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THE
SOUTH
AFRICAN
INSTITUTE
OF
INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS

BIENNIAL
REPORT
OF THE
NATIONAL
CHAIRMAN
1992

The National Chairman of the South African Institute of International Affairs presents a report every two years to the National Executive Council which represents all the Institute's Branches and is the chief policy-making body of the Institute.

This Report was presented by the national Chairman, Dr. C.B. Strauss, to the Council's biennial meeting in Durban on 11 March 1992.

Dr. Conrad Strauss (Managing Director of the Standard Bank Investment Corporation Ltd.) was elected National Chairman of the Institute in 1990, in succession to Mr. H.F. Oppenheimer, who had held the office since 1980. Dr. Strauss was re-elected for a further two year term at the meeting on 11 March 1992.

The South African Institute of International Affairs, including its National Executive Council to which this Report was presented, is precluded by the Constitution from expressing its opinion, as an Institute, on any matter within its field of work. No opinions expressed in any of the Institute's publications, including this Report, should therefore be identified with the Institute itself.

**BIENNIAL REPORT OF THE
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN**

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BIENNIAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

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PART I

SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION

THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

Two years ago, when this Council last met, the dramatic change in the world order was clearly evident, symbolised by the collapse of the Berlin Wall at the end of 1989. In his Report to the Council my predecessor as National Chairman, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, referred to the rapid acceleration of the pace of change, but he could not have foreseen how rapid and traumatic that acceleration would be in the following two years.

In this short period, after the effective end of the Cold War, we have witnessed in Europe the final collapse of communism as a system of government, the emergence of democratically elected governments throughout East and Central Europe, the unification of Germany and eventually the break-up of the Soviet Union into independent republics. The man who began this process, Mikhail Gorbachev, was himself swept away in the flood of change he could no longer control.

Two years ago there was still a mood of euphoria, generated by the end of the Cold War, with the apparent victory of democracy in Eastern Europe and the spread of the democratic ideal across the world, including Africa. But that euphoria has evaporated as the hard realities have emerged more strongly. We are now witnessing – not only in Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, but also in many other regions, including Africa – the painful effects of transition from authoritarianism to democracy and from centrally planned systems to market driven economics. The break-up of the old order, when it eventually happened, was indeed rapid; the emergence of a new and socially stable order will be slow and difficult at best.

The Gulf Crisis, which dominated world attention from August 1990 to March 1991, was a product of the ending of the Cold War. It demonstrated the dangers of instability and spreading conflict in a world no longer subject to the order imposed by the Cold War and its balance of power between East and West. The short, sharp war which ended that episode provided a clear demonstration – if that was needed – of America's position now as the only global military power. But it was not followed by the materialisation of President George Bush's much-heralded vision of a "new world order". The dangers of instability remain, as does the threat of new disruptive forces emerging from the political right and also from the spreading demands of ethnic nationalism and religious fundamentalism.

Nevertheless, there are other trends which indicate that an international order is taking shape to replace the one dominated by the Cold War. It is not new, in the sense that these trends were emerging during the past decade or more, but they have been given impetus by the ending of the East-West divide. It is also by no means based on an idealistic vision which seemed to inspire President Bush's pronouncements last year. It is rather derived from overriding economic imperatives and influenced primarily by the interests of strong economic powers and groupings. This is evidenced by the current protracted round of GATT negotiations. This trend does not hold out hope of much benefit for the economically weak and those who are steadily falling behind in the race for economic survival. In fact, these countries – including most of Africa – are in danger of being marginalised in this emerging world order. The East-West divide may have ended, but the so-called North-South divide may become deeper than ever.

In his Chairman's Report in 1990, Mr Oppenheimer referred to "manifestations of an underlying global shift away from a state-centric towards a multi-centric world, in which growing interdependence and transnationalism are the main characteristics. Economic forces and technological advance in the second half of this century have steadily strengthened the elements of interdependence among all countries of the world, while transnationalism is increasingly eroding the concept of state sovereignty." Two years later these trends are clearer to discern : in the emergent new Europe, in the formation of regional economic groupings, in new thinking on international security, in the greatly enhanced role of the United Nations Security Council, in the leading role of the G7 countries, in the near global reach of the World Bank and IMF and in the influence of the OECD.

A changed pattern of global relationships is taking shape, and, for better or worse, all countries of the world are involved and are being affected.

SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

In this world of complex interdependence South Africa cannot afford to be left behind. Fortunately, the international isolation which steadily increased from the early 60's and culminated in the intolerable position of the late 80's, has largely ended. Since February 1990 there has been a dramatic turn-around, and it is remarkable how quickly the promise of a negotiated political settlement has opened doors around the world for diplomatic and economic intercourse.

The Chairman's Report two years ago recognised that South Africa's international position was already much improved. Since then the number of countries in which South Africa has diplomatic, consular and trade missions has

doubled, from 30 to 60. In Africa alone the number has risen from 12 to 20. Although full normalisation of our diplomatic relations will not be realised until there is agreement at least on interim or transitional arrangements prior to acceptance of a new constitution, there is no doubt that we are far along the road to normalisation.

