

Chapter 1: Human Security in the Geopolitics of Southern Africa: An Overview

The primacy of a democratic governance systems which could provide human security guarantee to individuals and citizens in Southern African region is the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The appreciation of the human security approach to peace and security in SADC, especially in South Africa, where there is a need to understand the effectiveness of the governance systems if they guarantee peace and security of the society and individual peoples form the foremost trope of this inquiry. The human security aspects that bring together human elements of peace and security, rights and development display characteristics of interdisciplinary concepts such as that of people-centred, context-specific, multi-sectoral and prevention oriented theoretic optics. The effects of human insecurity threats caused by the apartheid regime governance systems that are still entrenched in the political and economic developments of South Africa were the cause of insecurity in SADC particularly in South Africa. The intellectual thrust and cogence of this research output is situated in the field of international relations wherein human security takes into its purview individuals and their communities rather than territory, states or governments, as its point of reference. Moreover, given political and economic challenges in South Africa, the non-state actors' activities were deemed as the main architectures of the friction on policy formulation processes with the state.

The effects of human insecurity in the SADC region, specifically in South Africa, where the apartheid system and its legacy continues to divide the population on ethnic, racial and native lines took a centre stage in the analysis of state's failure to provide adequate human security provisions. Three hundred years of white settlement in South Africa from 1652 to 1993 saw the dispossession of Africans of their land and subsequent enforced conversion into wage labourers. Indeed, the land disputes in South Africa began in 1652, when the Dutch East Indian Company (DEIC) arrived and established the first settlement. The DEIC needed fresh food and meat for its ships' crews and

passengers who were enroute to the Far East. Setai (1998:2) postulates that the motives of the company were therefore economic ones, although it brought few assets to serve as the base for developing an economy. Rather, the DEIC relied on the land and resources of the area that was to become known as the Cape Colony to achieve its goals. But, the land belonged, by birth-right, to the Africans, and their right to it was inalienable. To gain access to the land, the Company needed a land acquisition strategy, and it chose the most expedient one available that was to simple take-over of the desired lands. The take-over strategy set the tone of the relationship between black and white in South Africa for hundreds of years translated to a tone of confrontation.

The Khoi-Khoi or Hottentots, a nomadic group of people, were the first group of Africans to be confronted by the settlers in 1652. The contact was violent, where Khoi-Khoi captured men and children, divided in proportion among the poorest whites as indentured servants while women were freed. The Namas, who were good at raising cattle and other agricultural produces, were another group that the settlers soon encountered. That group was considered more stable than the Khoikhoi by the settlers as it produced commodities they desired. As such, in 1713 the Dutch settlers isolated the nomadic Khoikhoi in favour of the Namas. Later on the Dutch settlers decided to control the land and all other national economic resources (Doxey, 1961:184). These initial interactions, notwithstanding the intrusion of the British into South Africa and subsequent occupation of the Cape Province after 1806, totally changed the political, social and the economic landscape in that country. Initially, the British pretended that they were protecting the Namas against the exploiting Dutch people, but their intentions were soon to be revealed when their expansive motive was extended to other African groups in South Africa that included the Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi, the Sotho and Batswana. The British believed that it was imperative to subjugate these African groups. Britain's desire for global influence and economic development was to be met. A triangular relationship developed involving the Africans, Afrikaners (whites of Dutch origin) and the Britons in 1894 was characterised by friction and uneasy co-existence. The fragile relations between the British and the Boers forced the latter into the interior and along the

coast thereby threatening the existence of many African groups. The country began to be perpetually divided because of the disputes among the Africans and the British rulers (Davis, 1976:231). These challenges were to culminate in the South African Boer War (1899-1902) which set the process for the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

However, in accordance with the needs of intensified exploitation and subjugation of the Africans, the South African Supreme Law (the Union Constitution of 1910), laid the basis for the development of political and economic system that was consistently racist. According to Nolutshungu (1988:143), the politics in South Africa was centralised on the Union Constitution on issues that were essentially colonial, particularly in the way they were conceptualised and discussed. During the Second World War, South Africa was a critical component of the war machinery that Britain was committed to. The constitutional ties that were between Britain and South Africa consolidated the relations between the two powers in 1948, during the years of global changing times. In the period after the Second World War, South Africa saw itself as a powerhouse in Africa alongside the colonisers who were still suppressing and manipulating African colonial states. The South African's historical and economic developments were progressive in terms of serving the sacrosanct of white supremacy race during the apartheid era (Greenberg, 1988:13).

