

# STRATEGIC STUDIES IN SA: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

London - October 1980

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1 Introduction

2 Strategic Studies in the ?ADF

3 Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria

4. Institute for Strategic Studies, University of South Africa

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. South African Political Science Association

. Centre for International Politics, Potchefstroom University for CHE

7. frica Institute of South Africa

8. South African Institute of International Affairs

9. Terrorism Research Centre

10. institute for Contemporary History, University of OPS

11. Foreign Affairs Association & Southern African Freedom Foundation

12. Human Sciences Research Council

AEQendices:

I. Relevant University departments and institutes

11. Examples of Strategic Studies exam papers, ELSA

Ill. Who's Who in South African Strategic Studiesv

IV. subscriptions to be arranged

## 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 In all states, academic institutions contribute, to a greater or lesser extent depending on circumstances, in the development of national strategies. South Africa is no exception. In the past three decades economists, political scientists, ethnologists, sociologists etc have contributed to the formulation of the apartheid regime's strategies. The significance of these academics in any particular field is related to the strategic perceptions of the regime at any given time. Thus it is true to say that, in the first two decades of the present regime's existence, academics concentrating in fields related to the economic and political development of the apartheid masterplan, within the framework of a Verwoedian ideological approach, had a particularly significant relationship with the State. Similarly it is correct to assume that developments in the last decade have led to the rise in importance of those academics concerned with the various facets of 'national security'. This paper is an attempt to put the present line-up of strategic studies institutions into some kind of perspective.

1.2 The information contained in this paper is based on limited source material. It is, however, an attempt to distinguish between the relative significance of the various institutes. The rise to power of the Kalan-Botha regime can, in retrospect, be traced in the development of the so-called 'verligte' school of thought amongst certain, mainly Afrikaner, academics - in particular those working in various departments at the University of Pretoria: Almost every development in apartheid strategy since the beginning of 1978 can be found in academic argument in the writings of these academics during 1976 and 1977. (It is, of course, totally misleading to talk of this school of thought as 'verligte' - they represent the pragmatists committed to the attempted rationalisation of apartheid.) It can thus be argued that certain institutions, such as the Institute of Strategic Studies and the Bureau of Economic Policy and Analysis, should be viewed as official or semi-official think-tanks playing an influential role within the present regime.

1.3 Other organisations dealt with in this paper, while perhaps relatively less important, still play a crucial role, however, as platforms for the continuation of right-wing theoretical debate on the various facets of national security.

1.4 There is no available evidence to suggest that liberal academics in South Africa (particularly those at English speaking campuses) have contributed any work of significance in this field. They have therefore been excluded from this study.

1.5 This study has revealed the necessity to monitor the academic strategic studies community. Appendix IV contains a list of publications that will be subscribed to in future.

## . STRATEGIC STUDIES IN THE SADF

2.1 The Directorate Strategic Studies is a wing of the Department of Military Intelligence of the SADF. Its task is 'to manage the staff work related to the formulation of strategic policy'. According to its director, Brig WJ Wolmarans: "I and my team do research, lead seminars and formulate and round off that which eventually becomes the strategic policy of the

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SADF. Everything is done in close co-operation with the Chief of SADF, staff departments and combat services." It is assumed that the directorate not only does its own research, but also closely monitors all related academic work. The directorate does not publish any material but it is assumed that it plays an important role in the writing of papers presented at academic conferences and other occasions by senior officers of the SADF. (see below)

The SADF itself has two semi-academic institutions:

a. Military Academy - based at Saldanha Bay and linked to the 'University of Stellenbosch. This is the 'undergraduate university' of the SADF through which all junior officers of the permanent force must now pass.

b. SA Defence College - based in Pretoria. A 'post-graduate' academy which teaches the military theory necessary for the promotion of senior officers. It is also responsible for general doctrinal and leadership training and refresher courses for senior officers - in this regard it should be regarded as the practical think-tank of the SADF.

It is to be expected that the teaching staff at both these institutions form a crucial part of the SADF'S own strategic studies establishment. The following list consists of known papers presented by senior officers of the SADF at public conferences. While it is by no means complete, it gives some indication of the scope of SADF strategic studies.

