

Zim/035/0003/05

Preliminary Bibliography

*Towards Sustainable Peace and Stability in Southern Africa*  
*Conference in Harare, Zimbabwe*  
*30 June - 2 July 1993*

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*I. General*

**Dowdle, .** "A Cross-National Model of Military Spending in African Nations." *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, no. 20 (Summer 1992), pp. 153-169.

Examines the effect on military expenditures of threats to the state and government by studying 24 sub-Saharan African countries.

**Harbeson, John W. and Donald Rothchild, eds.** *Africa in World Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991, 341 pp.

Explores Africa's changing position in international relations by addressing the region's colonial heritage and the historical, economic, and cultural factors that have shaped the continent's position in world affairs; analyzing some of the region's most intense conflicts (highlighting Southern Africa); and examining the evolution of relations with other regions and powers.

**Moorcraft, Paul L.** *African Nemesis: War and Revolution in Southern Africa, 1945-2010*. London: Brassey's, 1990, 540 pp.

Analyzes the use of military power in Southern Africa since 1945. Discusses the various political, economic, social and psychological issues where they are directly relevant to warfare in the region.

*II. Demobilization & Integration of Armed Forces*  
*Transition to Civilian Rule*

**Dale, Richard.** "The UN and African decolonization: UNTAG in Namibia." *TransAfrica Forum*, no. 8 (Fall 1991), pp. 31-48.

Highlights the role of the UN Transitional Assistance Group in peacekeeping and election monitoring during the transition from South African administration to independence. Reviews the conflict between SWAPO guerrilla and South African defense forces (SADF), and military, financial, cultural, and operational aspects of the UN mission.

**Danopoulos, Constantine P., ed.** *From Military to Civilian Rule*. New York: Routledge, 1992, 256 pp.

A comparative study of the motives behind military withdrawal and the establishment of sustainable civilian rule, utilizing case studies from Western Europe, South and Central America, the Dominican Republic, and Africa.

**Mbaku, John Mukum.** "State Control, Economic Planning and Competition Among Interest Groups for Government Transfers in Africa." *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, no. 16 (Summer 1991), pp. 181-194.

Focuses on military vs. civilian and urban vs. rural competition for bureaucratically distributed resources.

**Meldrum, Andrew.** "Mozambique: Lessons From Angola." *Africa Report*, vol. 38, no. 1 (January 1993), pp. 22-24.

In early December 1992, Mozambique seemed on the verge of following the same route as Angola with failed demobilization, disputed elections, a ceasefire breakdown and possible return to civil war. The effects of 7,500 UN-dispatched peace-keepers to disarm and demobilize Mozambique's combatants are discussed.

### *III. Change in South Africa & Its Implications*

**Barber, James and John Barratt.** *South Africa's Foreign Policy: The Search for Status and Security, 1945-1988*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 384 pp.

An account of South Africa's foreign policy between 1945 and 1988 describing and critically examining the main developments during that period, all within the context of the domestic, regional, and international settings which impose limits and provide opportunities in which Pretoria seeks to achieve its aims.

**Chan, Stephen.** "Democracy in Southern Africa: The 1990 Elections in Zimbabwe and 1991 Elections in Zambia." *Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, April 1992, pp. 183-201.

Examines internal political forces and external influences on events in South Africa.

**Cock, Jacklyn.** "Rocks, Snakes and South Africa's Arms Industry." Published by the British American Security Information Council (BASIC), December 1992.

**Cock, Jacklyn and Laurie Nathan, eds.** *Society at War: The Militarisation of South Africa.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989, 320 pp.

Examines, with some concern, the increasing tendency towards escalating militarization and reliance on state violence in South Africa over the last decade.

**Evans, Graham.** "Namibia-South Africa: Relations Since Independence." *Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, July 1992, pp. 293-302.

Examines relations within the context of regional security, development, and cooperation.

**Grundy, Kenneth W.** *The Militarization of South African Politics.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986, 134 pp.

Explores power realignments within the South African government and analyzes the changing diverse regional strategic perspectives of government and other agencies close to power in light of the rise of the security establishment.

\_\_\_\_\_. *South Africa: Domestic Crisis & Global Challenge.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991.

**Hanlon, Joseph.** *Beggar Your Neighbors: Apartheid Power in Southern Africa.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987, 364 pp.

Pieces together the details of South Africa's military attacks on its neighbors and relates them to the control the apartheid state exercises through its economic power and control of transport links.

**Johnson, Phyllis and David Martin.** *Apartheid Terrorism: The Destabilization Report.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989, 164 pp.

Examines South Africa's regional policy which is identified as having as its goal the extension of South African hegemony over the subcontinent through the creation and maintenance of a dependence that is economically lucrative and politically submissive, and acts as a bulwark against international sanctions.

**Keller, Edmond J. and Louis A. Picard, eds.** *South Africa in Southern Africa: Domestic Change and International Conflict*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989, 263 pp.

Examines the dynamics of political change and conflict in South Africa in the domestic, regional, and international arenas. Attempts to present not only the dynamics of race, class, clientelism, and culture inside the country, but also how factors external to South Africa contribute to the debates and struggles raging domestically.

**Landgren, Signe (SIPRI).** *Embargo Disimplemented: South Africa's Military Industry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, 276 pp.

