

PL 3063/ 3363 South African Politics

View Online



[1]

J. P. Barber, *South Africa in the twentieth century: a political history in search of a nation state*, vol. *History of the contemporary world*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

[2]

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

[3]

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

[4]

A. Sparks, *Beyond the miracle: inside the new South Africa*. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

[5]

R. Hartley, *Ragged glory: the rainbow nation in black and white*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2014.

[6]

W. M. Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC*, Updated ed. London: Zed, 2007 [Online]. Available:
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.ac>

tion?docID=359655

[7]

M. Gevisser, *The dream deferred: Thabo Mbeki*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2007.

[8]

R. Calland, *Anatomy of South Africa: who holds the power?* Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2006.

[9]

D. Foster, *After Mandela: the struggle for freedom in post-apartheid South Africa*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2012.

[10]

R. W. Johnson, *South Africa's brave new world: the 'beloved country' since the end of apartheid*. London: Allen Lane, 2009.

[11]

J. E. Spence and D. Welsh, *Ending apartheid, vol. Turning points*. Harlow: Longman, 2010.

[12]

W. Gumede, *Restless nation: making sense of troubled times*. Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers Ltd, 2012.

[13]

R. Calland, *The Zuma years: South Africa's changing face of power*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2013.

[14]

M. Du Preez, *A rumour of spring: South Africa after 20 years of democracy*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2013.

[15]

S. Booysen, *The African National Congress and the regeneration of political power*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011 [Online]. Available: http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=5664470770002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

[16]

M. Meredith, 'Chapter 34: Somewhere over the Rainbow', in *The state of Africa: a history of the continent since independence*, [New pbk] edition., London: Simon & Schuster, 2013.

[17]

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

[18]

I. Bremmer and S. Spio-Garbrah, 'South Africa's Troubled Success Story', *Survival*, vol. 49, no. 1, pp. 7-14, Mar. 2007, doi: 10.1080/00396330701254453.

[19]

'The price of freedom', *The Economist*, vol. 395, no. 8, 2010 [Online]. Available: <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE|A228129204&v=2.1&u=leicester&it=r&p=EAIM&sw=w&asid=8c695a7e891858b8bbe7e22687eca01b>

[20]

J. Hamil, 'Assessing South Africa in all it's dimensions', 2011.

[21]

R. SUTTNER, 'The African National Congress centenary: a long and difficult journey', *International Affairs*, vol. 88, no. 4, pp. 719–738, Jul. 2012, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2346.2012.01098.x.

[22]

E. Zuern, 'South Africa at a Turning Point?', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 53, no. 03, pp. 477–486, Sep. 2015, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X15000427.

[23]

I. Bremmer and S. Spio-Garbrah, 'South Africa's Troubled Success Story', *Survival*, vol. 49, no. 1, pp. 7–14, Mar. 2007, doi: 10.1080/00396330701254453.

[24]

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

[25]

A. van Sickle, 'South Africa: Broken Promises', *Survival*, vol. 56, no. 6, pp. 167–176, Nov. 2014, doi: 10.1080/00396338.2014.985442.

[26]

Royal Institute of International Affairs and F. Forde, 'Rainbow Nation wants its pot of gold'.

[27]

W. Beinart, *Twentieth-century South Africa*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001 [Online]. Available: http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=5663339050002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

[28]

A. Sparks, *The mind of South Africa: [the story of the rise and fall of apartheid]*. London:

Mandarin Paperbacks, 1991.

[29]

W. Beinart and S. Dubow, Segregation and apartheid in twentieth century South Africa, vol. Rewriting histories. London: Routledge, 1995.

[30]

N. L. Clark and W. H. Worger, South Africa: the rise and fall of apartheid, 2nd ed., vol. Seminar studies in history. Harlow: Longman, 2011.

[31]

T. R. H. Davenport, South Africa: a modern history, 5th ed. London: Macmillan, 2000.

[32]

R. H. Davies, D. O'Meara, and S. Dlamini, The struggle for South Africa: a reference guide to movements, organizations and institutions, New ed. London: Zed Books, 1988.

[33]

H. Deegan, The politics of the new South Africa: apartheid and after. Harlow: Longman, 2001.

[34]

S. Gastrow, Who's who in South African politics, 5th ed. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1995.

[35]

H. Giliomee, The Afrikaners: biography of a people. London: C. Hurst, 2003.

[36]

H. Giliomee and L. Schlemmer, *From apartheid to nation-building*, vol. *Contemporary South African debates*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1989.

[37]

A. Guelke, *Rethinking the rise and fall of apartheid: South Africa and world politics*, vol. *Rethinking world politics*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://lib.myilibrary.com?id=86045>

[38]

B. Lapping and Granada Television, *Apartheid: a history*. London: Paladin, 1987.

[39]

G. Leach, *South Africa: no easy path to peace*, Rev.ed. London: Methuen, 1987.

[40]

D. O'Meara, *Forty lost years: the apartheid state and the politics of the National Party, 1948-1994*. Randburg: Ravan Press, 1996.

[41]

J. Pampallis, *Foundations of a new South Africa*. London: Zed, 1991.

[42]

A. Sampson, *Black and gold: tycoons, revolutionaries and apartheid*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1987.

[43]

R. A. Schrire, *Adapt or die: the end of white politics in South Africa*, vol. *South Africa UPDATE series*. London: Hurst, 1992.

[44]

A. Sparks, *The mind of South Africa: [the story of the rise and fall of apartheid]*. London: Mandarin Paperbacks, 1991.

[45]

J. A. Williams, *From the South African past: narratives, documents, and debates*, vol. Sources in modern history series. Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin, 1997.

[46]

R. Harvey, *The fall of apartheid: the inside story from Smuts to Mbeki*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

[47]

J. E. Spence and D. Welsh, *Ending apartheid*, vol. Turning points. Harlow: Longman, 2010.

[48]

J. E. Spence and D. Welsh, *Ending apartheid*, vol. Turning points. Harlow: Longman, 2010.

[49]

I. Bremmer and S. Spio-Garbrah, 'South Africa's Troubled Success Story', *Survival*, vol. 49, no. 1, pp. 7-14, Mar. 2007, doi: 10.1080/00396330701254453.

[50]

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

[51]

F. W. De Klerk, *The last trek - a new beginning: the autobiography*. London: Macmillan,

1998.

[52]

W. De Klerk, F.W. de Klerk: the man in his time. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1991.

[53]

M. Gevisser, The dream deferred: Thabo Mbeki. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2007.

[54]

W. M. Gumede, Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC, Updated ed. London: Zed, 2007 [Online]. Available:
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10252502>

[55]

N. Mandela, Long walk to freedom: the autobiography of Nelson Mandela. London: Abacus, 1995.

[56]

M. Meredith, Nelson Mandela: a biography. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1997.

[57]

P. O'Malley, Shades of difference: Mac Maharaj and the struggle for South Africa. New York: Viking, 2007.

[58]

B. Pogrand, How can man die better: Sobukwe and apartheid. London: Peter Halban, 1990.

[59]

R. S. Roberts, *Fit to govern: the native intelligence of Thabo Mbeki*. Johannesburg, South Africa: STE Publishers, 2007.

[60]

A. Sampson, *Nelson Mandela: the authorised biography*. London: HarperCollins, 1999.

[61]

H. Suzman, *In no uncertain terms: memoirs*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1993.

[62]

F. Van Zyl Slabbert, *The other side of history: an anecdotal reflection on political transition in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2006.

[63]

A. GUELKE, 'South Africa's morality tale for our time', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 26, no. 02, pp. 303–309, 2000 [Online]. Available: <http://journals.cambridge.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=33449&fulltextType=RV&fileId=S026021050000303X>

[64]

C. Villa-Vicencio and W. Verwoerd, *Looking back, reaching forward: reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*. London: Zed, 2000.

[65]

Review by: Willie Henderson, 'Metaphors, Narrative and "Truth": South Africa's TRC', *African Affairs*, vol. 99, no. 396, pp. 457–465, 2000 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/723953>

[66]

John Battersby, 'Admitting White Guilt', *The World Today*, vol. 53, no. 1, pp. 23–25, 1997 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/40475906>

[67]

K. Asmal, L. Asmal, and R. S. Roberts, *Reconciliation through truth: a reckoning of apartheid's criminal governance*, 2nd.ed. with afterword. Cape Town: David Philip :Oxford, 1996.

[68]

K. A. O'Brien, 'Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Confronting the Past, Building the Future', vol. 15, pp. 1–16 [Online]. Available: <http://ire.sagepub.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/15/2.toc>

[69]

K. Christie, *The South African Truth Commission*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000 [Online]. Available: <http://lib.myilibrary.com?id=24844>

[70]

A. Boraine, *A country unmasked*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

[71]

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

[72]

B. Hamber, 'Ere their story dies": truth, justice and reconciliation in South Africa"', vol. 44, pp. v–vi [Online]. Available: <http://rac.sagepub.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/44/1.toc>

[73]

W. G. James and L. Van de Vijver, *After the TRC: reflections on truth and reconciliation in South Africa*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2001.

[74]

R. A. Wilson, *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, 2001.

[75]

E. Stanley, 'Evaluating the Truth and Reconciliation Commission', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 525-546, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/3557322>

[76]

Jonathan D. Tepperman, 'Truth and Consequences', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 81, no. 2, pp. 128-145, 2002 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/20033089>

[77]

Olayiwola Abegunrin, 'Truth and Reconciliation', *African Studies Review*, vol. 45, no. 3, pp. 31-34, 2002 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/1515093>

[78]

Review by: Richard Dale, 'The Politics of the Rainbow Nation: Truth, Legitimacy, and Memory in South Africa', *African Studies Review*, vol. 45, no. 3, pp. 39-44, 2002 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/1515095>

[79]

L. S. Graybill, *Truth and reconciliation in South Africa: miracle or model?* Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner, 2002.

[80]

F. C. Ross, 'BEARING WITNESS: WOMEN AND THE TRC IN SOUTH AFRICA', 2003. [Online].

Available: <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=10479622>

[81]

André du Toit, 'Experiments with Truth and Justice in South Africa: Stockenström, Gandhi and the TRC', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 419–448, 2005 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/25065002>

[82]

R. W. Johnson, *South Africa's brave new world: the 'beloved country' since the end of apartheid*. London: Allen Lane, 2009.

[83]

H. Adam and K. Moodley, *The opening of the apartheid mind: options for the new South Africa*, vol. *Perspectives on Southern Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

[84]

Africa South of the Sahara, 30th Edition. 2001 [Online]. Available: http://gl9sn3dh2u.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=50&L=GL9SN3DH2U&S=T_B&issn=0065-3896

[85]

J. P. Barber, *Forging the new South Africa*, vol. *Discussion paper / Royal Institute of International Affairs*. London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1994.

[86]

N. Barnard and T. Wiese, *Secret revolution: memoirs of a spy boss*, Second softcover edition. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2015.

[87]

J. P. Barber, *Mandela's world: the international dimension of South Africa's political*

revolution 1990-99. Oxford: James Currey, 2004.

[88]

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

[89]

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

[90]

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

[91]

H. Giliomee, L. Schlemmer, and S. Hauptfleisch, *The bold experiment: South Africa's new democracy*. Halfway House [South Africa]: Southern Book Publishers, 1994.

[92]

A. Guelke, *South Africa in transition: the misunderstood miracle*, vol. *International library of African studies*. London: Tauris, 1999.

[93]

A. Guelke, *Rethinking the rise and fall of apartheid: South Africa and world politics*, vol. *Rethinking world politics*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://lib.myilibrary.com?id=86045>

[94]

W. Gutteridge, D. Geldenhuys, D. Simon, and Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, *South Africa: from apartheid to national unity, 1981-1994*. Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1995.

[95]

R. W. Johnson and L. Schlemmer, *Launching democracy in South Africa: the first open election, April 1994*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1996.

[96]

F. Keane, *The bondage of fear: a journey through the last white empire*. London: Viking, 1994.

[97]

H. Kitchen, J. C. Kitchen, and Center for Strategic and International Studies, *South Africa: twelve perspectives on the transition, vol. The Washington papers*. Westport, Conn: Praeger, 1994.

[98]

S. Mallaby, *After Apartheid*. London: Faber and Faber, 1992.

[99]

M. J. Murray, *Revolution deferred: the painful birth of post-apartheid South Africa*. London: Verso, 1994.

[100]

M. J. Murray, *Revolution deferred: the painful birth of post-apartheid South Africa*. London: Verso, 1994.

[101]

A. Reynolds, *Election '94 South Africa: the campaigns, results and future prospects*. London: James Currey, 1994.

[102]

S. C. Saxena, *South Africa: walking the last mile*. Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1992.

[103]

T. D. Sisk, *Democratization in South Africa: the elusive social contract*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995.

[104]

A. Sparks, *Tomorrow is another country: the inside story of South Africa's negotiated revolution*. London: Heinemann, 1995.

[105]

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

[106]

S. J. Stedman, *South Africa: the political economy of transformation*, vol. SAIS African studies library. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.

[107]

E. J. Yorke and F. H. Toase, *The new South Africa: prospects for domestic and international security*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.

[108]

P. Waldmeir, *Anatomy of a miracle: the end of apartheid and the birth of the new South Africa*. London: Viking, 1997.

[109]

F. Van Zyl Slabbert, *The other side of history: an anecdotal reflection on political transition in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2006.

[110]

J. E. Spence and D. Welsh, *Ending apartheid, vol. Turning points*. Harlow: Longman, 2010.

[111]

A. Habib, *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2013 [Online]. Available:
http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=5664371500002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

[112]

M. Du Preez, *A rumour of spring: South Africa after 20 years of democracy*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2013.

[113]

J. I. Herbst and G. Mills, *How South Africa works: and must do better*. London: Hurst & Company, 2016.

[114]

J. Cilliers, *Fate of the nation: 3 scenarios for South Africa's future*. Johannesburg, [South Africa]: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2017 [Online]. Available:
<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=4926072>

[115]

R. Calland, *Make or break: how the next three years will shape South Africa's next three decades*. Cape Town, South Africa: Zebra Press, 2016.

[116]

J. Malala, *We have now begun our descent: how to stop South Africa losing its way*. Jeppestown: Jonathan Ball, 2015.

[117]

H. Adam, F. Van Zyl Slabbert, and K. Moodley, *Comrades in business: post-liberation politics in South Africa*. Utrecht: International Books, 1998.