The apartheid regime viewed the colonialism aspects differently from the rest of African states. The whites had the steadfast, though erroneous belief that the country was founded by the Boers, so black people were regarded as the marginalised race. Independent African states viewed the apartheid system as an internal colonialism. Their argument was that Bantustans were created to ostracise many black population from the epicentre of all the country's political, social, economic and security developments among other human security needs. The practice of apartheid in South Africa formally came into being in 1948 when Dr Malan defeated Mr. J. Smuts in a general election. But that policy as declared was distinct only in detail and emphasised the policy of segregation as practiced by the previous governments. The new government advocated for what it termed

separate development, a mere euphemism for racial based socio-economic and political organisation.

Three bloody events in the 19th Century helped to define South Africa. Firstly, the Great Trek of the Afrikaners (*voortrekkers*) into remote areas of South Africa intensified the displacement of tribal populations. Secondly, the chieftain Shaka transformed the Zulu minority into an aggressive military power that ruled over two million subjects until their defeat at the hands of the *voortrekkers*. Finally, although the British defeated the Afrikaners in the Boer War at the end of the century, the Afrikaners were able to extend their policy of black exclusion to the whole of South Africa. Rapid urbanization, accompanied by compulsory segregation, further oppressed blacks, while the Land Act of 1913 abolished the tenant and share cropping systems that had supported an emerging stratum of more prosperous black families and prohibited them from owning land (Davis, 1976:245).

The Republic of South Africa is the leading state in Southern Africa. In 1671 the Dutch established Cape Town colony as a staging point for voyages around Africa to Asia, and numerous Dutch farmers, called Boers, came to settle. When Britain seized that strategic colony in 1806, many Boers fled north, but the British eventually conquered all of South Africa and set up the Union of South Africa in 1910. That state was ruled by its white minority. International opposition to the government's policy of strict racial segregation, called apartheid, caused the government to declare itself a republic, a total free of any allegiance to Britain, in 1961. However, although South Africa became a political entity in 1910, she was little more than a figurative expression (Figure 1.1). The term 'South Africa' was current from as early as the 1830s but until the beginning of the twentieth century, it referred principally to a region extending northwards from the Cape Peninsula to the Zambezi. It was during the last quarter of the 19th century that the modern idea of South Africa began to acquire meaning and attract interest (Bergman & Renwick, 2002:197).

Figure 1.1 has been extracted to graphically depict the provinces of South Africa from the time of its transformation stages to the current

situation. The provinces of Limpopo, Mpumalanga and North West received the highest numbers of illegal immigrants who entered the country.