The same applies in the crucial area of trade relations, even if some economic sanctions have not yet been formally removed. In sporting and cultural links there have also been remarkable steps towards normality, which would have seemed highly improbable only two years ago. It is unthinkable that South Africans, of whatever political or racial grouping, would want to turn away from these new opportunities and return to international isolation and economic decline. Isolation in an increasingly interdependent and harsh world is in fact not a viable option.

Yet there are those on the right and the left who, for their own sectional interests, seek to disrupt the present negotiating process which has had such a positive effect on our international relations. On both sides there is an apparent unwillingness to recognise the global trends and particularly the vital element of interdependence. Political or economic ideologies which ignore these trends can only spell economic and social disaster. Should they ever prevail, such ideologies will obviate any meaningful participation by this country in the development of the modern world.

For South Africa's international position to continue to improve, and for the country to avoid the threat of marginalisation in the tough conditions of the new world order, there should continue to be positive development in three inter-related areas.

First, it is essential that political and social stability be achieved on the basis of a democratic constitutional settlement acceptable to a clear majority of our people. A stable and democratic political order is a basic requirement for the creation of confidence and the renewal of the flow of investment capital which is sorely needed.

Secondly, if we are to become fully part of the modern, interdependent world, we have to have economic policies in tune with the known and generally accepted formulae for success, in order to promote economic growth and social peace.

Thirdly, without neglecting the crucially important markets of the north, we have to become more closely integrated with our own region of Southern Africa, with the aim of promoting

development and security throughout the region. Given the great economic imbalances and the actual and potential conflicts within some states, the task of achieving regional peace, stability and economic growth will not be simple. But it is important for our relations with other regional groupings now emerging throughout the world, that we move as quickly as possible towards closer and more effective co-operation in Southern Africa.

Such is the make-up of the South African economy, such are the countervailing forces at work in our society, that I will be surprised, when we assemble again for a similar purpose in two years' time, if sound progress has not been recorded on all three fronts.

PART II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INSTITUTE

As usual in these biennial Reports, a factual survey of the Institute's work over the past two years is given in the Annexure. This survey again illustrates a very good record of activities in all areas of our work. A particular area to mention is that of international contact and exchange, where doors are opening and new opportunities constantly arising, as a result of South Africa's dramatically improved international position. The Institute is now able to build on the sound, independent reputation it established, and the international links it maintained, during the difficult years of our country's isolation.

It is also important to note that the subjects dealt with at meetings, conferences and publications demonstrate on the whole that the Institute's work is not divorced from the global and domestic issues of concern to South Africans. An organisation founded to serve society must always be aware of, and respond to, the concerns and needs of its members, as well as the wider public, in its field of expertise. The need for an informed understanding of the changing global scene, and of South Africa's integral place in it, is now as great as ever, and this need will not diminish.

While the record shows that the standard of activities has been maintained, it is clear that the past two years have also been a period of introspection and of reassessment of the Institute's role in our society. This has been necessary because of the rapidly changing political environment at home and abroad. The appointment in 1990 of a Working Group to examine the future role of the Institute was a recognition of this need, and consideration of the Group's conclusions and recommendations will give the Council an opportunity at this meeting to discuss frankly the challenges facing our Institute in these changing times.

In these circumstances the record of the past two years reflects an element of "marking time" and in some respects a falling off of the level of activities. There has even been an unfortunate decline in membership, corporate and individual. But this period must now end! We cannot afford to mark time any longer. New opportunities are waiting to be seized, and there is no doubt that this is a favourable time for the Institute to move forward onto a new and higher plane of development.

In looking ahead we must remain innovative in the planning of the Institute's programmes. In the past the Institute's progress has been most marked when new ideas were introduced into its activities to meet new challenges. We can

recall, for instance, the beginning of its small weekend conferences in the late 1970's, which brought together South Africans, black and white, of widely differing political views to discuss critical issues with participants from overseas. They demonstrated the Institute's facilitating role at a time when political divisions were becoming more acute after the Soweto crisis. Those meetings led later to the series of weekend conferences for corporate members, where the same facilitating role was successfully developed at a time when there was all too little contact across the political and racial divide.

Another innovation was the introduction in the early 1980's of what was hoped would be a continuing series of big International Outlook conferences to debate important topical issues with prominent overseas persons as the main speakers. The success of those widely publicised ventures came at a time when the dark clouds of international isolation and domestic conflict were gathering strength. They were intended to expose South Africans to important outside opinions and thought, and so to help counter the growing spirit of isolation. The last such conference was in 1984, the year in which the Institute celebrated so successfully its Golden Jubilee.

Then, in the following few years, the country was overwhelmed by the storm which the years of apartheid eventually produced. The damage to the country was immeasurable, and it was not surprising that the Institute also suffered in being cut off from many of the opportunities for international contact and exchange, which are its lifeblood. But even during that difficult period, the Institute was innovative in the development of new services for its corporate members – not only the weekend conferences and other special meetings, but also newly designed and more appropriate information and research material.