[118]

Africa South of the Sahara, 30th Edition. 2001 [Online]. Available:
http://gl9sn3dh2u.search.serialssolutions.com/?V=1.0&N=50&L=GL9SN3DH2U&S=T_B&issn=0065-3896

[119]

P. Bond, *Elite transition: from apartheid to neoliberalism in South Africa*. London: Pluto Press, 2000 [Online]. Available:
<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=2001171>

[120]

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

[121]

R. W. Johnson, *How long will South Africa survive?: the looming crisis*. London: Hurst & Company, 2015.

[122]

A. S. Ginsberg, *South Africa's future: from crisis to prosperity*. London: Macmillan, 1998.

[123]

A. Boraine and D. Tutu, *What's gone wrong?: South Africa on the brink of failed statehood*. New York: New York University Press, 2014.

[124]

M. Du Preez, *A rumour of spring: South Africa after 20 years of democracy*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2013.

[125]

E. J. Yorke and F. H. Toase, *The new South Africa: prospects for domestic and international security*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.

[126]

R. Hartley, 'Ragged Glory: The Rainbow Nation in Black and White eBook: Ray Hartley: Amazon.co.uk: Books', 5AD. [Online]. Available: 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

[127]

T. Lodge, *South African politics since 1994*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999.

[128]

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

[129]

H. Marais, *South Africa: limits to change: the political economy of transition*, 2nd ed. London: Zed Books, 2001.

[130]

A. Reynolds, *Election '99: South Africa: from Mandela to Mbeki*. Oxford: James Currey, 1999.

[131]

A. Sparks, *Beyond the miracle: inside the new South Africa*. Chicago, Ill: University of

Chicago Press, 2009.

[132]

J. E. Spence and Royal Institute of International Affairs, *After Mandela: the 1999 South African elections*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Southern Africa Study Group, 1999.

[133]

H. Giliomee and C. E. W. Simkins, *The awkward embrace: one-party domination and democracy*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10093584>

[134]

R. Southall, *Opposition and democracy in South Africa*, vol. *Democratization studies*. London: Frank Cass, 2001.

[135]

A. Russell, *After Mandela: the battle for the soul of South Africa*. London: Hutchinson, 2009.

[136]

R. W. Johnson, *South Africa's brave new world: the 'beloved country' since the end of apartheid*. London: Allen Lane, 2009.

[137]

H. Marais, *South Africa pushed to the limit: the political economy of change*. London: Zed, 2011 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.mylibrary.com?id=301135>

[138]

W. Gumede, *Restless nation: making sense of troubled times*. Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers Ltd, 2012.

[139]

S. Booysen, *The African National Congress and the regeneration of political power*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011 [Online]. Available: http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=566437800002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

[140]

R. Calland, P. Graham, and Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, *Democracy in the time of Mbeki*, vol. IDASA'S democracy index. Cape Town: IDASA, 2005.

[141]

S. M. Giollabhuí, 'The fall of an African president: How and why did the ANC unseat Thabo Mbeki?', *African Affairs*, vol. 116, no. 464, pp. 391-413, Jul. 2017, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adx003.

[142]

W. M. Gumede, 'South Africa: Jacob Zuma and the Difficulties of Consolidating South Africa's Democracy', *African Affairs*, vol. 107, no. 427, pp. 261-271, Feb. 2008, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adn018.

[143]

A. van Sickle, 'South Africa: Broken Promises', *Survival*, vol. 56, no. 6, pp. 167-176, Nov. 2014, doi: 10.1080/00396338.2014.985442.

[144]

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

[145]

James Hamill, 'THE MAKING OF SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW PRESIDENT', *Contemporary Review*, vol. 275, no. 1, 1999 [Online]. Available: <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE|A57398282&v=2.1&u=leicester&it=r&p=EAIM&sw=w&asid=2b29e5b6de2d034a012364bbde73209f>

[146]

James Hamill, 'THE LONG JOURNEY OF THABO MBEKI: REACHING THE SUMMIT', *Contemporary Review*, vol. 275, no. 1, 1999 [Online]. Available: <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE|A58055872&v=2.1&u=leicester&it=r&p=EAIM&sw=w&asid=54900ffefc7a9acb1cceb68185bf600d>

[147]

James Hamill, 'THE CONSPIRATORIAL POLITICS OF THABO MBEKI', *Contemporary Review*, vol. 279, no. 1, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE|A77712790&v=2.1&u=leicester&it=r&p=EAIM&sw=w&asid=9e88a7aba6edb7ded527d9df6a91029c>

[148]

James Hamill, "'Not with a bang but a whimper": the fall of Thabo Mbeki', *Contemporary Review*, vol. 290, no. 1, 2008 [Online]. Available: <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE|A198715411&v=2.1&u=leicester&it=r&p=EAIM&sw=w&asid=ac9febab9216368e692df9facce9e8e0>

[149]

James Hamill, 'Uncertain Future', *The World Today*, vol. 64, no. 10, pp. 26-29, 2008 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/40478082>

[150]

S. Jacobs and R. Calland, *Thabo Mbeki's world: the politics and ideology of the South African president*. London: Zed, 2003.

[151]

T. Lodge, *South African politics since 1994*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999.

[152]

T. Lodge, 'THE ZUMA TSUNAMI: SOUTH AFRICA'S SUCCESSION POLITICS', *Representation*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 125–141, Jul. 2009, doi: 10.1080/00344890902944387.

[153]

J. E. Spence and Royal Institute of International Affairs, *After Mandela: the 1999 South African elections*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Southern Africa Study Group, 1999.

[154]

J. E. Spence and Royal Institute of International Affairs, *After Mandela: the 1999 South African elections*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Southern Africa Study Group, 1999.

[155]

A. Reynolds, *Election '99: South Africa: from Mandela to Mbeki*. Oxford: James Currey, 1999.

[156]

H. Deegan, *The politics of the new South Africa: apartheid and after*. Harlow: Longman, 2001.

[157]

Gerrit Olivier, 'Is Thabo Mbeki Africa's Saviour?', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, vol. 79, no. 4, pp. 815–828, 2003 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/3569575>

[158]

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

[159]

W. M. Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC*, Updated ed. London: Zed, 2007 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10252502>

[160]

M. Gevisser, *The dream deferred: Thabo Mbeki*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2007.

[161]

A. Russell, *After Mandela: the battle for the soul of South Africa*. London: Hutchinson, 2009.

[162]

R. W. Johnson, *South Africa's brave new world: the 'beloved country' since the end of apartheid*. London: Allen Lane, 2009.

[163]

M. Gevisser, *The dream deferred: Thabo Mbeki*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2007.

[164]

A. Reynolds, *Election '99: South Africa: from Mandela to Mbeki*. Oxford: James Currey, 1999.

[165]

Stephen Orvis, 'Issue: A Journal of Opinion', vol. 27, no. 2 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/i249412>

[166]

J. E. Spence, 'Second Chance for the ANC: The 1999 South African General Election', *Government and Opposition*, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 456–472, Oct. 1999, doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.1999.tb00165.x.

[167]

T. Lodge, *Consolidating democracy: South Africa's second popular election*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press [and] Electoral Institute of South Africa, 1999.

[168]

Review by: Jeremy Seekings, 'South Africa's 1999 Elections', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 163–166, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/823295>

[169]

H. Deegan, *The politics of the new South Africa: apartheid and after*. Harlow: Longman, 2001.

[170]

'EISA | Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.content.eisa.org.za/>

[171]

Keesing's Record of World Events. .

[172]

J. Hamill, 'The elephant and the mice: election 2004 and the future of opposition politics in South Africa', *The Round Table*, vol. 93, no. 377, pp. 691–708, Oct. 2004, doi: 10.1080/0035853042000300179.

[173]

'EISA | Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa'. [Online]. Available:

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

[174]

Tom Cargill, 'SOUTH AFRICA: Against the Odds', *The World Today*, vol. 65, no. 3, pp. 19–21, 2009 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/41549149>

[175]

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

[176]

J. Hamill, 'A (Qualified) Reaffirmation of ANC Hegemony: Assessing South Africa's 2009 Election', *Politikon*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 3–23, Apr. 2010, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2010.492147.

[177]

A. Habib and C. S. Herzenberg, 'Democratization and Parliamentary Opposition in Contemporary South Africa: The 2009 National and Provincial Elections in Perspective', *Politikon*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 191–210, Aug. 2011, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2011.580121.

[178]

F. Bosman and P. Du Toit, 'Electoral Systems and the Contest for Relative Group Status in Post-Conflict Societies: The Case of the 2009 Election in South Africa', *Politikon*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 211–229, Aug. 2011, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2011.580122.

[179]

'South Africa: Election archive | EISA'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.content.eisa.org.za/old-page/south-africa-election-archive>

[180]

'A big win for a big new man; South Africa's elections', *The Economist*, vol. 391, no. 8,

2009 [Online]. Available:

<http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE|A198801168&v=2.1&u=leicester&it=r&p=EAIM&sw=w&asid=b310f840d500b9742c04ab0ed8d0cbe5>

[181]

Keesing's Record of World Events. .

[182]

D. James, 'Just Singing and Dancing? Intimidation and the manipulation of voters and the electoral process in the build-up to the June 2014 elections'.

[183]

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

[184]

'South Africa: Election archive | EISA'. [Online]. Available:
<http://www.content.eisa.org.za/old-page/south-africa-election-archive>

[185]

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

[186]

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

[187]

Keesing's Record of World Events. .

[188]

J. Landman, 'Elections look normal but some significant shifts', 9AD.

[189]

M. Pothier, 'The 2014 General Election Part 1: Outcome'.

[190]

C. Schulz-Herzenberg, 'Voter participation in the South African Elections of 2014'.

[191]

V. Van der Vliet, *The politics of AIDS*, vol. Bowerdean briefings. London: Bowerdean, 1996.

[192]

Virginia van der Vliet, 'AIDS: Losing "The New Struggle"?'', *Daedalus*, vol. 130, no. 1, pp. 151-184, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/20027683>

[193]

R. Hartley, *Ragged glory: the rainbow nation in black and white*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2014.

[194]

C. Campbell, 'Briefing: riding the tiger: Contextualizing HIV prevention in South Africa', *African Affairs*, vol. 100, no. 398, pp. 135-140, Jan. 2001, doi: 10.1093/afraf/100.398.135.

[195]

Solomon R. Benatar, 'South Africa's Transition in a Globalizing World: HIV/AIDS as a Window and a Mirror', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, vol. 77, no. 2, pp. 347-375, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/3025545>

[196]

B. Z. Osei-Hwedie, 'HIV/AIDS and the Politics of Domestic Response: The Case of Botswana', *International Relations*, vol. 15, no. 6, pp. 55–68, Dec. 2001, doi: 10.1177/004711701015006005.

[197]

B. Z. Osei-Hwedie, 'HIV/AIDS and the Politics of Domestic Response: The Case of Botswana', *International Relations*, vol. 15, no. 6, pp. 55–68, Dec. 2001, doi: 10.1177/004711701015006005.

[198]

P. Patel, 'The Politics of AIDS in Africa', *International Relations*, vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 79–91, Apr. 2001, doi: 10.1177/004711701015004006.

[199]

N. K. Poku, 'AIDS in Africa: An Overview', *International Relations*, vol. 15, no. 6, pp. 5–14, Dec. 2001, doi: 10.1177/004711701015006002.

[200]

Michelle Sieff, 'Under Siege', *The World Today*, vol. 57, no. 5, pp. 4–6, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/40476526>

[201]

P. Singer, 'AIDS and International Security'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/abs/10.1080/00396338.2002.9688546#.VBxcpBY8HIU>

[202]

A. de Waal, 'How will HIV/AIDS transform African governance?', *African Affairs*, vol. 102, no. 406, pp. 1–23, Jan. 2003, doi: 10.1093/oxfordjournals.afraf.a138809.

[203]

S. Willan, 'Briefing: Recent changes in the South African government's HIV/Aids policy and its implementation', *African Affairs*, vol. 103, no. 410, pp. 109–117, Jan. 2004, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adh023.

[204]

David Dickinson, 'Corporate South Africa's Response to HIV/AIDS: Why so Slow?', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 627–649, 2004 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/4133912>

[205]

Steven Robins, "'Long Live Zackie, Long Live": AIDS Activism, Science and Citizenship after Apartheid', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 651–672, 2004 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/4133913>

[206]

A. Butler, 'South Africa's HIV/AIDS policy, 1994-2004: How can it be explained?', *African Affairs*, vol. 104, no. 417, pp. 591–614, Sep. 2005, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adi036.

[207]

A. Butler, 'The negative and positive impacts of HIV/AIDS on democracy in South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 3–26, Jan. 2005, doi: 10.1080/0258900042000329439.

[208]

W. M. Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC*, Updated ed. London: Zed, 2007 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10252502>

[209]

M. Gevisser, *The dream deferred: Thabo Mbeki*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2007.

[210]

Isak Niehaus, 'Death before Dying: Understanding AIDS Stigma in the South African Lowveld', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 845–860, 2007 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/25065255>

[211]

J. R. Youde, *AIDS, South Africa, and the politics of knowledge*, vol. Global health. Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2007 [Online]. Available: <http://lib.myilibrary.com?id=109966>

[212]

N. Nattrass, 'AIDS and the Scientific Governance of Medicine in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *African Affairs*, vol. 107, no. 427, pp. 157–176, Feb. 2008, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adm087.

[213]

F. G. McNeill, '"Condoms Cause Aids": Poison, Prevention and Denial in Venda, South Africa', *African Affairs*, vol. 108, no. 432, pp. 353–370, Jul. 2009, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adp020.

[214]

A. Russell, *After Mandela: the battle for the soul of South Africa*. London: Hutchinson, 2009.

[215]

R. W. Johnson, *South Africa's brave new world: the 'beloved country' since the end of apartheid*. London: Allen Lane, 2009.

[216]

I. Susser, *AIDS, sex, and culture: global politics and survival in southern Africa*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

[217]

T. Powers, 'Institutions, power and para-state alliances: a critical reassessment of HIV/AIDS politics in South Africa, 1999-2008' [Online]. Available: <http://journals.cambridge.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=9072185&jid=MOA&volumeId=51&issueId=04&aid=9072184&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022278X13000633>

[218]

J. Doubt, 'HIV/AIDS and Silence in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 41, no. 6, pp. 1349-1358, Nov. 2015, doi: 10.1080/03057070.2015.1112190.

