

PL 3063/ 3363 South African Politics

[View Online](#)

Abrahams, Caryn. 2012. "'We Can't Really Say What the Future Holds for Us': Non-Racialism in a Transitional Democracy'. *Politikon* 39(1):113–26. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656916.

Adam, Heribert. 1983. *South Africa: The Limits of Reform Politics*. Vol. *International studies in sociology and social anthropology*. Leiden: Brill.

Adam, Heribert, and Hermann Giliomee. 1979. *Ethnic Power Mobilized: Can South Africa Change?* New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press.

Adam, Heribert, and Kogila Moodley. 1986. *South Africa without Apartheid: Dismantling Racial Domination*. Vol. *Perspectives on Southern Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Adam, Heribert, and Kogila Moodley. 1992. 'Political Violence, "Tribalism", and Inkatha'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 30(03). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00010855.

Adam, Heribert, and Kogila Moodley. 1993a. *The Opening of the Apartheid Mind: Options for the New South Africa*. Vol. *Perspectives on Southern Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Adam, Heribert, and Kogila Moodley. 1993b. *The Opening of the Apartheid Mind: Options for the New South Africa*. Vol. *Perspectives on Southern Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Adam, Heribert, F. Van Zyl Slabbert, and Kogila Moodley. 1998a. *Comrades in Business: Post-Liberation Politics in South Africa*. Utrecht: International Books.

Adam, Heribert, F. Van Zyl Slabbert, and Kogila Moodley. 1998b. *Comrades in Business: Post-Liberation Politics in South Africa*. Utrecht: International Books.

Adam, Heribert, F. Van Zyl Slabbert, and Kogila Moodley. 1998c. *Comrades in Business: Post-Liberation Politics in South Africa*. Utrecht: International Books.

Adam, Heribert, F. Van Zyl Slabbert, and Kogila Moodley. 1998d. *Comrades in Business: Post-Liberation Politics in South Africa*. Utrecht: International Books.

Adam, Heribert, F. Van Zyl Slabbert, and Kogila Moodley. 1998e. *Comrades in Business: Post-Liberation Politics in South Africa*. Utrecht: International Books.

Adam, Heribert, F. Van Zyl Slabbert, and Kogila Moodley. 1998f. *Comrades in Business:*

Post-Liberation Politics in South Africa. Utrecht: International Books.

ADAM, KANYA. 1997. 'The Politics of Redress: South African Style Affirmative Action'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 35(2):231–49. doi: 10.1017/S0022278X97002413.

African National Congress and Sechaba. 1985. *Selected Writings on the Freedom Charter, 1955-1985*. London: African National Congress.

Alan Baldwin. 1975. 'Mass Removals and Separate Development'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 1(2):215–27.

Alan Morris. 1999. 'Race Relations and Racism in a Racially Diverse Inner City Neighbourhood: A Case Study of Hillbrow, Johannesburg'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25(4):667–94.

Alden, Chris. 1996a. *Apartheid's Last Stand: The Rise and Fall of the South African Security State, 1978-90*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Alden, Chris. 1996b. *Apartheid's Last Stand: The Rise and Fall of the South African Security State, 1978-90*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Alexander Johnston. 1994. 'South Africa: The Election and the Emerging Party System'. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 70(4):721–36.

Alexander, Peter. 2010. 'Rebellion of the Poor: South Africa's Service Delivery Protests – a Preliminary Analysis'. *Review of African Political Economy* 37(123):25–40. doi: 10.1080/03056241003637870.

Alexander, Peter. 2013. 'Marikana, Turning Point in South African History'. *Review of African Political Economy* 40(138):605–19. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2013.860893.

Amnesty International. 1992. *South Africa: State of Fear: Security Force Complicity in Torture and Political Killings, 1990-1992*. London: Amnesty International.

Anciano, Fiona. 2014. 'Non-Racialism and the African National Congress: Views from the Branch'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 32(1):35–55. doi: 10.1080/02589001.2014.900308.

Anciano-White, Fiona, and Johnny Alubu Selemani. 2012. 'Rethinking Non-Racialism: Reflections of a Selection of South African Leaders'. *Politikon* 39(1):149–69. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656918.

André du Toit. 2005. 'Experiments with Truth and Justice in South Africa: Stockenström, Gandhi and the TRC'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31(2):419–48.

Anglin, Douglas G. 1995. 'The Life and Death of South Africa's National Peacekeeping Force'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 33(01). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00020838.
Anon. 1992. *Checkmate for Apartheid?: A Special Report on Two Years of Destabilisation, July 1990 to June 1992*. Vol. Special report / Human Rights Commission. Braamfontein: Human Rights Commission.

Anon. 1993a. 'South Africa: Countdown to Election'. *The World Today* 49(8):142–52.

- Anon. 1993b. Three Years of Destabilisation: A Record of Political Violence in South Africa from July 1990 to June 1993. Vol. Special report / Human Rights Commission. Braamfontein: Human Rights Commission.
- Anon. 1994a. A Basic Guide to the Reconstruction and Development Programme. Johannesburg: African National Congress.
- Anon. 1994b. 'Africa Contemporary Record'. XXV.
- Anon. 2001a. Africa South of the Sahara. 30th Edition.
- Anon. 2001b. Africa South of the Sahara. 30th Edition.
- Anon. 2001c. 'When Dogs Don't Bark; Race in South Africa'. The Economist 2001(2001).
- Anon. 2009. 'A Big Win for a Big New Man; South Africa's Elections'. The Economist 391(8).
- Anon. 2010. 'The Price of Freedom'. The Economist 395(8).
- Anon. n.d.-a. AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA (30TH EDITION).
- Anon. n.d.-b. 'African National Congress Home Page'. Retrieved (<http://www.anc.org.za/index.php>).
- Anon. n.d.-c. 'ANC Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission'. Retrieved (<http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2639>).
- Anon. n.d.-d. 'BBC News - Viewpoint: Does Race Matter in South Africa?' Retrieved (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19402353>).
- Anon. n.d.-e. 'BBC News - Viewpoint: Marikana Highlights Zuma's Failure to Lead'. Retrieved (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19466824>).
- Anon. n.d.-f. 'BUTHELEZI, INKATHA AND THE POLITICS OF COMPROMISE'.
- Anon. n.d.-g. 'CONSOLIDATING SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRACY: THE POLITICAL ARITHMETIC OF BUDGETARY REDISTRIBUTION'.
- Anon. n.d.-h. 'EISA | Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa'. Retrieved (<http://www.content.eisa.org.za/>).
- Anon. n.d.-i. 'EISA | Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa'. Retrieved (<http://www.content.eisa.org.za/home>).
- Anon. n.d.-j. 'EISA | Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa'. Retrieved (<http://www.content.eisa.org.za/home>).
- Anon. n.d.-k. 'EISA | Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa'. Retrieved (<http://www.content.eisa.org.za/home>).
- Anon. n.d.-l. 'EISA | Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa'. Retrieved

(<http://www.content.eisa.org.za/home>).

Anon. n.d.-m. 'Electoral Competition, Factionalism and Persistent Party Domination in Botswana'.

Anon. n.d.-n. 'Emerging from Apartheid's Shadow: South Africa's Informal Economy: EBSCOhost'.

Anon. n.d.-o. 'FW de Klerk Foundation - Home'. Retrieved (<http://www.fwdeklerk.org/index.php/en/>).

Anon. n.d.-p. 'Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation 'Interim Report on Criminal Political Violence by Elements Within the South African Police, the KwaZulu Police and the Inkatha Freedom Party'.

Anon. n.d.-q. 'Home | BDlive'. Retrieved (<http://www.bdlive.co.za/>).

Anon. n.d.-r. 'Home | Financial Mail'. Retrieved (<http://www.financialmail.co.za/>).

Anon. n.d.-s. 'Home - Breaking SA and World News, Sports, Business, Entertainment and More - Times LIVE'. Retrieved (<http://www.timeslive.co.za/>).

Anon. n.d.-t. 'How SA's Unions Fell out with the ANC'. Retrieved (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3662590.stm>).

Anon. n.d.-u. Keesing's Record of World Events.

Anon. n.d.-v. Keesing's Record of World Events.

Anon. n.d.-w. Keesing's Record of World Events.

Anon. n.d.-x. 'Mail & Guardian'. Retrieved (<http://mg.co.za/>).

Anon. n.d.-y. 'Negotiations - Another Site of Struggle'.

Anon. n.d.-z. 'Nelson Mandela: Appraising a Legend (Part 1)'. Retrieved (<http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2013/12/07/Nelson-Mandela-Appraising-an-icon-%28part-1%29.aspx?COLLCC=2778639344&>).

Anon. n.d.-aa. 'Nelson Mandela: Appraising a Legend (Part 2)'. Retrieved (<http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2013/12/07/Nelson-Mandela-Appraising-an-icon-%28part-2%29.aspx>).

Anon. n.d.-ab. 'Observations on "Rogue Democracies": EBSCOhost'.

Anon. n.d.-ac. 'Opposition Growth in Dominant Party Systems'.

Anon. n.d.-ad. 'Opposition Parties: Sustaining Multi-Party Democracy?'

Anon. n.d.-ae. 'POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN SOUTH AFRICA'.

Anon. n.d.-af. 'Politicsweb - Homepage'. Retrieved

(<http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71616>).

Anon. n.d.-ag. 'Power-Sharing Democracy in the New South Africa'. Politics and Society.

Anon. n.d.-ah. 'South Africa: Election Archive | EISA'. Retrieved (<http://www.content.eisa.org.za/old-page/south-africa-election-archive>).

Anon. n.d.-ai. 'South Africa: Election Archive | EISA'. Retrieved (<http://www.content.eisa.org.za/old-page/south-africa-election-archive>).

Anon. n.d.-aj. 'South Africa: Election Archive | EISA'. Retrieved (<http://www.content.eisa.org.za/old-page/south-africa-election-archive>).

Anon. n.d.-ak. 'Sunday Independent | IOL.Co.Za'. Retrieved (<http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent>).

Anon. n.d.-al. 'THE CENTRALIZATION AND FRAGMENTATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S DOMINANT PARTY SYSTEM'.

Anon. n.d.-am. 'THE COSATU PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRATIC TRADITION AND SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW PARLIAMENT: ARE THEY RECONCILABLE?'

Anon. n.d.-an. 'THE COSATU PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRATIC TRADITION AND SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW PARLIAMENT: ARE THEY RECONCILABLE?'

Anon. n.d.-ao. 'The Greatest Threat to the ANC Is Its Own Dominance'. Retrieved (<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/apr/16/southafrica.comment>).

Anon. n.d.-ap. 'THE LOCAL ELECTIONS IN KWAZULU-NATAL: 26 JUNE 1996'.

Anon. n.d.-aq. 'The Politics of Dwelling: Being White / Being South African'. Africa Today 56(4):22-41.

Anon. n.d.-ar. 'The Transformation of the South African Military'.

Anon. n.d.-as. 'THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION ON BUSINESS AND APARTHEID: A CRITICAL EVALUATION'.

Anon. n.d.-at. 'Together for Change - Democratic Alliance'. Retrieved (<http://www.da.org.za/>).

Ansell *, Amy E. 2004. 'Two Nations of Discourse: Mapping Racial Ideologies in Post-apartheid South Africa'. Politikon 31(1):3-26. doi: 10.1080/02589340410001690783.

Anyangwe, C. n.d. 'Race and Ethnicity: Voters' Party Preference in South African Elections'.

Askvik, Steinar. 2010. 'The Dynamics of Political Trust in South Africa, 1995-2006'. Politikon 37(1):25-44. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2010.492148.

Asmal, Kader, Louise Asmal, and Ronald Suresh Roberts. 1996. Reconciliation through

Truth: A Reckoning of Apartheid's Criminal Governance. 2nd.ed. with afterword. Cape Town: David Philip :Oxford.

Ballinger, M. L. 1969. From Union to Apartheid: A Trek to Isolation. Cape Town: Juta.

Barber, James P. 1994. Forging the New South Africa. Vol. Discussion paper / Royal Institute of International Affairs. London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Barber, James P. 1999a. South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History in Search of a Nation State. Vol. History of the contemporary world. Oxford: Blackwell.

Barber, James P. 1999b. South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History in Search of a Nation State. Vol. History of the contemporary world. Oxford: Blackwell.

Barber, James P. 1999c. South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History in Search of a Nation State. Vol. History of the contemporary world. Oxford: Blackwell.

Barber, James P. 1999d. South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History in Search of a Nation State. Vol. History of the contemporary world. Oxford: Blackwell.

Barber, James P. 1999e. South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History in Search of a Nation State. Vol. History of the contemporary world. Oxford: Blackwell.

Barber, James P. 1999f. South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History in Search of a Nation State. Vol. History of the contemporary world. Oxford: Blackwell.

Barber, James P. 2004a. Mandela's World: The International Dimension of South Africa's Political Revolution 1990-99. Oxford: James Currey.

Barber, James P. 2004b. Mandela's World: The International Dimension of South Africa's Political Revolution 1990-99. Oxford: James Currey.

Barnard, Niël, and Tobie Wiese. 2015a. Secret Revolution: Memoirs of a Spy Boss. Second softcover edition. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Barnard, Niël, and Tobie Wiese. 2015b. Secret Revolution: Memoirs of a Spy Boss. Second softcover edition. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Barrell, Howard. 1990. MK: The ANC's Armed Struggle. Vol. Penguin forum series. London: Penguin.

Basson, N. n.d. 'De Klerk's Double Agenda'.

