Africa, South Africa
And the New Global Hegemony

L’Afrique, l’Afrique du Sud
et la nouvelle hégémonie mondiale

Bibliography / Bibliographie
Introduction

Within the framework of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed between the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), the two organizations envisage a collaborative multi-year research project on “Africa, South Africa and the rest of the world”.

In this framework, the CODESRIA Documentation and Information Centre (CODICE) has compiled this bibliography for the researchers involved in this activity.

Various sources of bibliographic data have been used among which the CODESRIA data base.

Classified alphabetically by author, the selected references are either in French or in English on the topics of “Africa, South Africa and the New Global Hegemony”.

We hope that this bibliography will be useful, and suggestions for its improvement are welcome.

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1. ADEDEJI, Adebayo, Ed.
South Africa & Africa: within or apart?

2. ADESINA, Jimi O.; GERAHAM, Yao; OLUKOSHI, Adebayo, Ed.
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5. AICARDI DE SAINT-PAUL, Marc
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6. ALDEN, Chris
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8. ANYANG' NYONG'O, Peter  
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9. ASKIN, Steve  
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14. BARBER, James  
South Africa: The Search for Identity  

Abstract: With South Africa first non-racial elections due to take place in April 1994, the momentum of change in the country is undeniable. Much less clear is the course that change will take and the pattern of political and social organization that will take shape. Focusing on the question whether a common national identity can be constructed, or whether separate identities will prevail, and emphasizing the conflicting forces at work within as well as between the major groupings in the country, James Barber examines some possible outcomes under the headings of nationalism, federalism and liberalism.
15. BERNSTEIN, Ann
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23. BOND, Patrick
Talk Left, Walk Right: South Africa's Frustrated Global Reforms
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24. BOOTH, Ken; VALE, Peter
Security in Southern Africa: After Apartheid, beyond Realism

Abstract: In new and challenging ways, southern Africa is faced by the choice between two geopolitical courses, characterized by distinctive understandings of the future of interstate relations and unique appreciations of the region's security problematic. The traditional policy homework of realism is based on responding to circumstances and events by rote rather than asking the difficult order questions-the kind of questions that create alternative interpretations of 'reality' and consequently new policy outcomes. We will argue that looking at security through eyes is of particular importance in southern Africa, since changing times have opened promising avenues for attending to this historically tragic region's immediate and future security needs. Without a new and critical security discourse the bloody contacts of the region's past may yet return to mar its future.

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South Africa's foreign policy: dilemmas of a new democracy

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The Security-Development Nexus: Expressions of Sovereignty and Securitization in Southern Africa

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Anatomy of South Africa: who holds the power?
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30. CARMODY, Padraig
Between Globalisation and (Post) Apartheid: The Political Economy of Restructuring in South Africa

Abstract: Whereas most countries in Southern Africa have experienced globalisation as externally imposed, in South Africa it has been largely internally generated by the state and the major business groups that dominate the economy. This paper examines the political economy of restructuring in South Africa, focusing particularly on the statist and capitalist logics of globalisation, and how they intersect. It explains how the South African state is trying to negotiate globalisation, and why major South African conglomerates have moved their headquarters to Britain. The impacts on employment and economic diversification of increasing globalisation from the 'outside in' are explored. As a result of the restructuring of globalisation, the South African state is increasingly characterised by 'negative autonomy' from domestic social forces and indebtedness with transnational capital, which undermine the potential for a national developmental project. South Africa's experience has important implications for globalisation theory, which can inform praxis. The article concludes by suggesting ways the political economy might be progressively restructured.

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40. DOUWES DEKKER, Loet; VAN LINGEN, June
Ensuring more than just survival: roles for federations of unions and federation of employers

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Civil Society Theory and the Politics of Transition in South Africa

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_Capital and Class._ 1996, p.19-31

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49. GARBA, Joseph Nanven; HERSKOVITS, Jean
Militaries, Democracies, and Security in Southern Africa

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Penetrating state and business: organised crime in Southern Africa. - Vol. two

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Instability and Conflict in South Africa: South Africa's Role in Regional Security

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52. GIBB, Richard
Southern Africa in Transition: Prospects and Problems Facing Regional Integration
Richard Gibb

53. GIBB, Richard
Globalisation and Africa's Economic Recovery: A Case Study of the European Union-South
Africa Post-Apartheid Trading Regime