[219]

P. Alexander, 'Marikana, turning point in South African history', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 40, no. 138, pp. 605-619, Dec. 2013, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2013.860893.

[220]

P. Bond and S. Mottiar, 'Movements, protests and a massacre in South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 283-302, Apr. 2013, doi: 10.1080/02589001.2013.789727.

[221]

R. Botiveau, 'Briefing: The politics of Marikana and South Africa's changing labour relations', *African Affairs*, vol. 113, no. 450, pp. 128-137, Jan. 2014, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adt073.

[222]

C. Ceruti, 'African National Congress Change in Leadership: What Really Won it for Zuma?', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 35, no. 115, pp. 107-114, Mar. 2008, doi: 10.1080/03056240802011808.

[223]

R. Hartley, *Ragged glory: the rainbow nation in black and white*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2014.

[224]

C. Chinguno, 'Marikana: fragmentation, precariousness, strike violence and solidarity', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 40, no. 138, pp. 639–646, Dec. 2013, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2013.854062.

[225]

M. Du Preez, *A rumour of spring: South Africa after 20 years of democracy*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2013.

[226]

J. Daniel, *New South African review: 2: New paths, old compromises*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011.

[227]

F. W. De Klerk, 'The Recent Election and the Zuma Presidency', *The Round Table*, vol. 99, no. 406, pp. 27–33, Feb. 2010, doi: 10.1080/00358530903513665.

[228]

W. M. Gumede, 'South Africa: Jacob Zuma and the Difficulties of Consolidating South Africa's Democracy', *African Affairs*, vol. 107, no. 427, pp. 261–271, Feb. 2008, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adn018.

[229]

L. Gunner, 'Jacob Zuma, the social body and the unruly power of song', *African Affairs*, vol. 108, no. 430, pp. 27–48, Nov. 2008, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adn064.

[230]

James Hamill, 'Uncertain Future', *The World Today*, vol. 64, no. 10, pp. 26–29, 2008 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/40478082>

[231]

James Hamill, "'Not with a bang but a whimper": the fall of Thabo Mbeki', *Contemporary Review*, vol. 290, no. 1, 2008 [Online]. Available: <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE|A198715411&v=2.1&u=leicester&it=r&p=EAIM&sw=w&asid=ac9febab9216368e692df9facce9e8e0>

[232]

J. Hamill, 'South Africa: Can Zuma Deliver?'

[233]

S. Hassim, 'Democracy's Shadows: Sexual Rights and Gender Politics in the Rape Trial of Jacob Zuma', *African Studies*, vol. 68, no. 1, pp. 57–77, Apr. 2009, doi: 10.1080/00020180902827431.

[234]

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

[235]

J. Landman, 'Winners and Losers at Mangaung'.

[236]

T. Lodge, 'THE ZUMA TSUNAMI: SOUTH AFRICA'S SUCCESSION POLITICS', *Representation*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 125–141, Jul. 2009, doi: 10.1080/00344890902944387.

[237]

X. Mangcu, *The democratic moment: South Africa's prospects under Jacob Zuma*.

[Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2009.

[238]

'BBC News - Viewpoint: Marikana highlights Zuma's failure to lead'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19466824>

[239]

L. Piper, 'THE ZUMA WATERSHED: FROM POST-APARTHEID TO POST-COLONIAL POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA', *Representation*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 101-107, Jul. 2009, doi: 10.1080/00344890902944247.

[240]

L. Piper and H. Matisonn, 'DEMOCRACY BY ACCIDENT: THE RISE OF ZUMA AND THE RENAISSANCE OF THE TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE', *Representation*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 143-157, Jul. 2009, doi: 10.1080/00344890902945657.

[241]

A. Russell, *After Mandela: the battle for the soul of South Africa*. London: Hutchinson, 2009.

[242]

R. Southall, 'Understanding the "Zuma Tsunami"', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 36, no. 121, pp. 317-333, Sep. 2009, doi: 10.1080/03056240903210739.

[243]

R. Southall, 'Family and favour at the court of Jacob Zuma', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 38, no. 130, pp. 617-626, Dec. 2011, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2011.633829.

[244]

L. Vincent, 'MORAL PANIC AND THE POLITICS OF POPULISM', *Representation*, vol. 45, no. 2,

pp. 213–221, Jul. 2009, doi: 10.1080/00344890902945871.

[245]

A. Beresford, 'Nelson Mandela and the politics of South Africa's unfinished liberation', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 41, no. 140, pp. 297–305, Apr. 2014, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2014.883114.

[246]

B. Freund, 'The shadow of Nelson Mandela, 1918–2013', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 41, no. 140, pp. 292–296, Apr. 2014, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2014.883111.

[247]

'Nelson Mandela: Appraising a legend (part 1)'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2013/12/07/Nelson-Mandela-Appraising-an-icon-%28part-1%29.aspx?COLLCC=2778639344&>

[248]

R. Hartley, 'Ragged Glory: The Rainbow Nation in Black and White eBook: Ray Hartley: Amazon.co.uk: Books', 5AD. [Online]. Available: 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

[249]

'Nelson Mandela: Appraising a legend (part 2)'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2013/12/07/Nelson-Mandela-Appraising-an-icon-%28part-2%29.aspx>

[250]

F. Lukhele, 'Post-prison Nelson Mandela: A "made-in-America hero" - Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines - Volume 46, Issue 2'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/full/10.1080/00083968.2012.702088>

#.VByK6xY8HIU

[251]

'African National Congress Home Page'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.anc.org.za/index.php>

[252]

'Together for Change - Democratic Alliance'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.da.org.za/>

[253]

'South Africa: Election archive | EISA'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.content.eisa.org.za/old-page/south-africa-election-archive>

[254]

'Mail & Guardian'. [Online]. Available: <http://mg.co.za/>

[255]

'Home | financial mail'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.financialmail.co.za/>

[256]

'Home | BDlive'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/>

[257]

'Home - Breaking SA and World News, Sports, Business, Entertainment and more - Times LIVE'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/>

[258]

'FW de Klerk Foundation - Home'. [Online]. Available:

<http://www.fwdeklerk.org/index.php/en/>

[259]

'Politicsweb - Homepage'. [Online]. Available:
<http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71616>

[260]

'Sunday Independent | IOL.co.za'. [Online]. Available:
<http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent>

[261]

H. Adam and H. Giliomee, *Ethnic power mobilized: can South Africa change?* New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1979.

[262]

H. Adam, F. Van Zyl Slabbert, and K. Moodley, *Comrades in business: post-liberation politics in South Africa*. Utrecht: International Books, 1998.

[263]

AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA (30TH EDITION). .

[264]

Alan Baldwin, 'Mass Removals and Separate Development', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 215–227, 1975 [Online]. Available:
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2636572>

[265]

M. L. Ballinger, *From union to apartheid: a trek to isolation*. Cape Town: Juta, 1969.

[266]

J. P. Barber, *South Africa in the twentieth century: a political history in search of a nation state*, vol. *History of the contemporary world*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

[267]

W. Beinart, *Twentieth-century South Africa*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001 [Online]. Available: http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=5663339040002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

[268]

W. Beinart and P. Delius, 'The Historical Context and Legacy of the Natives Land Act of 1913', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 40, no. 4, pp. 667–688, Jul. 2014, doi: 10.1080/03057070.2014.930623.

[269]

B. Bunting, *The rise of the South African reich*, Rev.ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969.

[270]

G. M. Carter, T. Karis, and N. M. Stultz, *South Africa's Transkei: the politics of domestic colonialism*. London: Heineman, 1967.

[271]

G. M. Carter and P. O'Meara, *Southern Africa: the continuing crisis*, 2nd ed. Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press, 1982.

[272]

N. L. Clark and W. H. Worger, *South Africa: the rise and fall of apartheid*, 2nd ed., vol. *Seminar studies in history*. Harlow: Longman, 2011.

[273]

T. R. H. Davenport, *South Africa: a modern history*, 5th ed. London: Macmillan, 2000.

[274]

H. Deegan, *The politics of the new South Africa: apartheid and after*. Harlow: Longman, 2001.

[275]

C. W. De Kiewiet, *A history of South Africa, social and economic*. London: Oxford University Press, 1941.

[276]

W. A. De Klerk, *The puritans in Africa: a history of Afrikanerdom*. London: Rex Collings, 1975.

[277]

W. Beinart and S. Dubow, *Segregation and apartheid in twentieth century South Africa, vol. Rewriting histories*. London: Routledge, 1995.

[278]

L. Evans, 'Resettlement and the Making of the Ciskei Bantustan, South Africa, 1960–1976', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 21–40, Jan. 2014, doi: 10.1080/03057070.2014.889359.

[279]

P. Frankel, 'The Politics of Passes: Control and Change in South Africa', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 17, no. 02, Jun. 1979, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00005413.

[280]

G. M. Fredrickson, *White supremacy: a comparative study in American and South African*

history. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981 [Online]. Available: http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=5662651810002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

[281]

W. Beinart and S. Dubow, *Segregation and apartheid in twentieth century South Africa, vol. Rewriting histories*. London: Routledge, 1995.

[282]

H. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: biography of a people*. London: C. Hurst, 2003.

[283]

H. Giliomee, 'The Making of the Apartheid Plan, 1929-1948*', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 373-392, Jun. 2003, doi: 10.1080/03057070306211.

[284]

H. Giliomee and L. Schlemmer, *From apartheid to nation-building, vol. Contemporary South African debates*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1989.

[285]

A. Guelke, *Rethinking the rise and fall of apartheid: South Africa and world politics, vol. Rethinking world politics*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://lib.myilibrary.com?id=86045>

[286]

W. M. Gumede, Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC, Updated ed. London: Zed, 2007 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10252502>

[287]

A. Hepple, *South Africa: a political and economic history*, vol. Pall Mall library of African affairs. London: Pall Mall, 1966.

[288]

A. Hepple, *Verwoerd*, vol. Political leaders of the twentieth century. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967.

[289]

K. Ingham, *JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS*. 1986.

[290]

R. W. Johnson, *How long will South Africa survive?* London: Macmillan, 1977.

[291]

A. Keppel-Jones, *South Africa: a short history*, 5th ed. London: Hutchinson, 1975.

[292]

A. La Guma, *Apartheid: a collection of writings on South African racism by South Africans*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1972.

[293]

B. Lapping and Granada Television, *Apartheid: a history*. London: Paladin, 1987.

[294]

M. Lipton, *Capitalism and apartheid: South Africa, 1910-1986*, Updated with new epilogue. Aldershot: Wildwood House, 1986.

[295]

Merle Lipton, 'Independent Bantustans?', *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), vol. 48, no. 1, pp. 1-19, 1972 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2613623>

[296]

T. D. Moodie, *The rise of Afrikanerdom: power, apartheid, and the Afrikaner civil religion*, vol. *Perspectives on southern Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

[297]

W. Beinart and S. Dubow, *Segregation and apartheid in twentieth century South Africa*, vol. *Rewriting histories*. London: Routledge, 1995.

[298]

'THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION ON BUSINESS AND APARTHEID: A CRITICAL EVALUATION' [Online]. Available: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/98/392/373.abstract>

[299]

D. O'Meara, *Forty lost years: the apartheid state and the politics of the National Party, 1948-1994*. Randburg: Ravan Press, 1996.

[300]

H. Oppenheimer, 'Towards a more just racial order in South Africa'.

[301]

J. Pampallis, *Foundations of a new South Africa*. London: Zed, 1991.

[302]

D. Posel, *The making of apartheid, 1948-1961: conflict and compromise*, vol. *Oxford studies in African affairs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

[303]

W. Beinart and S. Dubow, *Segregation and apartheid in twentieth century South Africa*, vol. *Rewriting histories*. London: Routledge, 1995.

[304]

Deborah Posel, 'Whiteness and Power in the South African Civil Service: Paradoxes of the Apartheid State', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 99–119, 1999 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2637588>

[305]

Deborah Posel, 'Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth-Century South Africa', *African Studies Review*, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 87–113, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/525576>

[306]

R. I. Rotberg and J. Barratt, *Conflict and compromise in South Africa*. Lexington, Mass: Heath, 1980.

[307]

B. Rogers, *Divide & rule: South Africa's Bantustans*, Rev. and enl. Ed. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1980.

[308]

R. J. Southall, 'The Beneficiaries of Transkeian "Independence"', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 15, no. 01, Mar. 1977, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00014452.

[309]

R. Southall, *South Africa's Transkei: the political economy of an 'independent' bantustan*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983.

[310]

H. J. Simons, R. Simons, and International Defence and Aid Fund, *Class and colour in South Africa 1850-1950*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969.

[311]

A. W. Stadler, *The political economy of modern South Africa*. London: Croom Helm, 1987.

[312]

L. Thompson and A. Prior, *South African politics*. New York: Yale University Press, 1982.

[313]

South Africa, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa report. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999.

[314]

L. Boule and R. A. Schrire, *Malan to de Klerk: leadership in the apartheid state*. London: Hurst, 1994.

[315]

J. E. Spence and D. Welsh, *Ending apartheid, vol. Turning points*. Harlow: Longman, 2010.

[316]

J. A. Williams, *From the South African past: narratives, documents, and debates, vol. Sources in modern history series*. Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin, 1997.

[317]

M. Wilson and L. Thompson, *The Oxford history of South Africa: Vol.2: South Africa,*

1870-1966. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

[318]

W. Beinart and S. Dubow, Segregation and apartheid in twentieth century South Africa, vol. Rewriting histories. London: Routledge, 1995.

[319]

J. P. Barber, South Africa in the twentieth century: a political history in search of a nation state, vol. History of the contemporary world. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

[320]

P. Collins, Thinking about South Africa: reason, morality and politics. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990.

[321]

N. Crawford and A. Klotz, How sanctions work: lessons from South Africa, vol. International political economy series. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.

[322]

H. Deegan, The politics of the new South Africa: apartheid and after. Harlow: Longman, 2001.

[323]

F. W. De Klerk, The last trek - a new beginning: the autobiography. London: Macmillan, 1998.

[324]

W. De Klerk, F.W. de Klerk: the man in his time. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1991.

[325]

Sebastian Mallaby, 'After apartheid', *The Economist*, vol. 317, no. 7, 1990 [Online].

Available:

<http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE|A9078716&v=2.1&u=leicester&it=r&p=EAIM&sw=w&asid=cfc4ab4a31aaa7ffe0e32e044e735a46>

[326]

N. Etherington, *Peace, politics and violence in the New South Africa*, vol. African discourse series. London: Hans Zell, 1992.

