroads: Prospects for the Political Economy of the Region*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, pp.152f.

²⁴ ANC 1994, pp.23.

Table 1: Foreign Trade between South Africa and sub-Saharan African states (in million South African Rand)

Year	Angola	Benin	Burkina F.	Burundi	Cameroon	Cape Verde	C.A.R.	Chad	Comoros	Congo	Côte d'Iv.	DR Congo	Djibouti	Equatorial G.	Ethiopia	
1994	Exp.	311.835	2.901	1.483	24.2	15.384	2.969	0.983	0.041	39.752	32.011	52.833	349.676	0.445	0.116	16.411
	Imp.	16.891	9.331	0.034	1.5	7.383	0.132	0.006	6.172	0.322	3.143	85.705	353.576	0.013	0	0.885
1995	Exp.	446.274	3.319	3.422	13.963	36.722	1.294	5.463	0.547	70.845	41.952	101.056	706.366	3.338	5.292	15.261
	Imp.	3.488	16.831	9.17	0.009	21.475	0.042	0.061	11.158	0.266	3.136	136.873	365.957	0.013	0	2.667
1996	Exp.	1524.226	6.672	3.646	10.169	36.99	3.917	1.34	2.344	89.507	67.692	99.057	960.906	1.44	5.855	66.107
	Imp.	260.735	33.191	2.668	0.134	27.979	0.078	0.096	15.134	0.362	2.509	128.717	479.753	0.087	0.019	1.075
1997	Exp.	878.783	16.434	6.168	39.072	129.464	16.185	1.065	0.868	111.799	153.622	109.756	78.038	2.282	0.146	56.616
	Imp.	208.722	7.215	4.248	2.174	26.155	0.048	0.531	1.273	0.488	5.851	126.799	409.663	0	0	4.374
1998	Exp.	1076.345	83.938	6.665	22.638	71.208	14.427	5.265	0.924	90.752	103.685	159.696	0.183	2.028	0.15	75.598
	Imp.	14.209	10.263	N.A.	N.A.	22.405	0.523	0.155	0.074	0.13	3.826	132.977	15.337	0.153	0.002	4.44
Year	Gabon	Gambia	Ghana	Guinea	Guinea B.	Kenya	Liberia	Madagascar	Malawi	Mali	Mauritania	Mauritius	Mozambique	Niger	Nigeria	
1994	Exp.	13.463	1.346	80.922	8.951	0.296	664.723	0.254	68.471	622.067	11.054	0.041	541.318	1406.776	2.241	64.641
	Imp.	0.416	0.84	22.556	0.133	0.979	28.119	0.012	3.692	185.221	5.821	0.012	15.145	91.931	1.574	21.183
1995	Exp.	20.36	5.791	174.833	6.784	0.239	940.008	10.612	164.055	696.067	64.571	0.499	685.191	2237.169	5.853	185.487
	Imp.	5.428	0.442	14.845	0.833	0.599	111.083	0	9.99	203.41	12.227	1.056	34.803	117.009	2.472	26.377
1996	Exp.	35.854	5.161	255.196	9.174	1.261	953.474	27.65	193.42	961.978	72.968	7.242	923.833	2376.692	1.236	180.168
	Imp.	22.111	0.713	14.598	0.544	1.421	122.951	0.978	6.138	295.27	48.928	0.044	16.139	74.89	11.018	37.813
1997	Exp.	102.84	10.185	392.642	45.704	1.151	1621.696	45.239	298.009	1134.28	69.976	8.638	1190.824	2715.446	8.803	203.85
	Imp.	37.555	0.404	16.624	0.467	0.713	85.832	42.94	17.655	399.465	15.795	1.871	26.621	168.191	4.802	837.887
1998	Exp.	80.996	6.573	448.704	48.582	0.805	1261.248	17.111	254.785	1203.67	75.141	9.534	1028.208	2632.28	4.556	289.314
	Imp.	19.738	0.091	28.193	1.173	0.001	63.924	0.973	39.675	462.301	39.49	0.164	29.671	215.492	3.054	439.333
Year	Reunion	Rwanda	St. Helena	Sao T. & P.	Senegal	Seychelles	Sierra L.	Somalia	Sudan	Tanzania	Togo	Uganda	Zambia	Zimbabwe	Total	
1994	Exp.	147.407	11.084	11.948	4.952	5.132	84.151	3.965	4.076	50.506	183.233	11.355	22.728	1158.676	2459.439	8631.997
	Imp.	0.904	0.155	0.265	0.366	2.9	4.84	0.551	0.001	4.325	15.856	61.607	1.632	103.89	1021.801	2354.23
1995	Exp.	186.525	10.464	11.695	6.741	28.608	124.156	12.634	9.484	19.162	627.597	19.871	87.673	1366.769	4542.94	13867.031
	Imp.	0.959	1.181	0.793	1.035	5.537	2.082	0.747	0.003	1.004	15.421	60.115	2.009	95.186	964.102	2855.181
1996	Exp.	195.758	13.883	14.388	4.419	20.592	163.043	32.434	0.132	78.042	552.187	25.57	103.601	1800.888	5388.283	17542.178
	Imp.	0.704	0.291	0.833	0.638	1.605	3.398	1.459	0.008	3.745	21.108	73.568	1.675	173.102	1176.932	3381.837
1997	Exp.	203.163	23.281	17.234	11.688	12.594	191.517	33.759	0.224	24.192	965.177	26.902	159.756	2175.097	5706.694	20289.259
	Imp.	1.304	2.357	0.82	0.401	2.71	6.187	1.77	0	2.296	18.894	104.69	1.879	184.258	1353.084	4861.459
1998	Exp.	188.995	62.728	20.759	7.746	39.205	178.181	32.006	1.038	60.086	1087.125	31.604	308.971	2141.359	7000.623	16620.205
	Imp.	1.966	2.151	0.777	0.283	2.875	8.854	2.666	0.597	1.055	26.867	98.115	7.66	232.981	1132.672	3032.311

Notes: Italics = Jan-Oct; Exp./Imp. = SA Export to/Import from; N.A. = not available. **Sources:** *Foreign Trade Statistics* and *Monthly Abstract of Trade Statistics*. Pretoria: Customs and Excise. Jorge Maia and Gena Krasnik at the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) in Johannesburg supplied me with missing data.

6. South Africa's Africa Policy: Dominance or Primacy?²⁵

6.1 Between Theory...

For the moment and in the foreseeable future, South Africa's Africa policy is focussed on Southern Africa. Compared to the apartheid period, the economic and political settings are different. But due to its superior technology, economic resources, location and military power, South Africa has retained a predominant position in practically all fields. Predominance is used here as the term describing an asymmetric power relation between a relatively stronger and relatively weaker actors.

Hedley Bull suggests three most useful forms of *preponderance*:

Dominance: “[...] characterised by the habitual use of force by a great power against the lesser states comprising its hinterland [...]”

Hegemony: “The great power prefers to rely upon instruments other than the direct use or threat of force, and will employ the latter only in situations of extremity [...]”

Primacy/Leadership: “A great power's preponderance in relation to a group of lesser states takes the form of primacy when it is achieved without any resort to force or the threat of force [...]. The position of primacy or leadership which the great power enjoys is freely conceded by the lesser states within the group concerned [...]”²⁶

South Africa's Africa policy during the apartheid period can be described with those terms as follows: given its military capacity, South Africa's policy towards its immediate neighbourhood fell into the category *dominance*. Southern Africa effectively was South Africa's “backyard” and many authors described Pretoria's role as that of a “regional superpower” or “regional great power”.²⁷ The South African government relied on factors such as trade, control of transport routes and migrant labour to ensure that these states became economically dependent on their powerful neighbour. Militarily, its weapons and arms arsenal placed it in a position to attack any of these countries at any time. Pretoria used these

²⁵ See chapters 3.4 and 3.5 (Part II) for reading material on South Africa's role on the continent and within the OAU.

²⁶ BULL, Hedley (1977). *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp.214f.

²⁷ ALBRIGHT, David E. (1991). South Africa in Southern Africa, in: David J. MYERS (ed.). *Regional Hegemons: Threat Perception and Strategic Response*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 97-159; BACH, Daniel C. (1991). L'Afrique du Sud puissance régionale, *Défense nationale* 47(10): 63-74; BUTTS, Kent Hughes, and Paul R. THOMAS, (1986). *The Geopolitics of Southern Africa: South Africa as Regional Superpower*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press; MAKINDA, Samuel M. (1992). South Africa as a Regional Great Power, in: Iver B. NEUMANN (ed.). *Regional Great Powers in International Politics*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp.151-178; OLIVIER, Gerrit Cornelius (1988). South Africa as a Regional Power, in: Daan J. VAN VUUREN et al. (eds.). *South Africa: the Challenge of Reform*. Pinetown: Burgess, pp.551-565.

components, for example, to prevent these countries from hosting African National Congress (ANC) military bases.