Abstract: The European Union-South Africa Trade, Development and Cooperation Agreement, signed in
October 1999, is an important symbol of South Africa's formal reintegration into the world economy after many
years of debilitating isolation. However, the negotiations to establish the most important component of this
Agreement, the free trade area, were protracted and acrimonious. This article examines the key issues at the heart
of these negotiations. A central contention of the paper is that the multilateral regulatory environment governing
the world economy had a determining over the content and character of this Agreement and, in so doing, acted to
reinforce a profoundly unfair trading relationship. This case study is a microcosm of events taking place on a
larger scale, with many African states being integrated into the global economy on unequal and disadvantageous
terms.
54. GIBSON, Nigel C.
Challenging Hegemony: Social Movements and the Quest for a New Humanism in Post-Apartheid South Africa
ISBN-10: 1592213901

Editorial Reviews: Challenging Hegemony: Social Movements, and the Quest for a New Humanism in Post-Apartheid South Africa is a collection of essays by leading social movement activists and scholars that analyzes the emergence of new political struggles in post apartheid South Africa. The volume reflects on the mushrooming of new movements that represent what Frantz Fanon called the untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute: a quest for a new humanism which is manifested in the movements most simple and basic of demands for land, housing, and medicine. A central problem addressed in the volume is how the challenge to hegemony can possibly be connected to the quest for a new humanism (or a true humanity in Steve Bikos words). The essays investigate how new movements (including organized social forums as well as local movements) are not only challenging neo-liberal capitalist globalization, but also attempting to articulate alternatives and raise the question of what it means to be human. Whether reconnecting electricity, or struggling for housing or for HIV/AIDS anti-virals, the movements are a challenge, in the most human of ways, to the mantra that there is no alternative to capitalist globalization. This collection of essays edited by Nigel Gibson brings together some of the most outstanding intellectuals writing on the rise of social movements in South Africa. The writers whose work is collected in this volume include the cutting edge of intellectuals who have shown tremendous courage in their quest to be not only commentators but activists in this emerging anti neo-liberal movement. There is something valuable in every page of this collection and those interested in thoughtful and provocative analyses of the South Africa transition will be well served. Out of the dystopia of apartheid followed by neo-liberal South Africa emerges the story told in these pages of an incredible resurgence of resistance. Ashwin Desai, author, author of We are the Poors: Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa

55. GINSBURG, David; WEBSTER, Eddie; SOUTHALL, Roger; WOOD, Geoffa, UHLUNGU, Sakhele; MAREE, Johann; CHERRY, Janet; HAINES, Richard; KLERCK, Gilton

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56. GLASER, Daryl
South Africa and the Limits of Civil Society

Abstract: This paper provides a critical commentary on the civil society debate conducted in sectors of the South African liberation movement, especially amongst those associated with township civil associations, in the early 1990s. The first part of the paper establishes the historical context of the civil society debate, sketching the evolution of the civics and the arrival of civil society 'talk' in the political camp broadly aligned to the African National Congress (ANC). The larger part of the paper is an excursion into political theory. It welcomes recognition of the democratic value of an autonomous civil realm by a more whose historical allegiances and practices are far from consistently democratic. Nevertheless, the paper calls into question some noteworthy formulations of the case for civil society made by intellectuals and activists linked to the civics, arguing that these are problematic for the projects both of creating a more socially egalitarian society and of setting in place a post-apartheid democracy that is liberty protectise and inclusive. The paper offers elements of an alternative way of conceptualising an ideal civil society. It concludes with some brief reflections on the state of play regarding state and civil society in South Africa in the period since the 1994 free elections.
57. GLICKMAN, Harvey, Ed.
Toward peace and security in Southern Africa

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Eglises, Movements Sociaux et Changements Sociaux en Afrique du Sud

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59. GRIGGS, Richard A.
The security costs of party-political boundary demarcations: The case of South Africa