[327]

R. Lee and L. Schlemmer, *Transition to democracy: policy perspectives 1991*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1991.

[328]

N. Etherington, *Peace, politics and violence in the New South Africa*, vol. African discourse series. London: Hans Zell, 1992.

[329]

Hermann Giliomee, 'Democratization in South Africa', *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 110, no. 1, pp. 83-104, 1995 [Online]. Available:

<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2152052>

[330]

A. Guelke, *South Africa in transition: the misunderstood miracle*, vol. International library of African studies. London: Tauris, 1999.

[331]

R. Harvey, *The fall of apartheid: the inside story from Smuts to Mbeki*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

[332]

P. Collins, *Thinking about South Africa: reason, morality and politics*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990.

[333]

S. Mallaby, *After Apartheid*. London: Faber and Faber, 1992.

[334]

B. Manby, 'South Africa: The impact of sanctions' [Online]. Available: <http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&AN=9209140097&site=ehost-live>

[335]

B. Manby, 'South Africa: The impact of sanctions' [Online]. Available: <http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&AN=9209140097&site=ehost-live>

[336]

H. Marais, *South Africa: limits to change: the political economy of transition*, 2nd ed. London: Zed Books, 2001.

[337]

M. Meredith, *Nelson Mandela: a biography*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1997.

[338]

Steven Mufson, 'South Africa 1990', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 70, no. 1, pp. 120-141, 1991 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/10.2307/20044698?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=South&searchText=Africa&searchText=1990&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DSouth%2BAfrica%2B1990%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj50000070%26amp%3BSearch%3DSearch%26amp%3Bwc%3Don%26amp%3Bfc%3Doff%26amp%3BglobalSearch%3D%26amp%3BsbbBox%3D%26amp%3BsbjBox%3D%26amp%3BsbpBox%3D>

[339]

Bruce W. Nelan, 'Changes in South Africa', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 69, no. 1, pp. 135-151, 1990 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/20044291>

[340]

D. O'Meara, *Forty lost years: the apartheid state and the politics of the National Party, 1948-1994*. Randburg: Ravan Press, 1996.

[341]

R. Pfister, 'Gateway to international victory: the diplomacy of the African National Congress in Africa, 1960-1994', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 51-73, Mar. 2003, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X02004147.

[342]

R. Renwick, *Unconventional diplomacy in Southern Africa*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997.

[343]

A. Sampson, *Nelson Mandela: the authorised biography*. London: HarperCollins, 1999.

[344]

L. Benjamin and C. Gregory, *Southern Africa at the crossroads?: prospects for stability and development in the 1990s*. Rivonia: Justified Press, 1992.

[345]

R. A. Schrire, *Adapt or die: the end of white politics in South Africa*, vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst, 1992.

[346]

R. Lee and L. Schlemmer, *Transition to democracy: policy perspectives 1991*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1991.

[347]

A. Sparks, *Tomorrow is another country: the inside story of South Africa's negotiated revolution*. London: Heinemann, 1995.

[348]

R. Lee and L. Schlemmer, *Transition to democracy: policy perspectives 1991*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1991.

[349]

F. van Z. Slabbert, *The quest for democracy: South Africa in transition*, vol. Penguin forum series. London, England: Penguin Books, 1992.

[350]

P. Waldmeir, *Anatomy of a miracle: the end of apartheid and the birth of the new South Africa*. London: Viking, 1997.

[351]

L. Boulle and R. A. Schrire, *Malan to de Klerk: leadership in the apartheid state*. London: Hurst, 1994.

[352]

J. E. Spence and D. Welsh, *Ending apartheid*, vol. *Turning points*. Harlow: Longman, 2010.

[353]

S. Zunes, 'The role of non-violent action in the downfall of apartheid', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 37, no. 01, pp. 137-169, 2000 [Online]. Available: <http://journals.cambridge.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=onlin>

e&aid=17701&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022278X99002967

[354]

K. Christie, *The South African Truth Commission*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000 [Online]. Available: <http://lib.myilibrary.com?id=24844>

[355]

N. Barnard and T. Wiese, *Secret revolution: memoirs of a spy boss*, Second softcover edition. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2015.

[356]

W. P. Esterhuysen, *Endgame: secret talks and the end of apartheid*, 1st ed. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2012.

[357]

H. Adam, F. Van Zyl Slabbert, and K. Moodley, *Comrades in business: post-liberation politics in South Africa*. Utrecht: International Books, 1998.

[358]

N. Barnard and T. Wiese, *Secret revolution: memoirs of a spy boss*, Second softcover edition. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2015.

[359]

'Africa Contemporary Record', vol. XXV, 1994.

[360]

R. A. Schrire, *Adapt or die: the end of white politics in South Africa*, vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst, 1992.

[361]

James Barber, 'South Africa: The Search for Identity', *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), vol. 70, no. 1, pp. 67-82, 1994 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/10.2307/2620716?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=South&searchText=Africa:&searchText=The&searchText=Search&searchText=for&searchText=Identity&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3DSouth%2BAfrica%253A%2BThe%2BSearch%2Bfor%2BIdentity%26amp%3Bfilter%3Djid%253A10.2307%252Fj100185%26amp%3BSearch%3DSearch%26amp%3Bwc%3Don%26amp%3Bfc%3Doff%26amp%3BglobalSearch%3D%26amp%3BsbbBox%3D%26amp%3BsbjBox%3D%26amp%3BsbpBox%3D>

[362]

J. P. Barber, *South Africa in the twentieth century: a political history in search of a nation state*, vol. *History of the contemporary world*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

[363]

J. P. Barber, *Mandela's world: the international dimension of South Africa's political revolution 1990-99*. Oxford: James Currey, 2004.

[364]

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

[365]

J. Cronin, 'Codesa: what is de Klerk up to?'

[366]

J. Cronin, 'In search of a relevant strategy'.

[367]

J. Cronin, "'GNURs or no GNURs'.

[368]

K. Cullinan, 'Moving the masses' (analysis of ANC mass action)'.

[369]

J. Suckling, L. White, and University of York, *After apartheid: renewal of the South African economy*. York: Centre for Southern African Studies, University of York in association with James Currey, 1988.

[370]

H. Deegan, *The politics of the new South Africa: apartheid and after*. Harlow: Longman, 2001.

[371]

R. A. Schrire, *Adapt or die: the end of white politics in South Africa*, vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst, 1992.

[372]

F. W. De Klerk, *The last trek - a new beginning: the autobiography*. London: Macmillan, 1998.

[373]

J. Blumenfeld and Royal Institute of International Affairs, *South Africa in crisis*. London: Croom Helm for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1987.

[374]

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

[375]

J. Rantete, 'Transition to democracy through transaction? Bilateral negotiations between the ANC and NP in South Africa' [Online]. Available:

<http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/91/365.toc>

[376]

G. Galer, 'Scenarios of change in South Africa', *The Round Table*, vol. 93, no. 375, pp. 369–383, Jul. 2004, doi: 10.1080/0035853042000249960.

[377]

Hermann Giliomee, 'Surrender without Defeat: Afrikaners and the South African "Miracle"', *Daedalus*, vol. 126, no. 2, pp. 113–146, 1997 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/20027431>

[378]

N. Etherington, *Peace, politics and violence in the New South Africa*, vol. African discourse series. London: Hans Zell, 1992.

[379]

J. Blumenfeld and Royal Institute of International Affairs, *South Africa in crisis*. London: Croom Helm for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1987.

[380]

A. Guelke, *South Africa in transition: the misunderstood miracle*, vol. International library of African studies. London: Tauris, 1999.

[381]

A. Guelke, 'Interpretations of political violence during South Africa's transition', *Politikon*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 239–254, Nov. 2000, doi: 10.1080/713692334.

[382]

A. Guelke, *Rethinking the rise and fall of apartheid: South Africa and world politics*, vol. Rethinking world politics. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://lib.myilibrary.com?id=86045>

[383]

A. Guelke, Rethinking the rise and fall of apartheid: South Africa and world politics, vol. Rethinking world politics. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://lib.mylibrary.com?id=86045>

[384]

W. M. Gumede, Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC, Updated ed. London: Zed, 2007 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10252502>

[385]

J. Hamill, 'An Offbeat Offer'.

[386]

J. Hamill, 'President de Klerk's options'.

[387]

James Hamill, 'South Africa: From Codesa to Leipzig?', *The World Today*, vol. 49, no. 1, pp. 12–16, 1993 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/40396438>

[388]

J. Hamill, 'Historic Compromise'.

[389]

James Hamill, 'A new deal for South Africa', *Contemporary Review*, vol. 262, no. 1, 1993 [Online]. Available:

<http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE|A14153814&v=2.1&u=leicester&it=r&p=EAIM&sw=w&asid=8fc0dd8f0b2d007cd2b4c5299a49df6a>

[390]

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

[391]

J. Hamill, 'The Crossing of the Rubicon: South Africa's post- apartheid political process 1990 - 1992'.

[392]

J. Hamill, 'A disguised surrender? South Africa's negotiated settlement and the politics of conflict resolution', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 1-30, Sep. 2003, doi: 10.1080/09592290312331295546.

[393]

J. Hamill, 'Back to the precipice'.

[394]

J. Hamill, 'South Africa After Hani', *Politics Review*.

[395]

R. Harvey, *The fall of apartheid: the inside story from Smuts to Mbeki*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

[396]

Jeffrey Herbst, 'Creating a New South Africa', *Foreign Policy*, no. 94, pp. 120-135, 1994 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/1149135>

[397]

D. L. Horowitz, *A democratic South Africa?: constitutional engineering in a divided society*, vol. *Perspectives on Southern Africa*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1991.

[398]

P. H. Frankel, N. Pines, and M. Swilling, *State, resistance and change in South Africa*. London: Croom Helm, 1988.

[399]

R. W. Johnson and L. Schlemmer, *Launching democracy in South Africa: the first open election, April 1994*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1996.

[400]

N. Kersting, 'Direct Democracy in Constitutional Processes: The South African Plebiscite of 1992', *Politikon*, vol. 37, no. 2-3, pp. 207-222, Dec. 2010, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2010.522330.

[401]

'Power-sharing democracy in the new South Africa', *Politics and Society*.

[402]

G. Kynoch, 'Crime, conflict and politics in transition-era South Africa', *African Affairs*, vol. 104, no. 416, pp. 493-514, Jul. 2005, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adi009.

[403]

G. Kynoch, 'Reassessing transition violence: Voices from South Africa's township wars, 1990-4', *African Affairs*, vol. 112, no. 447, pp. 283-303, Apr. 2013, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adt014.

[404]

Michael Lawrence and Andrew Manson, 'The "Dog of the Boers": The Rise and Fall of Mangope in Bophuthatswana', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 447-461, 1994 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2636938>

[405]

R. Lee and L. Schlemmer, *Transition to democracy: policy perspectives 1991*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1991.

[406]

A. Reynolds, *Election '94 South Africa: the campaigns, results and future prospects*. London: James Currey, 1994.

[407]

H. Marais, 'Don't Worry, Be Happy'.

[408]

H. Marais, *South Africa: limits to change: the political economy of transition*, 2nd ed. London: Zed Books, 2001.

[409]

Michael Macdonald, 'The Siren's Song: The Political Logic of Power-Sharing in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 709-725, 1992 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2637100>

[410]

Michael Macdonald, 'Power Politics in the New South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 221-233, 1996 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2637058>

[411]

M. MacDonald and W. James, 'The Hand on the Tiller: the Politics of State and Class in South Africa', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 31, no. 03, Sep. 1993, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00012003.

[412]

S. Mallaby, *After Apartheid*. London: Faber and Faber, 1992.

[413]

N. Mandela, *Long walk to freedom: the autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. London: Abacus, 1995.

[414]

L. J. Diamond and M. Plattner, *Democratization in Africa*, vol. *Journal of democracy books*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

[415]

H. Marais, *South Africa: limits to change: the political economy of transition*, 2nd ed. London: Zed Books, 2001.

[416]

S. C. Marks, *Watching the wind: conflict resolution during South Africa's transition to democracy*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2000.

[417]

M. Herbet Maserumule, 'Conflicts between Directors-General and Ministers in South Africa 1994–2004: A "Postulative" Approach', *Politikon*, vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 147–164, Aug. 2007, doi: 10.1080/02589340701715505.

[418]

A. Reynolds, *Election '94 South Africa: the campaigns, results and future prospects*. London: James Currey, 1994.

[419]

M. J. Murray, *Revolution deferred: the painful birth of post-apartheid South Africa*. London: Verso, 1994.

[420]

R. A. Schrire, *Adapt or die: the end of white politics in South Africa*, vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst, 1992.

[421]

'Negotiations - another site of struggle'.

[422]

J. Daniel O'Flaherty, 'Holding Together South Africa', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 4, pp. 126-136, 1993 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/20045720>

[423]

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

[424]

D. O'Meara, *Forty lost years: the apartheid state and the politics of the National Party, 1948-1994*. Randburg: Ravan Press, 1996.

[425]

M. Philips, 'Negotiations: it takes two to tango'.

[426]

R. Lee and L. Schlemmer, *Transition to democracy: policy perspectives 1991*. Cape Town:

Oxford University Press, 1991.

[427]

A. Sampson, Nelson Mandela: the authorised biography. London: HarperCollins, 1999.

[428]

S. C. Saxena, South Africa: walking the last mile. Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1992.

[429]

J. G. R. Simpson, 'Boipatong: The Politics of a Massacre and the South African Transition', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 623–647, Sep. 2012, doi: 10.1080/03057070.2012.711674.

[430]

T. D. Sisk, *Democratization in South Africa: the elusive social contract*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995.

[431]

J. Slovo, 'Negotiations: what room for compromise?', 1992.

[432]

Keith Somerville, 'South Africa: Whither the National Party?', *The World Today*, vol. 46, no. 10, pp. 190–192, 1990 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/40396152>

[433]

A. Sparks, *Tomorrow is another country: the inside story of South Africa's negotiated revolution*. London: Heinemann, 1995.

[434]

J. E. Spence, 'South Africa: Charisma and Compromise', *The World Today*, vol. 47, no. 4, pp. 67–69, 1991 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/40396283>

[435]

'South Africa: countdown to election', *The World Today*, vol. 49, no. 8, pp. 142–152, 1993 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/40396524>

[436]

R. Spitz and M. Chaskalson, *The politics of transition: a hidden history of South Africa's negotiated settlement*. Oxford: Hart, 2000.