Beinart, William. 2001a. Twentieth-Century South Africa. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Beinart, William. 2001b. Twentieth-Century South Africa. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Beinart, William, and Peter Delius. 2014. 'The Historical Context and Legacy of the Natives Land Act of 1913'. Journal of Southern African Studies 40(4):667-88. doi: 10.1080/03057070.2014.930623.

- Beinart, William, and Saul Dubow. 1995a. Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa. Vol. Rewriting histories. London: Routledge.
- Beinart, William, and Saul Dubow. 1995b. Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa. Vol. Rewriting histories. London: Routledge.
- Beinart, William, and Saul Dubow. 1995c. Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa. Vol. Rewriting histories. London: Routledge.
- Beinart, William, and Saul Dubow. 1995d. Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa. Vol. Rewriting histories. London: Routledge.
- Beinart, William, and Saul Dubow. 1995e. Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa. Vol. Rewriting histories. London: Routledge.
- Beinart, William, and Saul Dubow. 1995f. Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa. Vol. Rewriting histories. London: Routledge.
- Benjamin, Larry, and Christopher Gregory. 1992. Southern Africa at the Crossroads?: Prospects for Stability and Development in the 1990s. Rivonia: Justified Press.
- Benson, Mary. 1966. South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright. Vol. Penguin African library. Rev. ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Beresford, Alexander. 2014. 'Nelson Mandela and the Politics of South Africa's Unfinished Liberation'. Review of African Political Economy 41(140):297-305. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2014.883114.
- Bertelser, E. n.d. "Selling Change: Advertisements for the 1994 South African Election".
- Bissell, Richard E., and Chester A. Crocker. 1979. South Africa into the 1980s. Vol. Westview special studies on Africa. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press.
- Blumenfeld, J. n.d. 'Assessing South Africa's Growth Strategy'.
- Blumenfeld, Jesmond and Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1987a. South Africa in Crisis. London: Croom Helm for the Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Blumenfeld, Jesmond and Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1987b. South Africa in Crisis. London: Croom Helm for the Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Blumenfeld, Jesmond and Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1987c. South Africa in Crisis. London: Croom Helm for the Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Blumenfeld, Jesmond and Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1987d. South Africa in Crisis. London: Croom Helm for the Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Bond, Patrick. 2000a. Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa. London: Pluto Press.
- Bond, Patrick. 2000b. Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa. London: Pluto Press.

Bond, Patrick. 2007. 'South Africa between Neoliberalism and Social Democracy?: Respecting Balance While Sharpening Differences'. *Politikon* 34(2):125–46. doi: 10.1080/02589340701715182.

Bond, Patrick. 2011. 'South African Splinters: From "Elite Transition" to "Small-a Alliances"'. *Review of African Political Economy* 38(127):113–21. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2011.552690.

Bond, Patrick. 2012. 'South African People Power since the Mid-1980s: Two Steps Forward, One Back'. *Third World Quarterly* 33(2):243–64. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2012.666011.

Bond, Patrick, and Shauna Mottiar. 2013. 'Movements, Protests and a Massacre in South Africa'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 31(2):283–302. doi: 10.1080/02589001.2013.789727.

Booyesen, Susan. 2011a. *The African National Congress and the Regeneration of Political Power*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Booyesen, Susan. 2011b. *The African National Congress and the Regeneration of Political Power*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Booyesen, Susan. 2011c. *The African National Congress and the Regeneration of Political Power*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Boraine, Alex. 2001. *A Country Unmasked*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Boraine, Alex, and Desmond Tutu. 2014. *What's Gone Wrong?: South Africa on the Brink of Failed Statehood*. New York: New York University Press.

Bosman, Frouwien, and Pierre Du Toit. 2011. 'Electoral Systems and the Contest for Relative Group Status in Post-Conflict Societies: The Case of the 2009 Election in South Africa'. *Politikon* 38(2):211–29. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2011.580122.

Botha, P. W. n.d. 'The Road Ahead' (Speech by the Then State President at the Opening of Parliament, 24 January 1985)'.

Botiveau, R. 2014. 'Briefing: The Politics of Marikana and South Africa's Changing Labour Relations'. *African Affairs* 113(450):128–37. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adt073.

Botiveau, Raphaël. 2013. 'Longevity of the Tripartite Alliance: The Post-Mangaung Sequence'. *Review of African Political Economy* 40(138):620–27. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2013.854042.

Boulle, Laurence, and Robert A. Schrire. 1994a. *Malan to de Klerk: Leadership in the Apartheid State*. London: Hurst.

Boulle, Laurence, and Robert A. Schrire. 1994b. *Malan to de Klerk: Leadership in the Apartheid State*. London: Hurst.

Boulle, Laurence, and Robert A. Schrire. 1994c. *Malan to de Klerk: Leadership in the Apartheid State*. London: Hurst.

Bremmer, Ian, and Sebastian Spio-Garbrah. 2007a. 'South Africa's Troubled Success Story'. *Survival* 49(1):7-14. doi: 10.1080/00396330701254453.

Bremmer, Ian, and Sebastian Spio-Garbrah. 2007b. 'South Africa's Troubled Success Story'. *Survival* 49(1):7-14. doi: 10.1080/00396330701254453.

Bremmer, Ian, and Sebastian Spio-Garbrah. 2007c. 'South Africa's Troubled Success Story'. *Survival* 49(1):7-14. doi: 10.1080/00396330701254453.

Brewer, John D. 1986. *After Soweto: An Unfinished Journey*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Brewer, John D. 1988a. *Can South Africa Survive?: Five Minutes to Midnight*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Brewer, John D. 1988b. *Can South Africa Survive?: Five Minutes to Midnight*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Brewer, John D. 1988c. *Can South Africa Survive?: Five Minutes to Midnight*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Brewer, John D. 1988d. *Can South Africa Survive?: Five Minutes to Midnight*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Brewer, John D. 1994a. *Restructuring South Africa*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Brewer, John D. 1994b. *Restructuring South Africa*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Brooks, Alan, Jeremy Brickhill, and International Defence and Aid Fund. 1980. *Whirlwind before the Storm: The Origins and Development of the Uprising in Soweto and the Rest of South Africa from June to December 1976*. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.

Brooks, H. n.d. 'The Dominant Party System: Challenges for South Africa's Second Decade of Democracy'.

Bruce W. Nelan. 1990. 'Changes in South Africa'. *Foreign Affairs* 69(1):135-51.

Buhlungu, Sakhela. 2005. 'Union-Party Alliances in the Era of Market Regulation: The Case of South Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31(4):701-17. doi: 10.1080/03057070500370464.

Bunting, Brian. 1969. *The Rise of the South African Reich*. Rev.ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Butler, A. 2005. 'South Africa's HIV/AIDS Policy, 1994-2004: How Can It Be Explained?' *African Affairs* 104(417):591-614. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adi036.

Butler, Anthony. 2000. 'Is South Africa Heading towards Authoritarian Rule? Instability Myths and Expectations Traps in a New Democracy'. *Politikon* 27(2):189-205. doi: 10.1080/713692335.

Butler, Anthony. 2003. 'South Africa's Political Futures'. *Government and Opposition*

38(1):93–112. doi: 10.1111/1477-7053.t01-1-00006.

Butler, Anthony. 2005a. 'How Democratic Is the African National Congress?'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31(4):719–36. doi: 10.1080/03057070500370472.

Butler, Anthony. 2005b. 'The Negative and Positive Impacts of HIV/AIDS on Democracy in South Africa'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 23(1):3–26. doi: 10.1080/0258900042000329439.

Butler, Anthony. 2009. 'CONSIDERATIONS ON THE EROSION OF ONE-PARTY DOMINANCE'. *Representation* 45(2):159–71. doi: 10.1080/00344890902945681.

Cachalia, Firoz. 2012. 'Revisiting the National Question and Identity'. *Politikon* 39(1):53–69. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656913.

Calland, Richard. 2006a. *Anatomy of South Africa: Who Holds the Power?* Cape Town: Zebra Press.

Calland, Richard. 2006b. *Anatomy of South Africa: Who Holds the Power?* Cape Town: Zebra Press.

Calland, Richard. 2006c. *Anatomy of South Africa: Who Holds the Power?* Cape Town: Zebra Press.

Calland, Richard. 2013a. *The Zuma Years: South Africa's Changing Face of Power.* Cape Town: Zebra Press.

Calland, Richard. 2013b. *The Zuma Years: South Africa's Changing Face of Power.* Cape Town: Zebra Press.

Calland, Richard, Paul Graham, and Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa. 2005a. *Democracy in the Time of Mbeki. Vol. IDASA'S democracy index.* Cape Town: IDASA.

Calland, Richard, Paul Graham, and Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa. 2005b. *Democracy in the Time of Mbeki. Vol. IDASA'S democracy index.* Cape Town: IDASA.

Callinicos, Alex. 1992. *Between Apartheid and Capitalism: Conversations with South African Socialists.* London: Bookmarks.

Callinicos, Luli. 2004. *Oliver Tambo: Beyond the Engeli Mountains.* Claremont, South Africa: David Philip.

Campbell, C. 2001. 'Briefing: Riding the Tiger: Contextualizing HIV Prevention in South Africa'. *African Affairs* 100(398):135–40. doi: 10.1093/afraf/100.398.135.

Campbell, Keith. 1986. *ANC: A Soviet Task Force? Vol. Terrorism in South Africa.* London: Institute for the Study of Terrorism.

Carmody, Pádraig. 2002. 'Between Globalisation and (Post) Apartheid: The Political Economy of Restructuring in South Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies*

28(2):255–75. doi: 10.1080/03057070220140694.

Carrim, Y. n.d. 'From Banned Liberation to Legal Political Party: Challenges before the ANC at Present'.

Carter, Gwendolen Margaret. 1980. *Which Way Is South Africa Going*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Carter, Gwendolen Margaret, Thomas Karis, and Newell M. Stultz. 1967. *South Africa's Transkei: The Politics of Domestic Colonialism*. London: Heineman.

Carter, Gwendolen Margaret, and Patrick O'Meara. 1982. *Southern Africa: The Continuing Crisis*. 2nd ed. Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press.

Cawthra, Gavin. 1993. *Policing South Africa: The South African Police & the Transition from Apartheid*. London: Zed Books.

Cawthra, Gavin and Catholic Institute for International Relations. 1992. *South Africa's Police: From Police State to Democratic Policing? Vol. Insight*. London: Catholic Institute for International Relations.

Ceruti, Claire. 2008. 'African National Congress Change in Leadership: What Really Won It for Zuma?' *Review of African Political Economy* 35(115):107–14. doi: 10.1080/03056240802011808.

Ceruti, Claire. 2011. 'The Hidden Element in the 2010 Public-Sector Strike in South Africa'. *Review of African Political Economy* 38(127):151–57. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2011.552754.

Charles Carter. 1992a. 'Community and Conflict: The Alexandra Rebellion of 1986'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18(1):115–42.

Charles Carter. 1992b. 'Community and Conflict: The Alexandra Rebellion of 1986'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18(1):115–42.

Chinguno, Crispen. 2013. 'Marikana: Fragmentation, Precariousness, Strike Violence and Solidarity'. *Review of African Political Economy* 40(138):639–46. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2013.854062.

Chipkin, Ivor. 2013. 'Whither the State? Corruption, Institutions and State-Building in South Africa'. *Politikon* 40(2):211–31. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2013.798457.

Christie, Kenneth. 2000a. *The South African Truth Commission*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Christie, Kenneth. 2000b. *The South African Truth Commission*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Christie, Kenneth. 2000c. *The South African Truth Commission*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Cilliers, J. n.d. 'Forecasting South African Election Results'.

Clark, Nancy L., and William H. Worger. 2011a. *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*. Vol. Seminar studies in history. 2nd ed. Harlow: Longman.

- Clark, Nancy L., and William H. Worger. 2011b. *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*. Vol. Seminar studies in history. 2nd ed. Harlow: Longman.
- Clingman, Stephen. 1998. *Bram Fischer: Afrikaner Revolutionary*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Cock, Jacklyn, and Laurie Nathan. 1989. *War and Society: The Militarisation of South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Coleman, Max. 1998a. *A Crime against Humanity: Analysing the Repression of the Apartheid State*. Johannesburg: Human Rights Committee of South Africa.
- Coleman, Max. 1998b. *A Crime against Humanity: Analysing the Repression of the Apartheid State*. Johannesburg: Human Rights Committee of South Africa.
- Collins, Peter. 1990a. *Thinking about South Africa: Reason, Morality and Politics*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Collins, Peter. 1990b. *Thinking about South Africa: Reason, Morality and Politics*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Collins, Peter. 1990c. *Thinking about South Africa: Reason, Morality and Politics*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons and Commonwealth Secretariat. 1986. *Mission to South Africa: The Commonwealth Report*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books for the Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Communist Party of Great Britain. n.d. 'Apartheid's Deepening Crisis'. *Marxism Today*.
- Cornelissen, Scarlett, and Steffen Horstmeier. 2002. 'The Social and Political Construction of Identities in the New South Africa: An Analysis of the Western Cape Province'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 40(01). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X01003810.
- Craig Charney. 1984. 'The Politics of Changing Partners: Control and Co-Option in the New South African Constitution'. *Review of African Political Economy* (29):122-31.
- Crawford, Neta, and Audie Klotz. 1998. *How Sanctions Work: Lessons from South Africa*. Vol. International political economy series. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Crawford-Browne, Terry. 2004. 'The Arms Deal Scandal'. *Review of African Political Economy* 31(100):329-42. doi: 10.1080/0305624042000262329.
- Cronin, J. n.d.-a. 'Codesa: What Is de Klerk up To?'
- Cronin, J. n.d.-b. '"GNURs or No GNURs'.
- Cronin, J. n.d.-c. 'In Search of a Relevant Strategy'.
- Cronje, F. n.d. 'South Africa After the ANC'.
- Cullinan, K. n.d. 'Moving the Masses' (Analysis of ANC Mass Action)'.