The improved services to members were made possible by the decision at the beginning of the 1980's to devote financial resources from the then increasing corporate membership income to the establishment of a Research Section within the Institute at Jan Smuts House. The record of publications and research reports during the past decade fully justify that major new development in the Institute's growth.

These past achievements, among others, are referred to not in order to suggest that we should simply try and repeat what has succeeded before. New times demand new ideas, if the Institute is to remain on the cutting edge of domestic and international change. And there is no doubt that in this last decade of the 20th Century we are in a new situation, facing dramatically new challenges, economic and socio-political. But we need also to recall the Institute's recent history and its record of trying to meet past challenges with new ideas.

The Working Group's Report will provide us with opportunity for a full

discussion of these and other issues affecting the Institute's future. Hopefully, the outcome of our discussions will set the Institute on a clear path ahead and give the organisation as a whole a renewed sense of direction. We need to have clarity on our aims, so that our work can be well focused to achieve those aims.

This is, of course, not a question of setting off in a radically new direction, and the Working Group has not proposed that. The Institute, after all, has a proud history, and it cannot simply disregard it and try to start again. It also has a distinct character which has matured over this 58-year history, and it cannot simply throw that aside. But the Working Group, in its very thorough assessment of where the Institute stands now in South African society, has concluded that, if its role is to be relevant and productive in the future, there are adjustments to be made and needs to be met.

We have always to bear in mind that nothing effective can be achieved, and that no development in any direction will be possible, unless we have a sound financial base. This means that we must ensure adequate, growing income. At the same time we must see that the available financial resources are used efficiently to promote the Institute's purpose, and never on irrelevant activities. The Working Group's Report identifies *inter alia* these related questions as needing special and urgent attention.

The present financial state of the Institute will be dealt with in the Treasurer's report, and therefore I shall not enlarge on it here. But I do want to say that time cannot be wasted, if we wish to avoid the negative effects on our work of declining income in real terms.

The role of the Branches will remain important in the Institute's future, although the Working Group has identified a need to examine the relationship of the local Branches with the Institute on a national level. In particular, there seems to be a need to integrate Branch activities more closely with other programmes, such as research, publications, conferences and international exchange. The record of Branch activities in the past two years is uneven. But some Branches have done extremely well, and there will be an opportunity at this meeting for them to report on their programmes. In all cases, however, the Institute is greatly indebted to Branch Chairmen and their committees who devote their time and energy to promoting the Institute's objectives.

The Council must also record its great appreciation of the continued loyal support of our corporate members. Without them, the Institute would not exist, let alone grow. We need constantly to demonstrate to the corporate membership, in particular, and generally to all our members that their support is justified by the Institute's performance and by the value of its service to the country.

A special word of thanks is due to Elisabeth Bradley who chairs the National Administrative Committee and the Finance Committee, in addition to holding the vitally important post of Hon. Treasurer. During the past two years she also accepted the task of chairing the Working Group.

Finally, the permanent staff at Jan Smuts House and in the Cape Regional Office deserve the warm thanks of this Council. The good health of our organisation as a whole depends on their hard work, loyalty and commitment to the purpose of the Institute.

ANNEXURE 1

SURVEY OF ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTE SINCE MARCH 1990

1. MEMBERSHIP

The current state of membership in the various categories laid down in the Constitution is as follows:

1.1 Corporate Membership

This is available to companies wishing to benefit from the full range of the Institute's publications and other activities. (The services available are outlined below in section 3.)

There are currently 256 corporate members (compared with 293 in March 1990). This decrease has been occasioned by a large number of resignations (48), most of which have arisen due to mergers and expense-cutting on the part of corporate members, rather than dissatisfaction with the Institute.

During this period 11 new corporate members have joined the Institute.

1.2 Donor Membership (Corporate)

There are currently 18 Corporate Donor Members versus 20 two years ago. This form of membership is designed for small organisations wishing to participate in the Institute's activities.

1.3 Institutional Membership:

This category is open to educational and other related institutions. These members are attached to the Institute's Branches and pay their annual fees directly to them. There are currently 39 institutional members in all the

Branches (30 in 1990). This welcome increase, particularly in the membership of schools, is to the credit of the Cape Town, Witwatersrand, Durban and Pretoria Branches.

1.4 Individual Membership of Branches:

Individual applicants for Institute membership become members of their local Branches, and membership fees vary from Branch to Branch. The individual nominees of corporate members also become members of the Branches (but without paying additional fees). There is currently a total of 2489 individual members of all the Branches (compared with 2644 in March 1990).

Individuals may also become donor members of the respective Branches by subscribing a minimum of R100 per annum, which enables them to benefit from more of the Institute's activities.

1.5 Student Membership

Branch membership is also open to bona fide students who pay annual membership fees at much reduced rates. (Student members are included in the total figure under 1.4, but none of the Branches has a large student membership.)