[437]

A. Strauss, 'The 1992 Referendum in South Africa', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 31, no. 02, Jun. 1993, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00011964.

[438]

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

[439]

F. Van Zyl Slabbert and D. Welsh, *South Africa's options: strategies for sharing power*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1979.

[440]

P. Waldmeir, *Anatomy of a miracle: the end of apartheid and the birth of the new South Africa*. London: Viking, 1997.

[441]

J. A. Williams, *From the South African past: narratives, documents, and debates*, vol.

Sources in modern history series. Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin, 1997.

[442]

J. E. Spence and D. Welsh, Ending apartheid, vol. Turning points. Harlow: Longman, 2010.

[443]

H. Giliomee, L. Schlemmer, and S. Hauptfleisch, The bold experiment: South Africa's new democracy. Halfway House [South Africa]: Southern Book Publishers, 1994.

[444]

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

[445]

L. Hamilton, Are South Africans free? London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014 [Online].

Available:

<http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/leicester/detail.action?docID=1656524>

[446]

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

[447]

'ANC Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission'. [Online]. Available:

<http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2639>

[448]

Howard Barrell, 'The Turn to the Masses: The African National Congress' Strategic Review

of 1978-79', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 64-92, 1992 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2637182>

[449]

H. Barrell, *MK: the ANC's armed struggle*, vol. Penguin forum series. London: Penguin, 1990.

[450]

S. Johnson and David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies, *South Africa: no turning back*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, in association with the David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies, 1988.

[451]

M. Benson, *South Africa: the struggle for a birthright*, Rev. ed., vol. Penguin African library. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1966.

[452]

K. Campbell, *ANC: a soviet task force?*, vol. *Terrorism in South Africa*. London: Institute for the Study of Terrorism, 1986.

[453]

S. Clingman, *Bram Fischer: Afrikaner revolutionary*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998.

[454]

S. M. Davis, *Apartheid's rebels: inside South Africa's hidden war*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1987.

[455]

S. R. Davis, 'The African National Congress, its Radio, its Allies and Exile *', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 349-373, Jun. 2009, doi:

10.1080/03057070902919892.

[456]

S. Ellis and T. Sechaba, *Comrades against apartheid: the ANC & the South African Communist Party in exile*. London: James Currey, 1991.

[457]

S. Ellis, 'Mbokodo: security in ANC camps, 1961-1990' [Online]. Available: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/93/371.toc>

[458]

S. Ellis, 'The ANC in Exile', 1991 [Online]. Available: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/90/360.toc>

[459]

S. Ellis, 'The Genesis of the ANC's Armed Struggle in South Africa 1948-1961', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 37, no. 4, pp. 657-676, Dec. 2011, doi: 10.1080/03057070.2011.592659.

[460]

H. Holland, *The struggle: a history of the African National Congress*. London: Grafton Books, 1989.

[461]

G. F. Houston, *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, 1999.

[462]

S. Johns and R. H. Davis, *Mandela, Tambo, and the African National Congress: the struggle against apartheid, 1948-1990 : a documentary survey*. New York: Oxford, 1991.

[463]

S. Johns and R. H. Davis, *Mandela, Tambo, and the African National Congress: the struggle against apartheid, 1948-1990 : a documentary survey*. New York: Oxford, 1991.

[464]

P. Jordan, 'The African National Congress: from illegality to the corridors of power', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 31, no. 100, pp. 203-212, Jun. 2004, doi: 10.1080/0305624042000262248.

[465]

T. Karis, G. M. Carter, and S. Johns, *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, 1972.

[466]

Thomas G. Karis, 'South African Liberation: The Communist Factor', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 65, no. 2, pp. 267-287, 1986 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/20042978>

[467]

R. Kasrils, *Armed and dangerous: my undercover struggle against apartheid*. Oxford: Heinemann, 1993.

[468]

M. Wilson and L. Thompson, *The Oxford history of South Africa: Vol.2: South Africa, 1870-1966*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

[469]

Review by: Martin Legassick, 'Myth and Reality in the Struggle Against Apartheid', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 443-458, 1998 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2637535>

[470]

M. Legassick, 'Armed Struggle in South Africa: Consequences of a Strategy Debate', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 285–302, Jul. 2003, doi: 10.1080/02589000305449.

[471]

A. Lerumo, *Fifty fighting years: the Communist Party of South Africa 1921-1971*, 2nd rev. ed. London: Inkululeko Publications, 1980.

[472]

A. Lissoni, 'Transformations in the ANC External Mission and Umkhonto we Sizwe, c. 1960–1969*', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 287–301, Jun. 2009, doi: 10.1080/03057070902919850.

[473]

T. Lodge, *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*. London: Longman, 1983.

[474]

P. H. Frankel, N. Pines, and M. Swilling, *State, resistance and change in South Africa*. London: Croom Helm, 1988.

[475]

T. Lodge, *All, here, and now: black politics in South Africa in the 1980s*, vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst, 1992.

[476]

A. Luthuli, *Let my people go: an autobiography*. London: Fount paperbacks, 1989.

[477]

H. Macmillan, '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*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 303–329, Jun. 2009, doi: 10.1080/03057070902919876.

[478]

N. Mandela, *Long walk to freedom: the autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. London: Abacus, 1995.

[479]

N. Mandela and International Defence and Aid Fund, *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, 1986.

[480]

H. Marais, 'What happened in the ANC camps?'

[481]

A. W. Marx, *Lessons of struggle: South African internal opposition, 1960-1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

[482]

D. T. McKinley, *The ANC and the liberation struggle: a critical political biography*. London: Pluto, 1997.

[483]

A. Prior, 'Political culture and violence: a case study of the African national congress of South Africa', *Politikon*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 12–20, Dec. 1984, doi: 10.1080/02589348408704839.

[484]

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

[485]

A. Sampson, *Nelson Mandela: the authorised biography*. London: HarperCollins, 1999.

[486]

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

[487]

T. Simpson, 'Toyi-Toyi-ing to Freedom: The Endgame in the ANC's Armed Struggle, 1989-1990', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 507-521, Jun. 2009, doi: 10.1080/03057070902920015.

[488]

B. Davidson, J. Slovo, and A. R. Wilkinson, *Southern Africa: the new politics of revolution*, vol. A pelican original. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976.

[489]

R. Suttner and J. Cronin, *30 years of the Freedom Charter*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986.

[490]

R. Suttner, 'Culture(s) of the African National Congress of South Africa: Imprint of Exile Experiences', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 303-320, Jul. 2003, doi: 10.1080/02589000305450.

[491]

R. Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa, 1950-1976*. Boulder, Colo: FirstForum Press, 2009.

[492]

R. SUTTNER, 'The African National Congress centenary: a long and difficult journey', *International Affairs*, vol. 88, no. 4, pp. 719–738, Jul. 2012, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2346.2012.01098.x.

[493]

O. Tambo and A. Tambo, *Preparing for power: Oliver Tambo speaks*, vol. African writers series. London: Heinemann, 1987.

[494]

K. Christie, *The South African Truth Commission*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000 [Online]. Available: <http://lib.myilibrary.com?id=24844>

[495]

M. A. Uhlig, *Apartheid in crisis*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986.

[496]

I. van Kessel, *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, 2000.

[497]

J. A. Williams, *From the South African past: narratives, documents, and debates*, vol. *Sources in modern history series*. Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin, 1997.

[498]

H. Adam and K. Moodley, *The opening of the apartheid mind: options for the new South Africa*, vol. *Perspectives on Southern Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

[499]

H. Adam, F. Van Zyl Slabbert, and K. Moodley, *Comrades in business: post-liberation politics in South Africa*. Utrecht: International Books, 1998.

[500]

A basic guide to the reconstruction and development programme. Johannesburg: African National Congress, 1994 [Online]. Available: <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/policy/short.htm>

[501]

E. Bertelser, 'Selling change: advertisements for the 1994 South African election' [Online]. Available: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/95/379.toc>

[502]

Matt Eldridge and Jeremy Seekings, 'Mandela's Lost Province: The African National Congress and the Western Cape Electorate in the 1994 South African Elections', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 517-540, 1996 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2637155>

[503]

A. M. Faure and J.-E. Lane, *South Africa: designing new political institutions*. London: Sage, 1996 [Online]. Available: <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10392710>

[504]

A. Guelke, *South Africa in transition: the misunderstood miracle*, vol. *International library of African studies*. London: Tauris, 1999.

[505]

J. Hamill, 'South Africa: election '94 and the rogue provinces'.

[506]

J. Hamill, 'South Africa's great leap forward'.

[507]

James Hamill and J. E. Spence, 'South Africa's Watershed Election', *The World Today*, vol. 50, no. 7, pp. 128-132, 1994 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/40396619>

[508]

E. J. Yorke and F. H. Toase, *The new South Africa: prospects for domestic and international security*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.

[509]

Alexander Johnston, 'South Africa: The Election and the Emerging Party System', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, vol. 70, no. 4, pp. 721-736, 1994 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2624555>

[510]

T. Lodge, 'The South African general election April 1994: Results, Analysis and Implications' [Online]. Available: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/94/377.toc>

[511]

N. Mandela, *Long walk to freedom: the autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. London: Abacus, 1995.

[512]

M. Meredith, *Nelson Mandela: a biography*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1997.

[513]

Newsweek, 'Fire Down Below'.

[514]

M. Ottaway, 'Liberation Movements and Transition to Democracy: the Case of the A.N.C.', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 29, no. 01, Mar. 1991, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00020747.

[515]

M. Ottaway, *South Africa: the struggle for a new order*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1993.

[516]

J. Hamill, 'South Africa: election '94 and the rogue provinces'.

[517]

A. Sampson, *Nelson Mandela: the authorised biography*. London: HarperCollins, 1999.

[518]

R. Southall, 'The South African Elections of 1994: the Remaking of a Dominant-Party State', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 32, no. 04, Dec. 1994, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00015883.

[519]

J. Spence, "'Everybody has won, so all must have prizes": Reflections on the SA General Election".

[520]

S. Uys, "'South Africa's Elections'".

[521]

M. Clarke and C. Bassett, 'The struggle for transformation in South Africa: unrealised dreams, persistent hopes', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 183–189, Apr. 2016, doi: 10.1080/02589001.2016.1202501.

[522]

H. Adam, F. Van Zyl Slabbert, and K. Moodley, *Comrades in business: post-liberation politics in South Africa*. Utrecht: International Books, 1998.

[523]

K. ADAM, 'The Politics of Redress: South African Style Affirmative Action', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 231–249, Jun. 1997, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X97002413.

[524]

P. Alexander, 'Rebellion of the poor: South Africa's service delivery protests – a preliminary analysis', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 37, no. 123, pp. 25–40, Mar. 2010, doi: 10.1080/03056241003637870.

[525]

E. Zuern, 'South Africa at a Turning Point?', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 53, no. 03, pp. 477–486, Sep. 2015, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X15000427.

[526]

A. E. Ansell *, 'Two nations of discourse: mapping racial ideologies in post-apartheid South Africa', *Politikon*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 3–26, May 2004, doi: 10.1080/02589340410001690783.

[527]

J. P. Barber, *South Africa in the twentieth century: a political history in search of a nation state*, vol. History of the contemporary world. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

[528]

Jesmond Blumenfeld, 'Pragmatists versus Populists in the "New" South Africa', *The World Today*, vol. 52, no. 7, pp. 185–189, 1996 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/40475860>

[529]

J. Blumenfeld, 'Assessing South Africa's Growth Strategy'.

[530]

P. Bond, *Elite transition: from apartheid to neoliberalism in South Africa*. London: Pluto Press, 2000 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=2001171>

[531]

P. Bond, 'South Africa between Neoliberalism and Social Democracy?: Respecting Balance while Sharpening Differences', *Politikon*, vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 125–146, Aug. 2007, doi: 10.1080/02589340701715182.

[532]

P. Bond, 'South African People Power since the mid-1980s: two steps forward, one back', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 243–264, Mar. 2012, doi: 10.1080/01436597.2012.666011.

[533]

R. Stephen Brent, 'Tough Road to Prosperity', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 75, no. 2, pp. 113–126, 1996 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/20047492>

[534]

A. Reynolds, *Election '99: South Africa: from Mandela to Mbeki*. Oxford: James Currey, 1999.

[535]

R. Calland, *Anatomy of South Africa: who holds the power?* Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2006.

[536]

A. M. Faure and J.-E. Lane, *South Africa: designing new political institutions*. London: Sage, 1996 [Online]. Available: <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10392710>

[537]

Pádraig Carmody, 'Between Globalisation and (Post) Apartheid: The Political Economy of Restructuring in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 255–275, 2002 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/823384>

[538]

S. Cornelissen and S. Horstmeier, '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*, vol. 40, no. 01, Mar. 2002, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X01003810.

[539]

Y. D. Davids and F. Gaibie, 'Quality of Life in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Politikon*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 231–256, Aug. 2011, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2011.580124.

[540]

R. Davies, 'Rebuilding the Future or Revisiting the Past? Post-apartheid Afrikaner Politics', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 34, no. 112, pp. 353–370, Jun. 2007, doi: 10.1080/03056240701449737.

[541]

J. G. Farley, 'South Africa's economic dilemma - Scylla or Charybdis?', *Contemporary Review*, vol. 270, no. 1, 1997 [Online]. Available: <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE|A19385245&v=2.1&u=leicester&it=r&p=EAIM&sw=w&asid=ee821155202796c96445b7b1dfd33d1e>

[542]

B. Freund, 'South Africa: The End of Apartheid & the Emergence of the "BEE Elite"', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 34, no. 114, pp. 661–678, Dec. 2007, doi: 10.1080/03056240701819533.

[543]

S. Friedman, 'Beyond the fringe? South African social movements and the politics of redistribution', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 39, no. 131, pp. 85–100, Mar. 2012, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2012.658718.

[544]

A. S. Ginsberg, *South Africa's future: from crisis to prosperity*. London: Macmillan, 1998.

[545]

D. Glaser, 'THE MEDIA INQUIRY REPORTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: A CRITIQUE', *African Affairs*, vol. 99, no. 396, pp. 373–393, Jul. 2000, doi: 10.1093/afraf/99.396.373.

[546]

A. Guelke, *South Africa in transition: the misunderstood miracle*, vol. *International library of African studies*. London: Tauris, 1999.