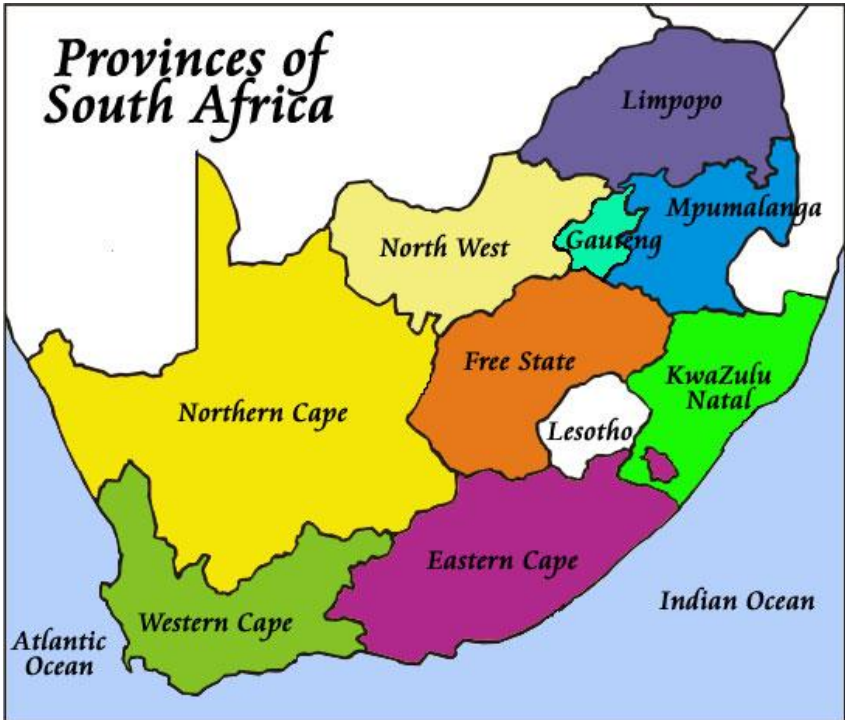


Figure 1.1 The Provinces of South Africa (Extracted from www.exploresouthafrica.net, 20 June 2013)

Apartheid has been defined as a historically accumulative and purposeful system of racial containment. Its operational components, each with its own experiential profile and time frame fell into four distinctive yet converging categories. The categories are the racial prejudice and discrimination, racial segregation and separation, economic exploitation of natural and human resources. There was racial discrimination in legal and administrative issues and political terror. Associated with these apartheid operational components was a

set of functions and instruments which consolidated racial discrimination against the black population. Some were viewed as essential mainly to support the appreciation of apartheid. Its proponents supported racial separation of which terror was meant to perfect that end. The terror, whatever the intentions of its white perpetrators, was also true apartheid, perhaps its most indestructible component on which it was dependent for its continuation (Friedman, 1978:34).

While racial prejudice is an attitude and world-view, a sentiment, racial discrimination is an act, a measure taken to the disadvantage of its victims. Both racial prejudice and racial discrimination, in their operational form had as their objectives the creation and sustenance of racial superiority among Europeans and the denigration of the capabilities of Africans, Coloureds and Asians. In addition, they were calculated to protect both status and jobs for the Europeans based on colour. Moreover, the white race wanted to consolidate its integrity and ability to maintain the caste system where they remained on top of other races in South Africa. The maintenance of the caste system was only to reduce life chances and restrict opportunities for the advancement of Africans, Coloureds and Asians and above all, prevent equality (First *et al.*, 1972:8).

The whites, who consisted only 20% of the population, controlled and managed all the state apparatus. They controlled the political system, the economy and the instruments of coercion. The constitutional instrument that regulated political activity was the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, No 32 of 1961 that had superseded the amended South African Act of 1909. Parliament was reserved exclusively for the whites. The lower house was elected by whites only, the Africans and Coloureds were excluded from the common roles. Africans and Coloureds were also excluded from the Provincial Councils, even where there were homelands where Africans

participated in legislative activities. The economy was firmly controlled by the white minority. For instance, the job reservation system ensured that Africans functioned at the lower scale of the job ladder. The basic laws which regulated job categorisation were the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1967, and the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1969. These racial laws provided the Minister of Bantu Administration with powers to prescribe classes of work in which Africans were to engage and to fix the maximum numbers of Africans allowed to work in certain specific employment areas of the country.

Furthermore, restrictions were imposed on Africans by requiring them to seek employment only through the labour bureau. In addition, Africans were only to retain their employment so long as the labour bureau authorised them to do so. By banning labour orders that affected all races, it was only the blacks who had limited choice of selecting jobs regardless of the new policy (First *et al.*, 1972: 12). The 1948 -1980s era saw the white Afrikaners entrenched themselves in political economy, bureaucracy and other government institutions. All significant political and economic powers became invested in the white Afrikaners' hands. Indeed, in the 1960s Cape Town and Natal, former English provinces were effectively put under the white Afrikaner control. It was in this context that Winston Churchill's speech in Cape Town, in 1960, talked about the 'Wind of Change'. This speech gave birth to the South African government's security document called 'The Total Strategy'. 'The Total Strategy' was a result of the fear by the Afrikaners of being overwhelmed by black hordes from the Northern Cape joining the domestic workers to challenge the apartheid system (Randall, 1973:33; Gifford & Loius, 1988:481).