1973 Capt WN duPlessis: Militere Aspekte van Kommuniste toetrede tot Afrika en die Indiese Oseaan Gebied.

Adm HH Bierman: The RSA and the Southern Hemisphere.

Brig J Fourie: Rewolusionere Oorlog, met spesiale verwysing na stedelike guerilla oorlogvoering.

1976 Gen MA Malan: Die militere weerbaarheid van die BSA in die huidige tydsgewrig. .

Cmdr G Niewoudt: Die suidwaartse verspreiding van die internasionale magstryd soos dit die ooskus van Afrika en die Indiese Oseaan raak.

zaj Gen JH Robbertze: Nuwe dimensies in die internasionale magstryd - indirekte strategie.

1977 Lt Gen JR Dutton: The military aspects of national security.

R Adm RA Edwards: The short and long term projections of defence manpower requirements.

1979 Gen MA Malan: The general concepts of 'Total Strategy'.

Brig UJ Lloyd: The importance of rural development in the defence strategy of SA and the need for private sector involvement.

Uol WS vd Waals: Die rewolusionere aanslag teen SA.

3; INSTITUTE OF STRATEGIC STUDIES/ UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA gISSUPZ

Address: University of Pretoria, Hillcrest, Pretoria 0002.

Tel: 74-6071 ext 407 !

Staff: Dr M Hough (director), ER Sinclair, A Seegers and staff and senior students of the Department of Political Science, Public Administration and International Politics.

Board of Control: Prof CF Niewoudt (chairman), Prof AN Pelzer, Prof AP Grove, Prof JA Lombard, Gen MA Kalan, Dr H Fuller,

Mr BG Fourie, Mr CH Stuart, Hr JP Nel.

History: "In response to the growing awareness among concerned citizens and in academic, political, bureaucratic and professional circles

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of the need to ensure both the security of SA and a constructive role of SA in the modern international system, the University of Pretoria decided, in 1974, to establish an Institute for Strategic Studies as a multidisciplinary academic institution to initiate studies and appropriate programmes in that field."

3.4 Funding: University of Pretoria t?)

3.5 Field of Work: "ISSUP is a multidisciplinary academic institution whose purpose is to initiate studies and appropriate programmes in the field of strategic studies. The Institute is concerned with strategy in its modern meaning and widest usage in both a conflictual and non-conflictual context, and focuses its interest primarily on Southern Africa, Africa and the surrounding ocean areas."

"The institute has adopted the following outline as a list of priorities and as a thematic guide to systematic analysis in its various programmes.

vi. The theoretical dimension of strategy.

ii. The major strategic contexts.

iii. Main strategic regions and their modern significance.

iv. The scientific and technological dimensions of strategy.

v. Major aspects of national security, defence and foreign policy.

ISSUP aims to:

1. Establish an authoritative reference and documentation centre.

ii. Organise regular and ad hoc meetings.

iii. Arrange for appropriate ad hoc publications. .

iv. Initiate a programme of research on topics relevant to the southern African, the southern Atlantic and the Indian Ocean regions as well as to the impact of external factors on these regions."

3.b Role: There can be little doubt that ISSUP is closely related to the military/political establishment and performs an important function as a think-tank on largely theoretical 'national security' issues.

ISSUP's first major publication, 'National Security: A Modern Approach' (papers of a conference organised by ISSUP at the beginning of 1977), is a clear exposition of the strategic perspectives that came to the fore later in the year with the rise to power of the Malan-Botha regime. ISSUP is closely related to the Bureau for Economic Policy and Analysis (BEPA), also based at the University of Pretoria and arguably the most influential economic think-tank in SA.

3.7 Publications:

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a. Strategic Review (quarterly journal)

b. Occasional publications, including:

i. A Seegers: Rewolusionere Strategie in Mosambiek.

ii. MHH Louw (ed): National Security: A Modern Approach.

iii. MR Sinclair: The Strategic Significance of Tanzania.

iv. 'A dPlessis: Die Maritiem-Strategiese Betekenis van die Simonstad-Vlootbasis.

INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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Little is known of this institute. It is assumed that it works closely with ISSUP and its exam papers (see Appendix II) suggest a close working relationship with the SADF.

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#### 5. SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION SSAPSAZ

Address: Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria.

Board: Prof CF Niewoudt. (UP), Prof WB Vosloo (US), Dr M Bough (ISSUP)  
Prof CP vd Walt (PU for CHE), Prof GC Olivier (UP), Dr CJ Juta (UN),  
CJ vd Merwe (RAU).

Funding: University of Pretoria, University of SA and Human Sciences  
Research Council.

Field: SAPSA is a forum of academics and exists, essentially, through  
its biannual journal, Politikon. "Its principal objective is the  
advancement of the study of political science and international  
affairs in general and the dissemination of information on research  
findings, directions of contemporary political thought and  
institutional and socio-political development among the various  
political communities in Southern Africa."

Role: Politikon is an important platform for influential academics and  
should be closely monitored.

#### 6. CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS POTSFESTROOK UNIVERSITY FOR W

CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION SCIPI PU for CHE!

Address: PU for CHE, Potchefstroom 2520.

Staff: Prof CP vd Walt, HR Lass, PW Liebenberg and other members of the  
Department of Political Science.

Funding: PU for CHE

Role: CIP is a right wing academic institution which, while apparently  
not as closely related to the state as ISSUP and BEPA, is in the  
mainstream of academic strategic studies. Of particular importance  
is its annual symposium which has become an influential platform  
for outside academics and government and SADF officials. Also  
at PU for CHE are the Institute for Africa Studies and the Institute  
for South African Politics. Both fall broadly into the same category  
as CIP, though apparently tending towards a more socio-political,  
as opposed to strategic approach.

Publications:

a. ClP

i. Die Wereld in Uenskou (monthly)

ii. Published papers of annual symposium (annual)

iii. Occasional publications, including:

HR Lass: Die grondleggers van Rewolusionere Oorlogvoering.

PW Liebenberg: A new theatre of great power rivalry -  
The Indian Ocean.

b. Institute for Africa studies

' i. Nuua Oor Afrika (monthly)

c. Institute for South African Politics

1. Actuality series (occasional papers)

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7. AFRICA INSTITUTE OF SOUTH AFRICA gAISA

7.1 Address: Corner of Hamilton & Belvedere St, Arcadia, PO Box 630, Pretoria 0001. Tel: 486970.

7.2 Staff: Dr GME Leistner (director), Dr WJ Breytenbach, Dr HW Hitzeroth, T Malan, TD Venter.

7.3 History: AISA was founded in 1960 by UNISA and the Suid Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns as a central and 'academically independent' organisation to undertake scientific studies of African affairs.

7.4 Funding: Largely financed by government subsidies. In 1977 its budget amounted to R385,000.

7.5 "The Institute's field of study covers geographical, economical, political, social and anthropological aspects of the entire continent beyond the borders of the RSA. However, an important feature of the Institute's research is in-depth studies of the development problems of the countries of Southern Africa, which also include the Black Homelands in the RSA." While AISA defines much of its own research, it also works on 'projects assigned to it by the ministries'.

7.6 Role: While the AISA is obviously closely linked in with certain government departments, particularly in the field of bantustan development, it cannot be classed as a strategic studies unit.

It journals do, however, regularly carry articles by researchers from units such as ISSUP and should thus be monitored.

7.7 Publications:

- a. Africa insight (bimonthly)
- b. Africa Institute Bulletin (monthly)
- c. Occasional papers
- d. Statistics and factual information.

8. SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS SAIILA!

8.1 Address: Jan Smuts House, PO Box 31596, Braamfontein 2017.

8.2 Staff: Dr L Egeland (Chairman), J Barrett (director), D Venter.

8.3 History: Established in 1934. Apart from its head office in Johannesburg, SAIILA has branches in Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Durban and Pretoria.

8.4 Funding: Main funding is through a Corporate Membership system which relies on donations from multinationals and domestic industry.

8.5 Field: While it has its own research staff (who would appear to work closely with the Department of International Relations at Wits)

SAIILA operates largely as a glorified debating society for academic/professional/corporate individuals. Regular meetings are held by all branches at which outside speakers of varying significance are invited to speak.

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8.6 Role: SAIIA operates on an independent/conservative political line which indirectly reflects its business hacking. While its own research does not appear to be very influential, its publications often contain useful material.

8.7 Publications:

3. SA International Affairs bulletin (three issues a year)

b. Southern Africa Record (occasional reproduction of official statements, speeches etc.)

0. Occasional papers, including:

1. CB McEwan: The Soviet Union and the conventional threat to SA.

ii. D Kunert: Wars of national liberation, the super powers and the Afro-Asian Ocean region.

iii. D Kunert: The Kremlin, the world revolutionary process and African 'National Liberation Movements'.

9. TERRORISM RESEARCH CENTRE TRC

9.1 Address: Union Castle Building, PO Box 1464, Cape Town 8000.

Tel: 021-432126

9.2 Staff: M Morris

9.3 History: 'In informal existence since 1 January 1973, and formal existence since May 1978.'

9.4 Funding: General funding unknown. Publications are sponsored by Safety Patrol (Cape) Pty Ltd (suppliers of armed mobile and static guards, dog patrols and armed banking services) and Michael Morris Security (Pty) Ltd (specialist security and fire protection researchers and educationalists).

9.5 Field: "TRC is an autonomous non-political body researching all forms of national and international terrorism. TRC closely researches matter other than terrorism. Industrial security, crime statistics and tendencies, disaster case-studies, ultra-modern security equipment, etc are thoroughly studied, leading to visual, media, public and private presentations, seminars, lectures."

9.6 Role: TRC is more correctly classified as a security research, rather than strategic studies, unit and is something of an anomaly in SA research circles. The nature of TRC's relationship with military and police establishments is difficult to ascertain. Morris' past role with the Security Police/BOSS is well known (and a fact he doesn't try to hide). Relative to this background, TRC concentrates on the police aspects of security. In September 1978, however, in an interview with the SABC external service, the TRC was introduced as 'a little known part of South Africa's defence system'. Morris is regarded by the SA press and business community as a 'security specialist'. He also apparently liaises closely with similar 'independent' right wing research institutes in the UK and US. That the TRC is, in broad terms, part of the security establishment is clear. Whether Morris is an independent fellow-traveller or directly related to the SAP or SADF is open to question. Morris maintains a high public profile and often expresses controversial opinions. This might well be a cover which gives access to

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outside sources and allows the establishment to test ideas or feed misinformation through an 'independent'. While this is possible, it does not seem, on current evidence, to be likely. Nothing in Morris' writing suggests that he has access to anything but publicly available information. His work appears to be geared, in the main, towards feeding the business community with specific and background security information. Further than that his work hardly has the air of authoritativeness. He has a pretentious style of writing that suggests he is attempting to appear to be more of an academic authority than he is,

In conclusion, the TRC is most probably an independent unit of Morris' own creation. Morris' relationship with the establishment would appear, within this context, to be similar to that of a crime or defence press reporter with the police or military - ie so long as Morris is prepared to co-operate, the establishment is prepared to maintain an informal relationship with him.

#### 9.7 Publications:

a. Security Factors (approx bimonthly). Issues to date:

1. SA Crime Trends; recent facts and figures
- ii. SA Bomb Summary; recent facts and figures
- iii. Armed attacks upon SAP; recent facts and figures with reference to attacks in previous years
- iv. The morality of Brutality: reflections on dedication in political violence
- v. RPG Weapons, Marks 2,7 & 10: data, characteristics, tactics.

b. Special Reports

1. South African security; some considerations for the 19803.

10. INSTITUTE FOR CONTEMPORARY HISTORY UNIVERSITY OF ORANGE FREE STATE

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10.1 Address: UOFS, PO Box 2320, Bloemfontein 9300.

10.2 Nothing is known about this unit except that it is most probably linked to the Department of Political Science and produces an influential biannual journal, the Journal for Contemporary History and International Relations.

11. FOREIGN AFFAIRS ASSOCIATION FAA & SOUTHERN AFRICAN FREEDOM FOUNDATION SSAFF2

11.1 Address: FAA, 963 Pretorius St, PO Box 26410, Pretoria 0007. Tel: 746441 SAFF, 18th Floor, Sandton City, PO Box 781112, Sandton 2146.

11.2 Staff: FAA: CF deVilliers, Dr JA du Plessis, Dr DS Prinsloo. SAFF: FR Metrowich

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11.3 History & Funding: Both organisations claim to be private sector organisations, but were in fact set up by the Department of Information. Their status since the 'Information Scandal' is unclear.

11.4 Role: Both FAA and SAFF have produced a number of publications specialising in crude anti-communist and related apartheid propaganda. They are only of interest as a reflection of state



propaganda.

#### 11.5 Publications

a. FAA, occasional publications, including:

- i. JA du Plessis: Soviet strategy towards Southern Africa.
- ii. JA du Plessis: The Brezhnev Doctrine and SA.
- iii. DS Prinsloo: China and the liberation of Portugese Africa.
- iv. DS Labuschagne: Moscow, Havana and the MPLA take over of Angola.

b. SAFF, occasional publications, including:

- i. SAFF: Africa Freedom Annual
- ii. I Graig: The communist challenge to Africa.
- iii. A Botha: SWAPO: Dialogue or conflict?
- iv. A Botha: Marxist Mozambique: The ideals and the reality.
- v. Dr WJ Breytenbach: SA looks to Africa.

#### 12. HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL

12.1 Address: Private Bag X41, Pretoria. Tel: 48-3944

12.2 HSRC is a government institution, similar to the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

12.3 "The HSRC undertakes, promotes and co-ordinates research in the human sciences, advises the Government and other bodies on the utilisation of research findings and disseminates information on the human sciences." HSRC consists of the following research institutes: Communication Research; Educational Research; historical Research; Information and Special Services; Languages, Literature and Arts; Manpower Research; Psychometric Research; Research Development; Sociological, Demographic and Criminological Research; Statistical Research; Administration.

12.4 While few details are known of the extent of the HSRC'S work, it has, according to Gen Malan, a crucial advisory role to play in the regime's 'total strategy'. In April 1979 the cabinet adopted a resolution instructing HSRC to start a National Plan for Research in the Human Sciences. According to HSRC, "this plan of action consists of policy and procedures carried out making Optimal use of the human sciences and human scientists, in order to help understand and solve problems of national concern."

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APPENDIX I: RELEVANT UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENTS AND INSTITUTES

University of Pretoria

University of South Africa

Potchefstroom University for CHE

Stellenbosch University

University of UPS

University of Witwatersrand

University of Cape Town

Department of Political Science, Public

Administration and International Politics

Department of Economics

Institute for Strategic Studies

Bureau for Economic Policy and Analysis

Department of Political Science and

Public Administration

Department of Development Administration

and Politics

institute of Strategic Studies

Department of Political Science

Centre for International Politics

institute for Africa Studies

Institute for South African Politics

Department of Political Science

Bureau for Economic Research

Department of Political Science

Instituta for Contemporary History

Department of International Relations

Department of Political science

Universiteit van Suid-Afrika University of South Africa MC

Universiteitskandad, Februarie 1978

Universig Examinations, February 1978

HONNEURS STRATEGIESE STUDIES VRAESTEL 4

HONOURS STRATEGIC STUDIES PAPER 4

(AIHPIW)

GEVORDERDE STUDIE VAN INTERNE OORLOG

ADVANCED STUDY OF INTERNAL WAR.

Tydsduur)

Duration) 3 uur/HOURS

Eksaminatore/Examiners: I. Mnr./Mr D.F.S. Fourie

2. Mnr./Mr H. Lass

Beantwoord enige DRIE vrae.

Answer any THREE questions.

Evalueer die meer prominente redes wat vir die toevlug tot interne oorlog as 'n middel tot 't ' die bereiking van rewolusie, aangevoer word.

Evaluate the more prominent reasons advanced for the resort to internal war as a means of achieving revolution.

Bespreek die aard en rol van terrorisme in interne oorlog.

Discuss the nature and role of terrorism in internal war.

Bespreek krities die stelling deur J. Bowyer Bell wat hierna aangehaal word:

Discuss critically the statement by J. Bowyer Bell which is quoted below:

"The guerrilla revolution ... has been, and is, repeatedly proposed as the inevitably successful means to secure victory - and yet the weight of evidence indicates that such means rarely succeed."

Die ondervinding in lande soos Griekeland, die Filippyne en Maleie dui aan dat dit moontlik

is om interne oorlog te beëindig tot voordeel van die bestaande regering. Bespreek hierdie stelling na aanleiding van toepaslike voorbeelde waarvan u kennis dra.

Experience in countries such as Greece, The Philippines and Malaya showed the possibility of ending internal war to the advantage of the incumbent regime. Discuss this statement with reference to appropriate examples which you know.

Beskryf en bespreek John McCuen se menings oor die bekamping van rewolusionêre oorlog.

Describe and discuss John McCuen's view respecting the overcoming of revolutionary war.

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Universiteit van Suid-Afrika University of South Africa

Universiteitsjaar, Februarie 1978

University Examinations, February 1978

HONNEURS STRATEGIESE STUDIES : VRAESTEL 5(c)

HONOURS STRATEGIC STUDIES : PAPER 5(a)

(EVWARF)

EVOLUSIE VAN OORLOGSVOERING

EVOLUTION OF WARFARE

Tydsduur)

. 3

Duur/Uur/Hours

Eksaminatore/Examiners: 1. Mnr./Mr D.F.S. Fourie

2. Mnr./Mr F. McA Clifford-Vaughan, MC

Beantwoord enige DRIE vrae.

Answer any THREE questions. 1

Is Andre Beaufre se indeling van die geskiedenis van strategie in verskillende fases of stadiums, soos behandel in An Introduction to Strategy, goed verantwoord?

Is Andre Beaufre justified in dividing the history of strategy into the various phases or stages mentioned by him in An Introduction to Strategy?

Bespreek die uitwerking van ontwikkelings in die militêre tegnologie en militêre organisasie (insluitend die mate van betrokkenheid van die burgerlike bevolking) op oorlogvoering.

Discuss the impact of developments in military technology and military organization (including the extent of the involvement of the civilian population) upon the conduct of war.

Vergelyk kritiese opvattinge van teoretici wat daarin belangstel om oorlog te vermy en die belangstel in die gebruik van geweld om politieke doelstellings te verwesenlik en weeg hulle teen mekaar op ten opsigte van die gebruikmaking van geweld in die atoomeeu.

Critically compare and contrast the views of those theorists who are concerned with avoiding

war and those who are concerned with using force to achieve political ends as they relate to the utility of using force in the nuclear age.

Ontleed die vereistes vir en kenmerke van 'n geloofwaardige en stabiele afskrikmiddel in die lig van wat sedert 1945 plaasgevind het.

Analyse the requirements and characteristics of a credible and stable deterrent in the light

of experience since 1945.

Bespreek die ontwikkeling van strategiese wapens sedert 1945, asook die wyse waarop hierdie

wapens 'n oorheersende faktor geword het in die konflikverhoudinge van die supermoondhede.

Discuss the development of strategic weapons since 1945 and how they have come to predominate

in the conflict relationships of the super powers.

## APPENDIX III: WHO'S WHO IN SOUTH AFRICAN STRATEGIC STUDIES

(This is an incomplete list of academics working in SA, listing positions and known papers - all of which are available except those marked 11)

FOURIE, Deon; Senior lecturer in Strategic Studies, UNISA.

Strategic consequences for SA of events in Southern Africa (1975)

GELDENHUYS, Deon; Department of Political Science, University of Stellenbosch.

SA's search for security since World War II (1978)

ROUGH, Mike, Dr; Director, Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria

Selected excerpts regarding SA's position on nuclear energy (1974)9

The separation of powers in SA (1977)11

Deterrence and deterrence interaction with reference to the South African situation (1978)

Die implikasies van onverbondenheid vir Suid Afrika (1979)

Verdedigingswitskrif en begroting 1979 (1979)9

'n Konsepsuele onderskeid tussen guerilla-oorlogvoering en terrorisme (1979)1

The frontline states: entente cordiale (1980)

DKZ proposals for SWA/Namibia (1980)

The political implications of the possession of nuclear weapons for South Africa (1980) v-

KOTZE, DA; Department of Development Administration and Politics, UNISA.