In its approach towards the African states north of the Southern African region, Pretoria heavily relied on its economic and technological superiority. Here, *preponderance* took the forms of *hegemony* and *primacy*. It varied from country to country and depended on a country's preparedness to accept South Africa's predominant position. One must also distinguish between Pretoria's own view of its role, and the view of the African state concerned. Pretoria saw and presented itself as a *leader* on the continent, generously offering economic, technological and other assistance. It could not, however, understand that those "poor" African countries refused to take it, that they did not want to become its appreciative *followers* on the grounds of its apartheid policy. On the other hand, the policy of apartheid did not in the least match the collective moral and political objective of black African states: pan-Africanism. Consequently, South Africa could never be the *leader* in continental or regional bodies such as the OAU or the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

The post-Apartheid situation differs enormously. The policy of apartheid as an obstacle for the political rapprochement between South Africa and African states has been eradicated. South Africa is now in a position to take the *leadership* and also find acceptance among African states for that role. Leadership is an actor's ability to convince and move others to follow the leader in undertaking a certain action. There exists agreement between leader and followers on values such as democracy, good governance, human rights, etc.²⁸

The policy pronouncements cited in the previous chapter are an indication that South Africa is prepared to use its predominant role to the advantage of the region and the continent. The Department of Foreign Affairs' *Discussion Document* of 1996 demonstrates that it is prepared to play the role of a leader. The section "principles and cornerstones" underlines the country's "commitment to the promotion of human rights and democracy, commitment to justice and international law, commitment to international peace and internationally agreed-upon mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts, commitment to the interests of Africa in World Affairs".²⁹ The document further emphasises the necessity for South Africa to become

²⁸ BORCHERT, Heiko (1999). *Europas Sicherheitsarchitektur: Erfolgsfaktoren – Bestandesaufnahme – Handlungsbedarf*. Baden-Baden: Nomos. (Nomos Universitätschriften : Politik, 102)

²⁹ *South African Foreign Policy: Discussion Document*. Pretoria, 1996. (reprinted in *South African Journal of International Affairs* 1996, 4(1): 157-200).

integrated within multilateral regional and continental organisations. This represents a move away from *dominance* towards *primacy* or *leadership*. It is a prerequisite to avoid South Africa's retrogression to the role of coercive hegemon or dominant actor and a step in the direction of lasting political stability.

6.2 ...and Practice

As in other countries, there is a gap between South Africa's foreign policy in theory and in practice. As David Ryall has noted: "South Africa's foreign policy has been characterised by a lack of direction since the country's first non-racial elections in April 1994. Two visions of the country's place in world politics have been competing for supremacy: the ANC's internationalism and the Department of Foreign Affairs' neo-realism. This clash has led to a persistent confusion [...]."³⁰

Despite South Africa's stated will to assume a leadership role in the region, it has become apparent that finding followers is not easy. The historical, political, and socio-economic environment is such that both the achievement of lasting political stability through multilateral structures, and South Africa becoming a leader is still far from reality. A few examples dating from 1994 to the present are evidence for this gap:

Nigeria. During 1995 a crises erupted over the death sentence imposed on Ken Saro Wiwa. The Department of Foreign Affairs and the top South African leaders did not pursue a common approach. The DFA, President, and Vice-President made contradicting statements. The situation was incorrectly assessed and the execution of several political opponents could not be prevented. A special summit and pressure by the SADC were also in vain.³¹ South Africa's stance is characterised by the typical conflict between loyalty to a former host during the exile period; Mbeki was head of the ANC exile mission in Nigeria for many years. He adopted an anomalous policy of opposing sanctions against Nigeria, whilst advocating the promotion of human rights.

Zaire/Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In an unsuccessful attempt to prevent an escalation of the conflict, Mandela brought Mobutu and the rebels together for talks on the SAS Outeniqua, offshore Kinshasa. The SADC, too, has proved incapable of bringing about

³⁰ David RYALL (1997). Caught Between Two Worlds: Understanding South Africa's Foreign Policy Options, *Third World Quarterly* 18(2): 397.

³¹ Communiqué: Special SADC Summit on Nigeria, 11 December 1995, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 1995, 3(2): 203-205.

political stability. Friction between SADC member states are amongst the main reasons for the failure of South Africa's leadership position in this instance. It has proved premature to permit the DRC gain SADC membership. That country does not yet conform to the standards which SADC promotes, such as good governance, observance of basic human rights, and multiparty systems. Attainment of SADC membership has not brought about a change in their value system.

Rwanda. During the early days of the conflict, intense discussion took place in the media whether South Africa should become militarily engaged. Two issues were central to the controversy: should South Africa become involved in such a distant conflict, or should it rather solve its own internal problems; and secondly to what extent, and within what structures should such an engagement take place? A compromise solution was found with South Africa deploying a rather low profile military mission, placed under the aegis of the OAU.

Lesotho. This most recent example shows the lack of coherence in South Africa's policy towards its neighbours and the continent. After the eruption of the conflict in 1998, SADC formally decided on the deployment of a military mission, but this occurred only after South African troops had already been deployed! This decision must be seen against the following background: (1) the troops were sent to stabilise a regime which had obviously manipulated the election results to stay in power; (2) Pretoria was clearly the driving force behind the decision to become involved in Lesotho, of the 800 troops, 600 were from South Africa, 200 from Botswana; (3) the deployment was decided on by the military without the knowledge of the Department of Foreign Affairs. State President, Foreign Minister, and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (Alfred Nzo) were out of the country at the time, and it appears that Jackie Selebi, the then Director-General of the DFA, was not informed.³² This example shows: (1) the leader South Africa is prepared to sacrifice its democratic values and principles when the necessity for order in its backyard becomes imperative – i.e. where much of its water supplies come from; (2) as in the old days, the Department of Defence, seems to do things without the knowledge of the Department of Foreign Affairs.³³

³² According to a discussion with a DFA employee close to Selebi who was in his office when he received the phone call informing him about the troop deployment.

³³ My research shows that an early case of such action took place during the Biafra war (1967-70): the then Minister of Defence, P.W. Botha, supported the secessionists with weapons without the knowledge of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Eric H. Louw.

These examples illustrate that South Africa's foreign policy towards Africa still is work in progress. However, nothing else could be expected at such an early stage in the Republic's post-Apartheid political development. The examples also show that proclamations and statements as contained in the DFA's foreign policy discussion document (1996) have proved too idealist and ill-suited to the political circumstances. Despite all criticism, one can nevertheless observe a move away from dominance or coercive hegemony, as practised under apartheid, to benign hegemony. In some cases South Africa has even tried to take the role of a leader within multilateral structures such as the SADC.

The situation on the continent and in the Southern African region is far from stable as the volatile situation in neighbouring Zimbabwe has recently shown. Political developments in many African countries remain difficult to predict in the foreseeable future. It can safely be assumed that the government in Pretoria will be confronted with critical situations again. An analysis of past experiences is therefore absolutely necessary to be better prepared for future challenges.

Part II – Literature

1 Bibliographies

1.1 South African Foreign Policy/Relations

ANDOR, Lydia Eve (1997). South Africa's Foreign Relations, 1996: A Bibliographical Chronology, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.423-452.

BEGG, Alan, and Elna SCHOEMAN (1998/99). South Africa's Foreign Relations, 1997/98: A Bibliographical Chronology, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.379-386.

SCHOEMAN, Elna, KALLEY, Jacqueline Audrey, and Naomi MUSIKER (comps.) (1996). *Mandela's Five Years of Freedom: South African Politics, Economics and Social Issues, 1990-1995. A Select and Annotated Bibliography*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs. 770p. (Bibliographical Series, 29)

1.2 Regional Co-operation in Southern Africa

INEGBEDION, John E. (1996). Regional Security and Development in Southern Africa: An Annotated Bibliography, 1980-1994, in: Adebayo ADEDEJI (ed.). *South Africa and Africa: Within or Apart?* Cape Town: Southern Africa Development Research Institute; London: Zed Books; Ijebu-Ode: African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies, pp.237-249.

LAMB, Guy (1997). *Demilitarisation and Peacebuilding in Southern Africa: A Survey of the Literature*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, Centre for Conflict Resolution. (Staff Paper)

2 Sources

ANC (1993). *Foreign Policy in a New Democratic South Africa: A Discussion Paper, October 1993*. Johannesburg: African National Congress, Department of International Affairs. 29pp.

ANC (1994). *Foreign Policy Perspective in a Democratic South Africa*. Johannesburg: African National Congress, Department of International Affairs, (December). 28pp.

BERTELSMANN, Talitha (comp.) (1998/99). South Africa's Foreign Trade Ties, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.462-471.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (DFA) (1996). *South African Foreign Policy: Discussion Document*. Pretoria. (reprinted in *South African Journal of International Affairs* 1996, 4(1): 157-200).

Developing a Strategic Perspective on South African Foreign Policy, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 1997, 5(1): 170-184.

Foreign Affairs Parliamentary Media Briefing: South Africa's New Place in the World, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 1997, 5(1): 185-190.

MANDELA, Nelson (1993). South Africa's Future Foreign Policy, *Foreign Affairs* 72(5): 86-94.

MANDELA, Nelson (1994). *Statement by President Mandela: OAU Meeting of Heads of State and Government*. Pretoria: South African Communication Service.

MANDELA, Nelson (1995). Statement at the Special Commemorative Meeting of the General Assembly on the Occasion of the 50. Anniversary of the United Nations, New York, 23 October 1995, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 3(1): 140-141.

MBEKI, Thabo (1991). South Africa's International Relations: Today and Tomorrow, *South Africa International* 29(4): 231-235.