At the core of South Africa's human security problems was the attempt by white settlers to make a country whose population was 75% African, a white man's country, using force and social engineering as

ideological arsenal to achieve that end of segregation founded on racial lines. White people believed that they were a racial aristocracy or a master race with a mandate to lead Africans they dismissed as the 'subject of race' (Magubane, 1994:2). South Africa's apartheid system was characterised by the conquest, expropriation and the annexation of the richest parts of the country and the confinement of Africans whose labour was not immediately needed by the 'white men's' economy. It was in South Africa that race was fully abused as a principle meant to classify human beings. For the first time 'black' and 'white' were converted into racial types with certain intrinsic qualities that either qualified one to be a member of the 'master race' or the 'inferior race' (Maphai, 1994:2). Black South Africans felt the full impact of settler colonisation following the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1868. From then on, the Boers who had companies which produced the mineral wealth of the region under a regime of terror, colour-bars, pass-laws and closed compounds for indentured African migrant peasant workers, dominated politically. Under these circumstances where the blacks were ostracised, the wisdom of retaining the qualified Cape Province franchise dating back to 1853 became an issue of great importance.

The Afrikaner Bond that was formed in 1879 piloted the Glen Grey Act that geared up the dispossession of African peasants and forced them to the mines to offer cheap labour. The Afrikaner Bond itself was created with the objective of forming what its Boer leaders termed a 'South African nationality', by means of union and cooperation of white settlers as a preparation for the ultimate object of a 'United South Africa' (Maphai, 1994:57). These developments forcibly and radically reshaped the African society during the 19th century. White racial supremacy created political, economic and social institutions that negatively affected all Africans across the social divide in rural and urban settings and the illiterate or educated. In the matrix of this imposed system of white-dominated racial coexistence, new patterns

of African politics began to emerge which reflected a broad spectrum of viewpoints ranging from rejection of a new system to whole-hearted efforts to achieve desired goals through processes and structures (John, 1972:183).

From 1948, there were deliberate moves to promote the policy of separate development in South Africa. On the one hand, there were moves to reduce and eliminate black African political rights in relation to parliament, provincial councils and municipalities. However, there were at least efforts and attempts especially from the period 1997 to 2007 to try and channel black, coloured and Indian political aspirations into separate political institutions. The racial degradation of the black South Africans since 1910 in political, economic and social sectors was considered for the better from 1994. In the case of Africans, these institutions were territorially based and were in the 'homelands'. During the apartheid regime, homelands or reserves constituted the territorial basis of separate development as applied to black South Africans who were demarcated in terms of the Native Land Act of 1913 and the Bantu Land and Trust Act of 1936. In terms of the latter statute, about 7 250 000 hectares of land were to be acquired by the South African Bantu Trust to augment the reserves that were in existence. By the end of 1970, nearly one and a quarter million morgana of land was still to be acquired. When it was acquired, the Bantu areas came to 13.7% of the Republic (Randall, 1994:33). Thus, the Republican Parliament of the apartheid South Africa was a representative of white political interests only. It was of course true to the fact that, provision had been made for the separation of African representation in political institutions that were developing in the homelands (Pampallis, 1991:303; Setai, 1998:49; Franklin, 1981:279).

The attainment of independence in 1994 drew together opposition groupings and initiatives that had been fragmented by the apartheid regime's clampdowns in the 1970s and 1980s, including local non-

governmental organisations and supra non-governmental organisations. South Africa's ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), used to have closest ties with both local and international civil society groups, and during the first three years of South Africa's independence in which harmony or semblance thereof were seemingly glued by a constitutional framework founded on the cherished normative values of equality, humanity dignity and the pursuit of basic freedoms. However, the veneer of peace and harmony gradually deteriorated over the slow pace of social and economic change in the country. Black empowerment policies challenged institutionalised racial segregation amidst resistance from the previously privileged racial classes. The crucial component of the multi-faceted concept of sovereignty in South Africa was basically construed almost entirely in the international law as enshrined in the 1933 Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of states (Hough, 2004:235). To avoid economic and political disruptions by the former apartheid loyalists, the ANC government constructed multi-layered governance systems to protect infrastructure that shielded all the citizens and to fight critical and pervasive threats. The security infrastructure included reconstructed and reinstituted institutions at every level of society such as the police, health care networks, educational and the labour system.