Black consciousness in SA (1974)9

Development and structural violence (1978)

KRIEK, DJ, Prof; Department of Political Science and Public Administration, UNISA

Politieke alternatiewe vir SA op soek na 'n nuwe paradigma (1976)

KUNERT, Dirk, Dr; Senior lecturer in International Relations, Wits University

The conflict situation in Southern Africa (1976)

The Kremlin, the world revolutionary process and African 'National Liberation Movements' (1977)

Wars of national liberation, the super powers and the Afro-Asian ocean region (1977)

LASS, HR; Centre for International Politics, Potchefstroom University for CHE.

Die grondleggers van rewolusionere oorlogvoering (1976)

LEISTNER, GEE, Dr; Director, Africa Institute of SA

LIEBENBERG, PW; Centre for International Politics, Potchefstroom University for CHE. 7

The Indian Ocean: A new theatre of great power rivalry (1976))

Die worstellende wereld; knellende internasionale vraagstukke (1976)

LOMBARD, Jan A, Prof; Head, Department of Economics, and Chairman, Bureau for Economic Policy and Analysis, University of Pretoria.

The economic aspects of national security (1977)

Fundamentele uitgangspunte en beginsels oor die rol van die owerheid in die ekonomiese lewe van SA (1977)

The liberalism of the South African economy (1979)

LOUW, Michael HH, Prof; ex-Director, Institute of Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria.

National security: A modern approach (ed) (1978)

Global strategic aspects of Africa (1978)

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MORRIS, Michael; Executive officer, Terrorism Research Centre.  
 South African security: some considerations for the 1980s (1980)

MORTIMER, DJ, Brig; Officer Commanding SA Defence College.  
 Conventional deterrence with specific reference to the RSA (1980)

NIEUWOUDT, CF, Prof; Dean, Faculty of Economic and Political Sciences; Head,  
 Department of Political Science, Public Administration and Inter-  
 national Politics; Chairman, Board of Control, Institute for  
 Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria.  
 The structuring of political change in SA (1977)  
 Suider-Afrika - Samewerking of konflik (1979)

OLIVLER, Gerrit C, Prof; Department of Political Science, Public Administration  
 and International Politics, University of Pretoria; Editor,  
 Politikon.  
 Detente in Perspective (1976)  
 Suid Afrika se buitelandse beleid (1977)  
 The political aspects of national security (1977)

POTGLETTER, PJJS; Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Potchefstroom  
 University for CHE.  
 Die noodsaaklikheid van politieke veranderinge in SA (1977)

ROBBERTZE, JH, Maj Gen; ex-Director Strategic Studies, SADF.  
 Nuwe dimensies in die internasionale magstryd - indirekte strategie (76)

SEEGERS, A; Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria.  
 Strategy in national revolutions: Some aspects of FRELIMO'S  
 revolutionary strategy (1977)  
 Revolutionary strategy in Mozambique (1977)

SINCLAIR, MR; Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria.  
 The concepts of neutrality, neutralism and non-alignment (1979)  
 The strategic significance of Tanzania (1979)  
 The strategic significance of the Horn of Africa (1980)

STADLER, JJ, Prof; Director, Bureau for Economic Policy and Analysis.  
 VAN DER WALT, CP, Prof; Director, Centre for International Politics, Potchef-  
 stroom University for CHE.  
 VAN ZYL, JC, Prof; Department of Economics; Bureau for Economic Policy and  
 Analysis, University of Pretoria.  
 Some economic aspects of national defence: the re-allocation of  
 resources (1979)

VENTER, Denis; Senior researcher, Africana Institute of SA.  
 SA as an African power (1976)  
 SA and the international controversy surrounding its nuclear  
 capability (1978)

WOLMARANS, WJ, Brig; Director Strategic Studies, SADF.

15.

APPENDIX IV: SUBSCRIPTIONS TO BE ARRANGED

Militaria (SADF)

Akadentus (SADF)

Annual Magazine of the Military Academy (SAD?)

Strategic Review (ISSUP)

Politikon (SAPSA)

Die Wereld in Oenskou (CIP)

Nuns Oor Afrika (IAS)

Actuality Series (ISAP)

Africa Insight (AISA)

Africa Institute Bulletin (AISA)

SA International Affairs Bulletin (SAIIA)

Southern Africa Record (SAIIA)

Journal for Contemporary History and International Relations (ICH)

Security Factoss (TRC)

SA Journal of Economics

Africanus (UNLSA)

HSRC publications

BEPA publications