1.6 Country Membership

This category is designed for individuals who do not live in the vicinity of any of the Institute's 10 Branches. There are currently only 5 country members, including 2 living overseas.

2. THE BRANCHES

There are 10 Branches of the Institute : Cape Town, Durban, Witwatersrand, Eastern Province, Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Grahamstown, Pietermaritzburg, Transkei and East London. They are not all in a very active state, but most Branches had good programmes of meetings, and the programmes of the bigger Branches were particularly impressive, with regular meetings and a good range of high-level speakers. The number of meetings

since March 1990 for each Branch was as follows (with 1990 figure in brackets):

Witwatersrand 24 (29), Cape Town 30 (29), Pretoria 21 (31), Durban 18 (22), Pietermaritzburg 5 (20), East London 12 (12), Eastern Province 1 (6), and Stellenbosch 10 (7).

The Institute assists the Branches in obtaining speakers, and every effort is being made to increase the budgetary allocation for this purpose. At the same time Branches have been encouraged, wherever possible, to contribute to the financing of speakers' travel and accommodation costs from their own Branch funds.

The current individual membership of the Branches is given below, with the comparative figures from 1990. Among the bigger Branches Durban membership has grown, Cape Town, Pretoria and Pietermaritzburg have maintained numbers, while Witwatersrand, East London and Eastern Province have lost membership. The figures include the individual nominees of corporate members who are attached to the respective Branches. (The numbers of corporate nominees are shown in brackets for 1992.) The Witwatersrand Branch has by far the largest number of corporate nominees, totalling well over half its individual membership. A substantial proportion of the total memberships of Cape Town and Durban are also corporate nominees, while Pretoria and Eastern Province have much lower, but still significant, proportions. The other Branches have only a handful of such nominees between them.

	MARCH 1992	MARCH 1990
Witwatersrand	1 206 (730)	1 279
Cape Town	381 (140)	384
Durban	274 (120)	248
East London	180 (5)	237
Pretoria	147 (42)	146
Pietermaritzburg	133 (9)	134
Eastern Province	84 (28)	115
Transkei	43 0	46
Stellenbosch	17 0	31
Grahamstown	24 0	24
	2 489 (1074)	2 644

The Institute is greatly indebted to the Chairmen, Secretaries and committee members of the Branches, who have continued to devote their time and energy to organising Branch activities. The promotion of these activities depends very largely on the voluntary assistance of loyal members committed to the Institute's aims and work. Only the Witwatersrand and Pretoria Branches enjoy the services of full-time Institute staff at Jan Smuts House, and the Cape Town and Stellenbosch Branches have the services of the Institute's Cape Regional Secretary.

3. SERVICES TO CORPORATE MEMBERS

Existing services to corporate members are listed below, but members are to be researched to ascertain whether changes to existing services or new services are to be considered in future.

- Provision of all the Institute's publications.
- Provision of special reports which are not published.
- Invitations to lectures at Branch meetings.
- Invitations to seminars, study groups and private weekend sessions specially organised for corporate members.
- Invitations to major Institute conferences.
- Consultations with the Institute staff, either at Jan Smuts House or at the member's office.
- Discussions with, or briefings for, foreign visitors associated with corporate members.
- The undertaking of special reports for individual corporate members at their request (an additional fee being charged for this service).
- Regular discussion luncheons with guests for groups of corporate members at Jan Smuts House.
- The arrangement of group fact-finding visits to neighbouring countries, such as Namibia and Zimbabwe. Kenya and Mozambique are on the planning

board currently.

See below – especially sections 4, 5 and 6 for further details of these services.

4. CONFERENCE PROGRAMMES

4.1 Joint Conferences

The Institute organised four conferences in association with other institutions, one held in England and the other three in South Africa:

The first was sponsored jointly with IDASA on the subject **Namibia: A Nation in the Making** and held in Johannesburg from 19–21 April 1990. Speakers were drawn from South Africa and Namibia.

The second conference, held in Johannesburg on 15 and 16 October 1990, was organised by the Institute in association with the African Studies Centre of the University of the Western Cape (UWC). Its subject was **Change in East/Central Europe: Implications for Southern Africa**. An impressive list of speakers came from Britain, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the United States and South Africa. Financial support for this conference came from several South African organisations, as well as the U.S. Information Agency, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation of Germany and the British Council.

The third conference was held in Leicester, UK, from 20 to 22 March 1991 on **South Africa's Choices for the 1990's : Change and the Pain of Change**. It was sponsored jointly by the Institute, which invited speakers from several South African Universities, and the Federal Studies Centre of the University of Leicester.

Fourthly, the Institute agreed to organise a conference on behalf of the Centre for Southern African Studies of UWC and the Working Group on International Relations of the UDF. The subject was **"Southern Africa into the 1990's and Beyond"** and the conference was held near Johannesburg from 15–19 April 1991. The participants came from universities and other institutions in most Southern African countries, and the conference was financially supported by the Canadian Dialogue Fund, GENCOR, the German Embassy and the U.S. Information Agency.