South Africa represented the last bastion of colonialism and an institutionalised racial discrimination in the Southern African region, in which the black majority population had suffered inconceivable human security breaches. The CSOs activities in Southern Africa, particularly South Africa continued to be heterogeneous entities composed of diverse elements that reflected the political cleavages and conflicts of the wider societies in which they were located. There was the political manifestation of economic and political interests in which, for example, white dominated South African town councils were preoccupied with denouncing central government for corruption and

poor service delivery. Such interests were in white dominated societies such as Durban and Port Elizabeth. Interestingly, they were not located in Soweto or the province of KwaZulu Natal, where there was a likelihood of intensified political conflict. While the ANC government may have possessed the legitimate claim to the monopoly of governance and policy formulation, it was not able to claim exclusive dominion over economic and political life of the whole of the South African society. Civil society groups possessed the economic interest and moral values which were key poles around which political activity regularly clustered. These were possible because South Africa was still in the transitional stage where all institutions were either public or private entities under the influence of those who were part to the apartheid regime. The CSOs instigated the citizens to perceive that the ruling elite abuse the power granted to them. There were also individuals from CSOs who launched an oppositional critique that was taken up and popularised in informal social movements. To gain public confidence, the ANC government came up with social and economic policy shifts in the social and economic domains to lure citizens' acceptance especially during the early 2000 period. President Thabo Mbeki faced challenges of legitimacy when corruption allegations were raised in various forums by the white-dominated Democratic Alliance political party. This discourse where the civil society manufactured political consent became the source of the legitimization of state power. The right of the elite to exercise state power was ultimately dependent upon popular acceptance. In this way, the civil society organisations served the 'hegemonic' function of justifying state domination (Hyden, 1992:67).

The new concept of peace and security has brought in new human security aspects such as food security, environmental security and economic security. The nature of the relations between the Southern African states and civil society organisations seemed to suggest that cooperation in the governance system was to an extent desirable but

there was absence of commonality in human security approach to peace and security aspects. According to Synder (2008:81), in the contemporary era the concept of security is shifting away from the state to the individual or sub-state group. This implies that individuals can be threats to the state or a ruling regime while the state can also be a security threat to individuals, especially through abuse of authority in the name of regime preservation or national security. While ultimately retaining the state as the principal referent object for security, Buzan (1991:141) propounded that some of the most problematic aspects that citizens faced included many threats which were emanating either directly or indirectly from the state. However, it was just the security of the individuals that was locked into an unbreakable paradox that was partly dependent on and partly threatened by the state. The state remains the principal actor in national and international politics to provide democratic human security rights.

The Southern African region was confronted with challenges of ensuring and guaranteeing political and economic security to citizens, particularly South Africa during the 1997 to 2007. There was need to assess effects of the apartheid regime in South Africa, especially in the political and economic development landscape. There was very little which were able to be ameliorated on human security provisions to ensure and guarantee political and economic security to citizens in South Africa.

The government of South Africa and SADC region at large need to formulate policies that manage migration in the region. Non-state actors in South Africa had to step in to compliment the efforts of the government to guarantee and ensure political and social-economic development to citizens. There was absence of the written constitution at the height of the apartheid system in South Africa, where the parliament was responsible for the constitutional provisions for

governance purposes a move that made the black peoples' livelihoods miserable. The government of Thabo Mbeki was seen as having a limited civil society participation compared with the previous government of Nelson Mandela. The civil society organisations often have more 'current' information on the peace support environment which is of assistance to the South African Department of Defence (DOD). The absence of cooperation between the state and the CSOs affect peace and security in democratic governance mantra.