- MBEKI, Thabo (1994). Foreign Policy in a New Democratic South Africa, in: *International Perspectives: Extracts from Addresses by Thabo Mbeki, Salim Ahmed Salim, J.D. Barroso, Lord Carrington*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, pp.1-3. (Occasional Paper)
- NZO, Alfred (1994). Statement to the Eleventh Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement, Cairo, 31 May - 3 June 1994, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 2(1): 136-139.
- NZO, Alfred (1994). Extracts from Statement to the Resumed 48. Session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York, 23 June 1994, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 2(1): 140-145.
- NZO, Alfred (1995). Statement before the Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs, 14 March 1995, in: *Policy Guidelines by the Minister and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1995*. Pretoria: Department of Foreign Affairs, pp.1-13.
- NZO, Alfred (1995). Speech in the National Assembly, 18 May 1995, in: *Policy Guidelines by the Minister and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1995*. Pretoria: Department of Foreign Affairs, pp.14-21.
- NZO, Alfred (1995). The First Annual Foreign Minister's Address Delivered at SAIIA on 29 August 1995, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 3(1): 131-140.
- PAHAD, Aziz (1995). *Regional Security in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, Institute for Strategic Studies. (ISSUP Bulletin, 5/95)
- PAHAD, Aziz (1995). Reply During the Debate in the National Assembly, 18 May 1995, in: *Policy Guidelines by the Minister and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1995*. Pretoria: Department of Foreign Affairs, pp.22-26.
- PAHAD, Aziz (1995). Speech in the Senate, 25 May 1995, in: *Policy Guidelines by the Minister and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1995*. Pretoria: Department of Foreign Affairs, pp.27-36.
- PAHAD, Aziz (1995). South Africa and Preventive Diplomacy, in: CILLIERS, Jakkie K., and Greg MILLS (eds.). *Peacekeeping in Africa. Vol. 2*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs; Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies, pp.153-165.
- PAHAD, Aziz (1998). Interview with Aziz Pahad, *Global Dialogue* 3(1): 20-22.
- SELEBI, Jackie (1998). Interview with Jackie Selebi, *Global Dialogue* 3(3): 14-15.
- South Africa's Evolving Foreign Policy: Speeches in the South African Parliament; Treaties and Agreements. Speeches by Nelson Mandela and Alfred Nzo, 1995; Treaties and Agreements, 1994-1995*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies, 1995. 35p. (Backgrounder, 14)
- South Africa's Foreign Ties: Missions, State Visits, Trade, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, 1996, pp.326-343.
- South Africa's Foreign Ties: Missions and State Visits, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, 1997, pp.462-471.
- South Africa's Foreign Ties: Missions and State Visits, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, 1998/99, pp.397-406.

3 Secondary Literature

3.1 South African Foreign Policy (General)

- Die Aussenpolitik Südafrikas*. Johannesburg: Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation, 1996. 48p. (Inside South Africa: A Selection of News, Views and Reports on Developments in Southern Africa, 6(14))
- BARRATT, John (1993). Current Constraints on South Africa's Foreign Policy and Diplomacy, in: JOHNSTON, Alexander, SHEZI, Siphon, and Gavin BRADSHAW (eds.). *Constitution-Making in the New South Africa*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, pp.154-168. (Studies in Federalism)
- BAUMANN, Renato (1996). International Insertion of Brazil and South Africa, in: Pinheiro S. GUIMARAES (ed.). *South Africa and Brazil. Risks and Opportunities in the Turmoil of Globalization*. Brasilia: International Relations Research Institute, pp.459-477.
- BAYNHAM, Simon (1993). South Africa and the World in the 1990s, *South Africa International* 23(3): 108-117.
- BISCHOFF, Paul-Henri, and Roger SOUTHALL (1999). The Early Foreign Policy of the Democratic South Africa, in: Stephen WRIGHT (ed.) (1999). *African Foreign Policies*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp.154-181.
- BISCHOFF, Paul-Henri (1995). *Democratic South Africa One Year After: Towards a New Foreign Policy*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. 21p. (Southern African Perspectives, 46)
- BLACK, David R. (1995). *Comparative Experiences for a New South Africa: A Conference Report, in: Parliaments and Foreign Policy: the International and South African Experience. A Conference Report*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies, pp.90-93. (Special Reports)
- BLACK, David R., and Audie KLOTZ (1995). *International Legitimation and Domestic Political Change: Implications for South African Foreign Relations*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. 18p. (Southern African Perspectives, 42)
- BORN, Kerstin (1997). Die südafrikanische Aussenpolitik seit 1994: der ANC zwischen alten Loyalitäten und neuen Verpflichtungen, *KAS-Auslandsinformationen* 13(10): 81-100.
- CARLSNAES, Walter, and Marie Eloïse MULLER (ed.) (1997). *Change and South African External Relations*. Halfway House: International Thomsen Publisher. 339pp.
[Reviews: *South African Journal of International Affairs* 4(2), 1997, pp.189-191 (by Jo-Ansie K. van Wy); *Politeia* 16(2), 1997, pp.77-83 (by Vladimir Shubin); *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 24(1), 1997, pp.123-124 (by Ian Taylor)]
- CHABBRA, Hari Sharan (1997). *South African Foreign Policy: Principles, Options, Dilemmas*. New Delhi: Africa Publishing. viii, 280pp.
- The Changing World and Professional Diplomacy: A Workshop Report*. Organised by the Centre for Southern African Studies, University of the Western Cape, and the International Studies Unit, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 12-14 January 1993. iv, 77p.
- CILLIERS, Jakkie K. (1999). *An Emerging South African Foreign Policy Identity*. Halfway House: Institute for Security Studies. (ISS Paper, 39)
- CRAWFORD, Neta Carol (1995). South Africa's New Foreign and Military Policy: Opportunities and Constraints, *Africa Today* 42(1/2): 88-121.
- DAVIES, Robert (1995). *South African Foreign Policy Options in a Changing Global Context*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. 12p. (Southern African Perspectives, 40)
- DIESCHO, Joseph (1996). *The Limits of Foreign Policy Making in South Africa*. Pretoria: UNISA Press. 23pp.

- DUNN, David J. (1995). International Relations and the New South Africa, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 3(1): 33-46.
- EVANS, Graham (1991). *Continuity and Change in South Africa's Present and Future Foreign Policy*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs. 18p. (Occasional Paper)
- EVANS, Graham (1991). Myths and Realities in South Africa's Future Foreign Policy, *International Affairs* 67(4): 709-721.
- EVANS, Graham (1996). South Africa in Remission: the Foreign Policy of an Altered State, *Journal of Modern African Studies* 34(2): 249-269.
- EVANS, Graham (1996). New Neighbours: Reflections on the New South Africa and Brazil in Contemporary World Politics, in: Pinheiro S. GUIMARAES (ed.). *South Africa and Brazil. Risks and Opportunities in the Turmoil of Globalization*. Brasilia: International Relations Research Institute, pp.93-109.
- EVANS, Graham (1999). South Africa's Foreign Policy After Mandela: Mbeki and His Concept of an African Renaissance, *The Round Table* 88(352): 621-628.
- EVANS, Leo Henry "Rusty" (1993). *South African Foreign Policy and the New World Order*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, Institute for Strategic Studies. 14p. (ISSUP Bulletin, 4/93)
- EVANS, Leo Henry "Rusty", DANIEL, John, and Roger SOUTHALL (1995). A Critical Reflection on the GNU's Foreign Policy Initiatives and Responses, in: LANDSBERG, Chris, LE PERE, Garth, and Anthoni VAN NIEUWKERK (eds.). *Mission Imperfect: Redirecting South Africa's Foreign Policy*. Proceedings of a Workshop Convened by the Foundation for Global Dialogue and the Centre for Policy Studies. Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies, pp.29-44.
- EVANS, Leo Henry "Rusty" (1997). The Humanitarian Challenge: A Foreign Policy Perspective, *African Security Review* 6(2): 28-32.
- GELDENHUYS, Deon (1991). Towards a New South Africa: the Foreign Policy Dimension, *International Affairs Bulletin* 15(3): 7-22.
- GONIDEC, Pierre-François (1997). Afrique du Sud: une nouvelle politique extérieure?, *Afrique 2000*, 27/28, pp.119-144. (also published in: *Afrique contemporaine* 184: 181-198).
- HAMILL, James, and Jack E. SPENCE (1993/94). South African Participation in International Organisations, *South African Yearbook of International Law* 19, pp.110-126.
- HANDLEY, Antoinette, and Greg MILLS (eds.) (1996). *From Isolation to Integration? The South African Economy in the 1990s*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs. 241p.
[Review: *Third World Quarterly* 18(2), 1997, pp.397-402 (by David Ryal)]
- HENWOOD, Roland (1997). South Africa's Foreign Policy: Principles and Problems, in: Hussein SOLOMON (ed.). *Fairy Godmother, Hegemon or Partner? In Search of a South African Foreign Policy*. Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies. (Monographs, 13)
- KLAAREN, Jonathan (1994). Human Rights Legislation for a New South African Foreign Policy, *South African Journal on Human Rights* 10(2): 260-275.
- KROMBERG, Marlene (1991). SA's Return to the International Scene, *RSA Policy Review* 4(1): 30-39.
- KUNERT, Dirk Thomas (1994). Loss of Innocence: Some Thoughts on the Discipline of International Relations and on South Africa's International Dilemma, in: VALE, Colin, and Irène VAN DEN ENDE (eds.). *The Loss of Innocence: International Relations Essays in Honour of Dirk Kunert*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, pp.7-38.
- KUPER, Kate (1997). Trade Issues in South Africa's Foreign Policy in 1996, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.257-265.

- LANDSBERG, Chris (1994). *Isolation, Permanent Neutrality, Non-Alignment, or Internationalism: Towards a Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy Orientation*. Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies. 21pp. (Policy Issues and Actors, 7(1))
- LANDSBERG, Chris (1994). Selling South Africa: New Foreign Policy, *Indicator SA* 12(1): 69-73.
- LANDSBERG, Chris, LE PERE, Garth, and Anthoni VAN NIEUWKERK (eds.) (1995). *Mission Imperfect: Redirecting South Africa's Foreign Policy*. Proceedings of a Workshop Convened by the Foundation for Global Dialogue and the Centre for Policy Studies. Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies. 140pp.
- LANDSBERG, Chris, and Zondi MASIZA (1995). *Strategic Ambiguity or Ambitious Strategy? Foreign Policy since the 1994 Election*. Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies. 34pp. (Policy Issues and Actors, 8(11))
- LE PERE, Garth, VAN NIEUWKERK, Anthoni, and Gary VAN STADEN (comps.) (1996). *Concluding Report: Recommendations of the Working Group on a Foreign Affairs Advisory Council*. Johannesburg: Foundation for Global Dialogue, 1996. 5pp. (Occasional Paper, 3)
- LE PERE, Garth (1998). South Africa – an "Emerging Power", *Global Dialogue* 3(1): 1-2.
- McGOWAN, Patrick J. (1993). The "New" South Africa: Ascent or Descent in the World System?, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 1(1): 35-61.
- MILLS, Greg, and Simon BAYNHAM (1990). Changing the Guard: South African Foreign Policy Into the 1990s, *Africa Insight* 20(3): 176-188.
- MILLS, Greg (ed.) (1994). *From Pariah to Participant: South Africa's Evolving Foreign Relations, 1990-1994*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs. vii, 250pp.
[Review: *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 21(1), 1994, pp.90-92 (by Lisa Thompson)]
- MILLS, Greg (1996). Comment on the South African Paper on Foreign Policy, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 4(1): 126-133.
- MILLS, Greg (1996). *South Africa's Foreign Policy Priorities: A 1996 Update*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). 6p. (CSIS Africa Notes, 180)
- MILLS, Greg (1996). South African Foreign Policy: the Year in Review, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.1-8.
- MILLS, Greg (1997). Leaning all over the Place? The Not-So-New South African Foreign Policy, in: Hussein SOLOMON (ed.). *Fairy Godmother, Hegemon or Partner? In Search of a South African Foreign Policy*. Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies. (Monographs, 13)
- MILLS, Greg (1997). South African Foreign Policy: the Year in Review, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.1-17.
- MILLS, Greg (1998). *South Africa's Foreign Policy after 1994: A Template for Foreign Policy Integration*. Paper presented to the Biennial Conference of the African Studies Association of the UK on "Comparisons and Transitions", School of Oriental and African Studies SOAS, London, 14-16 September.
- MILLS, Greg (1998). South Africa's Foreign Policy: From Isolation to Respectability?, in: David SIMON (ed.): *South Africa in Southern Africa: Reconfiguring the Region*. London: James Currey, pp.72-88.
- MILLS, Greg (1998/99). South African Foreign Policy in Review, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.1-20.
- MULLER, Marie Eloise (1996). South Africa's Changing External Relations, in: FAURE, Murray, and Jan-Erik LANE (eds.). *South Africa: Designing New Political Institutions*. London: Sage, pp.121-150. (also in *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1996, 8(2): 227-254).

- MULLER, Marie Eloïse (1998). *Latest Developments in South African Diplomacy*. Paper presented at the 3. Pan-European International Relations Conference and Joint Meeting with the International Studies Association, Vienna, 16-19 September.
- MULLER, Marie Eloïse (1999). South African Diplomacy and Security Complex Theory, *The Round Table* 88(352): 585-620.
- NEL, Philip (1996). *Comments on "Foreign Policy Discussion Document"*. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, Department of Political Science. 8p. (Unpublished paper).
- NEL, Philip (1998). *Multilateralism in South Africa's New Foreign Policy*. Paper presented at the 3. Pan-European International Relations Conference and Joint Meeting with the International Studies Association, Vienna, 16-19 September.
- NEL, Philip (1999). The Foreign Policy Beliefs of South Africans: A First Cut, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 17(1): 123-146.
- PHILLIPS, Ian et al. (1995). The New DFA and Parliament: The Challenges of Restructuring, in: LANDSBERG, Chris, LE PERE, Garth, and Anthoni VAN NIEUWKERK (eds.). *Mission Imperfect: Redirecting South Africa's Foreign Policy*. Proceedings of a Workshop Convened by the Foundation for Global Dialogue and the Centre for Policy Studies. Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies, pp.61-76.
- RYALL, David (1997). Caught Between Two Worlds: Understanding South Africa's Foreign Policy Options, *Third World Quarterly* 18(2): 397-402.
- SADA, Hugo (1994). Afrique du Sud: le retour sur la scène internationale, *Défense nationale* 50(8/9): 182-184.
- SARAKINSKY, Ivor (1994). Laying Foundations, *Indicator SA* 11(3): 12-16.
- SEYMOUR, Vernon (1996). *Global Dialogue, Human Rights and Foreign Policy: Will South Africa Please Lead*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. 27p. (Southern African Perspectives, 55)
- SEYMOUR, Vernon (1996). Human Rights and Foreign Policy: A Window of Opportunity? *Indicator SA* 13(4): 84-88.
- SHAW, Timothy Milton, and Alfred NHEMA (1995). Directions and Debates in South Africa's First Post-Apartheid Decade, *Mershon International Studies Review* 39(1): 97-110.
- SHUBIN, Vladimir (1995). *Flinging the Doors Open: Foreign Policy of the New South Africa*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. 22p. (Southern African Perspectives, 43)
- SOLOMON, Hussein (1997). In Search of a South African Foreign Policy, in: SOLOMON, Hussein (ed.). *Fairy Godmother, Hegemon or Partner? In Search of a South African Foreign Policy*. Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies. (Monographs, 13)
- SOLOMON, Hussein (1998). Middle Power Leadership vs. Cooperative Leadership : Some Reflections on South Africa's Foreign Policy, *African Journal of International Affairs and Development* 3(1): 69-80.
- South Africa and Africa: Reflections on the African Renaissance*. Johannesburg: Foundation for Global Dialogue, 1998. (Occasional Paper, 17)
- South Africa and the World: A New Vision*. Report on a Conference organised by the South African Institute of International Affairs and the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, 28-31 August 1992. 57p.
- Through a Glass Darkly? Human Rights Promotion in South Africa's Foreign Policy*. Proceedings of a workshop convened by the Foundation for Global Dialogue and the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs. Johannesburg: Foundation for Global Dialogue, 1996. (Occasional Paper, 6)

- SOUTHALL, Roger (1994). The New South Africa in the New World Order: Beyond the Double Whammy, *Third World Quarterly* 15(1): 121-137.
- SPENCE, Jack E. (1996). The Debate over South Africa's Foreign Policy, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 4(1): 118-125.
- SPENCE, Jack E (1998). The New South African Foreign Policy: Moral Incentives and Political Constraints. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, Institute for Strategic Studies. (ISSUP Bulletin, 1/98) (also published in TOASE, Francis H., and Ed J. YORKE (eds.). *The New South Africa: Prospects for Domestic and International Security*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp.157-168.)
- SURANSKY, Leonard (1989). New Places, New Faces, and New Tastes: The Foreign Policy of a Liberated South Africa, *International Affairs Bulletin* 13(3): 106-119.
- SUTTNER, Raymond (1995). *Parliament and Foreign Policy in South Africa Today in: Parliaments and Foreign Policy: The International and South African Experience*. A Conference Report. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies, pp.1-12. (Special Reports)
- SUTTNER, Raymond (1995). Parliament's Role in Foreign Policy, *Indicator SA* 12(3): 74-78.
- SUTTNER, Raymond (1995). *Some Problematic Questions in Developing Foreign Policy after April 27 1994*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. 19p. (Southern African Perspectives, 44)
- SUTTNER, Raymond (1996). Foreign Policy of the New South Africa: A Brief Review, in: Pinheiro S. GUIMARAES (ed.). *South Africa and Brazil. Risks and Opportunities in the Turmoil of Globalization*. Brasilia: International Relations Research Institute, pp.191-205.
- SUTTNER, Raymond (1997). South African Foreign Policy and the Promotion of Human Rights, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.300-308.
- THOMPSON, Lisa, and Anthony LEYSENS (1996). *Comments: South African Foreign Policy Discussion Document*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, School of Government; Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, Department of Political Science. 12p.
- VALE, Peter (1990). *Starting Over: Some Early Questions on a Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. 25p. (Southern African Perspectives, 1)
- VALE, Peter (1991). Points of Re-entry: Prospects for a Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy, *South Africa International* 21(4): 214-229. (also published in: *Beyond Apartheid: Discussion Papers on a Democratic Development in South Africa*. Proceedings of a Conference on Post-Apartheid South Africa, Copenhagen, February 1991. Copenhagen: Centre for Development Research, 1992. pp.215-229).
- VALE, Peter (1992). South Africa's 'New Diplomacy', in: MOSS, Glenn, and Ingrid OBERY (eds.). *From 'Red Friday' to CODESA*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, pp.424-435. (South African Review, 6)
- VALE, Peter (1993). Foreign Policy of a Post-Apartheid South Africa, in: JOHNSTON, Alexander, SHEZI, Siphos, and Gavin BRADSHAW (eds.). *Constitution-Making in the New South Africa*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, pp.181-198. (Studies in Federalism)
- VALE, Peter (1995). Continuity Rather Than Change: South Africa's 'New' Foreign Policy, *Indicator SA* 12(3): 79-84.
- VALE, Peter (1997). Ominous Paralysis of Foreign Policy, *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, 31 January. [<http://wn.apc.org/wmail/issues/970131/NEWS75.html>]
- VALE, Peter, and Ian TAYLOR (1999). South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy Five Years on – From Pariah State to 'Just Another Country'?, *The Round Table* 88(352): 629-634.
- VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, Janis (1998). South Africa's Emergence as a Middle Power, *Third World Quarterly* 19(3): 435-455.