/SOUTH AFRICA/ /BOUNDARIES/ /APARTEID/ /CONFLICTS/ /COSTS/ /DISPUTE SETTLEMENT/ /HOMELANDS/ /POST-APARTEID/

60. GRUNDY, Kenneth W.
Intermediary Power and Global Dependency: The Case of South Africa
Kenneth W. Grundy

Abstract: Utilizing data on South Africa, the author seeks to demonstrate the ambiguities and policy alternatives confronting intermediary states in the context of global politics and economics. A dependency model of international relations between industrial states and the less-developed countries is sketched. This model is founded on the linkage between the distribution of power and wealth internationally and similar distributions within states. Hence, the product is a core-periphery model that takes further note of center-fringe relationships in intrastate and interstate terms. But within the total picture are intermediary actors that serve as agents of the Core states at the same time that they seek to inflate their own influence within the system. Such an intermediary status could, conceivably, provide a center of a periphery state with the maneuverability to assert its power regionally and potentially to challenge a weakened Core state. Settler-colonial regimes, for reasons discussed herein, are inclined to search out interstices in the total system. Finally, the foreign policy behavior of the center forces in South Africa are analyzed in these terms. It is concluded that by conscious governmental policy, a symbiotic and competitive relationship between South Africa and the capitalist Core states has evolved that is transitional in character and eventually difficult to analyze in terms of who dominates whom. This, in itself, is confirmation of the existence of an important intermediary status in dependency relationships.

61. GUTTERIDGE, William, Ed.
South Africa's defence and security into the 21st century

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62. GWARADZIMBA, Fadzai

63. HABER, Deborah L.
The Death of Hegemony: Why "Pax Nipponica" Is Impossible

64. HANSEN, Blom Thomas; STEPPUTAT, Finn
States of Imagination: Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State
ISBN: 0822328011

65. HEARN, Julie
Aiding Democracy? Donors and Civil Society in South Africa

Abstract: During the 1990s the North has increasingly used a new tool, political aid, to influence its relations with the South. More commonly known as 'democracy assistance', political aid is targeted at governmental structures such as parliament, the judiciary and local government, as well as civil society organisations, with the aim of strengthening the institutions and culture of liberal democracy. However, despite its increasing deployment, the shape and extent of foreign political aid in individual countries in the South remain largely undocumented. This article shows the importance of political aid in South Africa since the pivotal elections of 1994. It then critically examines the role assigned to civil society by donors within the 'democratisation' process. Unlike most writers on the new political aid regime, who are often both its chroniclers and mandarins, this author questions the emancipatory potential of the kind of democracy being 'helped along' by democracy assistance.

66. HERBST, Jeffrey
Racial Reconciliation in Southern Africa

67. HERWITZ, Daniel
Race and Reconciliation: Essays from the New South Africa
ISBN-10: 0816641072

Editorial Reviews: Justice, truth, and identity; race, society, and law—all come into dramatic play as South Africa makes the tumultuous transition to a post-apartheid democracy. Seeking the timeless through the timely and trying to find the deeper meaning in the sweep of events, Daniel Herwitz brings the vast resources of the philosophical essay to bear on the new realities of post-apartheid South Africa—from racial identity to truth commissions, from architecture to film and television. A public intellectual's reflections on public life, Herwitz's essays question how the new South Africa has constructed its concepts of reconciliation and return and how its historical emergence has meant a rethinking, reimagining, reexperiencing, relabeling, and repoliticizing of race. Herwitz's purpose is to give a philosophical reading of society—a society already relying on implicitly philosophical concepts in its social and political agendas. Working through these concepts, testing their relevance for reading society, his book itself becomes a part of the politics of definition and description in the new South Africa.
68. HILLS, Alice
Policing Africa: internal security and the limits of liberalization

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South Africa, SADC, and the European Union: Matching Bilateral with Regional Policies

70. HOUSTON, Gregory F.
Public participation in democratic governance in South Africa
ISBN: 0796919836

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Rational Choice, Security and Economic Cooperation in Southern Africa


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The killings in South Africa: the role of the security forces & the response of the state

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South Africa: The Election and the Transition Process: Five Contradictions in Search of a Resolution

76. JOHNSTON, Alexander; SHEZI, Sipho; BRADSHAW, Gavin, Ed.
Constitution-Making in the New South Africa

77. JUDSON, Fred
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Towards a new partnership with Africa: Challenges and opportunities

79. KHUMALO, Bongi
The Daunting task of Integrating Hostele Forces

80. KONINGS, Piet
China and Africa in the Era of Neo-liberal Globalisation

81. KOTZE, Hennie; DU TOIT, Pierre
The State, Civil Society, and Democratic Transition in South Africa: A Survey of Elite Attitudes

**Abstract:** The presence of civil society is widely recognized as a crucially important component of the foundation of stable democracy. Divided societies can be expected to be lacking in this attribute. Yet claims have been made for the existence of a civil society in South Africa, which is usually typified as a leading example of a deeply divided society. The importance of this claim for the consolidation of democracy lies in the fact that negotiators were able to converge on a new set of constitutional rules of the game, to hold a founding election, and to establish a Government of National Unity to replace the apartheid state and regime. The question is whether these steps toward securing democracy after apartheid are buttressed by the presence of a civil society or are taken in its absence. If the latter applies, then the immediate task of the new government will have to be both to democratize the state and regime and to civlize society. This article addresses this question by reporting on data that bear on the attitudes of elites to the state and to a wide variety of civic bodies in South Africa.
82. KUPERUS, Tracy
Building Democracy: An Examination of Religious Associations in South Africa and Zimbabwe

Abstract: This paper explores the dynamics of regime change in South Africa and Zimbabwe through an examination of civil society's role, but more particularly mainline Christian religious associations, in democratising and consolidating democracy. After surveying state-civil society debates, an analysis of the nature and purpose of civil society in these two countries is undertaken. In both countries, a vibrant, diverse civil society exists that builds or strengthens democratic possibilities; however, Zimbabwean civil society is weaker for reasons that include regime type, the particularities of the liberation struggle, and constitutional limitations. The paper concludes with prescriptions for strengthening civil society in South Africa based on lessons learned from Zimbabwe.

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The "Transformation" of the South African Military

84. LANEGRAN, Kimberly
South Africa's Civic Association Movement: ANC's Ally or Society's Watchdog"? Shifting Social Movement-Political Party Relations

85. LANDSBERG, Chris, MACKAY, Shaun
Southern Africa post-apartheid?: the search for democratic governance
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South Africa in the Contemporary World: An Historical Review: How South Africa Looks in the African and International Context after 25 Years of Apartheid

88. LEISTNER, Erich
The Role of South African Engineering in African Development
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89. LEGGETT, Ted
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Intergovernmental relations in South Africa: the challenges of co-operative government
ISBN: 1919798293

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Economic Realities in Southern Africa or one Hundred Million Futures

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Economic Realities and Prospects for Trade, Investment and Growth in Southern Africa
Africa Insight. Vol. 24, N°. 4, 1994, p.245-249
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China-Africa Relations in the Post-Cold War Era: Dialectics of Rethinking South-South Dialogue
*CODESRIA Bulletin*. No. 1/2, 2007, p. 8-16

97. MACLEAN, Sandra J.
Peacebuilding and the New Regionalism in Southern Africa

Abstract: This paper investigates the complexities of establishing sustainable peacebuilding strategies in southern Africa within 'new' security/'new ' regionalism contexts. Building peace requires initiatives based upon longer-term developmental, political, economic and social objectives. If peacebuilding is to fill its potential for the advancement of 'human' security in Southern Africa, these criteria will best be met through regional solutions. Yet, the new regionalism is multi-dimensional and the various regionalist forces are not necessarily compatible. Although national governments have made some efforts toward the development of a regional security complex, strong statistic and realist tendencies persist at official levels and regionalist pressures within civil societies as well as by external actors tend to be mixed and often contradictory. Apart from a widespread recognition in South Africa of the need to give a bottom-up perspective on the question 'who is security all about?', there has been a growing recognition throughout the region as a whole of the desirability of a regional dimension to the security referent.'

98. MACDONALD, Michael
Power Politics in the New South Africa

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Beyond retribution: prospects for restorative justice in South Africa

100. MAHARAJ, Gitanjali
Between unity and diversity: essays on nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa
ISBN: 187486490X

101. MALAN, Magnus
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102. MALAN, Mark
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103. MAMDANI, Mahmood
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104. MAMDANI, Mahmood
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105. MAMDANI, Mahmood
Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War and the Roots of Terror

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ISBN: 2-86978-051-6

106. MANDELA, Nelson
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_Développement et Progrès Socio-Economique_. N°. 54, Avril-Juin 1992, p.5-8
107. MANDELA, Nelson  
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*Development and Socio-Economic Progress*. N°. 54, April-June 1992, p.5-8

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108. MANGU, André Mbata, éd.  
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109. MARAIS, Hein  
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110. MARTIN, William G.  
The Future of Southern Africa: What Prospects after Majority Rule?  

111. MARX, Anthony W.  
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113. MASUKU, Sibusiso, MAEPA, Traggy  
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114. MAUSSE, Miguel A.; NINA, Daniel  
Child Soldiers in Southern Africa  
Halfway House: Institute for Security Studies, April 1999.- 87p

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116. MBUENDE, Kaire
Social Movements and the Demise of Apartheid Colonialism in Namibia

117. MHONE, Guy; EDIGHEJI, Omano
Governance in the new South Africa: the challenges of globalisation
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118. MKANDAWIRE, Thandika; OLUKOSHI, Adebayo, Ed.
Between Liberalisation, and Oppression: The Politics of Structural Adjustment in Africa

119. MKANDAWIRE, Thandika; SOLUDO, Charles C.
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120. MOLLER, Valerie; MTHEMBU, Theresa; RICHARDS, Robin
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122. MOYO, Sam; O’KEEFE, Philip; STILL, Michael
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ISBN-10: 1842774255

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125. MUNSLOW, Barry; FITZGERALD, Patrick
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126. MUTHIEN, Yvonne G.; KHOSA, Meshack M.; MAGUBANE, Bernard Makhosezwe
Democracy and governance review: Mandela's legacy 1994-1999

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127. MWASE, Ngila
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128. NASSON, Bill
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129. NEL, Philip; MCGOWAN, Patrick J., d
Power, Wealth and Global Order: an International Relations Textbook for Africa


130. NIEHAUS, Isak Arnold
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131. NIEKERK, Dewald van; JONKER, Alan
Governance, politics and policy in South Africa
ISBN: 0195718534

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132. NKIWANE, Tandeka C.
Contested regionalism: Southern and Central Africa in the post-apartheid era.

/CENTRAL AFRICA/ /SOUTHERN AFRICA/ /SOUTH AFRICA/ /POST-APARTHEID/ /POLITICAL PROBLEMS/ /SECURITY/ /BORDER DISPUTES/ /FOREIGN POLICY/ /CONFLICTS/

133. NOLAN, Brian
Poverty, Inequality and Reconstruction in South Africa / NOLAN, Brian

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134. NYERERE, Julis
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135. NYIRABU, Mohabe
South Africa versus Southern African Development Coordination Conference / NYIRABU, Mohabe

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136. OLUKOSHI, Adebayo; WOHLGEMUTH, Lennart; KIFLE, Henock, Ed.
A New Partnership for African Development: Issues and Parameters

137. OLUKOSHI, Adebayo; WOHLGEMUTH, Lennart; KAYIZZI-MUGERWA, Steve, Ed.
Towards a New Partnership with Africa: Challenges and Opportunities

138. OOSTHUIZEN, Gerhardus C.
The Healer-Prophet in Afro-Christian Churches

139. OOSTHUIZEN, G.C.
Research Unit for the Study of New Religious Movements and Independent Churches (NERMIC)

140. ORKIN, Mark
Building Democracy in the New South Africa: Civil Society, Citizenship and Political Ideology

Abstract: This consideration of the task of building a 'non-racial, non-sexist democracy' in South Africa combines historical experience, political theory and survey results to which an organisational participation, democratic commitment, party allegiance and a sense of citizenship exist together in forms able to support a process of democratisation. In consequence, the author suggests that there are serious hazards inherent in either the liberal or Gramscian models of democratic development. On the one hand, Gramsci's idea of a 'regulated society' in which the state progressively recedes in favour of an increasingly complex and articulated civil society makes too little provision for those elements of civil society that remain neutral or even hostile towards the prevailing political order. On the other hand, liberal democracy, in its various forms, is inherently elitist, depoliticised and fundamentally alienated. The survey findings confirm that both these problems are fundamental to South Africa's new political society.