[547]

E. J. Yorke and F. H. Toase, *The new South Africa: prospects for domestic and international security*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.

[548]

James Hamill, 'To Follow an Icon', *The World Today*, vol. 55, no. 5, pp. 22–24, 1999 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/40476253>

[549]

G. Hart, 'Changing Concepts of Articulation: Political Stakes in South Africa Today', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 34, no. 111, pp. 85–101, Mar. 2007, doi: 10.1080/03056240701340415.

[550]

A. Handley, 'Business, government and economic policymaking in the new South Africa' 1990-2000' [Online]. Available: <http://journals.cambridge.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=332582&jid=MOA&volumeld=43&issuelid=02&aid=313143&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022278X05000819>

[551]

Hawker, Geoffrey, 'Political leadership in the ANC: the South African provinces 1994%u20131999', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 38, no. 04, pp. 631–658, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://journals.cambridge.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=66333&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022278X00003463>

[552]

Nicoli Nattrass, 'Economic Restructuring in South Africa: The Debate Continues', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 517–531, 1994 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2636970>

[553]

A. Kraak, 'Horizontal Coordination, Government Performance and National Planning: The Possibilities and Limits of the South African State', *Politikon*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 343–365, Dec. 2011, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2011.623834.

[554]

'POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN SOUTH AFRICA' [Online]. Available: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/97/387/157.abstract>

[555]

T. Lodge, *South African politics since 1994*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999.

[556]

T. Lodge, 'Neo-patrimonial politics in the ANC', *African Affairs*, vol. 113, no. 450, pp. 1-23, Jan. 2014, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adt069.

[557]

Princeton N. Lyman, 'South Africa's Promise', *Foreign Policy*, no. 102, pp. 105-119, 1996 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/1149262>

[558]

N. S. Makgetla, 'The post-apartheid economy', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 31, no. 100, pp. 263-281, Jun. 2004, doi: 10.1080/0305624042000262284.

[559]

H. Marais, *South Africa: limits to change : the political economy of transition*, 2nd ed. London: Zed Books, 2001.

[560]

H. Marais, *South Africa pushed to the limit: the political economy of change*. London: Zed, 2011 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.mylibrary.com?id=301135>

[561]

'THE COSATU PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRATIC TRADITION AND SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW PARLIAMENT: ARE THEY RECONCILABLE?' [Online]. Available: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/97/386/29.abstract>

[562]

'THE COSATU PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRATIC TRADITION AND SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW PARLIAMENT: ARE THEY RECONCILABLE?' [Online]. Available:

<http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/97/386/29.abstract>

[563]

E. J. Yorke and F. H. Toase, *The new South Africa: prospects for domestic and international security*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.

[564]

N. Nattrass, 'Politics and economics in ANC economic policy' [Online]. Available: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/93/372.toc>

[565]

Nicoli Nattrass, 'Economic Restructuring in South Africa: The Debate Continues', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 517–531, 1994 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/2636970>

[566]

Nicoli Nattrass and Jeremy Seekings, '"Two Nations"? Race and Economic Inequality in South Africa Today', *Daedalus*, vol. 130, no. 1, pp. 45–70, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/20027679>

[567]

N. Nattrass and J. Seekings, 'Democracy and distribution in highly unequal economies: the case of South Africa', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 39, no. 03, Sep. 2001, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X01003688.

[568]

S. Pillay, 'Crime, Community and the Governance of Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Politikon*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 141–158, Aug. 2008, doi: 10.1080/02589340802366943.

[569]

N. B. Pityana, 'SOUTH AFRICA'S INQUIRY INTO RACISM IN THE MEDIA: THE ROLE OF NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE PROMOTION AND PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS', *African Affairs*, vol. 99, no. 397, pp. 525–532, Oct. 2000, doi: 10.1093/afraf/99.397.525.

[570]

A. M. Faure and J.-E. Lane, *South Africa: designing new political institutions*. London: Sage, 1996 [Online]. Available: <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10392710>

[571]

Mamphela Ramphele, 'Citizenship Challenges for South Africa's Young Democracy', *Daedalus*, vol. 130, no. 1, pp. 1–17, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/20027677>

[572]

D. J. Randall, 'Prospects for the Development of a Black Business Class in South Africa', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 34, no. 04, Dec. 1996, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00055828.

[573]

'Emerging from Apartheid's Shadow: South Africa's Informal Economy: EBSCOhost' [Online]. Available: <http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&AN=3036000&site=ehost-live>

[574]

A. Sampson, *Nelson Mandela: the authorised biography*. London: HarperCollins, 1999.

[575]

J. Seekings, 'The continuing salience of race: Discrimination and diversity in South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 1–25, Jan. 2008, doi: 10.1080/02589000701782612.

[576]

J. Seekings, "'Just Deserts": Race, Class and Distributive Justice in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 39–60, Mar. 2008, doi: 10.1080/03057070701832874.

[577]

N. Nattrass, 'Economic restructuring in South Africa: the debate continues', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 517–531, Dec. 1994, doi: 10.1080/03057079408708418.

[578]

Mark Shaw and Peter Gastrow, 'Stealing the Show? Crime and Its Impact in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Daedalus*, vol. 130, no. 1, pp. 235–258, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/20027686>

[579]

L. J. Diamond and M. Plattner, *Democratization in Africa*, vol. *Journal of democracy books*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

[580]

R. Southall, 'The ANC & black capitalism in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 31, no. 100, pp. 313–328, Jun. 2004, doi: 10.1080/0305624042000262310.

[581]

R. Southall, 'Ten Propositions about Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 34, no. 111, pp. 67–84, Mar. 2007, doi: 10.1080/03056240701340365.

[582]

M. Du Preez, *A rumour of spring: South Africa after 20 years of democracy*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2013.

[583]

R. Southall, 'The ANC for Sale? Money, Morality & Business in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 35, no. 116, pp. 281–299, Jun. 2008, doi: 10.1080/03056240802196336.

[584]

A. Sparks, *Beyond the miracle: inside the new South Africa*. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

[585]

R. Tangri and R. Southall, 'The Politics of Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 699–716, Sep. 2008, doi: 10.1080/03057070802295856.

[586]

F. Tregenna, 'A new growth path for South Africa?', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 38, no. 130, pp. 627–635, Dec. 2011, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2011.633830.

[587]

Stanley Uys, 'Pressing the ANC to Take Power', *The World Today*, vol. 52, no. 5, pp. 129–132, 1996 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/40475814>

[588]

S. Uys, 'South Africa: churning currents' [Online]. Available: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/96/384.toc>

[589]

'CONSOLIDATING SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRACY: THE POLITICAL ARITHMETIC OF BUDGETARY REDISTRIBUTION' [Online]. Available: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/content/97/387/251.abstract>

[590]

E. J. Yorke and F. H. Toase, *The new South Africa: prospects for domestic and international security*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.

[591]

I. Chipkin, 'The Decline of African Nationalism and the State of South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 42, no. 2, pp. 215–227, Mar. 2016, doi: 10.1080/03057070.2016.1143208.

[592]

F. Anciano, 'A Dying Ideal: Non-Racialism and Political Parties in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 42, no. 2, pp. 195–214, Mar. 2016, doi: 10.1080/03057070.2016.1152090.

[593]

C. Abrahams, 'Twenty Years of Social Cohesion and Nation-Building in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 42, no. 1, pp. 95–107, Jan. 2016, doi: 10.1080/03057070.2016.1126455.

[594]

C. Abrahams, "'We can't really say what the future holds for us": Non-Racialism in a Transitional Democracy', *Politikon*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 113–126, Apr. 2012, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656916.

[595]

F. Anciano, 'Non-racialism and the African National Congress: views from the branch', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 35–55, Jan. 2014, doi: 10.1080/02589001.2014.900308.

[596]

F. Anciano-White and J. A. Selemani, 'Rethinking Non-Racialism: Reflections of a Selection

of South African Leaders', *Politikon*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 149–169, Apr. 2012, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656918.

[597]

F. Cachalia, 'Revisiting the National Question and Identity', *Politikon*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 53–69, Apr. 2012, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656913.

[598]

D. Curry, 'An African American Constructs and Confronts the Social Construction of Race in Post-Apartheid South Africa'', 2006.

[599]

'When dogs don't bark; Race in South Africa', *The Economist*, vol. 2001, no. 2001, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE|A78732392&v=2.1&u=leicester&it=r&p=EAIM&sw=w&asid=4dbd8e43b9a91f4e3230485ffecedae9>

[600]

M. Du Preez, *A rumour of spring: South Africa after 20 years of democracy*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2013.

[601]

D. Everatt, 'Non-Racialism in South Africa: Status and Prospects', *Politikon*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 5–28, Apr. 2012, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656910.

[602]

'The Politics of Dwelling: Being White / Being South African', *Africa Today*, vol. 56, no. 4, pp. 22–41 [Online]. Available: http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/africa_today/v056/56.4.griffiths.html

[603]

D. Hammett, 'Requiring Respect: Searching for Non-Racialism in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Politikon*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 71–88, Apr. 2012, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656914.

[604]

J. Hayem, 'From May 2008 to 2011: Xenophobic Violence and National Subjectivity in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 77–97, Mar. 2013, doi: 10.1080/03057070.2013.767538.

[605]

A. Kathrada, 'Non-Racialism in South Africa Today', *Politikon*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 1–4, Apr. 2012, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656957.

[606]

K. Lefko-Everett, 'Leaving it to the Children: Non-Racialism, Identity, Socialisation and Generational Change in South Africa', *Politikon*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 127–147, Apr. 2012, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656917.

[607]

'BBC News - Viewpoint: Does race matter in South Africa?' [Online]. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19402353>

[608]

S. Matthews, 'White Anti-Racism in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Politikon*, vol. 39, no. 2, pp. 171–188, Aug. 2012, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.683938.

[609]

A. Nyar, 'Some New Perspectives on South African Indians and "Non-Racialism": Findings from the AKF Non-Racialism Focus Group Data', *Politikon*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 89–112, Apr. 2012, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656915.

[610]

R. Taylor, 'Deepening Non-Racialism in South Africa', *Politikon*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 41–51, Apr. 2012, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2012.656912.

[611]

R. Suttner, 'Understand Non-Racialism as an Emancipatory Concept in South Africa'.

[612]

M. Paret, 'Contested ANC hegemony in the urban townships: Evidence from the 2014 South African election', *African Affairs*, vol. 115, no. 460, pp. 419–442, Jul. 2016, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adw025.

[613]

R. Ranchod, 'Crafting Dominance: Political Power and the Marketing of the African National Congress', *Politikon*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 367–385, Sep. 2015, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2015.1104468.

[614]

T. Roux, 'Constitutional Courts as Democratic Consolidators: Insights from South Africa after 20 Years', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 42, no. 1, pp. 5–18, Jan. 2016, doi: 10.1080/03057070.2016.1084770.

[615]

K. Matlosa, 'The State of Democratisation in Southern Africa: Blocked Transitions, Reversals, Stagnation, Progress and Prospects', *Politikon*, vol. 44, no. 1, pp. 5–26, Jan. 2017, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2017.1278640.

[616]

W. Gumede, 'The Democracy Deficit of Africa's Liberation Movements Turned Governments', *Politikon*, vol. 44, no. 1, pp. 27–48, Jan. 2017, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2017.1282337.

[617]

D. Everatt, 'The Era of Ineluctability? Post-Apartheid South Africa After 20 Years of Democratic Elections', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 42, no. 1, pp. 49–64, Jan. 2016, doi: 10.1080/03057070.2016.1116326.

[618]

N. de Jager and D. Sebudubudu, 'Towards understanding Botswana and South Africa's ambivalence to liberal democracy', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 15–33, Jan. 2017, doi: 10.1080/02589001.2016.1246682.

[619]

'EISA | Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.content.eisa.org.za/home>

[620]

C. Anyangwe, 'Race and ethnicity: Voters' party preference in South African elections'.

[621]

S. Askvik, 'The Dynamics of Political Trust in South Africa, 1995–2006', *Politikon*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 25–44, Apr. 2010, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2010.492148.

[622]

P. Bond, 'South African splinters: from "elite transition" to "small-a alliances"', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 38, no. 127, pp. 113–121, Mar. 2011, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2011.552690.

[623]

Leslie Boyd, Michael Spicer and Gavin Keeton, 'Economic Scenarios for South Africa: A Business Perspective', *Daedalus*, vol. 130, no. 1, pp. 71–98, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20027680>

[624]

'EISA | Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.content.eisa.org.za/home>

[625]

S. Booysen, *The African National Congress and the regeneration of political power*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011 [Online]. Available: http://le.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/action/uresolver.do?operation=resolveService&package_service_id=566437800002746&institutionId=2746&customerId=2745

[626]

R. Botiveau, 'Longevity of the Tripartite Alliance: the post-Mangaung sequence', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 40, no. 138, pp. 620–627, Dec. 2013, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2013.854042.

[627]

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

[628]

S. Buhlungu, 'Union-Party Alliances in the Era of Market Regulation: The Case of South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 701–717, Dec. 2005, doi: 10.1080/03057070500370464.

[629]

A. Butler, 'Is South Africa heading towards authoritarian rule? Instability myths and expectations traps in a new democracy', *Politikon*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 189–205, Nov. 2000, doi: 10.1080/713692335.

[630]

A. Butler, 'South Africa's Political Futures', *Government and Opposition*, vol. 38, no. 1, pp. 93–112, Jan. 2003, doi: 10.1111/1477-7053.t01-1-00006.

[631]

A. Butler, 'How Democratic is the African National Congress?*', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 719–736, Dec. 2005, doi: 10.1080/03057070500370472.

[632]

A. Butler, 'CONSIDERATIONS ON THE EROSION OF ONE-PARTY DOMINANCE', *Representation*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 159–171, Jul. 2009, doi: 10.1080/00344890902945681.

[633]

R. Calland, P. Graham, and Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, *Democracy in the time of Mbeki*, vol. IDASA'S democracy index. Cape Town: IDASA, 2005.

[634]

R. Calland, *Anatomy of South Africa: who holds the power?* Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2006.

[635]

R. Calland, *The Zuma years: South Africa's changing face of power*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2013.

[636]

P. Carmody, 'Between Globalisation and (Post) Apartheid: The Political Economy of Restructuring in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 255–275, Jun. 2002, doi: 10.1080/03057070220140694.

[637]

C. Ceruti, 'The hidden element in the 2010 public-sector strike in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 38, no. 127, pp. 151–157, Mar. 2011, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2011.552754.