The proceedings of the second and fourth conferences have already been published by the Institute (see below, item 6), and revised versions of the papers presented in Leicester are shortly to be published in book form in England.

Future plans include a conference in June 1992 in London, which is being jointly organised with the Royal Institute, Chatham House and which will have the theme : **A Changing South Africa : Internal Challenge and the External Dimension.**

The Institute is also preparing for a conference on South Africa's future foreign policy, to be held in the second half of 1992 (having been postponed from March of this year).

4.2 Private Weekend Conferences for Corporate Members

Only one two-day conference was held during the period under review. This was at Hilton, Natal, from 2-4 November 1990, on the subject of "From Domination to Democracy - Conflict and Negotiation".

These special conferences (of which eight have now been held) are each limited to a total of about 40 participants, and have all been well-attended, with about 25 or more senior executives and about 15 invited speakers at each. The speakers represented different political and economic viewpoints.

4.3 Seminars

No seminars have been held specifically for corporate members only during this period, but the Cape Town Branch held a Conference on "South Africa in Southern Africa in the 1990's" and the Witwatersrand Branch held a conference on "Prospects for the Global Economy and their Relevance for South Africa", to which Corporate members were invited.

4.4 Corporate Lunches

Regular discussion lunches, each with a prominent speaker, continue to be held at Jan Smuts House for corporate members (and selected representatives of the media) at the rate of one every three to four weeks. Speakers have included: Mr Kallu Kalumiya, Chief of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Mission to South Africa. Professor James Daniell, American

Community and Economic Development Specialist.

Professor Irina Filatova, Lecturer at the Institute of African & Asian Countries at Moscow State University. Professor Margaret Doxey, Lecturer at Trent University, Ontario, Canada. Mr Eddie Cross, Director of Companies, Zimbabwe. Mr Joe Latakomo, Senior Assistant Editor, The Star. Mr Colin Eglin, MP Democratic Party, Foreign Affairs Spokesman. Professor Arend Lijphart, Professor of Political Science, University of California, San Diego. Dr Michael Burrell, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. Dr John Seiler, Visiting US Lecturer, Maputo University. Dr W.F. Van Eekelen, Secretary-General of The Western European Union. Dr Michael Chilczuk, Institute of Rural Development, Polish Academy of Science.

Occasional corporate lunches have also been held in Cape Town and Durban.

5. INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE

5.1 Foreign Visitors

In the past the Institute did not have a regular programme or budgetary allocation for bringing visitors from abroad to South Africa. Institute-sponsored visitors were invited mainly for conferences or under the Bradlow and, more recently, the Rotary Fellowship programmes (see below). However, the Institute's budget now provides for about two sponsored visitors per year, or three/four partly-sponsored visitors.

In March 1990 Dr Laszlo Lang, then Deputy Director of the Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, visited South Africa as the Institute's guest. Late in 1990 the following Institute-sponsored visitors addressed meetings of Branches:

Dr Radovan Vukadinovic from the University of Zagreb in Yugoslavia (now Croatia) in August/Sept 1990.

Professor Suna Kili from Istanbul, Turkey, on October/November 1990.

Although there were no fully sponsored guests of the Institute in 1991, there were several whose local costs were borne by the Institute. In addition there are now almost always one or more visiting scholars at Jan Smuts House for whom the Institute provides a working home while they are in South Africa.

The flow to Jan Smuts House of foreign visitors, under the auspices of other organisations, increased markedly during the past two years. These discussions with senior staff members also take place at other venues. The Director General and senior staff have been involved in meetings with over 250 foreign visitors during the past two years. These have included businessmen, politicians, diplomats, journalists, academics and others. Many of them were referred to the Institute by corporate members.

5.2 Relations with Foreign Institutions

Relations with sister Institutes and other institutions in foreign countries have expanded notably in recent years, largely as a result of the political change in South Africa. New contacts have been made particularly in Africa, Nordic countries, East and Central Europe and Russia. In many of these cases the initiative in these new links has been taken by the other organisations, and in several cases approaches have been made to the Institute to undertake joint conference or research projects and exchange programmes.

Publications exchange arrangements have continued with about 170 foreign organisations.

5.3 Fact-Finding Visits Abroad

One fact-finding group visit for senior corporate member representatives to Namibia was organised in April 1991. Possible group visits to Kenya and Mozambique are currently being planned.

5.4 Staff Visits Abroad

° The Director General, Professor John Barratt, attended the annual conferences of the International Institute of Strategic Studies in the United States and in Switzerland in September 1990 and September 1991, respectively. During his visit to the United States he also visited several institutions in Washington DC and New York, with which the Institute has links. In 1991 he presented papers at the Leicester Conference (see item 4.1 above), a conference of the Institute of Directors in Harare, Zimbabwe, and at the Institute of International Affairs in Warsaw, Poland. He also participated in the British-

South Africa Conference, held in Cambridge, UK, in July 1991, and, after the visit to Poland in September 1991, he visited several institutions in Prague and Budapest to establish contacts for the Institute with a view to future exchanges.

In May 1990, the Research Director (Dr André du Pisani) participated in a conference in Geopolitics and Strategy in the South Atlantic in St. Denis, Reunion, organised by the University of Reunion. He also delivered papers at five other international conferences: a joint conference between this Institute and the Centre for Federal Studies at the University of Leicester, England; a conference on Security and Co-operation in Post-Apartheid Southern Africa, organised by the Instituto Superior de Relacoes Internacionais in Maputo and the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Ebenhausen, Germany (Maputo, September 1991); the annual meeting of the British International Studies Association (BISA) held in Newcastle upon Tyne, England (December 1990); a workshop on Post-Independent Namibia, organised by the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Ebenhausen, Germany (December 1990); and a conference on Mediation and Reconciliation in Southern Africa, held in Harare and organised by the European African Institute (Amsterdam) and the Cold Comfort Farm Trust (October 1991).

The Institute's Senior Research Officer, Mr Gary van Staden, participated in a conference on Europe 1992 and its implications for countries outside Europe, in Salzburg, Austria, organised by the Salzburg Seminar (June 1990). He also undertook other travel within the region during the past two years.

Mr Anthoni van Nieuwkerk, Research Officer, read a paper at a conference of the American Africa Institute, in Baltimore (November 1991), and also participated in international conferences in the region - Maputo, Maseru and Windhoek.

5.5 Bradlow Fellowship

The Institute did not have a Bradlow Fellow in 1990 - the scholar selected for the Fellowship in 1990 (Professor Franz Ansprenger from Germany) had to withdraw. The 1991 Fellow is a distinguished Ethiopian Scholar, Dr. Fantu Cheru, attached to the American University in Washington D.C. Dr. Cheru researches regional integration and co-operation in Africa. An eminent Russian Africanist has been invited to take up the 1992 Fellowship.

5.6 Rotary Fellowship

Since 1988 the Institute has been co-operating with the University of the Witwatersrand on a visiting fellowship programme initiated by the Johannesburg Rotary Club and funded by a few South African companies. The programme provides for the selection of an overseas graduate student each year to spend most of the academic year at Jan Smuts House for further study. The Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London assists with the selection of the awardee, who then has Fellowship status at the University while he or she works under the guidance of the Institute's Research Director.

The Rotary Fellow in 1990 was Mr Antony Goldman from Britain. His research dealt with Namibia's accession to independence.

The 1991 Fellow was Dr Daniel Nina from Puerto Rico. Dr Nina explored the topic of 'Alternative Justice in South Africa'.

The 1992 Fellow is Mr Timothy Ecott from Britain. Mr Ecott's special interest is the Indian Ocean region.

5.7 Keele Student Internship

In 1991 the Institute co-operated with the University of Keele in Staffordshire, Britain, on a student internship programme. Two senior students, Simon Flint and Robert Foot, spent six weeks with the Institute.

6. RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

6.1 Corporate Requests and Other Services

The Institute's research section is vigorously involved in the provision of services to corporate members. During the past two years there has been a steady and increasing flow of requests for information on domestic, regional and international events, as well as for country profiles (particularly of African states) and political risk assessments. In the past two years from March 1990 there have been 60 special requests for projects (32 for the previous two years) for which fees were charged to members (apart from countless smaller requests for information). The following list indicates the range of subjects covered:

- 1990: Madagascar
 The BLS States: Political Developments and Economic Overviews
 Reform & Violence: Whose Finger on the Trigger?
 Suid-Afrika: Vyf Jaar Politieke Scenarios
 Namibia: Political and Economic Overview
 Basic Economic Data and Social Indicators, Mozambique, Zimbabwe,
 Namibia, South Africa
 Domestic Politics in South Africa for the Next Five Years
 South Africa and Egypt
 Sanctions Update: Too Few Fingers in the Dyke
 1992 and the Challenge from Europe
 Botswana: Country Risk Assessment
 The Pretoria Minute
 South Africa at the Crossroads: Political, Constitutional and Economic
 Prospects
 The New Habitat: Unstable Democracy – A New Government and its
 policies... Uncharted Waters
 Zaire
- 1991: Looking at 1991 and Beyond
 The Honeymoon
 Drawing Lines in the Sand: F.W.'s Message to the ANC
 The Land of the Rising Sun – Japan in the 1990s
 Country Profiles: Mali; New Zealand; Gabon; Czechoslovakia; Poland;
 Hungary; Mauritius; Yugoslavia; Rumania; Madagascar; Chile; Kenya;
 Nigeria; Angola; Burkina Faso; Argentina; Bolivia; Chile; Ghana; Cote
 D'Ivoire; Gabon; Guinea-Bissau; Sierra Leone; Senegal; Mozambique
 Negotiations Countdown – The Honeymoon Revisited
 Tanzania: Indicators at a Glance
 South Africa: Ten Year Political Scenario
 A Regional Profile of Kangwane & Lebowa
 Mozambique – Update on the Peace Process
 Electoral Politics in the G-7 (1990-1991)
- 1992: South Africa: Political Transition
 Country Profiles: Congo; Cameroon; Nigeria; Niger; Benin; Togo;
 Mali; Mauritania

Another regular service exclusive to corporate members is the production of Brief Reports on current issues. Topics dealt with in the past two years included several on Southern Africa (notably Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique), other African countries (Ivory Coast, Algeria, Zaire, West Africa), Eastern Europe, NATO, the European Community, the Commonwealth, GATT, the new Germany, Madagascar, the ANC and Antarctica.