As an alternative, the article proposes a strategy drawn from recent work on Latin America - a 'politicised civil society' which will link the concerns of individual citizens more closely to the more formal processes of state and party politics. ROAPE considers this argument to be important beyond South Africa's borders and hopes that this article will initiate a discussion on the problems of extending democracy in Africa far beyond the parliamentary circulation of elites where it is presently confined.
141. OSAGHAE, Eghosa E., Ed.
Between State and Civil Society in Africa: Perspectives on Development
ISBN: 2-86979-020-6

STATE/ SOCIETY/ NATIONALS/ ECONOMIC RECESSION/ STRUCTURAL
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The Post-Apartheid Super-State in South Africa: Implications for Regional Stability and
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143. OWOEYE, Jide
What can Africa Expect from a Post-Apartheid South Africa?

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144. PADAYACHEE, Vishou
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145. PICARD, Louis A.
The state of the state: institutional transformation, capacity and political change in South
Africa
ISBN: 1868144194

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146. PIETERSE, E. A.; SIMONE, A. M.
Governance & development: a critical analysis of community based organisations in the
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147. PILLAY, Udesh; ROBERTS, Benjamin; RULE, Stephen
South African social attitudes: changing times, diverse voices
ISBN: 0796921172


148. PITSWANE, Johnny
Namibia and South Africa: Towards Cooperation and Peaceful Coexistence
Africa Insight. Vol. 24, No. 1, 1994, p.72-74

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149. PRICE, Robert M.
Security versus Growth: The International Factor in South African Policy

Abstract: A key feature of South Africa's political dynamics is the linkage between its domestic affairs and its international relations. South Africa's access to international markets for vital capital and technology is threatened by the nature of its domestic socioeconomic and political systems. In its efforts to maintain white rule, the South African government has, over the past 25 years, sought to deal with this threat by uncoupling its domestic affairs from its foreign economic relations. The methods utilized to attempt this have varied. Pretoria has altered its domestic socio-political arrangements in ways that it believed, and hoped, would make South Africa more acceptable internationally. It has fashioned its foreign policy so as to attempt to reduce the international consequences of its stigma of racial rule. It has sought to reduce its vital dependence on the international economic system through policies that would increase the autonomy of the South African economy. And, most recently, it has sought to diversify its foreign sources of capital and its trading partners toward countries whose governments and firms are likely to be less sensitive about South Africa's system of white supremacy.

150. RAUCH, Janine
Crime prevention and morality: the campaign for moral regeneration in South Africa

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151. REICHARDT, Manfred
The Budgetary Limits to Borrowing for Development in South Africa

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152. REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, Pretoria
A nation in the making: a discussion document on macrosocial trends in South Africa


153. REYNOLDS, Andrew
Electoral Systems and Democratization in Southern Africa

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154. ROWLANDS, Ian H.
Mapping the Prospects for Regional Co-operation in Southern Africa

Abstract: This article examines the prospects for regional co-operation in southern Africa. It does this by ‘mapping’ southern Africa--that is, by revealing the extent to which Jive key preconditions for effective and sustainable cooperation are present. These Jive preconditions-each of whose inclusion is justified in the article-re: the distribution of power, sufficient homogeneity, and adequate regional orientation at economic, political and socio cultural levels. In light of each, the southern African region is explored, to determine the extent to which the precondition is satisfied in this part of the world. Finally, the article advances two key policy-related conclusions. The first is that regional co-operation among the 14 southern African countries will not come easily. The second is that co-operative arrangements that go up the spine of southern Africa appear more likely to yield success than those that cut across the region.

Urban Governance around the World

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156. RULE, Stephen P.
Regionalism and the Political Allegiances of Black South Africans

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157. SACHIKONYE, Lloyd
Structural Adjustment and the Working Class in Southern Africa

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158. SACHIKONYE, Lloyd
The Environment Crisis and Emerging Social Movements

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159. SACHIKONYE, Lloyd
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160. SACHIKONYE, Lloyd
About Adjustment, Social Movements and Development Discourse


161. SAUL, John S.
The Next Liberation Struggle: Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy in South Africa
ISBN-10: 1583671250

Editorial Reviews: The end of apartheid in South Africa has been widely viewed as the end of an era of African history. The Next Liberation Struggle is an indispensible guide to understanding how the resources of that era can be used to contribute to real liberation for the region and for the continent of Africa as a whole. The Next Liberation Struggle integrates the concrete observations of a seasoned observer and participant in southern African liberation struggles with analysis of and reflection on the large question of the place of southern Africa within the global capitalist order and its capacities to contribute toward remaking that global order. It examines specific national developments in South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, and Tanzania. At the same time, it shows throughout how the problems of each national context are linked by a common location in the global order, and argues for a collective regional response. For the past four decades John S. Saul has been among the foremost radical analysts of the struggle for liberation in southern Africa. This volume brings together his recent writings on the region in the aftermath of the decade of globalization.