[638]

I. Chipkin, 'Whither the State? Corruption, Institutions and State-Building in South Africa', *Politikon*, vol. 40, no. 2, pp. 211–231, Aug. 2013, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2013.798457.

[639]

T. Crawford-Browne, 'The arms deal scandal', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 31, no. 100, pp. 329–342, Jun. 2004, doi: 10.1080/0305624042000262329.

[640]

F. Cronje, 'South Africa After the ANC'.

[641]

'Observations on "Rogue Democracies": EBSCOhost' [Online]. Available: <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&AN=4437300&site=ehost-live>

[642]

V. Darracq, 'The African National Congress (ANC) organization at the grassroots', *African Affairs*, vol. 107, no. 429, pp. 589–609, Aug. 2008, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adn059.

[643]

C. Death, 'Popular politics and resistance movements in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 38, no. 129, pp. 501–503, Sep. 2011, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2011.598647.

[644]

N. de Jager, 'The South African government and the application of co-optive power', *Politikon*, vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 101–112, Apr. 2006, doi: 10.1080/02589340600618164.

[645]

N. De Jager, 'No "New" ANC?', *Politikon*, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 275–288, Aug. 2009, doi: 10.1080/02589340903240245.

[646]

N. de Jager and C. H. Meintjes, 'Winners, Losers and the Playing Field in Southern Africa's "Democratic Darlings": Botswana and South Africa Compared', *Politikon*, vol. 40, no. 2, pp. 233–253, Aug. 2013, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2013.798458.

[647]

'How SA's unions fell out with the ANC'. [Online]. Available: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3662590.stm>

[648]

John Gerring and Strom C. Thacker, 'Do Neoliberal Policies Deter Political Corruption?', *International Organization*, vol. 59, no. 1, pp. 233–254, 2005 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3877884>

[649]

M. Gevisser, *The dream deferred: Thabo Mbeki*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2007.

[650]

L. J. Diamond and M. Plattner, *Democratization in Africa*, vol. *Journal of democracy books*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

[651]

H. Giliomee and C. E. W. Simkins, *The awkward embrace: one-party domination and democracy*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10093584>

[652]

A. Goebel, "'Our Struggle is for the Full Loaf": Protests, Social Welfare and Gendered Citizenship in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 369–388, Jun. 2011, doi: 10.1080/03057070.2011.579437.

[653]

W. M. Gumede, Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC, Updated ed. London: Zed, 2007 [Online]. Available: <http://ezproxy.lib.le.ac.uk/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10252502>

[654]

J. Hamill, 'The elephant and the mice: election 2004 and the future of opposition politics in South Africa', *The Round Table*, vol. 93, no. 377, pp. 691–708, Oct. 2004, doi: 10.1080/0035853042000300179.

[655]

A. Habib and L. Nadvi, 'Party disintegrations & re-alignments in post-apartheid South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 29, no. 92, pp. 331–338, Jun. 2002, doi: 10.1080/03056240208704617.

[656]

J. Hamill, 'A (Qualified) Reaffirmation of ANC Hegemony: Assessing South Africa's 2009 Election', *Politikon*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 3–23, Apr. 2010, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2010.492147.

[657]

J. Hamill, 'South Africa After the ANC: Part 1'.

[658]

J. Hamill, 'South Africa After the ANC: Part 2'.

[659]

J. Hamill, 'South Africa's Zuma, ANC Must Deliver on Transformation'.

[660]

J. Daniel, *New South African review: 2: New paths, old compromises*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011.

[661]

F. Hendricks and Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, *Fault-lines in South African democracy: continuing crises of inequality and injustice*, vol. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet Discussion paper . 22. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2003.

[662]

J. Daniel, *New South African review: 2: New paths, old compromises*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011.

[663]

J. Hyslop, 'Political Corruption: Before and After Apartheid', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 773–789, Dec. 2005, doi: 10.1080/03057070500370555.

[664]

Stephen Orvis, 'Issue: A Journal of Opinion', vol. 27, no. 2 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/i249412>

[665]

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

[666]

K. Johnson, 'Liberal or Liberation Framework? The Contradictions of ANC Rule in South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 321–340, Jul. 2003, doi: 10.1080/02589000305442.

[667]

F. Khan, 'Poverty, grants, revolution and "real Utopias":', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 40, no. 138, pp. 572–588, Dec. 2013, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2013.854035.

[668]

S. Mozaffar, *Challenges to democracy by one-party dominance: a comparative assessment* : 10 October 2005, Vineyard Hotel, Cape Town, South Africa, vol. Seminar report / Konrad Adenauer Striftung. Johannesburg: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2006.

[669]

'Opposition Growth in Dominant Party Systems' [Online]. Available: <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=9217144&jid=GOV&volumeId=49&issueId=02&aid=9217143&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0017257X13000316>

[670]

S. I. Lindberg, 'Opposition parties and democratisation in sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 123–138, Jan. 2006, doi: 10.1080/02589000500514943.

[671]

Review by: Merle Lipton, 'White Liberals, "The Left" and the New Africanist Elite in South Africa', *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), vol. 76, no. 2, pp. 333–343, 2000 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2626371>

[672]

T. Lodge, 'The ANC and the development of party politics in modern South Africa', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 42, no. 2, pp. 189–219, Jun. 2004, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X04000096.

[673]

T. Lodge, 'Provincial Government and State Authority in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 737–753, Dec. 2005, doi: 10.1080/03057070500370480.

[674]

T. Lodge, 'Neo-patrimonial politics in the ANC', *African Affairs*, vol. 113, no. 450, pp. 1–23, Jan. 2014, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adt069.

[675]

K. Lotshwao, '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*, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 901–914, Dec. 2009, doi: 10.1080/03057070903313244.

[676]

'EISA | Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.content.eisa.org.za/home>

[677]

E. S. Mclaughlin, 'Racial, Ethnic or Rational Voters? Splitting Tickets in South Africa', *Politikon*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 23–41, Apr. 2008, doi: 10.1080/02589340802113030.

[678]

V. Naidoo, 'The politics of anti-corruption enforcement in South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 523–542, Oct. 2013, doi: 10.1080/02589001.2013.839369.

[679]

K. S. Orgeret, 'From his master's voice and back again? Presidential inaugurations and South African television - the post-apartheid experience', *African Affairs*, vol. 107, no. 429, pp. 611–629, Aug. 2008, doi: 10.1093/afraf/adn043.

[680]

J. Piombo, 'Political Parties, Social Demographics and the Decline of Ethnic Mobilization in South Africa, 1994-99', *Party Politics*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 447-470, Jul. 2005, doi: 10.1177/1354068805053212.

[681]

J. Daniel, *New South African review: 2: New paths, old compromises*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011.

[682]

L. Piper and H. Matisonn, 'DEMOCRACY BY ACCIDENT: THE RISE OF ZUMA AND THE RENAISSANCE OF THE TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE', *Representation*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 143-157, Jul. 2009, doi: 10.1080/00344890902945657.

[683]

'Electoral competition, factionalism and persistent party domination in Botswana' [Online]. Available: <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=MOA>

[684]

M. Pothier, 'The Role of Civil Society in South Africa'.

[685]

G. Prevost, 'The evolution of the African National Congress in power: From revolutionaries to social democrats?', *Politikon*, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 163-181, Aug. 2006, doi: 10.1080/02589340600884584.

[686]

L. Rakner and L. SvÂsand, 'From Dominant to Competitive Party System: The Zambian Experience 1991-2001', *Party Politics*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 49-68, Jan. 2004, doi: 10.1177/1354068804041316.

[687]

Mamphela Ramphele, 'Citizenship Challenges for South Africa's Young Democracy', *Daedalus*, vol. 130, no. 1, pp. 1–17, 2001 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/20027677>

[688]

A. Reynolds, *Election '99: South Africa: from Mandela to Mbeki*. Oxford: James Currey, 1999.

[689]

T. Reddy, 'ANC Decline, Social Mobilization and Political Society: Understanding South Africa's Evolving Political Culture', *Politikon*, vol. 37, no. 2–3, pp. 185–206, Dec. 2010, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2010.522329.

[690]

A. Segatti and N. Pons-Vignon, 'Stuck in stabilisation? South Africa's post-apartheid macro-economic policy between ideological conversion and technocratic capture', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 40, no. 138, pp. 537–555, Dec. 2013, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2013.858430.

[691]

Khehla Shubane, 'Democracy Delivers', *The World Today*, vol. 60, no. 3, pp. 19–21, 2004 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40477592>

[692]

L. Sinwell, 'Conceptualizing Direct Action as a Form of Participation in Development: A South African Case', *Politikon*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 67–83, Apr. 2010, doi: 10.1080/02589346.2010.492150.

[693]

L. Sinwell, 'Is "another world" really possible? Re-examining counter-hegemonic forces in post-apartheid South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 38, no. 127, pp. 61–76, Mar. 2011, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2011.552588.

[694]

R. Southall, 'The South African Elections of 1994: the Remaking of a Dominant-Party State', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 32, no. 04, Dec. 1994, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00015883.

[695]

'THE CENTRALIZATION AND FRAGMENTATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S DOMINANT PARTY SYSTEM' [Online]. Available: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/97/389/443.abstract>

[696]

R. Southall, *Opposition and democracy in South Africa*, vol. Democratization studies. London: Frank Cass, 2001.

[697]

R. Southall, 'Democracy in Southern Africa: Moving Beyond a Difficult Legacy', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 30, no. 96, pp. 255–272, Jun. 2003, doi: 10.1080/03056244.2003.9693499.

[698]

R. Southall, 'THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE: CHALLENGES FOR SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRACY', *Representation*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 173–191, Jul. 2009, doi: 10.1080/00344890902945715.

[699]

N. Southern, 'Political opposition and the challenges of a dominant party system: The democratic alliance in South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 281–298, Jul. 2011, doi: 10.1080/02589001.2011.581478.

[700]

J. Daniel, *New South African review: 2: New paths, old compromises*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011.

[701]

'Opposition parties: Sustaining Multi-Party Democracy?'

[702]

A. Sparks, *Beyond the miracle: inside the new South Africa*. Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

[703]

J. E. Spence, 'Opposition in South Africa', *Government and Opposition*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 522-540, Oct. 1997, doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.1997.tb00444.x.

[704]

J. E. Spence and Royal Institute of International Affairs, *After Mandela: the 1999 South African elections*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Southern Africa Study Group, 1999.

[705]

J. E. Spence, 'Second Chance for the ANC: The 1999 South African General Election', *Government and Opposition*, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 456-472, Oct. 1999, doi: 10.1111/j.1477-7053.1999.tb00165.x.

[706]

R. Suttner, 'The UDF period and its meaning for contemporary South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 691-702, Sep. 2004, doi: 10.1080/0305707042000254164.

[707]

R. Suttner, 'Democratic Transition and Consolidation in South Africa: The Advice of "the Experts"', *Current Sociology*, vol. 52, no. 5, pp. 755-773, Sep. 2004, doi: 10.1177/0011392104045367.

[708]

R. Suttner, 'Party Dominance "Theory": Of What Value?', *Politikon*, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 277-297, Dec. 2006, doi: 10.1080/02589340601122901.

[709]

R. Suttner, 'THE CHALLENGE TO AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS DOMINANCE', *Representation*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 109-123, Jul. 2009, doi: 10.1080/00344890902944346.

[710]

D. P. Thomas, 'The South African Communist Party (SACP) in the Post-apartheid Period', *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 34, no. 111, pp. 123-138, Mar. 2007, doi: 10.1080/03056240701340456.

[711]

D. P. Thomas, 'Post-Apartheid Conundrums: Contemporary Debates and Divisions Within the South African Communist Party', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 251-273, May 2007, doi: 10.1080/02589000701396322.

[712]

L. Vincent, 'Of no account? South Africa's electoral system (non) debate', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 81-100, Jan. 2006, doi: 10.1080/02589000500513796.

[713]

L. Vincent, 'Seducing the people: Populism and the challenge to democracy in South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 1-14, Jan. 2011, doi: 10.1080/02589001.2011.533056.

[714]

Nick Vink, 'Patience Running Out', *The World Today*, vol. 60, no. 3, pp. 21-23, 2004

[Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40477593>

[715]

Royal Institute of International Affairs, 'South Africa: Outcry and Protest', *The World Today*.

[716]

'The greatest threat to the ANC is its own dominance'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/apr/16/southafrica.comment>

[717]

Elke K. Zuern, 'Fighting for Democracy: Popular Organizations and Postapartheid Government in South Africa', *African Studies Review*, vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 77-102, 2002 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1515008>

[718]

C. Alden, *Apartheid's last stand: the rise and fall of the South African security state, 1978-90*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996.

[719]

H. Adam, *South Africa: the limits of reform politics*, vol. *International studies in sociology and social anthropology*. Leiden: Brill, 1983.

[720]

H. Adam and K. Moodley, *South Africa without apartheid: dismantling racial domination*, vol. *Perspectives on Southern Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

[721]

R. A. Schrire, *Adapt or die: the end of white politics in South Africa*, vol. *South Africa UPDATE series*. London: Hurst, 1992.

[722]

James Barber, 'Afrikanerdom in Disarray', *The World Today*, vol. 38, no. 7, pp. 288–296, 1982 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40395630>

[723]

James Barber, 'White South Africa%u2014Into the Political Unknown', *The World Today*, vol. 39, no. 12, pp. 490–499, 1983 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40395468>

[724]

James Barber, 'South Africa: A Society at War with Itself', *The World Today*, vol. 41, no. 7, pp. 129–132, 1985 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40395747>

[725]

J. P. Barber, *South Africa in the twentieth century: a political history in search of a nation state*, vol. *History of the contemporary world*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

[726]

R. E. Bissell and C. A. Crocker, *South Africa into the 1980s*, vol. *Westview special studies on Africa*. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1979.

[727]

P. W. Botha, 'The Road Ahead' (Speech by the then State President at the opening of parliament, 24 January 1985)'.
'

[728]

A. Brooks, J. Brickhill, and International Defence and Aid Fund, *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, 1980.

[729]

A. Callinicos, *Between apartheid and capitalism: conversations with South African socialists*. London: Bookmarks, 1992.

[730]

Charles Carter, 'Community and Conflict: The Alexandra Rebellion of 1986', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 115–142, 1992 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2637184>

[731]

G. M. Carter, *Which way is South Africa going*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.

[732]

Craig Charney, 'The Politics of Changing Partners: Control and Co-Option in the New South African Constitution', *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 29, pp. 122–131, 1984 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4005653>

[733]

Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons and Commonwealth Secretariat, *Mission to South Africa: the Commonwealth report*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books for the Commonwealth Secretariat, 1986.