During the past two years 32 have been issued, and the Institute is now attempting to circulate two per month to corporate members. Periodically outside contributors are used in compiling these.

6.2 Other Research Projects and Publications

The Institute is sponsoring research on particular Southern African issues by scholars from other institutions, and Gavin Maasdorp's recently published monograph on The Macro Economy of Southern Africa is the fourth in the Institute's Southern African Issues Series. André du Pisani's monograph on Namibia, titled **Rumours of Rain: Namibia's Post-Independence Experience**, was the third in this series.

The fifth publication in the series of **Opinion Surveys** of white opinion on foreign policy issues, entitled **What do We Think?**, with analysis of the results by André du Pisani, appeared in May 1990. The results of the sixth survey in this biennial series (to be replaced in future by a non-racial survey) are currently being analysed prior to publication.

The edited proceedings of two international conferences – jointly organised by the Institute (see above) in October 1990 and April 1991, respectively, have been published in the **Special Studies** series. The titles are: **Change in East/Central Europe – Some Implications for Southern Africa**, edited by Alan Begg and André du Pisani, and **Southern Africa at the Crossroads – Prospects for the Political Economy of the Region**, edited by Anthoni van Nieuwkerk and Gary van Staden.

Two further titles appeared in this series – Deon Geldenhuys' **The Politics of International Seclusion: A Study of Self-Isolated States** (April 1991), and Gary van Staden's **Europe 1992 and Beyond: Brave New World** (August 1991).

6.3 Bibliographical Series

The Librarians of Jan Smuts House Library have been responsible for co-ordinating the production, and in some cases the actual compiling, of the Institute's **Bibliographical Series** (which began in 1976). Twenty-two bibliographies have so far been published, and they have been very well received by libraries, reviewers and researchers in South Africa and abroad.

In 1990 and 1991 the following three bibliographies were published by the Institute:

No. 20: Economic Interdependence in Southern Africa, 1961-1989: A Select and Annotated Bibliography, compiled by Elna Schoeman, 1990.

No. 21: Reflecting Apartheid: South African Short Stories in English with Socio-political Themes - 1960-1987, compiled by Catherine E. Dubbeld, 1991.

No.22: Zimbabwe's First Decade of Independence, 1980-1990: A Select and Annotated Bibliography, compiled by Zea Zimmerman, 1991.

Various titles which are currently being prepared, to be published later in 1992, 1993 and later years, concern South Africa's foreign relations bibliography and chronology (Elna Schoeman); the post independence foreign relations of Swaziland, Namibia, Botswana and Lesotho (Eve Andor); Angola and Mozambique, 1974-1992 (Beth Strachan) and Kaunda's Zambia (S. Musiker).

6.4 Regular Publications

There has been no change during the past two years in the regular publications of the Institute, which were as follows:

International Affairs Bulletin, which is published three times a year, carries scholarly articles and reviews on a variety of international topics. The Bulletin is issued free of charge to all members of the Institute, and is also received on subscription by other organisations and individuals in South Africa and overseas.

Southern Africa Record is a quarterly publication containing important policy documents and official statements relevant to regional affairs. It is issued free of charge to all corporate members and sold on subscription to others in South Africa and overseas.

Occasional Papers, appearing approximately six times a year, are also distributed to corporate members and sold on subscription. They contain the texts of addresses to *Institute meetings, conference papers and original articles* on topical subjects. Notable recent papers have included the one by State President F.W. de Klerk on **The International Road Ahead for South Africa**, and by Helmut Schaeffer (German Deputy Foreign Minister) on **On the Way to a New South Africa** and Stephen Chan (British scholar) on **Prospects for the 1991 Elections in Zambia**.

In July 1991 the text of the fourth Jan Smuts Memorial Lecture which was delivered in May in Durban by the Hon. Margaret Thatcher, entitled **A Time for Greatness** was published.

6.5 Workshops and Group Meetings

During the past two years several productive and creative workshop-style round table discussions were held in the Busschau Room, Jan Smuts House, with visiting scholars, as follows:

New Perspective on Conflict Resolution – Prof. John Burton (George Mason University, USA, May 1990)

Regional Integration in Southern Africa – Dr. Fernando J. Cardoso (Instituto de Estudos Estragégicos E. Internacionais, Lisbon, September 1990)

An Overview of the Study of International Relations: What Can and Cannot be Known from an Individualistic Perspective – Prof. Richard Fredland (Indiana University, USA, November 1991)

Perspectives on Southern Africa – views from Moscow – Prof. Irina Filatova (Moscow State University, Russia, November 1991)

Post-Apartheid Southern Africa: Current and Future Research – Arne Tostensen, Bertil Odén, Thomas Ohlson, Tom Ostergaard, Finn Tarp and Elling Tjonneland (Scandinavian Development Researchers, October 1991)

The Prospects of Civil Society and Effective Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa – Prof. Joel D. Barkan (University of Iowa, USA, June 1991)

The History of Relations Between Russia and South Africa – Prof. Appolon

Davidson (State University Moscow, Russia, November 1991)

The Conflict in Mozambique – various local scholars, journalists and diplomats (September 1991)

Africa in the Global Economy (March 1992) – Prof. Richard Sklar (UCLA)

7. PUBLIC INFORMATION

Members of the Institute's staff are frequently required to provide information and comments on international and South African events for the local press, radio and TV, whose representatives also use the Library and press clippings service for reference purposes. Similar requests are also regularly received from overseas, more especially from the UK, Canada and the US and from foreign correspondents in South Africa. This aspect of the Institute's work has greatly increased in recent years. While it is time-consuming (and these requests often have to be responded to at short notice, thus disrupting other work), it has served to bring the Institute's work to the attention of a much wider audience in South Africa and abroad, and it helps to fulfil the Institute's public educational role.

During 1991 alone the Director General responded to 40 requests for comments and interviews on radio and TV and in the press, while the Research Director and other members of the Research Section were also often called upon.

Senior members of staff receive numerous requests to contribute articles to publications in South Africa and overseas, and to prepare papers for conferences or seminars of academic and business organisations, as well as to address meetings of a variety of societies. Not all these requests can be accommodated.

8. JAN SMUTS HOUSE LIBRARY

The Library, which is owned by the Smuts Memorial Trust, serves both the Institute and the University of the Witwatersrand (which are the two main parties to the Trust). It is administered as part of the University library system, and the University bears the major financing responsibility for its maintenance and development. The Trust contributes to the extent that it can to the purchase of books.

The Library is the only specialist library on international affairs in Southern Africa and it co-operates with other local and international libraries to facilitate the exchange of books and journals where necessary. The collection of books and periodicals now totals over 25 000 items.

It caters principally for the needs of the Institute's research staff and the staff and undergraduates of the University's Department of International Relations, as well as the Political Studies and other Departments. It is also available for use by Institute members. Its use for scholarly, post-graduate research – especially from Africa and elsewhere – is growing.

The Library is widely recognised for the strength and diversity of its holdings and the efficient service it provides. It is also central to the scholarly reputation of Jan Smuts House. For these reasons, a major infusion of funds is needed for the purchase of relevant book stock, given the constraints of greatly increased book and periodical prices and of limited financial resources. (For instance, it was possible to purchase only 636 (1990) and 510 (1991) books, representing a small percentage of material available in the international relations field). Present financial constraints of the University of the Witwatersrand cast a shadow over the future of the Library.

The development of an electronic bibliographical data-base on the region – SARDIUS (Southern African Research Documentation Information User Service) – also, depends on the acquisition of additional funds.

The Library staff arranged book and journal displays on Namibia, the IMF, World Bank and on Future Trends.

9. STAFF

As at March 1992 the members of the senior staff of the Institute at Jan Smuts House are as follows:

Director General – Professor John Barratt
Manning Director of Research – Dr André du Pisani
Corporate Liaison & Programmes Director – Ms Heather Hart
Financial Director – Mrs Pauline Watts
Research Officer – Mr Anthoni Van Nieuwerkerk
Editorial Officer – Mr Alan Begg

10. CO-OPERATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Institute is greatly appreciative of the co-operation and assistance it continues to receive from the University of the Witwatersrand on whose campus Jan Smuts House is situated. The Institute particularly values the co-operation of the University's Library staff who run Jan Smuts House Library, serve the Institute's staff and members and have contributed substantially to the publications programme since 1976 with the production of the annual bibliographies. (See item 6.3 above). In addition, the Institute places special value on co-operative links with the Department of International Relations which was established in the 1960's as a result of agreement between the Institute and the University in the Smuts Memorial Trust. The Institute, the Department and the Library were the three main elements in the concept of a centre of international studies, which inspired the founders of Jan Smuts House in 1960.

The Institute's ability to perform its functions effectively is greatly enhanced by the co-operation of many other related Institutes, organisations and other University Departments in South Africa and abroad. It is also grateful for the contribution to its activities, including Branch meetings, of foreign missions in South Africa, the Department of Foreign Affairs, the ANC's Department of International Affairs, political parties, representatives of the media and many individuals.

Without the support of its corporate members, the Institute would not continue to exist, let alone grow. But the personal involvement of many representatives of corporate members in Institute programmes, including particularly Branch activities, is also very greatly valued.

Finally, the commitment and loyalty to the Institute and its aims of many individuals who serve on its Council and Administrative Committee and on its Branch Committees must be acknowledged with deep appreciation.