Addresses the buildup of the South African arms industry and the functioning of the arms embargo since the first UN ban in 1963. Places particular emphasis on the role of France, West Germany, Israel, Italy, Great Britain, and the US as sources of military technology.

**Rotberg, Robert I., et al.** *South Africa and its Neighbors: Regional Security and Self-Interest*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1985, 174 pp.

Examines South Africa's role in the future stability and economic development of Southern Africa and its potential to either take advantage of, or abuse, its dominant position.

#### *IV. Development, Security & Cooperation in Southern Africa*

**Adeyemi, Bariyu A.** "Prospects for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in Africa." *Disarmament: A Periodic Review by the United Nations*, vol. 14, no. 3 (1991), pp. 97-111.

Approaches denuclearization as a viable regional security measure for African states.

**Arlinghaus, Bruce E.** *Military Development in Africa: The Political and Economic Risks of Arms Transfers*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1984, 152 pp.

Examines the effect of arms transfers to sub-Saharan African nations on those nations' economic development and political stability. Evaluates conflicting assessments of the costs and benefits of military development from the perspective that it would be best for African nations to allocate resources for defense on the basis of socioeconomic considerations as well as their military and political goals.

**Blumenfeld, Jesmond.** *Economic Interdependence in Southern Africa: Conflict to Cooperation.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991, 200 pp.

Examines the tendency to view international economic relations in Southern Africa in terms different from those applicable elsewhere in the international political economy, and the failure this approach has engendered. Concludes that the core of the problem does not lie in the unique and specific features of the Southern African situation itself, but rather in the fact that there have always been clear political limits to the willingness of the countries of the region to embrace more integrative and cooperative approaches to their mutual exchange relations.

**Davies, Robert.** "Emerging Perspectives on Regional Cooperation and Integration After Apartheid." Unpublished paper, 1992.

Examines some of the major perspectives emerging within South Africa on the issue of involvement of a democratic, non-racial South Africa in a program of closer economic cooperation and integration with the rest of Southern Africa. Evaluates the capacity, or lack thereof, to produce policies capable of building a new pattern of relations between a post-apartheid South Africa and the rest of the region that is equitable, sustainable and growth oriented.

**Glickman, Harvey, ed.** *Toward Peace and Security in Southern Africa.* Gordon & Breach Science Publishers, 1990, 280 pp.

Based on papers presented at a conference held at Haverford College, Pennsylvania, 28-30 April 1989.

**Jaster, Robert, Moeletsi Mbeki, Morley Nkosi and Michael Clough.** *Changing Fortunes: War, Diplomacy, and Economics in Southern Africa.* New York: Ford Foundation/Foreign Policy Association, 1991, 203 pp.

Reviews South African and superpower relations to interventions in Southern Africa. Looks at the mixed results of efforts by those states to lessen their economic dependence on South Africa, as well as the rise and retreat of "constructive engagement" as an American diplomatic strategy.

**Johnson, Phyllis and David Martin, eds.** *Frontline Southern Africa: Destructive Engagement.* New York: Fours Walls Eight Windows Publishing Co., 1988, 530 pp.

**Maasdorp, Gavin.** *Economic Co-operation in Southern Africa: Prospects for Regional Integration.* London: Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, 1992, 30 pp.

Examines the four existing regional economic groupings in Southern Africa (SACU, CMA, SADCC, and PTA), raises a number of questions about the future of each, and speculates on possible alternative courses of action.

**Maasdorp, Gavin and Alan Whiteside, eds.** *Towards a Post-Apartheid Future: Political and Economic Relations in Southern Africa.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992, 240 pp.

**Mbaku, John Mukum.** "Political Democracy and the Prospects of Development in Post-Cold War Africa." *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, no. 17 (Fall/Winter 1992), pp. 345-371.

Assesses the role of political stability in attracting development assistance from the West.

**Ogunbanwo, Ogunsola.** "Current Proposals for Drafting a Treaty on a Nuclear Free Zone in Africa." *PPNN Paper Number: IW1/4*, Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation, April 1993.

Paper presented at the PPNN International Workshop "Africa and Nuclear Non-Proliferation," held 2-4 April 1993 in Harare, Zimbabwe. Examines the initiative of Africa states to establish, as a cooperative effort, a nuclear free zone in Africa.

**Shepherd, Anne.** "Economies: Building a Bloc." *Africa Report*, vol. 38, no. 1 (January 1993), pp. 59-63.

The economic integration of African regions is discussed as a necessity for competition on the world market.

**Thede, Nancy and Pierre Beaudet, eds.** *A Post-Apartheid Southern Africa?* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

**Tostensen, Arne, Nils Groes, Kimmo Kiljunen and Tom Ostergaard.** *The Nordic/SADCC Initiative: A Nordic Review.* Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute Department of Social Science and Development, 1990.

Vale, Peter. "The Search for Southern Africa's Security." *International Affairs*, vol. 67, no. 4 (October 1991), pp. 697-708.

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. The supposed reforms in South Africa have actually continued its regional policy to bolster apartheid and dominate Southern Africa. Discusses ways to loosen South Africa's stranglehold over its neighbors.

Woodward, Calvin A., ed. *On the Razor's Edge: Prospects for Political Stability in Southern Africa*. Africa Institute, 1986, 209 pp.

Looks at stability from both a regional perspective and from the viewpoint of individual nations such as Namibia, South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei, Kwazulu, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi.