
Abstract

This thesis examines South Africa's foreign relations, viewed from a South African perspective, with the black African countries beyond southern Africa from 1961 to 1994. These relations were determined by the conflict between Pretoria's apartheid ideology on the one hand, and African continental rejection of South Africa's race discrimination policies and its exclusion from the community of African states on the other.

The documentary material used primarily stems from the Department of Foreign Affairs archive in Pretoria, supplemented by research conducted in other archives. Furthermore, we conducted interviews and correspondence, and consulted the relevant primary and secondary literature. Given the main source of information, we chose to make this work a case study in Diplomatic History. In consequence, and constituting the core of the study, Chapters 3 to 6 explore the interaction between South Africa and the black African states in a chronological order. At the same time, we draw on the analytical concepts from the academic disciplines of Political Science and its derivative, International Relations, to comprehend developments more fully. We discuss the significance of the approaches from these two disciplines in both the Introduction and Chapter 2. In particular, we emphasise that this study is about Pretoria's foreign policy, involving state and non-state actors, and we suggest that the unequal status between South Africa and the other African states constitutes an inherent factor in the relationship between them.

The Conclusion examines the role of the state and non-state actors in determining Pretoria's foreign relations and the relevance of the structural imbalance between South Africa and the black African states in this context.

Contents

Map of Africa	iv
Tables and Figures	v
Abbreviations	vi
Preface	ix
ONE INTRODUCTION	1
Aim and Scope	1
Conceptual Framework	4
Sources and Literature	12
TWO SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY SYSTEM	19
Introduction	19
Prime Minister and State President	23
Department of Foreign Affairs	28
Military	34
Department of Information	36
National Intelligence	38
Political Parties	43
Civil Society	45
Think Tanks	47
Media	49
Organised Business	51
Parastatal and Private Companies	60
THREE WIND OF CHANGE: PRIME MINISTER VERWOERD, 1958-66	73
African Independence	73
Appeasement	74
Congo Crisis	78
Isolation	87
FOUR WHAT FOREIGN RELATIONS WITH AFRICA? PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, 1966-78	89
Outward-Looking Policy	89
Outward Movement	91
<i>Malawi (93), Madagascar (100), Lusaka Manifesto (108)</i>	
Dialogue	110
<i>Chad (118), Nigerian Civil War (121), Ghana (131), Gabon (133),</i>	

	<i>Ivory Coast (135), Uganda (136), Mogadishu Declaration (137), Mauritius (140), Hawks versus Doves (143), Gabon (147), OGAPROV and other Projects (150)</i>	
	Secret Diplomacy 161 <i>Ivory Coast and Senegal (164), Liberia (185), Central African Republic (189), Air Routes for SAA (199), Western Indian Ocean (204), Non-State Initiatives (213)</i>	
	Détente 220 <i>Superpower Détente (222), South African Détente (223), Rhodesia and S.W.A./Namibia (225), Zaire (228), SMTF Project (231), Gabon (242), Angolan War (251)</i>	
	Outward-Looking Policy: An Assessment 258	
FIVE	THE MILITARY IN COMMAND: PRIME MINISTER AND STATE PRESIDENT BOTHA, 1978-89	263
	Securocrats 263	
	Assistants, Bystanders and Outsiders 269	
	Contact with Opposition Movements 277 <i>Uganda (277), Ghana (280), Nigeria (282)</i>	
	Western Indian Ocean 283 <i>Comoros (284), Madagascar (290), Seychelles Coup (290)</i>	
	Armament Sales 296 <i>Somalia (296), Sudan (304)</i>	
	Co-operation with Gabon 308 <i>Chad, 1980-81 (308), Chad, 1982-83 (310), Project Canteen, Gabon (313), Equatorial Guinea (314)</i>	
	End of Cold War 317	
SIX	NEW DIPLOMACY: STATE PRESIDENT DE KLERK, 1989-94	322
	Preliminaries 322	
	New Diplomacy 323	
	Negotiations 329	
	Outreach Into Africa 337 <i>Economic Co-operation (338), Sudan and Cameroon (340), Uganda and Nigeria (346)</i>	
	Post-Boipatong Developments 361	
SEVEN	CONCLUSION	368
APPENDIXES		386
	A. Biographies of Department of Foreign Affairs Officials 387	
	B. South African Export to Black Africa, 1961-94 395	
	C. South African Import from Black Africa, 1961-94 399	
	D. Government Expenditure for the Departments of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Information, 1961-94 403	
	E. Exchange Rate South African Rand / US Dollar, 1961-94 404	

BIBLIOGRAPHY**405**

Archives 405

- Archive for Contemporary Affairs 405
- Department of Defence 406
- Department of Foreign Affairs 408
- National Archives 423

Interviews 426

Correspondence 428

Literature 429

- Bibliographies, Document Collections 429
- Secondary Sources 430
- Primary Literature 435
- Secondary Literature 436
- Annual Reports, Journals, Magazines 463
- Newspapers 464

Websites 464