- VAN NIEUWKERK, Anthoni (1994). Where is the Voice of the People? Public Opinion and Foreign Policy in South Africa, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 1(2): 98-109.
- VAN NIEUWKERK, Anthoni (1998). South Africa's Foreign Policy Mood: Moral Internationalism or Commercial Realism? *Global Dialogue* 3(1): 7-8.
- VAN WYK, Jo-Ansie (1998/99). Parliament and the Foreign Policy Process, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.291-306.
- VAN WYK, Koos (1994). Foreign Policy Options for a New South Africa, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 1(2): 78-97.
- VENTER, Albert (ed.) (1992). *Foreign Policy Issues in a Democratic South Africa*. Johannesburg: Professors World Peace Academy. 215pp. Papers from a Conference of Professors World Peace Academy (South Africa), Sandton, Johannesburg, 20-21 March 1992.
- VENTER, Albert (1997). La politica estera sudafricana, *Relazioni Internazionali* 41: 48-52.
- WHEELER, Tom (1995). *The Executive and the Making of Foreign Policy*, in: Parliaments and Foreign Policy: The International and South African Experience. A Conference Report. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies, pp.13-22. (Special Reports)
- WILLIAMS, Paul (2000). South African Foreign Policy: Getting Critical?, *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 27(1): 73-92.
- YOUNG, Tom (1991). South Africa's Foreign Relations in a Post-Apartheid World, *Rivista di studi politici internazionali* 58(3): 382-390. (also published in: *South Africa International* 1991, 29(4): 236-243).

3.2 Foreign Policy of the African National Congress

- ALDEN, Chris (1993). From Liberation Movement to Political Party: ANC Foreign Policy in Transition, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 1(1): 62-81.
- ELLIS, Stephen (1991). The ANC in Exile, *African Affairs* 90(360): 439-447.
- FOURIE, André (1992). Non-Alignment as a Foreign Policy Orientation of the African National Congress, *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 19(2): 81-98.
- JOHNSTON, Alexander, and Sipho SHEZI (1993). The ANC's Foreign Policy, in: JOHNSTON, Alexander, SHEZI, Sipho, and Gavin BRADSHAW (eds.). *Constitution-Making in the New South Africa*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, pp.169-180. (Studies in Federalism)
- THOMAS, Scott (1996). *The Diplomacy of Liberation. The Foreign Relations of the African National Congress since 1960*. London: I.B. Tauris. xvi, 333p. (International Library of African Studies, 2) (Originally Ph.D., Department of International Relations London School of Economics and Political Science, 1989)
[Reviews: *International Affairs*, 72(4), 1996, pp.857-858 (by Graham Evans); *South African Journal of International Affairs* 4(2), 1997, pp.193-195 (by Chris Alden); *Third World Quarterly*, 18(2), 1997, pp.397-402 (by David Ryall)]

3.3 South Africa in Southern Africa : Regional Co-operation

- ABRAHAM, Garth, and Caroline DE PELET (1997). South Africa and Regional Integration: SACU, SADC and COMESA, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.130-147.
- ALBUQUERQUE MOURÃO, Fernando Augusto (1996). The Brazilian and South African Foreign Policy for Southern Africa, in: Pinheiro S. GUIMARAES (ed.). *South Africa and Brazil. Risks and Opportunities in the Turmoil of Globalization*. Brasilia: International Relations Research Institute, pp.75-91.

- ALY, Ahmad A.H.M (1997). Post-Apartheid South Africa: the Implications for Regional Cooperation in Africa, *Africa Insight* 27(1): 24-31.
- BACH, Daniel C. (1991). L'Afrique du Sud puissance régionale, *Défense nationale* 47(10): 63-74.
- BEAUDET, Pierre (1993). South and Southern Africa into the 1990s, in: Nancy THEDE, and Pierre BEAUDET (eds.). *A Post-Apartheid Southern Africa*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp.142-166. (International Political Economy Series)
- BROWN, Chris (1991). Southern Africa in the Post-Apartheid Era: The Freeing of Domestic Politics, *International Journal* 46(2): 267-290.
- BUTTS, Kent Hughes, and Paul R. THOMAS (1986). *The Geopolitics of Southern Africa: South Africa as Regional Superpower*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 193pp.
[Review: *Orbis* 32(3), 1988, pp.486 (by Michael Radu)]
- CARIM, Xavier (1997). Multilateral Trading, Regional Integration and the Southern African Development Community, *South African Journal of Economic*, 65(3): 334-353.
- CAWTHRA, Gavin (1997). *Sub-regional Security Co-operation: the Southern African Development Community in Comparative Perspective*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. 50pp. (also published in Copenhagen: Copenhagen Peace Research Institute. 60pp. (COPRI Working Papers, 13)
- CHIPASULA, James C. (1993). South Africa and SADCC in the Post-Apartheid Era: Conflict or Cooperation, in: CHIPASULA, James C., and Alifeyo CHILIVUMBO (eds.). *South Africa's Dilemmas in the Post-Apartheid Era*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, pp.155-165.
[Review: *Third World Quarterly*, 15(1), 1994, pp.157-159 (by Sandra J. MacLean)]
- CONAC, Gérard, DREYFUS, Françoise, et José Oscar MONTEIRO (1995). *L'Afrique du Sud en transition: réconciliation et coopération en Afrique australe*. Paris: Economica. (La vie du droit en Afrique)
[Reviews: *Politique africaine* 69, 1998, pp.161-162 (by Michel Cahen)]
- DAVIES, Robert (1991). South Africa Joining the SADCC or SADCC Joining South Africa? Emerging Perspectives on Regional Economic Cooperation after Apartheid, in: VAN NIEUWKERK, Anthoni, and Gary VAN STADEN (eds.). *Southern Africa at the Crossroads: Prospects for the Political Economy of the Region*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, pp. 235-261.
- DAVIES, Robert (1992). *Integration or Cooperation in a Post-Apartheid Southern Africa: Some Reflections on an Emerging Debate*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. 25p. (Southern African Perspectives, 18)
- DIETER, Heribert (1998). *Regionalism in the Age of Globalization: A Comparative Study of Regional Integration Projects in the Asia-Pacific, Southern Africa, and Central Asia*. Paper presented to the Third Pan-European International Relations Conference and Joint Meeting with the International Studies Association, Vienna, 16-19 September.
- DU PISANI, André (1993). Post-Settlement South Africa and the Future of Southern Africa, *Issue* 21(1/2): 60-69.
- FITZGERALD, Patrick (1993). South Africa: Engine of Regional Growth: Regional Perspective in a New Administrative Setting, *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 59(4): 671-684.
- HALBACH, Axel J. (1997). Südafrika: gesuchter Kooperationspartner in einem Geflecht konfliktreicher regionaler Gruppierungen, *Ifo-Schnelldienst* 50(25/26): 24-37.
- HANDLEY, Antoinette (1997). South and Southern Africa, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.18-51.
- HOLLAND, Martin (1995). South Africa, SADC, and the European Union: Matching Bilateral with Regional Policies, *Journal of Modern African Studies* 33(2): 263-283.