162. SAYED, Yusuf
Democratising Educational Governance in South Africa: Policy, Problems and Projects

/EDUCATIONAL POLICY//EDUCATIONAL NEEDS//EDUCATIONAL REFORMS//DEMOCRACY//RACIAL CONFLICTS//EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS//SOUTH AFRICA/

163. SCHIFF, Maurice; WINTERS, L. Alan
Dynamics and Politics in Regional Integration Arrangements: An Introduction
Abstract: Overwhelming evidence links openness and economic growth. In recent years many developing countries have attempted to liberalize their trade and investment regimes, mostly through autonomous unilateral liberalization. At the same time, a growing number of governments have begun to explore and participate in regional trading agreements. The agreements grant reciprocal trade preferences to participating countries, resulting in discrimination against nonmembers.

The causes and consequences of regional integration have given rise to an extensive and vigorous debate among both scholars and policymakers. However, the quality of this debate has been seriously hampered by the absence of clear analytical models and empirical evidence on many of the factors under discussion. Few of the recent arguments in favor of regional integration arrangements have been satisfactorily formalized or tested. To address some of these issues, a World Bank research program focuses on new and developing country aspects of regionalism. The program explores lacunae in the traditional static analysis of regional integration arrangements; addresses the dynamic effects of integration, the economics of deep integration, and the politics and political economy of regional integration arrangements; and compares regionalism with multilateralism. The articles in this symposium address the topics of dynamics, politics, and political economy in regional integration agreements.

164. SCHÖNTEICH, Martin
Private muscle: outsourcing the provision of criminal justice services

165. SEEGER, Annette
South Africa's National Security Management System, 1972-90

166. SEJANAMANE, Mafa, Ed.
From Destabilisation to Regional Cooperation in Southern Africa

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168. SHAW, Timothy M.
The International Politics of Southern Africa: Change or Continue?

169. SHAW, Timothy M.
Southern Africa: Co-Operation and Conflict in an International Sub-System
Timothy M. Shaw

170. SHAW, Timothy M.
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A Rather Hurried Transition in South Africa: Are there parallels with "Zimbabwe. Rhodesia".

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177. SOLOMON, Hussein, Ed.
Fairy Godmother, Hegemon or Partner? In Search of a South African Foreign Policy

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178. SOUTHALL, Roger
The New South Africa in the New World Order: Beyond the Double Whammy

179. SOUTHALL, Roger; BUHLUNGU, Sakhela; DANIEL, John; LUTCHMAN, Jessica, Ed.
State of the Nation: South Africa

180. Southern Africa


181. SPENCE, J.E., Ed.
Change in South Africa

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182. STEENKAMP, Anton J.

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184. STROM, Gabrielle Winai
Development and dependence in Lesotho: the enclave of South Africa

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185. SUNSERI, Thaddens
Labour Migration in Colonial Tanzania and the Hegemony of South African Historiography
_African Affairs_. Vol.95, N°.381, 1996, October, p.581 - 598

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186. TAYLOR, Ian
Nepad: toward Africa's development or another false start?
ISBN: 1588263517

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187. THALE, Thomas

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188. THOMAS, Linda E.
African Indigenous Churches as a source of socio-political transformation in South Africa
_Africa today_. Vol.41, N°.1, 1994, p.39-56

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189. THOMPSON, Kenneth W., Ed.
The U.S. Constitution and Constitutionalism in Africa

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190. TOASE, Francis H.; YORKE, Edmond J.
The new South Africa: prospects for domestic and international security

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191. TORDOFF, William  
Government and Politics in Africa. - 2nd Ed.  

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192. TSHEHLA, Boyane  
Traditional justice in practice: a Limpopo case study  

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193. TURNER, H.W.  
The Place of Independent Religious Movements in the Modernization of Africa  

194. VALE, Peter  
The Search for Southern Africa's Security  

Abstract: Peter Vale argues that for all the elation about negotiating a democratic South African state, there is much unfinished business to settle with the de Klerk regime.  
South Africa has used its regional policy to bolster apartheid and to dominate Southern Africa since the late 1970s, and for all the apparent change, the New Diplomacy since 1989 is in fact a continuation of this policy. Vale outlines ways in which to loosen South Africa's stranglehold over its neighbours. 