There are a variety of enmeshed and interlinked factors which explain why Southern African states, particularly South Africa, continue to face challenges in terms of preserving political security and economic security for the individual citizens. As South Africa emerged from a protracted war and apartheid system of governance in 1994, the challenges to human security for a democratic state appeared unsurmountable (www.tr.undp.org). The ANC government had a two-third majority in parliament but it was a political party of a coalition composed of liberation political movements and labour unions, hence for the interest of maintaining peace and security, the so called 'The Mandela Magic' of creating the Rainbow Nation and deliberately not adopting radical policy options helped the country's democratisation process. The human security approach to peace and security criticizes contemporary relations between non-state actors and the state (Dryzek *et al.*, 2008:370). In South Africa, this is evidenced by the perceptions of the non-state actors which wanted the government to cede some of its human security aspects to civil society groups. The South African government was not prepared to work with the non-state actors in policy formulation processes, fearing that national interests could be negatively manipulated. It seemed that there was a consensus among many writers with the belief that the ANC government should guarantee human security, mostly to the historically poor and marginalized black majority (Michie & Padayachee, 1997:133).

According to Eberly (2000:210), contentious non-state actors which acted against the state instilled civil society virtues in people that could help to sustain democracy and which could also lead people to overthrow democracies, the same way dictatorships were overthrown all over the globe. The ANC government was sceptical with the non-state actors' participation in governance systems. The state and the non-state actors needed each other to equitably address the human security needs of all the citizens, regardless of race or ethnicity. The most important demanding issue by the ANC government was to fulfil the dictates of the human security perspectives so that citizens at large accepted their governance systems. Due to the complexity of governance which was dictating that the state had the legitimacy to address the human security needs of all the citizens in an impartial manner, any other player outside government systems was found isolated. Although, the state had the constitutional rights to preside over state activities, it was impossible to do it alone without non-state actors complimenting its efforts.

When South Africa's political and economic independence was attained after a long and painful armed struggle, every citizen and institution in that country started another political and economic realignment, to be relevant in the changing times (Eberly, 2000:342). The regeneration of every facet of the country had detrimental effects to the new order which came into being after a protracted struggle. Among the critical institutions that brought the apartheid regime to the negotiation table included the armed revolutionary parties, labour movements, civil society groups, students and churches among others that were expected to realign their efforts to assist in the transitional order ranging from political and economic, to one which was all inclusive, regardless of race, tribe and ethnic background. Civil society groups had built social ties and a sense of mutual obligation by weaving together isolated individuals into the fabric of the larger group, tying separate individuals into the fabric of the larger group

and tying separate individuals to purposes beyond their private interest. The relationship that existed between the ANC as a liberation movement and civil society groups aggressively resisted the apartheid regime's rule. Since the concept of peace and security is embodied in the human security aspects, there is need to analyse its effects on SADC and on South Africa in particular (Eberly, 2000:7-13).

When reference is given to SADC, many generalisations are made since this group is heterogeneous. To limit such a weakness, it was important to focus the study on the case of South Africa as a representative of sub-regional countries with its own specific characteristics. In this regard, the potential effects for migration to threats to peace and security of the receiving state. The role and place of South Africa as an emerging economy and the impact on human security and peace and security as a subject of international relations.

The level and magnitude of the political and economic variables of Human Security theory cannot be ignored as they bring out ideological matters which constitute the theoretical framework of the SADC's security as a region. The use of neo-liberal and neo-realist approaches is expected to explain certain behaviours and relations between nations. It is expected that where questions of state relations arise, theories can explain why certain actions are taken in a particular way. The neo-realism and neo-liberalism approaches of how human security concept is supposed to work, assumes that political and economic insecurity is directly proportional to state, community and individuals security threats. According to neo-realism, war is an omnipresent phenomenon induced by the anarchical structure of the international system. The neo-liberalism approach to human security recognizes the state's co-existence with the transnational actors in complex interdependence. The Human Security Theory remains premised on a shift of attention from a state-centred to a people-centred approach to security.

There is a need to conceptualize political and economic developments that are the main variables of the Human Security theory. Thereafter, Peace and Security conceptual variations were explored. The central argument pursued was to draw parallels on SADC member states' peace and security provisions to society and individual peoples. The Human Security theory broadens the understanding of security provisions in the SADC region, specifically South Africa. The theory extrapolated and demonstrated how threats to peace and security can be curtailed in a democratic state. However, the preceding arguments on human security aspects proffered neo-realism and neo-liberalism approaches to provide peace and security to the state, community and individuals (Portia & Keating, 2008:45 Mearsheimer, 2001:214, Keohane & Nye, 1977:81).