- HUGON, Philippe (1997). L'Afrique du Sud et l'intégration régionale à la lumière des théories du nouveau régionalisme, *Afrique contemporaine* 184: 116-125.
- KALENGA, Paul (1999). Trade and Industrial Integration in Southern Africa: Pitfalls and Challenges, *Global Dialogue* 4(3): 22-24.
- KAPPEL, Robert (1998). Regionalmacht Südafrika: das schwierige Erbe der Apartheid, *Jahrbuch Dritte Welt* pp.289-299.
- KEET, Dot (1994). *International Players and Programmes for and Against Economic Integration in Southern Africa*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. 22p. (Southern African Perspectives, 36)
- KELLER, Edmond Joseph, and Louis A. PICARD (eds.) (1989). *South Africa in Southern Africa: Domestic Change and International Conflict*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. vii, 263p.
[Reviews: *Africa Today* 37(2), 1990, pp.101-102 (by David Penna); *African Studies Review* 34(2), 1991, pp.144 (by William Minter)]
- KIBBLE, Steve, GOODISON, Paul, and Balefi TSIE (1995). The Uneasy Triangle: South Africa, Southern Africa and Europe in the Post-Apartheid Era, *International Relations* 12(4): 41-61.
- LAURENCE, Patrick (1994). Mandela's Foreign Policy Starts on SA's Borders, *Southern Africa Report* Aug. 12: 3-4.
- LEISTNER, Gerhard Max Erich (1992). Post-Apartheid South Africa's Economic Ties with Neighbouring Countries, *Development Southern Africa* 9(2): 169-185.
- LEISTNER, Gerhard Max Erich (1994). South Africa and African Economic Integration, *Africa Institute Bulletin* 34(2): 1-3.
- LEISTNER, Gerhard Max Erich (1997). Regional Cooperation in Sub-Saharan Africa, with Special Reference to Southern Africa, *Africa Insight* 27(2): 112-123.
- MAASDORP, Gavin (1992). *Economic Integration in Southern Africa: Prospects for Regional Integration*. London: Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism. 30pp. (Conflict Studies, 253)
- MAASDORP, Gavin (1992). Economic Prospects for South Africa in Southern Africa, *South Africa International* 22(3): 121-127.
- MAASDORP, Gavin; WHITESIDE, Alan (eds.) (1992). *Towards a Post-Apartheid Future: Political & Economic Relations in Southern Africa*. London: Macmillan. xiv, 215pp.
[Review: *International Affairs* 69(1), 1993, pp.170 (by James Barber)]
- MacLEAN, Sandra J. (1999). Peacebuilding and the New Regionalism in Southern Africa, *Third World Quarterly* 20(5): 943-956.
- MAKINDA, Samuel M (1992). South Africa as a Regional Great Power, in: Iver B. NEUMANN (ed.). *Regional Great Powers in International Politics*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp.151-178.
- MEYNS, Peter (1982). Regionale Zusammenarbeit statt wirtschaftlicher Abhängigkeit: Bemühungen der Konferenz zur Koordinierung der Entwicklung im südlichen Afrika (SADCC), *Europa Archiv* 37(10): 307-314.
- MILLS, Greg, and Christopher CLAPHAM (1991). *Southern Africa after Apartheid: Framework for Analysis*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. 10pp. (Southern African Perspectives, 8)
- MULIKITA, Michael N. (1992). *The PTA and Subregional Integration in Eastern and Southern Africa: A Comparative Evaluation*. Konstanz: Hartung Gorre. vi, 432pp. (Konstanzer Schriften zur Aussenwirtschaft, 9)
- MULLER, Marie Eloïse (1992). South Africa and Its Regional Neighbours: Policy Options for Regional Cooperation, in: VENTER, Albert J. (ed.) (1992). *Foreign Policy Issues in a Democratic South Africa*. Johannesburg: Professors World Peace Academy, pp.75-95.

- MWASE, Ngila (1995). Economic Integration for Development in Eastern and Southern Africa: Assessment and Prospects, *The Round Table* 84(336): 477-493.
- NOLUTSHUNGU, Sam Clement (1994). *Southern Africa in a Global Context: Towards a Southern African Security Community*. Harare: Southern Africa Printing & Publishing House. (Occasional Paper Series, 6)
- ODÉN, Bertil (ed.) (1993). *Southern Africa after Apartheid: Regional Integration and External Resources*. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute. 279p. (Seminar Proceedings, 28)
[Reviews: *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 12(2), 1994, pp.237-238 (by Anthoni van Nieuwkerk); *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 33(3), 1995, pp.508-509 (by James J. Hentz); *South African Journal of International Affairs* 2(1), 1994, pp.126-127 (by Anthoni van Nieuwkerk); *Third World Quarterly* 15(1), 1994, pp.157-159 (by Sandra J. MacLean)]
- ODÉN, Bertil et al. (1994). *The South African Tripod: Studies on Economics, Politics and Conflict*. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute. 281p.
- ODÉN, Bertil (1995). *Regionalism in Southern Africa: South Africa - the Benevolent Hegemon?* Paper presented to the 38th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association of the US, Orlando, Florida, 3-6 November.
- ODÉN, Bertil, BØÅS, Morten, and Frederik SÖDERBAUM (1995). *Regionalism in Southern Africa: South Africa, the Benign Hegemon*. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute. 31p. (The Southern Africa Programme, Working Paper, 7)
- ODÉN, Bertil (1996). *Southern Africa Futures: Critical Factors for Regional Development in Southern Africa*. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute. 35p. (Discussion Paper, 7)
- PETERS-BERRIES, Christian, und Michael T. MARX (1997). Regionale Kooperation und Integration im südlichen Afrika (SADC): Chancen und Herausforderungen, *KAS-Auslandsinformationen* 13(11): 64-100.
- PIAZOLO, Marc (1996). Südafrika: Wachstumsmotor des südlichen Afrika?, *Afrika Spectrum* 31(3): 255-275.
- PRENTICE HULL, Adrian (1996). Rational Choice, Security, and Economic Cooperation in Southern Africa, *Africa Today* 43(1): 33-52.
- ROWLANDS, Ian H. (1998). Mapping the Prospects for Regional Co-operation in Southern Africa, *Third World Quarterly* 19(5): 917-934.
- SEWARD, Valerie (1994). *The New South Africa and Its Neighbours: The Challenges of Democratisation*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 31pp. (Wilton Park Papers, 83)
- SIMON, David (ed.) (1998). *South Africa in Southern Africa: Reconfiguring the Region*. London: James Currey. 320pp.
- THABANG THOKA, Brian (1998/99). South and Southern Africa, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.21-55.
- VALE, Peter (1992). *Hoping against Hope: the Prospects for South Africa's Post-Apartheid Regional Policy*. Bellville : University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. (Southern African Perspectives, 14)
- VALE, Peter (1992). Pressure for Change in South and Southern Africa, in: MAASDORP, Gavin, and Alan WHITESIDE (eds.). *Towards a Post-Apartheid: Political & Economic Relations in Southern Africa*. London: Macmillan, pp.187-200.
- VALE, Peter (1992). Seven Ways to Change the Balance of Power in Southern Africa, *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs* 18(1): 78-91.
- VALE, Peter (1993). Reconstructing Regional Dignity: South Africa in Southern Africa, in: Stephen J. STEDMAN (ed.). *South Africa: The Political Economy of Transformation*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp.153-166.

- [Reviews: *Journal of Democracy* 5(4), 1994, pp.176-179 (by Pauline H. Baker); *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 3(1), 1995, pp.128-130.]
- VALE, Peter (1996). *South Africa and Southern Africa: Theories and Practice; Choices or Ritual*. Utrecht: University, Faculty of Arts. 41p.
- VAN NIEUWKERK, Anthoni, and Gary VAN STADEN (eds.) (1991). *Southern Africa at the Crossroads: Prospects for the Political Economy of the Region*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs.
[Review: *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 19(2), 1992, pp.156-159 (by Edward D. Breslin)]
- VAN NIEUWKERK, Anthoni (1994). The Outlook for Regional Foreign Policy under a New Democratic Government, in: John BARRATT et al. (eds.). *The New Regional Foreign Policy of South Africa*. Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economics. (JRP Series, 107)
- VON DER ROPP, Klaus (1995). Die Stabilität der Kap-Republik und die Zusammenarbeit der Staaten des südlichen Afrika, *Aussenpolitik* 46(2): 186-194.
- WEEKS, John (1996). Regional Cooperation and Southern African Development, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22(1): 99-117.
- WEGGORO, Nyamajeje Caleb (1995). *Effects of Regional Economic Integration in Southern Africa and the Role of the Republic of South Africa: A Study of Project Coordination Approach in Industry and Trade SADCC/SADC*. Berlin: Köster. (Schriftenreihe Wirtschaftswissenschaften, 9)
- WEISFELDER, Richard F. (1991). Collective Foreign Policy Decision-Making Within SADCC: Do Regional Objectives Alter National Policies?, *Africa Today* 38(1): 5-17.

3.4 South Africa in the Organisation of African Unity

- DE CONING, Cedric (1997). South Africa and the Organisation of African Unity, 1996, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.148-153.
- LEGUM, Colin (1993). South Africa's Potential Role in the Organisation of African Unity, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 1(1): 17-22.
- SALIM, Salim Ahmed (1994). Towards a New South Africa: the Challenges of Transition to Democracy, in: *International Perspectives: Extracts from Addresses by Thabo Mbeki, Salim Ahmed Salim, J.D. Barroso, Lord Carrington*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, pp.4-11. (Occasional Paper)

3.5 South Africa on the Continent

- ADEDEJI, Adebayo (ed.) (1996). *South Africa and Africa: Within or Apart?* Cape Town: Southern Africa Development Research Institute; London: Zed Books; Ijebu-Ode: African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies. xii, 258p.
[Review: *International Affairs*, 74(1), 1998, pp.236 (by Peter Vale)]
- ADEDEJI, Adebayo (1996). Towards a New African Order with a New South Africa?, in: Adebayo ADEDEJI (ed.). *South Africa and Africa: Within or Apart?* Cape Town: Southern Africa Development Research Institute; London: Zed Books; Ijebu-Ode: African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies, pp.217-236.
- AHWIRENG-OBENG, Fred, and Patrick J. McGOWAN (1998). Partner or Hegemon? South Africa in Africa. Part One, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 16(1): 5-38.
- AICARDI DE SAINT PAUL, Marc (1993). L'Afrique du Sud, géant de l'Afrique?, *Afrique contemporaine* 165: 19-31.