- Curry, D. 2006. 'An African American Constructs and Confronts the Social Construction of Race in Post-Apartheid South Africa'.
- Daniel, John. 2011a. *New South African Review: 2: New Paths, Old Compromises*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Daniel, John. 2011b. *New South African Review: 2: New Paths, Old Compromises*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Daniel, John. 2011c. *New South African Review: 2: New Paths, Old Compromises*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Daniel, John. 2011d. *New South African Review: 2: New Paths, Old Compromises*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Daniel, John. 2011e. *New South African Review: 2: New Paths, Old Compromises*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Darracq, V. 2008. 'The African National Congress (ANC) Organization at the Grassroots'. *African Affairs* 107(429):589–609. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adn059.
- Davenport, T. R. H. 2000a. *South Africa: A Modern History*. 5th ed. London: Macmillan.
- Davenport, T. R. H. 2000b. *South Africa: A Modern History*. 5th ed. London: Macmillan.
- David Dickinson. 2004. 'Corporate South Africa's Response to HIV/AIDS: Why so Slow?' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30(3):627–49.
- David Welsh. 1996. 'Ethnicity in Sub-Saharan Africa'. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) 72(3):477–91.
- Davids, Yul Derek, and Fairuz Gaibie. 2011. 'Quality of Life in Post-Apartheid South Africa'. *Politikon* 38(2):231–56. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2011.580124.
- Davidson, Basil, Joe Slovo, and Anthony Robin Wilkinson. 1976. *Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution*. Vol. A pelican original. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Davies, Rebecca. 2007. 'Rebuilding the Future or Revisiting the Past? Post-Apartheid Afrikaner Politics'. *Review of African Political Economy* 34(112):353–70. doi: 10.1080/03056240701449737.
- Davies, Robert H., Dan O'Meara, and Sipho Dlamini. 1988. *The Struggle for South Africa: A Reference Guide to Movements, Organizations and Institutions*. New ed. London: Zed Books.
- Davis, Stephen M. 1987a. *Apartheid's Rebels: Inside South Africa's Hidden War*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press.
- Davis, Stephen M. 1987b. *Apartheid's Rebels: Inside South Africa's Hidden War*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press.
- Davis, Stephen R. 2009. 'The African National Congress, Its Radio, Its Allies and Exile

*'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35(2):349–73. doi: 10.1080/03057070902919892.

De Jager, Nicola. 2009. 'No "New" ANC?' *Politikon* 36(2):275–88. doi: 10.1080/02589340903240245.

De Kiewiet, C. W. 1941. *A History of South Africa, Social and Economic*. London: Oxford University Press.

De Klerk, F. W. 1998a. *The Last Trek - a New Beginning: The Autobiography*. London: Macmillan.

De Klerk, F. W. 1998b. *The Last Trek - a New Beginning: The Autobiography*. London: Macmillan.

De Klerk, F. W. 1998c. *The Last Trek - a New Beginning: The Autobiography*. London: Macmillan.

De Klerk, F. W. 1998d. *The Last Trek - a New Beginning: The Autobiography*. London: Macmillan.

De Klerk, F. W. 1998e. *The Last Trek - a New Beginning: The Autobiography*. London: Macmillan.

De Klerk, F. W. 2010. 'The Recent Election and the Zuma Presidency'. *The Round Table* 99(406):27–33. doi: 10.1080/00358530903513665.

De Klerk, Willem. 1991a. *F.W. de Klerk: The Man in His Time*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

De Klerk, Willem. 1991b. *F.W. de Klerk: The Man in His Time*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

De Klerk, Willem A. 1975. *The Puritans in Africa: A History of Afrikanerdom*. London: Rex Collings.

Death, Carl. 2011. 'Popular Politics and Resistance Movements in South Africa'. *Review of African Political Economy* 38(129):501–3. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2011.598647.

Deborah Posel. 1999. 'Whiteness and Power in the South African Civil Service: Paradoxes of the Apartheid State'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25(1):99–119.

Deborah Posel. 2001. 'Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth-Century South Africa'. *African Studies Review* 44(2):87–113.

Deegan, Heather. 2001a. *The Politics of the New South Africa: Apartheid and After*. Harlow: Longman.

Deegan, Heather. 2001b. *The Politics of the New South Africa: Apartheid and After*. Harlow: Longman.

Deegan, Heather. 2001c. *The Politics of the New South Africa: Apartheid and After*. Harlow:

Longman.

Deegan, Heather. 2001d. *The Politics of the New South Africa: Apartheid and After*. Harlow: Longman.

Deegan, Heather. 2001e. *The Politics of the New South Africa: Apartheid and After*. Harlow: Longman.

Deegan, Heather. 2001f. *The Politics of the New South Africa: Apartheid and After*. Harlow: Longman.

Deegan, Heather. 2001g. *The Politics of the New South Africa: Apartheid and After*. Harlow: Longman.

Deegan, Heather. 2001h. *The Politics of the New South Africa: Apartheid and After*. Harlow: Longman.

Deegan, Heather. 2001i. *The Politics of the New South Africa: Apartheid and After*. Harlow: Longman.

Deegan, Heather. 2011a. *Politics South Africa*. 2nd ed. Harlow: Pearson Longman.

Deegan, Heather. 2011b. *Politics South Africa*. 2nd ed. Harlow: Pearson Longman.

Deegan, Heather. 2011c. *Politics South Africa*. 2nd ed. Harlow: Pearson Longman.

Deegan, Heather. 2011d. *Politics South Africa*. 2nd ed. Harlow: Pearson Longman.

Deegan, Heather. 2011e. *Politics South Africa*. 2nd ed. Harlow: Pearson Longman.

Diamond, Larry Jay, and Marc Plattner. 1999a. *Democratization in Africa*. Vol. *Journal of democracy books*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Diamond, Larry Jay, and Marc Plattner. 1999b. *Democratization in Africa*. Vol. *Journal of democracy books*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Diamond, Larry Jay, and Marc Plattner. 1999c. *Democratization in Africa*. Vol. *Journal of democracy books*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Du Preez, Max. 2013a. *A Rumour of Spring: South Africa after 20 Years of Democracy*. Cape Town: Zebra Press.

Du Preez, Max. 2013b. *A Rumour of Spring: South Africa after 20 Years of Democracy*. Cape Town: Zebra Press.

Du Preez, Max. 2013c. *A Rumour of Spring: South Africa after 20 Years of Democracy*. Cape Town: Zebra Press.

Du Preez, Max. 2013d. *A Rumour of Spring: South Africa after 20 Years of Democracy*. Cape Town: Zebra Press.

Du Preez, Max. 2013e. *A Rumour of Spring: South Africa after 20 Years of Democracy*.

Cape Town: Zebra Press.

Elke K. Zuern. 2002. 'Fighting for Democracy: Popular Organizations and Postapartheid Government in South Africa'. *African Studies Review* 45(1):77-102.

Ellis, S. 1991. 'The ANC in Exile'.

Ellis, S. n.d. 'Mbokodo: Security in ANC Camps, 1961-1990'.

Ellis, S., and Tsepo Sechaba. 1991. *Comrades against Apartheid: The ANC & the South African Communist Party in Exile*. London: James Currey.

Ellis, Stephen. 2011. 'The Genesis of the ANC's Armed Struggle in South Africa 1948-1961'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37(4):657-76. doi: 10.1080/03057070.2011.592659.

Etherington, Norman. 1992a. *Peace, Politics and Violence in the New South Africa*. Vol. African discourse series. London: Hans Zell.

Etherington, Norman. 1992b. *Peace, Politics and Violence in the New South Africa*. Vol. African discourse series. London: Hans Zell.

Etherington, Norman. 1992c. *Peace, Politics and Violence in the New South Africa*. Vol. African discourse series. London: Hans Zell.

Etherington, Norman. 1992d. *Peace, Politics and Violence in the New South Africa*. Vol. African discourse series. London: Hans Zell.

Evans, Laura. 2014. 'Resettlement and the Making of the Ciskei Bantustan, South Africa, 1960-1976'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40(1):21-40. doi: 10.1080/03057070.2014.889359.

Eveleth, A. n.d.-a. 'Elevating a Mythic Nation' (History of Inkatha Article)'.

Eveleth, A. n.d.-b. 'End Game'.

Everatt, David. 2012. 'Non-Racialism in South Africa: Status and Prospects'. *Politikon* 39(1):5-28. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656910.

Faure, A. M., and Jan-Erik Lane. 1996a. *South Africa: Designing New Political Institutions*. London: Sage.

Faure, A. M., and Jan-Erik Lane. 1996b. *South Africa: Designing New Political Institutions*. London: Sage.

Faure, A. M., and Jan-Erik Lane. 1996c. *South Africa: Designing New Political Institutions*. London: Sage.

Faure, A. M., and Jan-Erik Lane. 1996d. *South Africa: Designing New Political Institutions*. London: Sage.

Financial Mail. n.d. 'Mangosuthu Buthelezi: Message of the Drums'.

Foltz, William J., and Henry Bienen. 1985. *Arms and the African: Military Influences on Africa's International Relations*. Vol. A Council on Foreign Relations book. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press.

Foster, Douglas. 2012. *After Mandela: The Struggle for Freedom in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation.

Frankel, Philip. 1979. 'The Politics of Passes: Control and Change in South Africa'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 17(02). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00005413.

Frankel, Philip H. 1984. *Pretoria's Praetorians: Civil-Military Relations in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Frankel, Philip H., Noam Pines, and Mark Swilling. 1988a. *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa*. London: Croom Helm.

Frankel, Philip H., Noam Pines, and Mark Swilling. 1988b. *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa*. London: Croom Helm.

Frankel, Philip H., Noam Pines, and Mark Swilling. 1988c. *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa*. London: Croom Helm.

Frankel, Philip H., Noam Pines, and Mark Swilling. 1988d. *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa*. London: Croom Helm.

Frankel, Philip H., Noam Pines, and Mark Swilling. 1988e. *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa*. London: Croom Helm.

Fredrickson, George M. 1981. *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Freund, Bill. 2007. 'South Africa: The End of Apartheid & the Emergence of the "BEE Elite"'. *Review of African Political Economy* 34(114):661–78. doi: 10.1080/03056240701819533.

Freund, Bill. 2014. 'The Shadow of Nelson Mandela, 1918–2013'. *Review of African Political Economy* 41(140):292–96. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2014.883111.

Friedman, Steven. 2012. 'Beyond the Fringe? South African Social Movements and the Politics of Redistribution'. *Review of African Political Economy* 39(131):85–100. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2012.658718.

Furley, Oliver. 1995a. *Conflict in Africa*. London: Tauris Academic Studies.

Furley, Oliver. 1995b. *Conflict in Africa*. London: Tauris Academic Studies.

Galer, Graham. 2004. 'Scenarios of Change in South Africa'. *The Round Table* 93(375):369–83. doi: 10.1080/0035853042000249960.

Gann, L. H., and Peter Duignan. 1981. *Why South Africa Will Survive: A Historical Analysis*. London: Croom Helm.

Gastrow, Shelagh. 1995. *Who's Who in South African Politics*. 5th ed. Johannesburg: Ravan

Press.

Gerhard Mare. 1989. 'Inkatha and Regional Control: Policing Liberation Politics'. *Review of African Political Economy* (45):179–89.

Gerrit Olivier. 2003. 'Is Thabo Mbeki Africa's Saviour?' *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) 79(4):815–28.

Gevisser, Mark. 2007a. *The Dream Deferred: Thabo Mbeki*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

Gevisser, Mark. 2007b. *The Dream Deferred: Thabo Mbeki*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

Gevisser, Mark. 2007c. *The Dream Deferred: Thabo Mbeki*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

Gevisser, Mark. 2007d. *The Dream Deferred: Thabo Mbeki*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

Gevisser, Mark. 2007e. *The Dream Deferred: Thabo Mbeki*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

Gevisser, Mark. 2007f. *The Dream Deferred: Thabo Mbeki*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

Giliomee, Hermann. 2003a. *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People*. London: C. Hurst.

Giliomee, Hermann. 2003b. *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People*. London: C. Hurst.

Giliomee, Hermann. 2003c. 'The Making of the Apartheid Plan, 1929-1948*'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29(2):373–92. doi: 10.1080/03057070306211.

Giliomee, Hermann, and Lawrence Schlemmer. 1989a. *From Apartheid to Nation-Building*. Vol. Contemporary South African debates. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Giliomee, Hermann, and Lawrence Schlemmer. 1989b. *From Apartheid to Nation-Building*. Vol. Contemporary South African debates. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Giliomee, Hermann, and Lawrence Schlemmer. 1989c. *From Apartheid to Nation-Building*. Vol. Contemporary South African debates. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Giliomee, Hermann, and Lawrence Schlemmer. 1989d. *Negotiating South Africa's Future*. London: Macmillan.

Giliomee, Hermann, Lawrence Schlemmer, and Sarita Hauptfleisch. 1994a. *The Bold Experiment: South Africa's New Democracy*. Halfway House [South Africa]: Southern Book Publishers.

Giliomee, Hermann, Lawrence Schlemmer, and Sarita Hauptfleisch. 1994b. *The Bold Experiment: South Africa's New Democracy*. Halfway House [South Africa]: Southern Book Publishers.

Giliomee, Hermann, and C. E. W. Simkins. 1999a. *The Awkward Embrace: One-Party Domination and Democracy*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers.

Giliomee, Hermann, and C. E. W. Simkins. 1999b. *The Awkward Embrace: One-Party Domination and Democracy*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers.

Ginsberg, Anthony Sanfield. 1998a. South Africa's Future: From Crisis to Prosperity. London: Macmillan.

Ginsberg, Anthony Sanfield. 1998b. South Africa's Future: From Crisis to Prosperity. London: Macmillan.

Glaser, D. 2000. 'THE MEDIA INQUIRY REPORTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: A CRITIQUE'. *African Affairs* 99(396):373-93. doi: 10.1093/afraf/99.396.373.

Goebel, Allison. 2011. "'Our Struggle Is for the Full Loaf': Protests, Social Welfare and Gendered Citizenship in South Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37(2):369-88. doi: 10.1080/03057070.2011.579437.

Graham Leach. n.d. The Afrikaners: Their Last Great Trek. Mandarin; New edition edition (4 Oct 1990).

Graybill, Lyn S. 2002. Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Miracle or Model? Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner.

Greg Mills. 1991. 'The Security Forces in a New South Africa'. *The World Today* 47(3):43-47.

Grundy, Kenneth W. 1986. The Militarization of South African Politics. Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press.

Grundy, Kenneth W. and South African Institute of International Affairs. 1983. The Rise of the South African Security Establishment: An Essay on the Changing Locus of State Power. Vol. Bradlow series. Braamfontein: South African Institute of International Affairs.

Guelke, Adrian. 1999a. South Africa in Transition: The Misunderstood Miracle. Vol. International library of African studies. London: Tauris.

Guelke, Adrian. 1999b. South Africa in Transition: The Misunderstood Miracle. Vol. International library of African studies. London: Tauris.

Guelke, Adrian. 1999c. South Africa in Transition: The Misunderstood Miracle. Vol. International library of African studies. London: Tauris.

Guelke, Adrian. 1999d. South Africa in Transition: The Misunderstood Miracle. Vol. International library of African studies. London: Tauris.

Guelke, Adrian. 1999e. South Africa in Transition: The Misunderstood Miracle. Vol. International library of African studies. London: Tauris.

Guelke, Adrian. 1999f. South Africa in Transition: The Misunderstood Miracle. Vol. International library of African studies. London: Tauris.

Guelke, Adrian. 2000. 'Interpretations of Political Violence during South Africa's Transition'. *Politikon* 27(2):239-54. doi: 10.1080/713692334.

GUELKE, ADRIAN. 2000. 'South Africa's Morality Tale for Our Time'. *Review of International*

Studies 26(02):303–9.

Guelke, Adrian. 2005a. *Rethinking the Rise and Fall of Apartheid: South Africa and World Politics*. Vol. *Rethinking world politics*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Guelke, Adrian. 2005b. *Rethinking the Rise and Fall of Apartheid: South Africa and World Politics*. Vol. *Rethinking world politics*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Guelke, Adrian. 2005c. *Rethinking the Rise and Fall of Apartheid: South Africa and World Politics*. Vol. *Rethinking world politics*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Guelke, Adrian. 2005d. *Rethinking the Rise and Fall of Apartheid: South Africa and World Politics*. Vol. *Rethinking world politics*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Guelke, Adrian. 2005e. *Rethinking the Rise and Fall of Apartheid: South Africa and World Politics*. Vol. *Rethinking world politics*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gumede, W. M. 2008a. 'South Africa: Jacob Zuma and the Difficulties of Consolidating South Africa's Democracy'. *African Affairs* 107(427):261–71. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adn018.

Gumede, W. M. 2008b. 'South Africa: Jacob Zuma and the Difficulties of Consolidating South Africa's Democracy'. *African Affairs* 107(427):261–71. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adn018.

Gumede, William. 2012a. *Restless Nation: Making Sense of Troubled Times*. Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers Ltd.

Gumede, William. 2012b. *Restless Nation: Making Sense of Troubled Times*. Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers Ltd.

Gumede, William Mervin. 2007a. *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC*. Updated ed. London: Zed.

Gumede, William Mervin. 2007b. *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC*. Updated ed. London: Zed.

Gumede, William Mervin. 2007c. *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC*. Updated ed. London: Zed.

Gumede, William Mervin. 2007d. *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC*. Updated ed. London: Zed.

Gumede, William Mervin. 2007e. *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC*. Updated ed. London: Zed.

Gumede, William Mervin. 2007f. *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC*. Updated ed. London: Zed.

Gumede, William Mervin. 2007g. Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC. Updated ed. London: Zed.

Gunner, L. 2008. 'Jacob Zuma, the Social Body and the Unruly Power of Song'. *African Affairs* 108(430):27-48. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adn064.

Gutteridge, William, Deon Geldenhuys, David Simon, and Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism. 1995a. *South Africa: From Apartheid to National Unity, 1981-1994*. Aldershot: Dartmouth.

Gutteridge, William, Deon Geldenhuys, David Simon, and Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism. 1995b. *South Africa: From Apartheid to National Unity, 1981-1994*. Aldershot: Dartmouth.

Gutteridge, William, and J. E. Spence. 1997. *Violence in Southern Africa*. Vol. Cass series on political violence. London: Frank Cass.

Habib, Adam, and Collette Schulz Herzenberg. 2011. 'Democratization and Parliamentary Opposition in Contemporary South Africa: The 2009 National and Provincial Elections in Perspective'. *Politikon* 38(2):191-210. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2011.580121.

Habib, Adam, and Lubna Nadvi. 2002. 'Party Disintegrations & Re-alignments in Post-apartheid South Africa'. *Review of African Political Economy* 29(92):331-38. doi: 10.1080/03056240208704617.

Hamber, B. n.d. 'Ere Their Story Dies": Truth, Justice and Reconciliation in South Africa'. 44:v-vi.

Hamil, J. n.d.-a. 'South Africa: To Follow An Icon'. *The World Today*.

Hamil, J. n.d.-b. 'South Africa's 2014 Election Could Be Next Step in ANC's Steady Decline'.

Hamil, James. 2011. 'Assessing South Africa in All It's Dimensions'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-a. '"A Royal Dilemma' (Assessment of the Role of King Goodwill of the Zulus)'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-b. 'An Offbeat Offer'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-c. 'Back to the Precipice'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-d. 'Birth Pangs of a New South Africa'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-e. 'Coups Talk Again'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-f. 'Electoral Success Obscures Long-Term Dangers to South Africa's ANC'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-g. 'Historic Compromise'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-h. 'Murder in a Tangled Web'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-i. 'President de Klerk's Options'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-j. 'South Africa After Hani'. Politics Review.

Hamill, J. n.d.-k. 'South Africa After the ANC: Part 1'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-l. 'South Africa After the ANC: Part 2'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-m. 'South Africa: Can Zuma Deliver?'

Hamill, J. n.d.-n. 'South Africa: Election '94 and the Rogue Provinces'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-o. 'South Africa: Election '94 and the Rogue Provinces'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-p. 'South Africa: New Terrain, Old Tactics'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-q. 'South Africa's Great Leap Forward'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-r. 'South Africa's Zuma, ANC Must Deliver on Transformation'.

Hamill, J. n.d.-s. 'The Crossing of the Rubicon: South Africa's Post- Apartheid Political Process 1990 - 1992'.

Hamill, James. 2003. 'A Disguised Surrender? South Africa's Negotiated Settlement and the Politics of Conflict Resolution'. *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 14(3):1-30. doi: 10.1080/09592290312331295546.

Hamill, James. 2004a. 'The Elephant and the Mice: Election 2004 and the Future of Opposition Politics in South Africa'. *The Round Table* 93(377):691-708. doi: 10.1080/0035853042000300179.

Hamill, James. 2004b. 'The Elephant and the Mice: Election 2004 and the Future of Opposition Politics in South Africa'. *The Round Table* 93(377):691-708. doi: 10.1080/0035853042000300179.

Hamill, James. 2010a. 'A (Qualified) Reaffirmation of ANC Hegemony: Assessing South Africa's 2009 Election'. *Politikon* 37(1):3-23. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2010.492147.

Hamill, James. 2010b. 'A (Qualified) Reaffirmation of ANC Hegemony: Assessing South Africa's 2009 Election'. *Politikon* 37(1):3-23. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2010.492147.

Hamill, James. n.d. 'Apolcalypse Soon? The Return of the Crisis Narrative in South Africa'.

Hammett, Daniel. 2012. 'Requiring Respect: Searching for Non-Racialism in Post-Apartheid South Africa'. *Politikon* 39(1):71-88. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656914.

Handley, A. n.d. 'Business, Government and Economic Policymaking in the New South Africa' 1990-2000'.

Hart, Gillian. 2007. 'Changing Concepts of Articulation: Political Stakes in South Africa Today'. *Review of African Political Economy* 34(111):85-101. doi:

10.1080/03056240701340415.

Hartley, R. 5ADa. 'Ragged Glory: The Rainbow Nation in Black and White eBook: Ray Hartley: Amazon.Co.Uk: Books'. Retrieved (http://www.amazon.co.uk/Ragged-Glory-Rainbow-Nation-Black-ebook/dp/B00MLDKLHG/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1443723314&sr=1-1&keywords=Ragged+Glory%3A+The+Rainbow+Nation+in+Black+and+White).

Hartley, R. 5ADb. 'Ragged Glory: The Rainbow Nation in Black and White eBook: Ray Hartley: Amazon.Co.Uk: Books'. Retrieved (http://www.amazon.co.uk/Ragged-Glory-Rainbow-Nation-Black-ebook/dp/B00MLDKLHG/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1443723314&sr=1-1&keywords=Ragged+Glory%3A+The+Rainbow+Nation+in+Black+and+White).

Hartley, Ray. 2014a. *Ragged Glory: The Rainbow Nation in Black and White*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Hartley, Ray. 2014b. *Ragged Glory: The Rainbow Nation in Black and White*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Hartley, Ray. 2014c. *Ragged Glory: The Rainbow Nation in Black and White*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Harvey, Robert. 2001a. *The Fall of Apartheid: The inside Story from Smuts to Mbeki*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Harvey, Robert. 2001b. *The Fall of Apartheid: The inside Story from Smuts to Mbeki*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Harvey, Robert. 2001c. *The Fall of Apartheid: The inside Story from Smuts to Mbeki*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Hassim, Shireen. 2009. 'Democracy's Shadows: Sexual Rights and Gender Politics in the Rape Trial of Jacob Zuma'. *African Studies* 68(1):57-77. doi: 10.1080/00020180902827431.

Hawker, Geoffrey. 2001. 'Political Leadership in the ANC: The South African Provinces 1994-2013/1999'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 38(04):631-58.

Hayem, Judith. 2013. 'From May 2008 to 2011: Xenophobic Violence and National Subjectivity in South Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 39(1):77-97. doi: 10.1080/03057070.2013.767538.

Hendricks, Fred and Nordiska Afrikainstitutet. 2003. *Fault-Lines in South African Democracy: Continuing Crises of Inequality and Injustice*. Vol. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet Discussion paper . 22. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Hepple, Alex. 1966. *South Africa: A Political and Economic History*. Vol. Pall Mall library of African affairs. London: Pall Mall.

Hepple, Alex. 1967. *Verwoerd*. Vol. Political leaders of the twentieth century. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Herbet Maserumule, Mashupye. 2007. 'Conflicts between Directors-General and Ministers in South Africa 1994–2004: A "Postulative" Approach'. *Politikon* 34(2):147–64. doi: 10.1080/02589340701715505.
- Hermann Giliomee. 1995. 'Democratization in South Africa'. *Political Science Quarterly* 110(1):83–104.
- Hermann Giliomee. 1997. 'Surrender without Defeat: Afrikaners and the South African "Miracle"'. *Daedalus* 126(2):113–46.
- Hill, Christopher R. 1983. *Change in South Africa: Blind Alleys or New Directions*. London: Collings.
- Hirson, Baruch. 1979. *Year of Fire, Year of Ash: The Soweto Revolt: Roots of a Revolution?* Vol. Africa series. London: Zed Press.
- Holland, Heidi. 1989. *The Struggle: A History of the African National Congress*. London: Grafton Books.
- Horowitz, Donald L. 1991. *A Democratic South Africa?: Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*. Vol. Perspectives on Southern Africa. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press.
- Houston, Gregory F. 1999a. *The National Liberation Struggle in South Africa: A Case Study of the United Democratic Front, 1983–1987*. Vol. Democracy and governance in the new South Africa. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Houston, Gregory F. 1999b. *The National Liberation Struggle in South Africa: A Case Study of the United Democratic Front, 1983–1987*. Vol. Democracy and governance in the new South Africa. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Howard Barrell. 1992. 'The Turn to the Masses: The African National Congress' Strategic Review of 1978–79'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18(1):64–92.
- Howe, Herbert M. 1994. 'The South African Defence Force and Political Reform'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 32(01). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00012532.
- Hyslop, Jonathan. 2005. 'Political Corruption: Before and After Apartheid'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31(4):773–89. doi: 10.1080/03057070500370555.
- Ingham, K. 1986. *JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS*.
- Inter-university Seminar on Armed Forces and Society. n.d. 'Current Trends in South Africa's Security Establishment'. *Armed Forces and Society*.
- Isak Niehaus. 2007. 'Death before Dying: Understanding AIDS Stigma in the South African Lowveld'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 33(4):845–60.
- J. Daniel O'Flaherty. 1993. 'Holding Together South Africa'. *Foreign Affairs* 72(4):126–36.
- J. E. Spence. 1984. 'South Africa: Between Reform and Retrenchment'. *The World Today* 40(11):471–80.

J. E. Spence. 1991. 'South Africa: Charisma and Compromise'. *The World Today* 47(4):67–69.

J. G. Farley. 1997. 'South Africa's Economic Dilemma - Scylla or Charybdis?' *Contemporary Review* 270(1).

Jacobs, S. n.d. 'The Politics of Jacob Zuma'.

Jacobs, Sean, and Richard Calland. 2003. *Thabo Mbeki's World: The Politics and Ideology of the South African President*. London: Zed.

de Jager, Nicola. 2006. 'The South African Government and the Application of Co-Optive Power'. *Politikon* 33(1):101–12. doi: 10.1080/02589340600618164.

de Jager, Nicola, and Cara H. Meintjes. 2013. 'Winners, Losers and the Playing Field in Southern Africa's "Democratic Darlings": Botswana and South Africa Compared'. *Politikon* 40(2):233–53. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2013.798458.

James Barber. 1982. 'Afrikanerdom in Disarray'. *The World Today* 38(7):288–96.

James Barber. 1983. 'White South Africa%u2014Into the Political Unknown'. *The World Today* 39(12):490–99.

James Barber. 1985. 'South Africa: A Society at War with Itself'. *The World Today* 41(7):129–32.

James Barber. 1994. 'South Africa: The Search for Identity'. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 70(1):67–82.

James, D. n.d. 'Just Singing and Dancing? Intimidation and the Manipulation of Voters and the Electoral Process in the Build-up to the June 2014 Elections'.

James Hamill. 1993a. 'A New Deal for South Africa'. *Contemporary Review* 262(1).

James Hamill. 1993b. 'South Africa: From Codesa to Leipzig?' *The World Today* 49(1):12–16.

James Hamill. 1999a. 'THE LONG JOURNEY OF THABO MBEKI: REACHING THE SUMMIT'. *Contemporary Review* 275(1).

James Hamill. 1999b. 'THE MAKING OF SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW PRESIDENT'. *Contemporary Review* 275(1).

James Hamill. 1999c. 'To Follow an Icon'. *The World Today* 55(5):22–24.

James Hamill. 2001. 'THE CONSPIRATORIAL POLITICS OF THABO MBEKI'. *Contemporary Review* 279(1).

James Hamill. 2008a. '"Not with a Bang but a Whimper": The Fall of Thabo Mbeki'. *Contemporary Review* 290(1).

James Hamill. 2008b. '"Not with a Bang but a Whimper": The Fall of Thabo Mbeki'.

Contemporary Review 290(1).

James Hamill. 2008c. 'Uncertain Future'. *The World Today* 64(10):26–29.

James Hamill. 2008d. 'Uncertain Future'. *The World Today* 64(10):26–29.

James Hamill and J. E. Spence. 1994. 'South Africa's Watershed Election'. *The World Today* 50(7):128–32.

James, Wilmot G., and Linda Van de Vijver. 2001. *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Jaster, Robert and International Institute for Strategic Studies. 1985. *Southern Africa: Regional Security Problems and Prospects*. Vol. The Adelphi library. Aldershot: For the International Institute for Strategic Studies by Gower.

Jeffrey Herbst. 1994. 'Creating a New South Africa'. *Foreign Policy* (94):120–35.

Jesmond Blumenfeld. 1996. 'Pragmatists versus Populists in the "New" South Africa'. *The World Today* 52(7):185–89.

John Battersby. 1997. 'Admitting White Guilt'. *The World Today* 53(1):23–25.

John Gerring and Strom C. Thacker. 2005. 'Do Neoliberal Policies Deter Political Corruption?' *International Organization* 59(1):233–54.

Johns, Sheridan, and R. Hunt Davis. 1991a. *Mandela, Tambo, and the African National Congress: The Struggle against Apartheid, 1948-1990 : A Documentary Survey*. New York: Oxford.

Johns, Sheridan, and R. Hunt Davis. 1991b. *Mandela, Tambo, and the African National Congress: The Struggle against Apartheid, 1948-1990 : A Documentary Survey*. New York: Oxford.

Johnson, Krista. 2003. 'Liberal or Liberation Framework? The Contradictions of ANC Rule in South Africa'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 21(2):321–40. doi: 10.1080/02589000305442.

Johnson, R. W. 1977. *How Long Will South Africa Survive?* London: Macmillan.

Johnson, R. W. 2009a. *South Africa's Brave New World: The 'beloved Country' since the End of Apartheid*. London: Allen Lane.

Johnson, R. W. 2009b. *South Africa's Brave New World: The 'beloved Country' since the End of Apartheid*. London: Allen Lane.

Johnson, R. W. 2009c. *South Africa's Brave New World: The 'beloved Country' since the End of Apartheid*. London: Allen Lane.

Johnson, R. W. 2009d. *South Africa's Brave New World: The 'beloved Country' since the End of Apartheid*. London: Allen Lane.

Johnson, R. W. 2009e. *South Africa's Brave New World: The 'beloved Country' since the End of Apartheid*. London: Allen Lane.

Johnson, R. W. 2015. *How Long Will South Africa Survive?: The Looming Crisis*. London: Hurst & Company.

Johnson, R. W., and Lawrence Schlemmer. 1996a. *Launching Democracy in South Africa: The First Open Election, April 1994*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press.

Johnson, R. W., and Lawrence Schlemmer. 1996b. *Launching Democracy in South Africa: The First Open Election, April 1994*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press.

Johnson, R. W., and Lawrence Schlemmer. 1996c. *Launching Democracy in South Africa: The First Open Election, April 1994*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press.

Johnson, Shaun and David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies. 1988a. *South Africa: No Turning Back*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, in association with the David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies.

Johnson, Shaun and David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies. 1988b. *South Africa: No Turning Back*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, in association with the David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies.

Johnson, Shaun and David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies. 1988c. *South Africa: No Turning Back*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, in association with the David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies.

Johnson, Shaun and David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies. 1988d. *South Africa: No Turning Back*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, in association with the David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies.

Johnson, Shaun and David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies. 1988e. *South Africa: No Turning Back*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, in association with the David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies.

Johnston, A. n.d. 'The Left and the ANC Alliance: Nationalism, Socialism and the Future of South African Politics'.

Jonathan D. Tepperman. 2002. 'Truth and Consequences'. *Foreign Affairs* 81(2):128–45.

Jordan, Pallo. 2004. 'The African National Congress: From Illegality to the Corridors of Power'. *Review of African Political Economy* 31(100):203–12. doi: 10.1080/0305624042000262248.

Kane-Berman, J. n.d. 'Inkatha: The Paradox of SA Politics'.

Kane-Berman, John and South African Institute of Race Relations. 1993. *Political Violence in South Africa*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.

Karis, Thomas, Gwendolen Margaret Carter, and Sheridan Johns. 1972. *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964, Vol.1: Protest and Hope, 1882-1934. Vol.* Hoover Institutions publications. Stanford, Calif: Hoover

Institution Press.

Kasrils, Ronald. 1993. *Armed and Dangerous: My Undercover Struggle against Apartheid*. Oxford: Heinemann.

Kathrada, Ahmed. 2012. 'Non-Racialism in South Africa Today'. *Politikon* 39(1):1–4. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656957.

Keane, Fergal. 1994. *The Bondage of Fear: A Journey through the Last White Empire*. London: Viking.

Keith Somerville. 1990. 'South Africa: Whither the National Party?' *The World Today* 46(10):190–92.

Keppel-Jones, Arthur. 1975. *South Africa: A Short History*. 5th ed. London: Hutchinson.

Kersting, Norbert. 2010. 'Direct Democracy in Constitutional Processes: The South African Plebiscite of 1992'. *Politikon* 37(2–3):207–22. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2010.522330.

Kessel, Ineke van. 2000. *Beyond Our Wildest Dreams: The United Democratic Front and the Transformation of South Africa*. Vol. *Reconsiderations in southern African history*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Khan, Firoz. 2013. 'Poverty, Grants, Revolution and "Real Utopias":' *Review of African Political Economy* 40(138):572–88. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2013.854035.

Khehla Shubane. 2004. 'Democracy Delivers'. *The World Today* 60(3):19–21.

Kitchen, Helen, J. Coleman Kitchen, and Center for Strategic and International Studies. 1994. *South Africa: Twelve Perspectives on the Transition*. Vol. *The Washington papers*. Westport, Conn: Praeger.

Kraak, Andre. 2011. 'Horizontal Coordination, Government Performance and National Planning: The Possibilities and Limits of the South African State'. *Politikon* 38(3):343–65. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2011.623834.

Kynoch, G. 2005. 'Crime, Conflict and Politics in Transition-Era South Africa'. *African Affairs* 104(416):493–514. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adi009.

Kynoch, G. 2013. 'Reassessing Transition Violence: Voices from South Africa's Township Wars, 1990–4'. *African Affairs* 112(447):283–303. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adt014.

Kynoch, Gary. 1996. 'The "Transformation" of the South African Military'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34(03). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00055543.

La Guma, Alex. 1972. *Apartheid: A Collection of Writings on South African Racism by South Africans*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Landman, JP. 9AD. 'Elections Look Normal but Some Significant Shifts'.

Landman, JP. n.d. 'Winners and Losers at Mangaung'.

- Lapping, Brian and Granada Television. 1987a. *Apartheid: A History*. London: Paladin.
- Lapping, Brian and Granada Television. 1987b. *Apartheid: A History*. London: Paladin.
- Laurence, P. n.d. *DEATH SQUADS: APARTHEID'S SECRET WEAPON*.
- Leach, Graham. 1987a. *South Africa: No Easy Path to Peace*. Rev.ed. London: Methuen.
- Leach, Graham. 1987b. *South Africa: No Easy Path to Peace*. Rev.ed. London: Methuen.
- Lee, Robin, and Lawrence Schlemmer. 1991a. *Transition to Democracy: Policy Perspectives 1991*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, Robin, and Lawrence Schlemmer. 1991b. *Transition to Democracy: Policy Perspectives 1991*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, Robin, and Lawrence Schlemmer. 1991c. *Transition to Democracy: Policy Perspectives 1991*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, Robin, and Lawrence Schlemmer. 1991d. *Transition to Democracy: Policy Perspectives 1991*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, Robin, and Lawrence Schlemmer. 1991e. *Transition to Democracy: Policy Perspectives 1991*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Lefko-Everett, Kate. 2012. 'Leaving It to the Children: Non-Racialism, Identity, Socialisation and Generational Change in South Africa'. *Politikon* 39(1):127-47. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656917.
- Legassick, Martin. 2003. 'Armed Struggle in South Africa: Consequences of a Strategy Debate'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 21(2):285-302. doi: 10.1080/02589000305449.
- Lemon, Anthony. 1987. *Apartheid in Transition*. Aldershot: Gower.
- Leonard, R. L. 1983. *South Africa at War: White Power and the Crisis in Southern Africa*. Westport, Conn: Lawrence Hill & Co.
- Lerumo, A. 1980. *Fifty Fighting Years: The Communist Party of South Africa 1921-1971*. 2nd rev. ed. London: Inkululeko Publications.
- Leslie Boyd, Michael Spicer and Gavin Keeton. 2001. 'Economic Scenarios for South Africa: A Business Perspective'. *Daedalus* 130(1):71-98.
- Lindberg, Staffan I. 2006. 'Opposition Parties and Democratisation in Sub-Saharan Africa'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 24(1):123-38. doi: 10.1080/02589000500514943.
- Lipton, Merle. 1986. *Capitalism and Apartheid: South Africa, 1910-1986*. Updated with new epilogue. Aldershot: Wildwood House.
- Lissoni, Arianna. 2009. 'Transformations in the ANC External Mission and Umkhonto We

Sizwe, c. 1960–1969*. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35(2):287–301. doi: 10.1080/03057070902919850.

Lodge, T. 2014a. 'Neo-Patrimonial Politics in the ANC'. *African Affairs* 113(450):1–23. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adt069.

Lodge, T. 2014b. 'Neo-Patrimonial Politics in the ANC'. *African Affairs* 113(450):1–23. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adt069.

Lodge, T. n.d. 'The South African General Election April 1994: Results, Analysis and Implications'.

Lodge, Tom. 1983. *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*. London: Longman.

Lodge, Tom. 1992a. *All, Here, and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s*. Vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst.

Lodge, Tom. 1992b. *All, Here, and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s*. Vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst.

Lodge, Tom. 1999a. *Consolidating Democracy: South Africa's Second Popular Election*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press [and] Electoral Institute of South Africa.

Lodge, Tom. 1999b. *South African Politics since 1994*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Lodge, Tom. 1999c. *South African Politics since 1994*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Lodge, Tom. 1999d. *South African Politics since 1994*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Lodge, Tom. 2004. 'The ANC and the Development of Party Politics in Modern South Africa'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 42(2):189–219. doi: 10.1017/S0022278X04000096.

Lodge, Tom. 2005. 'Provincial Government and State Authority in South Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31(4):737–53. doi: 10.1080/03057070500370480.

Lodge, Tom. 2009a. 'THE ZUMA TSUNAMI: SOUTH AFRICA'S SUCCESSION POLITICS'. *Representation* 45(2):125–41. doi: 10.1080/00344890902944387.

Lodge, Tom. 2009b. 'THE ZUMA TSUNAMI: SOUTH AFRICA'S SUCCESSION POLITICS'. *Representation* 45(2):125–41. doi: 10.1080/00344890902944387.

Lodge, Tom, and Tom Lodge. 2002a. *Politics in South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*. 2nd ed. Cape Town: David Philip.

Lodge, Tom, and Tom Lodge. 2002b. *Politics in South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*. 2nd ed. Cape Town: David Philip.

Lodge, Tom, and Tom Lodge. 2002c. *Politics in South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*. 2nd ed. Cape Town: David Philip.

Lotshwao, Kebapetse. 2009. 'The Lack of Internal Party Democracy in the African National

Congress: A Threat to the Consolidation of Democracy in South Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35(4):901–14. doi: 10.1080/03057070903313244.

Lukhele, F. n.d. 'Post-Prison Nelson Mandela: A "Made-in-America Hero" - Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines - Volume 46, Issue 2'. Retrieved (<http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/full/10.1080/00083968.2012.702088#.VByK6xY8HIU>).

Luthuli, Albert. 1989. *Let My People Go: An Autobiography*. London: Fount paperbacks.

MacDonald, Michael, and Wilmot James. 1993. 'The Hand on the Tiller: The Politics of State and Class in South Africa'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 31(03). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00012003.

Macmillan, Hugh. 2009. 'The African National Congress of South Africa in Zambia: The Culture of Exile and the Changing Relationship with Home, 1964–1990 *'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35(2):303–29. doi: 10.1080/03057070902919876.

Makgetla, Neva Seidman. 2004. 'The Post-Apartheid Economy'. *Review of African Political Economy* 31(100):263–81. doi: 10.1080/0305624042000262284.

Mallaby, Sebastian. 1992a. *After Apartheid*. London: Faber and Faber.

Mallaby, Sebastian. 1992b. *After Apartheid*. London: Faber and Faber.

Mallaby, Sebastian. 1992c. *After Apartheid*. London: Faber and Faber.

Mamphela Ramphele. 2001a. 'Citizenship Challenges for South Africa's Young Democracy'. *Daedalus* 130(1):1–17.

Mamphela Ramphele. 2001b. 'Citizenship Challenges for South Africa's Young Democracy'. *Daedalus* 130(1):1–17.

Manby, B. n.d.-a. 'South Africa: The Impact of Sanctions'.

Manby, B. n.d.-b. 'South Africa: The Impact of Sanctions'.

Mandela, Nelson. 1995a. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. London: Abacus.

Mandela, Nelson. 1995b. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. London: Abacus.

Mandela, Nelson. 1995c. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. London: Abacus.

Mandela, Nelson. 1995d. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. London: Abacus.

Mandela, Nelson and International Defence and Aid Fund. 1986. *The Struggle Is My Life: His Speeches and Writings Brought Together with Historical Documents and Accounts of*

Mandela in Prison by Fellow-Prisoners. Rev. ed. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.

Mangu, Xolela. 2009. The Democratic Moment: South Africa's Prospects under Jacob Zuma. [Auckland Park: Jacana Media.

Marais, H. n.d.-a. 'Don't Worry, Be Happy'.

Marais, H. n.d.-b. 'What Happened in the ANC Camps?'

Marais, Hein. 2001a. South Africa: Limits to Change : The Political Economy of Transition. 2nd ed. London: Zed Books.

Marais, Hein. 2001b. South Africa: Limits to Change : The Political Economy of Transition. 2nd ed. London: Zed Books.

Marais, Hein. 2001c. South Africa: Limits to Change : The Political Economy of Transition. 2nd ed. London: Zed Books.

Marais, Hein. 2001d. South Africa: Limits to Change : The Political Economy of Transition. 2nd ed. London: Zed Books.

Marais, Hein. 2001e. South Africa: Limits to Change : The Political Economy of Transition. 2nd ed. London: Zed Books.

Marais, Hein. 2001f. South Africa: Limits to Change : The Political Economy of Transition. 2nd ed. London: Zed Books.

Marais, Hein. 2011a. South Africa Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change. London: Zed.

Marais, Hein. 2011b. South Africa Pushed to the Limit: The Political Economy of Change. London: Zed.

Mare, G. n.d.-a. 'Avoiding Democracy at All Costs'.

Mare, G. n.d.-b. 'Inkatha: Is Your Enemy's Enemy Automatically Your Friend?'

Maré, Gerhard, and Georgina Hamilton. 1987. An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa. London: Ravan Press.

Mark Shaw and Peter Gastrow. 2001. 'Stealing the Show? Crime and Its Impact in Post-Apartheid South Africa'. *Daedalus* 130(1):235–58.

Marks, Shula, and Stanley Trapido. 1987. The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa. London: Longman.

Marks, Susan Collin. 2000. Watching the Wind: Conflict Resolution during South Africa's Transition to Democracy. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Martin Murray. n.d.-a. South Africa : Time of Agony, Time of Destiny : The Upsurge of Popular Protest. London : Verso, 1987.

Martin Murray. n.d.-b. *South Africa : Time of Agony, Time of Destiny : The Upsurge of Popular Protest*. London : Verso, 1987.

Marx, Anthony W. 1992. *Lessons of Struggle: South African Internal Opposition, 1960-1990*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mary de Haas and Paulus Zulu. 1994. 'Ethnicity and Federalism: The Case of KwaZulu/Natal'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20(3):433-46.

Matt Eldridge and Jeremy Seekings. 1996. 'Mandela's Lost Province: The African National Congress and the Western Cape Electorate in the 1994 South African Elections'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22(4):517-40.

Matthews, Sally. 2012. 'White Anti-Racism in Post-Apartheid South Africa'. *Politikon* 39(2):171-88. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.683938.

McKinley, Dale T. 1997. *The ANC and the Liberation Struggle: A Critical Political Biography*. London: Pluto.

Mclaughlin, Eric S. 2008. 'Racial, Ethnic or Rational Voters? Splitting Tickets in South Africa'. *Politikon* 35(1):23-41. doi: 10.1080/02589340802113030.

McNeill, F. G. 2009. '"Condoms Cause Aids": Poison, Prevention and Denial in Venda, South Africa'. *African Affairs* 108(432):353-70. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adp020.

Meredith, Martin. 1997a. *Nelson Mandela: A Biography*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Meredith, Martin. 1997b. *Nelson Mandela: A Biography*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Meredith, Martin. 1997c. *Nelson Mandela: A Biography*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Meredith, Martin. 1997d. *Nelson Mandela: A Biography*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Meredith, Martin. 1997e. *Nelson Mandela: A Biography*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Meredith, Martin. 2013. 'Chapter 34: Somewhere over the Rainbow'. in *The state of Africa: a history of the continent since independence*. London: Simon & Schuster.

Merle Lipton. 1972. 'Independent Bantustans?' *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 48(1):1-19.

Michael Lawrence and Andrew Manson. 1994. 'The "Dog of the Boers": The Rise and Fall of Mangope in Bophuthatswana'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20(3):447-61.

Michael Macdonald. 1992. 'The Siren's Song: The Political Logic of Power-Sharing in South Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18(4):709-25.

Michael Macdonald. 1996. 'Power Politics in the New South Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22(2):221-33.

Michelle Sieff. 2001. 'Under Siege'. *The World Today* 57(5):4-6.

Moodie, T. Dunbar. 1975. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*. Vol. Perspectives on southern Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Morris Szeftel. 1991. 'Manoeuvres of War in South Africa'. *Review of African Political Economy* (51):63–76.

Mozaffar, Shaheen. 2006. *Challenges to Democracy by One-Party Dominance: A Comparative Assessment*. 10 October 2005, Vineyard Hotel, Cape Town, South Africa. Vol. Seminar report / Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. Johannesburg: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

Murray, Martin J. 1994a. *Revolution Deferred: The Painful Birth of Post-Apartheid South Africa*. London: Verso.

Murray, Martin J. 1994b. *Revolution Deferred: The Painful Birth of Post-Apartheid South Africa*. London: Verso.

Murray, Martin J. 1994c. *Revolution Deferred: The Painful Birth of Post-Apartheid South Africa*. London: Verso.

Mzala. 1988. *Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda*. London: Zed Books.

Naidoo, Vinodhan. 2013. 'The Politics of Anti-Corruption Enforcement in South Africa'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 31(4):523–42. doi: 10.1080/02589001.2013.839369.

Nattrass, N. 2008. 'AIDS and the Scientific Governance of Medicine in Post-Apartheid South Africa'. *African Affairs* 107(427):157–76. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adm087.

Nattrass, N. n.d. 'Politics and Economics in ANC Economic Policy'.

Nattrass, Nicoli. 1994. 'Economic Restructuring in South Africa: The Debate Continues'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20(4):517–31. doi: 10.1080/03057079408708418.

Nattrass, Nicoli, and Jeremy Seekings. 2001. 'Democracy and Distribution in Highly Unequal Economies: The Case of South Africa'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 39(03). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X01003688.

Newsweek. n.d. 'Fire Down Below'.

Nicholas Cope. 1990. 'The Zulu Petit Bourgeoisie and Zulu Nationalism in the 1920s: Origins of Inkatha'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 16(3):431–51.

Nick Vink. 2004. 'Patience Running Out'. *The World Today* 60(3):21–23.

Nicoli Nattrass. 1994a. 'Economic Restructuring in South Africa: The Debate Continues'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20(4):517–31.

Nicoli Nattrass. 1994b. 'Economic Restructuring in South Africa: The Debate Continues'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20(4):517–31.

Nicoli Nattrass and Jeremy Seekings. 2001. '"Two Nations"? Race and Economic Inequality

in South Africa Today'. *Daedalus* 130(1):45–70.

Nyar, Annsilla. 2012. 'Some New Perspectives on South African Indians and "Non-Racialism": Findings from the AKF Non-Racialism Focus Group Data'. *Politikon* 39(1):89–112. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656915.

O'Brien, Kevin A. n.d. 'Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Confronting the Past, Building the Future'. 15:1–16.

Olayiwola Abegunrin. 2002. 'Truth and Reconciliation'. *African Studies Review* 45(3):31–34.

O'Malley, Pdraig. 2007. *Shades of Difference: Mac Maharaj and the Struggle for South Africa*. New York: Viking.

O'Meara, Dan. 1996a. *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948-1994*. Randburg: Ravan Press.

O'Meara, Dan. 1996b. *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948-1994*. Randburg: Ravan Press.

O'Meara, Dan. 1996c. *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948-1994*. Randburg: Ravan Press.

O'Meara, Dan. 1996d. *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948-1994*. Randburg: Ravan Press.

O'Meara, Dan. 1996e. *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948-1994*. Randburg: Ravan Press.

Oppenheimer, H. n.d. 'Towards a More Just Racial Order in South Africa'.

Orgeret, K. S. 2008. 'From His Master's Voice and Back Again? Presidential Inaugurations and South African Television - the Post-Apartheid Experience'. *African Affairs* 107(429):611–29. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adn043.

Osei-Hwedie, B. Z. 2001a. 'HIV/AIDS and the Politics of Domestic Response: The Case of Botswana'. *International Relations* 15(6):55–68. doi: 10.1177/004711701015006005.

Osei-Hwedie, B. Z. 2001b. 'HIV/AIDS and the Politics of Domestic Response: The Case of Botswana'. *International Relations* 15(6):55–68. doi: 10.1177/004711701015006005.

Ottaway, Marina. 1991. 'Liberation Movements and Transition to Democracy: The Case of the A.N.C.' *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 29(01). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00020747.

Ottaway, Marina. 1993. *South Africa: The Struggle for a New Order*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

Pádraig Carmody. 2002. 'Between Globalisation and (Post) Apartheid: The Political Economy of Restructuring in South Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2):255–75.

- Pampallis, John. 1991a. *Foundations of a New South Africa*. London: Zed.
- Pampallis, John. 1991b. *Foundations of a New South Africa*. London: Zed.
- Patel, P. 2001. 'The Politics of AIDS in Africa'. *International Relations* 15(4):79–91. doi: 10.1177/004711701015004006.
- Pauw, Jacques. 1991. *In the Heart of the Whore: The Story of Apartheid's Death Squads*. [Cape Town]: Southern Book Publishers.
- Pfister, Roger. 2003. 'Gateway to International Victory: The Diplomacy of the African National Congress in Africa, 1960–1994'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 41(1):51–73. doi: 10.1017/S0022278X02004147.
- Philips, M. n.d. 'Negotiations: It Takes Two to Tango'.
- Pillay, Suren. 2005. 'Locations of Violence: Political Rationality and Death Squads in Apartheid South Africa'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 23(3):417–29. doi: 10.1080/02589000500340117.
- Pillay, Suren. 2008. 'Crime, Community and the Governance of Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa'. *Politikon* 35(2):141–58. doi: 10.1080/02589340802366943.
- Piombo, J. 2005. 'Political Parties, Social Demographics and the Decline of Ethnic Mobilization in South Africa, 1994–99'. *Party Politics* 11(4):447–70. doi: 10.1177/1354068805053212.
- Piper, Laurence. 2009. 'THE ZUMA WATERSHED: FROM POST-APARTHEID TO POST-COLONIAL POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA'. *Representation* 45(2):101–7. doi: 10.1080/00344890902944247.
- Piper, Laurence, and Heidi Matisonn. 2009a. 'DEMOCRACY BY ACCIDENT: THE RISE OF ZUMA AND THE RENAISSANCE OF THE TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE'. *Representation* 45(2):143–57. doi: 10.1080/00344890902945657.
- Piper, Laurence, and Heidi Matisonn. 2009b. 'DEMOCRACY BY ACCIDENT: THE RISE OF ZUMA AND THE RENAISSANCE OF THE TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE'. *Representation* 45(2):143–57. doi: 10.1080/00344890902945657.
- Pityana, N. B. 2000. 'SOUTH AFRICA'S INQUIRY INTO RACISM IN THE MEDIA: THE ROLE OF NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE PROMOTION AND PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS'. *African Affairs* 99(397):525–32. doi: 10.1093/afraf/99.397.525.
- Pogrand, Benjamin. 1990. *How Can Man Die Better: Sobukwe and Apartheid*. London: Peter Halban.
- Poku, N. K. 2001. 'AIDS in Africa: An Overview'. *International Relations* 15(6):5–14. doi: 10.1177/004711701015006002.
- Posel, Deborah. 1991. *The Making of Apartheid, 1948–1961: Conflict and Compromise*. Vol. Oxford studies in African affairs. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Pothier, M. n.d.-a. 'The 2014 General Election Part 1: Outcome'.

Pothier, M. n.d.-b. 'The Role of Civil Society in South Africa'.

Pottinger, Brian. 1988. *The Imperial Presidency: P.W. Botha the First 10 Years*. Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers.

Powers, T. n.d. 'Institutions, Power and Para-State Alliances: A Critical Reassessment of HIV/AIDS Politics in South Africa, 1999-2008'.

Prevost, Gary. 2006. 'The Evolution of the African National Congress in Power: From Revolutionaries to Social Democrats?' *Politikon* 33(2):163–81. doi: 10.1080/02589340600884584.

Price, Robert M. 1991. *The Apartheid State in Crisis: Political Transformation in South Africa, 1975-90*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Princeton N. Lyman. 1996. 'South Africa's Promise'. *Foreign Policy* (102):105–19.

Prior, Andrew. 1984. 'Political Culture and Violence: A Case Study of the African National Congress of South Africa'. *Politikon* 11(2):12–20. doi: 10.1080/02589348408704839.

R. Stephen Brent. 1996. 'Tough Road to Prosperity'. *Foreign Affairs* 75(2):113–26.

Rakner, Lise, and Lars SvÂsand. 2004. 'From Dominant to Competitive Party System: The Zambian Experience 1991–2001'. *Party Politics* 10(1):49–68. doi: 10.1177/1354068804041316.

Randall, Duncan James. 1996. 'Prospects for the Development of a Black Business Class in South Africa'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34(04). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00055828.

Rantete, J. n.d. 'Transition to Democracy through Transaction? Bilateral Negotiations between the ANC and NP in South Africa'.

Reddy, Thiven. 2010. 'ANC Decline, Social Mobilization and Political Society: Understanding South Africa's Evolving Political Culture'. *Politikon* 37(2–3):185–206. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2010.522329.

Renwick, Robin. 1997. *Unconventional Diplomacy in Southern Africa*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Review by: Jeremy Seekings. 2001. 'South Africa's 1999 Elections'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(1):163–66.

Review by: Martin Legassick. 1998. 'Myth and Reality in the Struggle Against Apartheid'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24(2):443–58.

Review by: Merle Lipton. 2000. 'White Liberals, "The Left" and the New Africanist Elite in South Africa'. *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 76(2):333–43.

Review by: Raymond Suttner. 2004. 'The UDF Period and Its Meaning for Contemporary South Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30(3):691–701.

Review by: Richard Dale. 2002. 'The Politics of the Rainbow Nation: Truth, Legitimacy, and Memory in South Africa'. *African Studies Review* 45(3):39–44.

Review by: Willie Henderson. 2000. 'Metaphors, Narrative and "Truth": South Africa's TRC'. *African Affairs* 99(396):457–65.

Reynolds, Andrew. 1994a. *Election '94 South Africa: The Campaigns, Results and Future Prospects*. London: James Currey.

Reynolds, Andrew. 1994b. *Election '94 South Africa: The Campaigns, Results and Future Prospects*. London: James Currey.

Reynolds, Andrew. 1994c. *Election '94 South Africa: The Campaigns, Results and Future Prospects*. London: James Currey.

Reynolds, Andrew. 1994d. *Election '94 South Africa: The Campaigns, Results and Future Prospects*. London: James Currey.

Reynolds, Andrew. 1999a. *Election '99: South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*. Oxford: James Currey.

Reynolds, Andrew. 1999b. *Election '99: South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*. Oxford: James Currey.

Reynolds, Andrew. 1999c. *Election '99: South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*. Oxford: James Currey.

Reynolds, Andrew. 1999d. *Election '99: South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*. Oxford: James Currey.

Reynolds, Andrew. 1999e. *Election '99: South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*. Oxford: James Currey.

Reynolds, Andrew. 1999f. *Election '99: South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*. Oxford: James Currey.

Rich, Paul B. 1996. *Reaction and Renewal in South Africa*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Richard Dowden. 2015. *Africa: Altered States, Ordinary Miracles*. Portobello Books Ltd.

Roberts, Ronald Suresh. 2007. *Fit to Govern: The Native Intelligence of Thabo Mbeki*. Johannesburg, South Africa: STE Publishers.

Rogers, Barbara. 1980. *Divide & Rule: South Africa's Bantustans*. Rev. and enl. ed. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.

Roherty, James Michael. 1992. *State Security in South Africa: Civil-Military Relations under P.W. Botha*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.

- Ross, F. C. 2003. 'BEARING WITNESS: WOMEN AND THE TRC IN SOUTH AFRICA'. Retrieved (<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=10479622>).
- Rotberg, Robert I. 1980. *Suffer the Future, Policy Choices in Southern Africa*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Rotberg, Robert I., and John Barratt. 1980. *Conflict and Compromise in South Africa*. Lexington, Mass: Heath.
- Royal Institute of International Affairs. n.d. 'South Africa: Outcry and Protest'. *The World Today*.
- Royal Institute of International Affairs, and Fiona Forde. n.d. 'Rainbow Nation Wants Its Pot of Gold'.
- Russell, Alec. 2009a. *After Mandela: The Battle for the Soul of South Africa*. London: Hutchinson.
- Russell, Alec. 2009b. *After Mandela: The Battle for the Soul of South Africa*. London: Hutchinson.
- Russell, Alec. 2009c. *After Mandela: The Battle for the Soul of South Africa*. London: Hutchinson.
- Russell, Alec. 2009d. *After Mandela: The Battle for the Soul of South Africa*. London: Hutchinson.
- Sampson, Anthony. 1987. *Black and Gold: Tycoons, Revolutionaries and Apartheid*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Sampson, Anthony. 1999a. *Nelson Mandela: The Authorised Biography*. London: HarperCollins.
- Sampson, Anthony. 1999b. *Nelson Mandela: The Authorised Biography*. London: HarperCollins.
- Sampson, Anthony. 1999c. *Nelson Mandela: The Authorised Biography*. London: HarperCollins.
- Sampson, Anthony. 1999d. *Nelson Mandela: The Authorised Biography*. London: HarperCollins.
- Sampson, Anthony. 1999e. *Nelson Mandela: The Authorised Biography*. London: HarperCollins.
- Sampson, Anthony. 1999f. *Nelson Mandela: The Authorised Biography*. London: HarperCollins.
- Sampson, Anthony. 1999g. *Nelson Mandela: The Authorised Biography*. London: HarperCollins.
- Sampson, Anthony. 1999h. *Nelson Mandela: The Authorised Biography*. London:

HarperCollins.

Saul, John. n.d. 'South Africa: Between "Barbarism" and "Structural Reform"'. Retrieved (<http://newleftreview.org/I/188/john-saul-south-africa-between-barbarism-and-structural-reform>).

Saul, John S., and Stephen Gelb. 1981. *The Crisis in South Africa: Class Defense, Class Revolution*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Saxena, Suresh Chandra. 1992a. *South Africa: Walking the Last Mile*. Delhi: Kalinga Publications.

Saxena, Suresh Chandra. 1992b. *South Africa: Walking the Last Mile*. Delhi: Kalinga Publications.

Schrire, Robert A. 1992a. *Adapt or Die: The End of White Politics in South Africa*. Vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst.

Schrire, Robert A. 1992b. *Adapt or Die: The End of White Politics in South Africa*. Vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst.

Schrire, Robert A. 1992c. *Adapt or Die: The End of White Politics in South Africa*. Vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst.

Schrire, Robert A. 1992d. *Adapt or Die: The End of White Politics in South Africa*. Vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst.

Schrire, Robert A. 1992e. *Adapt or Die: The End of White Politics in South Africa*. Vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst.

Schrire, Robert A. 1992f. *Adapt or Die: The End of White Politics in South Africa*. Vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst.

Schulz-Herzenberg, C. n.d. 'Voter Participation in the South African Elections of 2014'.

Sebastian Mallaby. 1990. 'After Apartheid'. *The Economist* 317(7).

Seegers, Annette. 1991. 'South Africa's National Security Management System, 1972-90'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 29(02). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00002743.

Seegers, Annette. 1996. *The Military in the Making of Modern South Africa*. Vol. International library of African studies. London: Tauris Publishers.

Seekings, Jeremy. 2000a. *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Seekings, Jeremy. 2000b. *The UDF: A History of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, 1983-1991*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Seekings, Jeremy. 2008a. '"Just Deserts": Race, Class and Distributive Justice in Post-Apartheid South Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34(1):39-60. doi: 10.1080/03057070701832874.

- Seekings, Jeremy. 2008b. 'The Continuing Salience of Race: Discrimination and Diversity in South Africa'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 26(1):1-25. doi: 10.1080/02589000701782612.
- Segatti, Aurelia, and Nicolas Pons-Vignon. 2013. 'Stuck in Stabilisation? South Africa's Post-Apartheid Macro-Economic Policy between Ideological Conversion and Technocratic Capture'. *Review of African Political Economy* 40(138):537-55. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2013.858430.
- Seidman, Judy and International Defence and Aid Fund. 1980. *Face-Lift Apartheid: South Africa after Soweto*. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.
- van Sickle, Alexa. 2014a. 'South Africa: Broken Promises'. *Survival* 56(6):167-76. doi: 10.1080/00396338.2014.985442.
- van Sickle, Alexa. 2014b. 'South Africa: Broken Promises'. *Survival* 56(6):167-76. doi: 10.1080/00396338.2014.985442.
- Simons, H. J., Ray Simons, and International Defence and Aid Fund. 1969. *Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Simpson, James G. R. 2012. 'Boipatong: The Politics of a Massacre and the South African Transition'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 38(3):623-47. doi: 10.1080/03057070.2012.711674.
- Simpson, Thula. 2009. 'Toyi-Toyi-Ing to Freedom: The Endgame in the ANC's Armed Struggle, 1989-1990'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35(2):507-21. doi: 10.1080/03057070902920015.
- Singer, PW. n.d. 'AIDS and International Security'. Retrieved (<http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/abs/10.1080/00396338.2002.9688546#.VBxcpBY8HIU>).
- Sinwell, Luke. 2010. 'Conceptualizing Direct Action as a Form of Participation in Development: A South African Case'. *Politikon* 37(1):67-83. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2010.492150.
- Sinwell, Luke. 2011. 'Is "Another World" Really Possible? Re-Examining Counter-Hegemonic Forces in Post-Apartheid South Africa'. *Review of African Political Economy* 38(127):61-76. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2011.552588.
- Sisk, Timothy D. 1995a. *Democratization in South Africa: The Elusive Social Contract*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Sisk, Timothy D. 1995b. *Democratization in South Africa: The Elusive Social Contract*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Slabbert, F. van Zyl. 1992. *The Quest for Democracy: South Africa in Transition*. Vol. Penguin forum series. London, England: Penguin Books.
- Slovo, J. 1992. 'Negotiations: What Room for Compromise?'

Solomon R. Benatar. 2001. 'South Africa's Transition in a Globalizing World: HIV/AIDS as a Window and a Mirror'. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) 77(2):347-75.

South Africa. 1999a. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

South Africa. 1999b. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

South Africa. 1999c. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

South Africa. 1999d. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Southall, Roger. 1983. *South Africa's Transkei: The Political Economy of an 'Independent' Bantustan*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Southall, Roger. 1994a. 'The South African Elections of 1994: The Remaking of a Dominant-Party State'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 32(04). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00015883.

Southall, Roger. 1994b. 'The South African Elections of 1994: The Remaking of a Dominant-Party State'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 32(04). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00015883.

Southall, Roger. 2001a. *Opposition and Democracy in South Africa*. Vol. Democratization studies. London: Frank Cass.

Southall, Roger. 2001b. *Opposition and Democracy in South Africa*. Vol. Democratization studies. London: Frank Cass.

Southall, Roger. 2003. 'Democracy in Southern Africa: Moving Beyond a Difficult Legacy'. *Review of African Political Economy* 30(96):255-72. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2003.9693499.

Southall, Roger. 2004. 'The ANC & Black Capitalism in South Africa'. *Review of African Political Economy* 31(100):313-28. doi: 10.1080/0305624042000262310.

Southall, Roger. 2007. 'Ten Propositions about Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa'. *Review of African Political Economy* 34(111):67-84. doi: 10.1080/03056240701340365.

Southall, Roger. 2008. 'The ANC for Sale? Money, Morality & Business in South Africa'. *Review of African Political Economy* 35(116):281-99. doi: 10.1080/03056240802196336.

Southall, Roger. 2009a. 'THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE: CHALLENGES FOR SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRACY'. *Representation* 45(2):173-91. doi: 10.1080/00344890902945715.

Southall, Roger. 2009b. 'Understanding the "Zuma Tsunami"'. *Review of African Political*

Economy 36(121):317–33. doi: 10.1080/03056240903210739.

Southall, Roger. 2011. 'Family and Favour at the Court of Jacob Zuma'. *Review of African Political Economy* 38(130):617–26. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2011.633829.

Southall, Roger J. 1977. 'The Beneficiaries of Transkeian "Independence"'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 15(01). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00014452.

Southern, Neil. 2011. 'Political Opposition and the Challenges of a Dominant Party System: The Democratic Alliance in South Africa'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 29(3):281–98. doi: 10.1080/02589001.2011.581478.

SouthScan. n.d.-a. 'Former Agent Details Destabilisation Campaign'.

SouthScan. n.d.-b. 'Thunderstorm and Springbok -Twin Strategies to Bring ANC to Heel'.

Sparks, Allister. 1991a. *The Mind of South Africa: [The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid]*. London: Mandarin Paperbacks.

Sparks, Allister. 1991b. *The Mind of South Africa: [The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid]*. London: Mandarin Paperbacks.

Sparks, Allister. 1995a. *Tomorrow Is Another Country: The inside Story of South Africa's Negotiated Revolution*. London: Heinemann.

Sparks, Allister. 1995b. *Tomorrow Is Another Country: The inside Story of South Africa's Negotiated Revolution*. London: Heinemann.

Sparks, Allister. 1995c. *Tomorrow Is Another Country: The inside Story of South Africa's Negotiated Revolution*. London: Heinemann.

Sparks, Allister. 2009a. *Beyond the Miracle: Inside the New South Africa*. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press.

Sparks, Allister. 2009b. *Beyond the Miracle: Inside the New South Africa*. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press.

Sparks, Allister. 2009c. *Beyond the Miracle: Inside the New South Africa*. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press.

Sparks, Allister. 2009d. *Beyond the Miracle: Inside the New South Africa*. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press.

Spence, J. E. 1997. 'Opposition in South Africa'. *Government and Opposition* 32(4):522–40. doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.1997.tb00444.x.

Spence, J. E. 1999a. 'Second Chance for the ANC: The 1999 South African General Election'. *Government and Opposition* 34(4):456–72. doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.1999.tb00165.x.

Spence, J. E. 1999b. 'Second Chance for the ANC: The 1999 South African General Election'. *Government and Opposition* 34(4):456–72. doi:

10.1111/j.1477-7053.1999.tb00165.x.

Spence, J. E. and Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1994a. Change in South Africa. Vol. Chatham House papers. London: Pinter for Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Spence, J. E. and Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1994b. Change in South Africa. Vol. Chatham House papers. London: Pinter for Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Spence, J. E. and Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1994c. Change in South Africa. Vol. Chatham House papers. London: Pinter for Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Spence, J. E. and Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1999a. After Mandela: The 1999 South African Elections. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Southern Africa Study Group.

Spence, J. E. and Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1999b. After Mandela: The 1999 South African Elections. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Southern Africa Study Group.

Spence, J. E. and Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1999c. After Mandela: The 1999 South African Elections. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Southern Africa Study Group.

Spence, J. E. and Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1999d. After Mandela: The 1999 South African Elections. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Southern Africa Study Group.

Spence, J. E., and David Welsh. 2010a. Ending Apartheid. Vol. Turning points. Harlow: Longman.

Spence, J. E., and David Welsh. 2010b. Ending Apartheid. Vol. Turning points. Harlow: Longman.

Spence, J. E., and David Welsh. 2010c. Ending Apartheid. Vol. Turning points. Harlow: Longman.

Spence, J. E., and David Welsh. 2010d. Ending Apartheid. Vol. Turning points. Harlow: Longman.

Spence, J. E., and David Welsh. 2010e. Ending Apartheid. Vol. Turning points. Harlow: Longman.

Spence, J. E., and David Welsh. 2010f. Ending Apartheid. Vol. Turning points. Harlow: Longman.

Spence, J. E., and David Welsh. 2010g. Ending Apartheid. Vol. Turning points. Harlow: Longman.

Spence, J. E. n.d. " "Everybody Has Won, so All Must Have Prizes": Reflections on the SA General Election".

Spitz, Richard, and Matthew Chaskalson. 2000. The Politics of Transition: A Hidden History

of South Africa's Negotiated Settlement. Oxford: Hart.

Stadler, Alfred William. 1987. *The Political Economy of Modern South Africa*. London: Croom Helm.

Stanley, Elizabeth. 2001. 'Evaluating the Truth and Reconciliation Commission'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 39(3):525–46.

Stanley Uys. 1996. 'Pressing the ANC to Take Power'. *The World Today* 52(5):129–32.

Stedman, Stephen John. 1994a. *South Africa: The Political Economy of Transformation*. Vol. SAIS African studies library. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Stedman, Stephen John. 1994b. *South Africa: The Political Economy of Transformation*. Vol. SAIS African studies library. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Stedman, Stephen John. 1994c. *South Africa: The Political Economy of Transformation*. Vol. SAIS African studies library. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Stephen, D. n.d. 'The Struggle for Power in South Africa'. *New Society*.

Stephen Ellis. 1998. 'The Historical Significance of South Africa's Third Force'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24(2):261–99.

Stephen Orvis. n.d.-a. 'Issue: A Journal of Opinion'. 27(2).

Stephen Orvis. n.d.-b. 'Issue: A Journal of Opinion'. 27(2).

Steven Mufson. 1991. 'South Africa 1990'. *Foreign Affairs* 70(1):120–41.

Steven Robins. 2004. '"Long Live Zackie, Long Live": AIDS Activism, Science and Citizenship after Apartheid'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30(3):651–72.

Strauss, Annette. 1993. 'The 1992 Referendum in South Africa'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 31(02). doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00011964.

Suckling, John, Landeg White, and University of York. 1988. *After Apartheid: Renewal of the South African Economy*. York: Centre for Southern African Studies, University of York in association with James Currey.

Susser, Ida. 2009. *AIDS, Sex, and Culture: Global Politics and Survival in Southern Africa*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Suttner, R. 2004. 'Democratic Transition and Consolidation in South Africa: The Advice of "the Experts"'. *Current Sociology* 52(5):755–73. doi: 10.1177/0011392104045367.

Suttner, R. n.d. 'Understand Non-Racialism as an Emancipatory Concept in South Africa'.
Suttner, Raymond. 2003. 'Culture(s) of the African National Congress of South Africa: Imprint of Exile Experiences'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 21(2):303–20. doi: 10.1080/02589000305450.

Suttner, Raymond. 2004. 'The UDF Period and Its Meaning for Contemporary South Africa'.

- Journal of Southern African Studies 30(3):691–702. doi: 10.1080/0305707042000254164.
- Suttner, Raymond. 2006. 'Party Dominance "Theory": Of What Value?' *Politikon* 33(3):277–97. doi: 10.1080/02589340601122901.
- Suttner, Raymond. 2009a. *The ANC Underground in South Africa, 1950-1976*. Boulder, Colo: FirstForum Press.
- Suttner, Raymond. 2009b. 'THE CHALLENGE TO AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS DOMINANCE'. *Representation* 45(2):109–23. doi: 10.1080/00344890902944346.
- SUTTNER, RAYMOND. 2012a. 'The African National Congress Centenary: A Long and Difficult Journey'. *International Affairs* 88(4):719–38. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2346.2012.01098.x.
- SUTTNER, RAYMOND. 2012b. 'The African National Congress Centenary: A Long and Difficult Journey'. *International Affairs* 88(4):719–38. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2346.2012.01098.x.
- Suttner, Raymond, and Jeremy Cronin. 1986. *30 Years of the Freedom Charter*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
- Suzman, Helen. 1993. *In No Uncertain Terms: Memoirs*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.
- Tambo, Oliver, and Adelaide Tambo. 1987. *Preparing for Power: Oliver Tambo Speaks*. Vol. African writers series. London: Heinemann.
- Tangri, Roger, and Roger Southall. 2008. 'The Politics of Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34(3):699–716. doi: 10.1080/03057070802295856.
- Taylor, Rupert. 2012. 'Deepening Non-Racialism in South Africa'. *Politikon* 39(1):41–51. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656912.
- Thomas, David P. 2007a. 'Post-Apartheid Conundrums: Contemporary Debates and Divisions Within the South African Communist Party'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 25(2):251–73. doi: 10.1080/02589000701396322.
- Thomas, David P. 2007b. 'The South African Communist Party (SACP) in the Post-Apartheid Period'. *Review of African Political Economy* 34(111):123–38. doi: 10.1080/03056240701340456.
- Thomas G. Karis. 1986. 'South African Liberation: The Communist Factor'. *Foreign Affairs* 65(2):267–87.
- Thompson, Leonard, and Andrew Prior. 1982. *South African Politics*. New York: Yale University Press.
- Tom Cargill. 2009. 'SOUTH AFRICA: Against the Odds'. *The World Today* 65(3):19–21.
- Tregenna, Fiona. 2011. 'A New Growth Path for South Africa?' *Review of African Political Economy* 38(130):627–35. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2011.633830.

Uhlig, Mark A. 1986. *Apartheid in Crisis*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

United States Information Agency, and M. Radu. n.d. 'The African National Congress: Cadres and Credo'. *Problems of Communism*.

Uys, S. n.d.-a. 'South Africa: Churning Currents'.

Uys, S. n.d.-b. "'South Africa's Elections'".

Van der Vliet, Virginia. 1996. *The Politics of AIDS*. Vol. Bowerdean briefings. London: Bowerdean.

Van Zyl Slabbert, F. 2006a. *The Other Side of History: An Anecdotal Reflection on Political Transition in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

Van Zyl Slabbert, F. 2006b. *The Other Side of History: An Anecdotal Reflection on Political Transition in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.

Van Zyl Slabbert, F. n.d. 'THE QUEST FOR DEMOCRACY: SOUTH AFRICA IN TRANSITION'.

Van Zyl Slabbert, F., and David Welsh. 1979. *South Africa's Options: Strategies for Sharing Power*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Villa-Vicencio, Charles, and Wilhelm Verwoerd. 2000. *Looking Back, Reaching Forward: Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*. London: Zed.

Vincent, Louise. 2006. 'Of No Account? South Africa's Electoral System (Non) Debate'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 24(1):81–100. doi: 10.1080/02589000500513796.

Vincent, Louise. 2009. 'MORAL PANIC AND THE POLITICS OF POPULISM'. *Representation* 45(2):213–21. doi: 10.1080/00344890902945871.

Vincent, Louise. 2011. 'Seducing the People: Populism and the Challenge to Democracy in South Africa'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 29(1):1–14. doi: 10.1080/02589001.2011.533056.

Virginia van der Vliet. 2001. 'AIDS: Losing "The New Struggle"?' *Daedalus* 130(1):151–84.
de Waal, A. 2003. 'How Will HIV/AIDS Transform African Governance?' *African Affairs* 102(406):1–23. doi: 10.1093/oxfordjournals.afraf.a138809.

Waldmeir, Patti. 1997a. *Anatomy of a Miracle: The End of Apartheid and the Birth of the New South Africa*. London: Viking.

Waldmeir, Patti. 1997b. *Anatomy of a Miracle: The End of Apartheid and the Birth of the New South Africa*. London: Viking.

Waldmeir, Patti. 1997c. *Anatomy of a Miracle: The End of Apartheid and the Birth of the New South Africa*. London: Viking.

Willan, S. 2004. 'Briefing: Recent Changes in the South African Government's HIV/Aids Policy and Its Implementation'. *African Affairs* 103(410):109–17. doi:

10.1093/afraf/adh023.

Williams, John A. 1997a. From the South African Past: Narratives, Documents, and Debates . Vol. Sources in modern history series. Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin.

Williams, John A. 1997b. From the South African Past: Narratives, Documents, and Debates . Vol. Sources in modern history series. Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin.

Williams, John A. 1997c. From the South African Past: Narratives, Documents, and Debates . Vol. Sources in modern history series. Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin.

Williams, John A. 1997d. From the South African Past: Narratives, Documents, and Debates . Vol. Sources in modern history series. Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin.

Williams, John A. 1997e. From the South African Past: Narratives, Documents, and Debates . Vol. Sources in modern history series. Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin.

Williams, R. n.d.-a. 'De Klerk and the Security Establishment: Partner or Hostage?'

Williams, R. n.d.-b. 'The Security Forces: Changing the Guard'.

Wilson, Monica, and Leonard Thompson. 1971a. The Oxford History of South Africa: Vol.2: South Africa, 1870-1966. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Wilson, Monica, and Leonard Thompson. 1971b. The Oxford History of South Africa: Vol.2: South Africa, 1870-1966. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Wilson, Richard A. 2001. The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State. Vol. Cambridge studies in law and society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yorke, E. J., and F. H. Toase. 1998a. The New South Africa: Prospects for Domestic and International Security. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Yorke, E. J., and F. H. Toase. 1998b. The New South Africa: Prospects for Domestic and International Security. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Yorke, E. J., and F. H. Toase. 1998c. The New South Africa: Prospects for Domestic and International Security. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Yorke, E. J., and F. H. Toase. 1998d. The New South Africa: Prospects for Domestic and International Security. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Yorke, E. J., and F. H. Toase. 1998e. The New South Africa: Prospects for Domestic and International Security. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Yorke, E. J., and F. H. Toase. 1998f. The New South Africa: Prospects for Domestic and International Security. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Yorke, E. J., and F. H. Toase. 1998g. The New South Africa: Prospects for Domestic and International Security. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Yorke, E. J., and F. H. Toase. 1998h. *The New South Africa: Prospects for Domestic and International Security*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Yorke, E. J., and F. H. Toase. 1998i. *The New South Africa: Prospects for Domestic and International Security*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Youde, Jeremy R. 2007. *AIDS, South Africa, and the Politics of Knowledge*. Vol. Global health. Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Ashgate.

Zuern, Elke. 2015a. 'South Africa at a Turning Point?' *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 53(03):477-86. doi: 10.1017/S0022278X15000427.

Zuern, Elke. 2015b. 'South Africa at a Turning Point?' *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 53(03):477-86. doi: 10.1017/S0022278X15000427.

Zunes, Stephen. 2000. 'The Role of Non-Violent Action in the Downfall of Apartheid'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37(01):137-69.