[734]

H. Deegan, *The politics of the new South Africa: apartheid and after*. Harlow: Longman, 2001.

[735]

F. W. De Klerk, *The last trek - a new beginning: the autobiography*. London: Macmillan, 1998.

[736]

P. H. Frankel, N. Pines, and M. Swilling, *State, resistance and change in South Africa*. London: Croom Helm, 1988.

[737]

L. H. Gann and P. Duignan, *Why South Africa will survive: a historical analysis*. London: Croom Helm, 1981.

[738]

J. D. Brewer, *Can South Africa survive?: five minutes to midnight*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988.

[739]

H. Giliomee and L. Schlemmer, *From apartheid to nation-building, vol. Contemporary South African debates*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1989.

[740]

S. Marks and S. Trapido, *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth century South Africa*. London: Longman, 1987.

[741]

C. R. Hill, *Change in South Africa: blind alleys or new directions*. London: Collings, 1983.

[742]

B. Hirson, *Year of fire, year of ash: the Soweto revolt: roots of a revolution?*, vol. Africa series. London: Zed Press, 1979.

[743]

G. F. Houston, *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, 1999.

[744]

P. Collins, *Thinking about South Africa: reason, morality and politics*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990.

[745]

G. Leach, *South Africa: no easy path to peace*, Rev.ed. London: Methuen, 1987.

[746]

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

[747]

A. Lemon, *Apartheid in transition*. Aldershot: Gower, 1987.

[748]

H. Marais, *South Africa: limits to change: the political economy of transition*, 2nd ed. London: Zed Books, 2001.

[749]

M. Meredith, *Nelson Mandela: a biography*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1997.

[750]

J. D. Brewer, *Can South Africa survive?: five minutes to midnight*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988.

[751]

Alan Morris, 'Race Relations and Racism in a Racially Diverse Inner City Neighbourhood: A Case Study of Hillbrow, Johannesburg', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 25, no. 4, pp. 667-694, 1999 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2637646>

[752]

Martin Murray, *South Africa : time of agony, time of destiny : the upsurge of popular protest*. London : Verso, 1987.

[753]

S. Johnson and David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies, *South Africa: no turning back*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, in association with the David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies, 1988.

[754]

D. O'Meara, *Forty lost years: the apartheid state and the politics of the National Party, 1948-1994*. Randburg: Ravan Press, 1996.

[755]

B. Pottinger, *The Imperial Presidency: P.W. Botha the first 10 years*. Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers, 1988.

[756]

R. M. Price, *The apartheid state in crisis: political transformation in South Africa, 1975-90*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

[757]

J. D. Brewer, *Can South Africa survive?: five minutes to midnight*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988.

[758]

R. I. Rotberg, *Suffer the future, policy choices in southern Africa*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1980.

[759]

A. Sampson, *Nelson Mandela: the authorised biography*. London: HarperCollins, 1999.

[760]

J. S. Saul and S. Gelb, *The crisis in South Africa: class defense, class revolution*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1981.

[761]

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

[762]

J. Seidman and International Defence and Aid Fund, *Face-lift apartheid: South Africa after Soweto*. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1980.

[763]

J. E. Spence, 'South Africa: Between Reform and Retrenchment', *The World Today*, vol. 40, no. 11, pp. 471-480, 1984 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40395567>

[764]

D. Stephen, 'The struggle for power in South Africa', *New Society*.

[765]

Review by: Raymond Suttner, 'The UDF Period and Its Meaning for Contemporary South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 691-701, 2004 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4133915>

[766]

South Africa, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa report. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999.

[767]

J. Blumenfeld and Royal Institute of International Affairs, South Africa in crisis. London: Croom Helm for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1987.

[768]

S. Johnson and David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies, South Africa: no turning back. Basingstoke: Macmillan, in association with the David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies, 1988.

[769]

H. Giliomee and L. Schlemmer, Negotiating South Africa's future. London: Macmillan, 1989.

[770]

L. Boulle and R. A. Schrire, Malan to de Klerk: leadership in the apartheid state. London: Hurst, 1994.

[771]

J. A. Williams, From the South African past: narratives, documents, and debates, vol. Sources in modern history series. Boston, Mass: Houghton Mifflin, 1997.

[772]

Communist Party of Great Britain, 'Apartheid's deepening crisis', Marxism Today.

[773]

C. Alden, Apartheid's last stand: the rise and fall of the South African security state,

1978-90. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996.

[774]

Amnesty International, South Africa: state of fear : security force complicity in torture and political killings, 1990-1992. London: Amnesty International, 1992.

[775]

D. G. Anglin, 'The Life and Death of South Africa's National Peacekeeping Force', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 33, no. 01, Mar. 1995, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00020838.

[776]

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

[777]

J. Blumenfeld and Royal Institute of International Affairs, *South Africa in crisis*. London: Croom Helm for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1987.

[778]

Charles Carter, 'Community and Conflict: The Alexandra Rebellion of 1986', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 115-142, 1992 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2637184>

[779]

G. Cawthra and Catholic Institute for International Relations, *South Africa's police: from police state to democratic policing?*, vol. Insight. London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1992.

[780]

G. Cawthra, *Policing South Africa: the South African police & the transition from apartheid*. London: Zed Books, 1993.

[781]

J. Cock and L. Nathan, *War and society: the militarisation of South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1989.

[782]

S. J. Stedman, *South Africa: the political economy of transformation*, vol. SAIS African studies library. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.

[783]

M. Coleman, *A crime against humanity: analysing the repression of the Apartheid State*. Johannesburg: Human Rights Committee of South Africa, 1998.

[784]

S. M. Davis, *Apartheid's rebels: inside South Africa's hidden war*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1987.

[785]

H. Deegan, *The politics of the new South Africa: apartheid and after*. Harlow: Longman, 2001.

[786]

Stephen Ellis, 'The Historical Significance of South Africa's Third Force', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 261-299, 1998 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2637528>

[787]

P. H. Frankel, N. Pines, and M. Swilling, *State, resistance and change in South Africa*. London: Croom Helm, 1988.

[788]

A. M. Faure and J.-E. Lane, *South Africa: designing new political institutions*. London: Sage, 1996 [Online]. Available: <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/leicester/Doc?id=10392710>

[789]

P. H. Frankel, *Pretoria's praetorians: civil-military relations in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

[790]

'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'.

[791]

K. W. Grundy and South African Institute of International Affairs, *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, 1983.

[792]

K. W. Grundy, *The militarization of South African politics*. Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press, 1986.

[793]

A. Guelke, *South Africa in transition: the misunderstood miracle*, vol. International library of African studies. London: Tauris, 1999.

[794]

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

[795]

W. Gutteridge, D. Geldenhuys, D. Simon, and Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, *South Africa: from apartheid to national unity, 1981-1994*. Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1995.

[796]

E. J. Yorke and F. H. Toase, *The new South Africa: prospects for domestic and international security*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.

[797]

J. Hamill, 'South Africa: New Terrain, Old Tactics'.

[798]

J. Hamill, 'Murder in a tangled web'.

[799]

J. Hamill, 'Coup Talk Again'.

[800]

H. M. Howe, 'The South African Defence Force and Political Reform', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 32, no. 01, Mar. 1994, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00012532.

[801]

S. J. Stedman, *South Africa: the political economy of transformation*, vol. SAIS African studies library. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994.

[802]

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, 1992.

[803]

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, 1993.

[804]

W. J. Foltz and H. Bienen, Arms and the African: military influences on Africa's international relations, vol. A Council on Foreign Relations book. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1985.

[805]

R. Jaster and International Institute for Strategic Studies, Southern Africa: regional security problems and prospects, vol. The Adelphi library. Aldershot: For the International Institute for Strategic Studies by Gower, 1985.

[806]

J. Kane-Berman and South African Institute of Race Relations, Political violence in South Africa. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1993.

[807]

G. Kynoch, 'The "Transformation" of the South African Military', The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 34, no. 03, Sep. 1996, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00055543.

[808]

P. Laurence, DEATH SQUADS: APARTHEID'S SECRET WEAPON. .

[809]

R. L. Leonard, South Africa at war: white power and the crisis in Southern Africa. Westport, Conn: Lawrence Hill & Co, 1983.

[810]

Greg Mills, 'The Security Forces in a New South Africa', *The World Today*, vol. 47, no. 3, pp. 43-47, 1991 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40396274>

[811]

Martin Murray, *South Africa : time of agony, time of destiny : the upsurge of popular protest*. London : Verso, 1987.

[812]

J. Pauw, *In the heart of the whore: the story of apartheid's death squads*. [Cape Town]: Southern Book Publishers, 1991.

[813]

S. Pillay, 'Locations of violence: Political rationality and death squads in apartheid South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 417-429, Sep. 2005, doi: 10.1080/02589000500340117.

[814]

P. B. Rich, *Reaction and renewal in South Africa*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996.

[815]

J. M. Roherty, *State security in South Africa: civil-military relations under P.W. Botha*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1992.

[816]

J. Saul, 'South Africa: Between "Barbarism" and "Structural Reform"'. [Online]. Available: <http://newleftreview.org/l/188/john-saul-south-africa-between-barbarism-and-structural-reform>

[817]

A. Seegers, 'South Africa's National Security Management System, 1972-90', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 29, no. 02, Jun. 1991, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00002743.

[818]

Inter-university Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, 'Current Trends in South Africa's Security Establishment', *Armed Forces and Society*.

[819]

A. Seegers, *The military in the making of modern South Africa*, vol. International library of African studies. London: Tauris Publishers, 1996.

[820]

'The Transformation of the South African Military' . .

[821]

SouthScan, 'Thunderstorm and Springbok -twin strategies to bring ANC to heel'.

[822]

SouthScan, 'Former agent details destabilisation campaign'.

[823]

S. Johnson and David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies, *South Africa: no turning back*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, in association with the David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies, 1988.

[824]

Morris Szeftel, 'Manoeuvres of War in South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 51, pp. 63-76, 1991 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4006051>

[825]

South Africa, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa report. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999.

[826]

N. Etherington, Peace, politics and violence in the New South Africa, vol. African discourse series. London: Hans Zell, 1992.

[827]

R. Williams, 'De Klerk and the security establishment: partner or hostage?'

[828]

R. Williams, 'The security forces: changing the guard'.

[829]

H. Adam and K. Moodley, 'Political Violence, "Tribalism", and Inkatha', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 30, no. 03, Sep. 1992, doi: 10.1017/S0022278X00010855.

[830]

H. Adam, F. Van Zyl Slabbert, and K. Moodley, *Comrades in business: post-liberation politics in South Africa*. Utrecht: International Books, 1998.

[831]

J. D. Brewer, *After Soweto: an unfinished journey*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

[832]

S. Johnson and David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies, *South Africa: no turning back*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, in association with the David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies, 1988.

[833]

Nicholas Cope, 'The Zulu Petit Bourgeoisie and Zulu Nationalism in the 1920s: Origins of Inkatha', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 431–451, 1990 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2636889>

[834]

F. W. De Klerk, *The last trek - a new beginning: the autobiography*. London: Macmillan, 1998.

[835]

Mary de Haas and Paulus Zulu, 'Ethnicity and Federalism: The Case of KwaZulu/Natal', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 433–446, 1994 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2636937>

[836]

A. Eveleth, 'End Game'.

[837]

A. Eveleth, 'Elevating a mythic nation' (history of Inkatha article)'.

[838]

Financial Mail, 'Mangosuthu Buthelezi: Message of the drums'.

[839]

J. Hamill, "'A Royal Dilemma' (assessment of the role of King Goodwill of the Zulus)'.

[840]

M. Coleman, *A crime against humanity: analysing the repression of the Apartheid State*. Johannesburg: Human Rights Committee of South Africa, 1998.

[841]

H. Deegan, *The politics of the new South Africa: apartheid and after*. Harlow: Longman, 2001.

[842]

R. W. Johnson and L. Schlemmer, *Launching democracy in South Africa: the first open election, April 1994*. New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1996.

[843]

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

[844]

'THE LOCAL ELECTIONS IN KWAZULU-NATAL: 26 JUNE 1996' [Online]. Available: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/96/384/377.abstract>

[845]

J. Kane-Berman, 'Inkatha: the paradox of SA politics'.

[846]

T. Lodge, *All, here, and now: black politics in South Africa in the 1980s*, vol. South Africa UPDATE series. London: Hurst, 1992.

[847]

Gerhard Mare, 'Inkatha and Regional Control: Policing Liberation Politics', *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 45, pp. 179-189, 1989 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4006025>

[848]

G. Mare, 'Inkatha: Is your enemy's enemy automatically your friend?'

[849]

G. Maré and G. Hamilton, *An appetite for power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa*. London: Ravan Press, 1987.

[850]

G. Mare, 'Avoiding democracy at all costs'.

[851]

P. H. Frankel, N. Pines, and M. Swilling, *State, resistance and change in South Africa*. London: Croom Helm, 1988.

[852]

M. Meredith, *Nelson Mandela: a biography*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1997.

[853]

Mzala, *Gatsha Buthelezi: chief with a double agenda*. London: Zed Books, 1988.

[854]

J. D. Brewer, *Can South Africa survive?: five minutes to midnight*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988.

[855]

A. Reynolds, *Election '94 South Africa: the campaigns, results and future prospects*. London: James Currey, 1994.

[856]

A. Reynolds, Election '99: South Africa: from Mandela to Mbeki. Oxford: James Currey, 1999.

[857]

A. Sampson, Nelson Mandela: the authorised biography. London: HarperCollins, 1999.

[858]

'BUTHELEZI, INKATHA AND THE POLITICS OF COMPROMISE' [Online]. Available: <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/80/321/453.full.pdf+html?sid=06dd0317-253c-442f-8b3b-f0719bc605f9>

[859]

South Africa, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa report. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999.

[860]

David Welsh, 'Ethnicity in Sub-Saharan Africa', International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), vol. 72, no. 3, pp. 477-491, 1996 [Online]. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2625552>

[861]

E. J. Yorke and F. H. Toase, The new South Africa: prospects for domestic and international security. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.

[862]

E. J. Yorke and F. H. Toase, The new South Africa: prospects for domestic and international security. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.