- ASMAL, Kader (1996). South Africa in Africa: A South African Perspective, in: Adebayo ADEDEJI (ed.). *South Africa and Africa: Within or Apart?* Cape Town: Southern Africa Development Research Institute; London: Zed Books; Ijebu-Ode: African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies, pp.29-35.
- BLACK, David R., and Larry Anthony SWATUK (1997). Gazing into the Continental Crystal Ball: Directions and Suggestions for South Africa-Africa Relations, in: Hussein SOLOMON (ed.). *Fairy Godmother, Hegemon or Partner? In Search of a South African Foreign Policy*. Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies. (Monographs, 13)
- BREYTENBACH, Willie J (1994). *Bargaining in North-South Politics: Policy Options for a "New South Africa"*. Stellenbosch: Centre for International and Contemporary Politics. ix, 100pp. (Research Report, 1)
- BREYTENBACH, Willie J (1995). South-North Bargaining: What Role for South Africa?, *Africa Insight* 25(4): 231-235.
- DAVIES, Robert (1992). Economic Growth in a Post-Apartheid South Africa: Its Significance for Relations with other African Countries, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 11(1): 50-71.
- DAVIES, Robert (1996). South Africa's Economic Relations with Africa: Current Patterns and Future Perspectives, in: Adebayo ADEDEJI (ed.). *South Africa and Africa: Within or Apart?* Cape Town: Southern Africa Development Research Institute; London: Zed Books; Ijebu-Ode: African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies, pp.167-192.
- ESTERHUYSE, Pieter, FAIR, Denis, and Gerhard Max Erich LEISTNER (1994). *South Africa in Sub-Equatorial Africa: Economic Interaction*. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa.
- HALBACH, Axel J. (1997). Südafrika in Afrika: Privatkapital überschreitet die Grenzen, *Ifo-Schnelldienst* 50(34/35): 45-57.
- LANDSBERG, Chris; KORNEGAY, Francis (1997). The Western Powers, South Africa and Africa: Burden Sharing, Burden Shift, and Spheres of Influence, *Polis* 4(2). [<http://www.cean.u-bordeaux.fr/polis/vol4n2/arti3.html>]
- MARX, Johan (1995). South African Foreign Policy in the New Era: Priorities in Africa and the Indian Ocean Islands, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 2(2): 1-10.
- MBEKI, Moeletsi, SPICER, Michael Wolseley, and Ann BERNSTEIN (1994). Africa and South Africa: An Interview with Michael Holman, *Development and Democracy* 9: 5-18.
- MBEKI, Moeletsi (1998/99). The African Renaissance, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.209-217.
- McGOWAN, Patrick J., and Fred AHWIRENG-OBENG (1998). Partner or Hegemon? South Africa in Africa. Part Two, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 16(2): 165-195.
- NEVIN, Tom (1997). SA's Business Invades Africa, *African Business* 222: 7-11.
- OWOEYE, Jide (1994). What Can Africa Expect from a Post-Apartheid South Africa?, *Africa Insight* 24(1): 44-46.
- SWATUK, Larry Anthony, and David R. BLACK (1995). *The 'New' South Africa in Africa: Issues and Approaches*. Toronto: York University, Centre for International and Strategic Studies. (Occasional Paper, 30). Paper presented to the Symposium "Of Growth Poles and Backwaters: the New South Africa in Africa", organised by the Centre for International and Strategic Studies, York University, 3-4 November 1994. (also in: *Journal of Third World Spectrum* 1996, 3(1): 67-97).
- SWATUK, Larry Anthony, and David R. BLACK (eds.) (1997). *Bridging the Rift: the New South Africa in Africa*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 288p.
[Reviews: *African Affairs* 97(386), 1998, pp.128-129 (by Anthony Lemon); *International Affairs* 73(4), 1997, pp.828-829 (by Lisa Thompson)]

- VALE, Peter (1992/93). Confusion, conflit et compromis: la politique africaine de l'Afrique du Sud, *Année africaine*, pp.357-391.
- VALE, Peter, and Siphon MASEKO (1998). South Africa and the African Renaissance, *International Affairs* 74(2): 271-287.
- VAN AARDT, Maxi (1996). A Foreign Policy to Die For: South Africa's Response to the Nigerian Crisis, *Africa Insight* 26(2): 107-119.
- VAN NIEUWKERK, Anthoni (1998). *South Africa's Emerging Africa Policy*. Paper presented to the Third Pan-European International Relations Conference and Joint Meeting with the International Studies Association, Vienna, 16-19 September.
- VENEY, Cassandra R., and Richard J. PAYNE (1997). The Abolition of Apartheid and Its Implications for Nigeria, *Journal of Developing Societies* 13(2): 208-225.
- VENTER, Denis (1992). South Africa and Africa: Towards Reconciliation, in: Albert J. VENTER (ed.). *Foreign Policy Issues in a Democratic South Africa*. Johannesburg: Professors World Peace Academy, pp.52-74. (also in: *Année africaine*, 1992/93, pp.393-409).
- VENTER, Denis (1993). *South Africa and the African Comity of Nations: From Isolation to Integration*. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa. 72pp. (Research Paper, 56)
- VENTER, Denis (1997). South Africa and Africa: Relations in a Time of Change, in: CARLSNAES, Walter and Marie Eloise MULLER (eds.). *Change and South African External Relations*. Johannesburg: International Thomson Publishing, pp.73-101.
- VENTER, Denis (1998). South African Foreign Policy in a Time of Change: The African Dimension, *Journal of the Third World Spectrum* 5(2): 1-32.
- VENTER, Denis (1998). "South African Foreign Policy in the African Context", *African Currents: Newsletter of Centre for African Studies University of Mumbai* 15(26): 14-63.
- VENTER, Denis (in print). South African Foreign Policy Decision-Making in the African Context, in: KHADIAGALA, Gilbert M., and Terrence LYONS (eds.). *African Foreign Policy Decision-Making*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. (SAIS African Studies Library)

3.6 South African Security Policy

- AHWIRENG-OBENG, Fred (1998). South Africa, the IOR-ARC and Southern African Co-operation, *African Security Review* 7(3). [<http://www.iss.co.za>]
- BARROW, Greg (1999). Heavy Handed [South African Intervention in Lesotho], *BBC Focus on Africa* 10(1): 11-13.
- BOOTH, Ken, and Peter VALE (1995). Security in Southern Africa: After Apartheid, Beyond Realism, *International Affairs* 71(2): 285-304.
- CAWTHRA, Gavin (1997). Subregional Security: the Southern African Development Community, *Security Dialogue* 28(2): 207-218.
- CAWTHRA, Gavin (1997). Towards an Holistic Approach to Security Management at Regional Security Level, *African Security Review* 6(5): 58-61.
- CAWTHRA, Gavin (1997). *Securing South Africa's Democracy: Defence, Development and Security in Transition*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. 224pp.
- CILLIERS, Jakkie K. (1995). Towards Collaborative and Co-operative Security in Southern Africa: the OAU and SADC, in: CILLIERS, Jakkie K. and Markus REICHARDT (eds.). *About Turn: the Transformation of the South African Military and Intelligence*. Halfway House: Institute for Defence Policy (IDP): 192-220.
[Reviews: *International Peacekeeping*, 3(3), 1996, pp.147-148 (by Chris Alden)]

- CILLIERS, Jakkie K. (1995). Security and Transition in South Africa, *Journal of Democracy* 6(4): 35-49.
- CILLIERS, Jakkie K., and Mark MALAN (1996). From Destabilization to Peace-Keeping in Southern Africa: the Potential Role of South Africa, *Africa Insight* 26(4): 339-346.
- CILLIERS, Jakkie K. and Mark MALAN (1996). *South Africa and Regional Peacekeeping*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies. 9p. (CSIS Africa Notes, 187)
- CILLIERS, Jakkie K., and Mark MALAN (1996). A Regional Peacekeeping Role for South Africa: Pressures, Problems and Prognosis, *African Security Review* 5(3): 21-31.
- CILLIERS, Jakkie K. (1997). The Evolving Security Architecture in (Southern) Africa, in: GUTTERIDGE, William (ed.). *Violence in Southern Africa*. London: Frank Cass, pp.124-135. (Originally a special issue of *Terrorism and Political Violence* 1996, 8(4)).
- CONETTA, Carl, KNIGHT, Charles, and Lutz UNTERSEHER (1997). *Building Confidence Into the Security of Southern Africa*. Cambridge, MA: Commonwealth Institute.
- DE CONING, Cedric (1998). Conditions for Intervention: DRC and Lesotho, *Conflict Trends* 1: 20-23, 31.
- DE CONING, Cedric (1999). South African Blue Helmets in the Democratic Republic of Congo, *Global Dialogue* 4(2): 8-9.
- GARBA, Joseph Nanven, and Jean HERSKOVITS (1997). *Militaries, Democracies, and Security in Southern Africa*. New York, NY: International Peace Academy. 42p.
- GROENEWALD, Evert (1995). National Interests, Regional and International Obligations, in: SHAW, Mark, and Jakkie K. CILLIERS (eds.). *South Africa and Peacekeeping in Africa. Vol. 1*. Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies, pp.37-50.
- GUTTERIDGE, William Frank (1997). *South Africa's Future Defence and Security: Identifying the National Interest*. London: Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism. 24p. (Conflict Studies, 298)
- GUTTERIDGE, William Frank (1992). Prospects for Regional Security in Southern Africa, *South Africa International* 22(3): 128-132.
- GWEXE, Sandile G. (1999). Prospects for African Conflict Resolution in the Next Millennium: South Africa's View, *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 1(1). [<http://www.accord.org.za>]
- HERBST, Jeffrey (1998/99). South Africa and the African Crisis Response Initiative, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.219-226.
- KLEN, Michel (1997). Les nouvelles données de la sécurité en Afrique australe, *Afrique contemporaine* 184: 90-107.
- KRAUSE, Joachim, and Klaus VON DER ROPP (1991). The New South Africa: Security Policy and Political Aspects, *Aussenpolitik* 42(1): 89-99.
- LA MOTTE DE BROÛNS, Foulques de, et Sophie DUMONT (1993). L'Afrique du Sud et son environnement stratégique, *Défense nationale* 49(12): 125-141.
- LANDSBERG, Chris, and Zondi MASIZA (1996). *The Benevolent Giant: Can South Africa Contain the Great Lakes Crisis?* Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies. 28pp. (Policy Issues and Actors, 9(8))
- MALAN, Mark (1997). *SADC and Subregional Security: Unde Venis et Quo Vadis?* Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies. (Monograph Series, 19)
- MALAN, Mark, and Jakkie K. CILLIERS (1997). *SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security: Future Development*. Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies. (Occasional Paper, 19)
- MALAN, Mark (1999). *Renaissance Peacekeeping: A South African Solution to Conflict in the DRC?* Halfway House: Institute for Security Studies. (ISS Paper, 37).