195. VAN DER WESTHUIZEN, Janis  
South Africa's Emergence as a Middle Power  

Abstract: This article seeks to explain South Africa's ostensible emergence as a middle power. It makes the case for the use of a Coxian-based critical theory perspective, which relates the interrelationship between change at the level of world order, the nature of production and the social forces operative in the middle power's state-societal complex to explain South Africa's increasingly active role in international affairs. Playing a mediatory role helps the South African state make diverse foreign policy goals more compatible and it also goes some way in thwarting criticism levelled at its foreign policy in the state-societal domain. Contrary to earlier theorising about middle powers, this article supports a more recent contention that middle powers act in their own (ie dominant societal) interests. The value of such a perspective is illustrated in the light of current debates about the apparent incongruity of South African foreign policy. 

196. VILLA-VICENCIO, Charles  
Civil Disobedience and Beyond: Law, Resistance and Religion in South Africa  

/RESISTANCE TO CHANGE/ /GOVERNMENT/ /LAW/ /RELIGION/ /CHRISTIANITY/ 
/CHURCH/ /REVOLUTION/ /CIVIL WAR/ /SOUTH AFRICA/ /CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE/ 

WALDMEIR, Patti  
Anatomy of a Miracle: The End of Apartheid and the Birth of the New South Africa  

L'Afrique, l’Afrique du Sud et la nouvelle hégémonie mondiale
From Publishers Weekly
In the epic drama of South Africa's "negotiated revolution," the two prime opponents who came together to redesign the country, Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk, are seen here as heroic figures—the one imprisoned for nearly 20 years, studying the nature of the Afrikaners, becoming fluent in their hated language and planning how to peacefully transfer power from the white minority to the black majority; the other a fierce defender of white minority rule, but pressed by the international ostracism that threatened to destroy the country's economy, and looking for a way to salvage it. Waldmeir, a 15-year resident as a correspondent for the Financial Times, encapsulates the struggle and draws wonderful portraits not only of these two men but of the other leading figures on both sides, and of the political dilemmas as they moved toward difficult solutions. Although Mandela attributes greatness to de Klerk for his courage, it is Mandela's own character that dominates this history. Accustomed to power from a childhood in a household on close terms with the tribal chief, he embodies in his magisterial presence what Waldmeir characterizes as the Africans' generosity of spirit and lack of vengefulness, that have made it possible for the white population to accept black rule. She details the steps that moved de Klerk to free him: from the first halfhearted ones, which Mandela refused as compromises, to the five-year negotiations that brought about an agreement to share the power between them. Engrossing in its sweep, this account also describes the obstacles facing the regime: not only problems with unemployment, education and investment but also unresolved demands from powerful tribal chiefs and dissident Afrikaners.

197. WALE, Peter; MASEKO, Sipho
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198. WANGWE, Samuel; CASSIM, Fuad
Capacity in Graduate Economics Training in South Africa: An AERC Study

199. WEBSTER, Eddie; ALFRED, Laura; BETHLEHEM, Lack; JOFFE, Avril; SELIKOW, Terry-Ann
Work and Industrialisation in South Africa: An Introductory Reader

200. WEIMER, Bernhard
Socio-Economic Transformation in South Africa: a Comparative Perspective / WEIMER, Bernhard

201. WEGEGERIF, Marc; RUSSELL, Bev; GRUNDLING, Irma
Still searching for security: the reality of farm dweller evictions in South Africa
202. WELSH, David
Transition by Consensus

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203. WILLIAMS, Rocky
South African guerrilla armies: the impact of guerrilla armies on the creation of South Africa's armed forces

/MILITARY ACTIVITY//DEFENCE POLICY//ARMED FORCES//GUERRILLAS/
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204. WYK, M.J. Van
Civil Society and Democracy in South Africa

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205. ZARTMAN, I. William, Ed.
Collapsed States: the Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority

206. ZARTMAN, I. William, Ed.
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207. ZWINGINA, Jonathan S.
The Crisis of Hegemonic Decline: US Disinterest in Africa