- MILLS, Greg (1995). South Africa and Africa: Regional Integration and Security Co-operation, *African Security Review* 4(2): 2-15.
- MILLS, Greg (1996). South Africa's Future Military Role in Africa, in: William GUTTERIDGE (ed.). *South Africa's Defence and Security Into the 21st Century*. Aldershot: Dartmouth, pp.143-163. (Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism Series)
- MILLS, Greg (1996). South Africa and Peacekeeping, *South African Yearbook of International Affairs*, pp.213-222.
- NATHAN, Laurie, and J. HONWANA (1995). *After the Storm: Common Security and Conflict Resolution Southern Africa*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies; Dar es Salaam: Centre for Foreign Relations. (The Arusha Papers, 3)
- NATHAN, Laurie (1998). A South African Policy Framework on Peace Initiatives in Africa, *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*. [<http://www-jha.sps.cam.ac.uk/a/a575.htm>].
- NATHAN, Laurie (1998). Peace Initiatives in Africa: A Policy Framework for South Africa, *Global Dialogue* 3(1): 27-30.
- NEETHLING, Theo (1997). South African Peace Support in Africa: Challenges and Considerations, *Africa Insight* 27(3): 207-213. (Paper originally prepared for the Second Workshop with Civil Society: Draft Policy Paper on Peace Support Operations, Department of Foreign Affairs, Pretoria, 11 November 1997).
- NEETHLING, Theo (1997). The South African Military and the Agenda for Regional Peace, *The RUSI Journal* 142(5): 51-55.
- NHLAPO, Welile (1999). South Africa's Participation in Peace Missions, *Global Dialogue* 4(1): 26.
- NKIWANE, Solomon M. (1993). *Regional Security and Confidence-Building Processes: the Case of Southern Africa in the 1990s*. New York, NY: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research. (UNIDIR Research Paper, 16)
- O'BRIEN, Kevin A. (1996). Regional Security in Southern Africa: South Africa's National Perspective, *International Peacekeeping* 3(3): 52-76.
- OHLSON, Thomas, and Stephen John STEDMAN (1993). Security in Post-Apartheid Southern Africa, *Security Dialogue* 24(4): 415-428.
- POTGIETER, H.A.P. (1995). South African Assistance in UNOMOZ and UNAVEM, in: CILLIERS, Jakkie K., and Greg MILLS (eds.). *Peacekeeping in Africa. Vol. 2*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs; Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies, pp.231-239.
- ROSSOUW, Braam (1998). A South African Perspective on the Place of Peace Support Operations Within Broader Peace Missions, *African Security Review* 7(1): 36-43.
- SCHUTTE, Charl, and Jakkie K. CILLIERS (1995). Public Opinion Regarding the South African Defence Industry, South African Participation in Peacekeeping and Women in the Security Services, *African Security Review* 4(4): 47-54.
- SCHUTZ, Barry Mayer (1995). *Neighborhood Watch: Regional Efforts at Conflict Mitigation and Peace-Keeping in Southern Africa*. Paper presented at the 38. Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (US), Orlando, Florida, 3-6 November. 19p.
- SEEGERS, Annette (1995). *International Relations in South Africa: Strategic Studies*. Paper presented at the South African Political Studies Association Conference, University of Stellenbosch, 27-29. September. 16p.
- SEERY, Brendan (1995). Africa's Reluctant New Policeman Twirls His Truncheon: the Lesotho Experience and South Africa's Role in Peacekeeping, in: SHAW, Mark, and Jakkie K. CILLIERS (eds.). *South Africa and Peacekeeping in Africa. Vol. 1*. Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies, pp.87-97.

- SHAW, Mark, and Jakkie K. CILLIERS (eds.) (1995). *South Africa and Peacekeeping in Africa. Vol. 1*. Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies. viii, 152pp.
- SOLOMON, Hussein, and Jakkie K. CILLIERS (1997). Southern Africa and the Quest for Collective Security, *Security Dialogue* 28(2): 191-205.
- SPANGER, Hans-Joachim, and Peter VALE (eds.) (1995). *Bridges to the Future: Prospects for Peace and Security in Southern Africa*. Boulder, CO: Westview. xviii, 195pp.
[Reviews: *International Affairs*, 72(3), 1996, pp.630-631 (by Keith Somerville); *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 16(1), 1998, pp.141-144 (by Mervyn Frost); *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 20(1), 1997, pp.117-120 (by Joshua B. Rubongoya)]
- STEYN, Pierre (1998). South Africa and Peace Support Operations: Limitations, Options and Challenges, *African Security Review* 7(1): 26-36.
- SWATUK, Larry Anthony, and Abillah H. OMARI (1997). *Regional Security: Southern Africa's Mobile "Front Line"*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape, Centre for Southern African Studies. 32pp. (Southern African Perspectives, 61)
- THIART, George (1997). Africa's Eagle of Hope Has Landed, *Salut* 4(6): 12-17.
- TJØNNELAND, Elling Njål, and Tom VRAALSEN (1996). Towards Common Security in Southern Africa: Regional Cooperation after Apartheid, in: Adebayo ADEDEJI (ed.). *South Africa and Africa: Within or Apart?* Cape Town: Southern Africa Development Research Institute; London: Zed Books; Ijebu-Ode: African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies, pp.193-214.
- TSIE, Balefi (1998). Regional Security in Southern Africa, *Global Dialogue* 3(3): 8-10.
- VALE, Peter (1991). The Case for a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Southern Africa (CSCSA), in: VAN NIEUWKERK, Anthoni, and Gary VAN STADEN (eds.). *Southern Africa at the Crossroads: Prospects for the Political Economy of the Region*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, pp.148-153.
- VALE, Peter (1991). The Search for Southern Africa's Security, *International Affairs* 67(4): 697-708.
- VALE, Peter (1993). Southern Africa's Security: Something Old, Something New, *South Africa Defence Review* 9: 28-37.
- VALE, Peter (1996). Regional Security in Southern Africa, *Alternatives* 21(3): 363-391.
- VAN AARDT, Maxi (1997). The SADC Organ for Politics, Defence and Security: Challenges for Regional Community Building, *South African Journal of International Affairs* 4(2): 144-164.
- VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, Janis (1995). Can the Giant Be Gentle? Peacemaking as South African Foreign Policy, *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 22(2): 72-85.
- VAN NIEUWKERK, Anthoni (1999). Promoting Peace and Security in Southern Africa: Is SADC the Appropriate Vehicle?, *Global Dialogue* 4(3): 1-2.
- VENTER, Denis (1996). Regional Security in Southern Africa in the Post-Cold War Era, in KELLER, Edmond J., and Donald ROTHCHILD (eds.). *Africa in the New International Order: Rethinking State Sovereignty and Regional Security*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, pp.134-148.
- VENTER, Denis (1996). Regional Security in Sub-Saharan Africa, *Africa Insight* 26(2): 162-176.
- VENTER, Denis (1997). South Africa and Regional Security in Southern Africa, *Indian Journal of African Studies* 8(1/2): 53-88.
- VENTER, Denis (1997). Regional Security in Sub-Saharan Africa: what Role for South Africa, *African Journal on Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution* 1(1): 23-51.
- VENTER, Denis (in print). South Africa and Southern Africa: Towards the Institutionalization of Regional Security, in: BRAUER, Jürgen, and Keith HARTLEY (eds.). *The Economics of Regional Security: NATO, the Mediterranean, Southern Africa*. Reading: Harwood Academic Press.

WILLIAMS, Rocklyn Mark (1997). *Don't Hold the African Crisis Response Force Hostage to Unrealistic Demands*. Halfway House: Institute for Strategic Studies. 3p. (Occasional Paper, 20)