The neo-realist approach to Human Security theory has been advocated by structuralists or neo-realists such as Barry Buzan in his seminal work titled, "People, State and Fear" (Booth, 2007:16). Buzan argued that the 'straitjacket' militaristic approach to security that dominated the discourse during the Cold War era was premised on the underdevelopment of the concept (Buzan, 1991:120, Van Aardt, 1997:16). The Human Security theory was broadened to include political, economic, social and environmental threats. Although, Human Security theory is examined from three perspectives of the international system, the state remains the most important and effective provider of security and by this argument it remains as a referent of human security. Buzan's analysis on Human Security theory provides the most extensive contemporary examination where the state's perspective to security is paramount. In a similar form to the classical work of Clausewitz (1897) which puts all weight on the regime in power to arbitrary rule of the country is stymied to safeguard the state's sovereign rights.

The neo-liberalism approach to Human Security theory as reflected in the work of Ken Booth advocates for a broadened conceptualization of security that goes beyond a military determination of threats. Neo-liberal approach to Human Security theory stresses that the state must be dislodged as the primary referent of human security and more emphasis is to be put on non-state actors such as individuals, ethnic and cultural groups, regional economic blocs, multinational corporations (MNCs) and non-governmental organisations. In Booth (1994) view, states and governments must not be the primary referents of security because governments that are supposed to be the guardians of their people's security have instead become the primary source of insecurity for the nationals who live under their sovereignty. The military forces of the states that used to be the threat, are no longer a threat to the state hence the argument that individuals should be referents of the human security (Buzan, 1991:160; Carim, 1995:125; Tickner, 1995:13). This approach challenges the idea that the state is an effective and adequate provider of security to its people. These arguments render the Human Security theory highly questionable.

Van Aardt (1997) posits that the state remains the primary referent of security, but this does not mean maintaining the state should be the sole or unitary referent of human security. This is the main thrust that points out that the security of the state, particularly weak ones continue to be the regime's domain, although building the capacity to provide and maintain security of the citizens is paramount. This means that the conceptualization of security should make the security of individual peoples its end. In some instances, the state cannot be dislodged as the primary referent, although it is weak. In this regard, the perception is that what constitute a state is the composition of the elements which are the government, people and territory. The state being comprised with all its constituent parts has a reciprocal relationship with the individual parts. This line of reasoning asserts that the state cannot be secure if its constituent parts are insecure or

unstable. It is therefore, that insecurity or weaknesses of a state are extrapolated by constituent parts which are weak or insecure.

Booth (1994) has argued that state security was used by governments that posed as guardians of their people's security to cloak reality and hide what essentially was the security of their regime. It is at this juncture that the regime's supporters should then dislodge the state as a referent of security because it would have failed to ensure security to its people. The neo-realist approach to security places human security alongside state security as a twin referent in the theory and practice of security. Buzan (1992) equates state and human security as 'the fate of human collectivities'. In this conceptual framework, the state becomes the referent of security and the representative of the institution of human collectivities. However, the creation of strong states is a necessary move towards guaranteeing human security but it is not a sufficient condition for improved individual and national security. The existence of the strong states would not by itself be a security guarantee. The identification of weaknesses would be able to make the state activate its governance systems to address any threat to peace and security of citizens (Booth 1994: 189; Buzan 1992: 153).

Gilpin (1987) posits eloquently that the placement of a state in the international division of labour as defined by the modern world system theory lies between the core, semi-periphery and the periphery of which this determines whether a state is hard or soft. Whereas a hard state is capable to resist the potential negative effects of external market forces through channelling the effects to its own advantage while a soft state is pliable at the mercy of external market forces and is usually unable to control its own economic affairs. These notions are very important to this study which argues that Southern African states are on the soft and semi-peripheral side because there are economic structural constraints which preclude them from achieving both economic and political security for their citizens (Gilpin, 1987:161).

To illustrate the above argument and to discredit the political and economic variables of Human Security theory, it takes individual peoples and their communities rather than the territory, state or governments as the main referent of peace and security. Central among these, is the political and economic security provisions to individual peoples and society (Waever, 1995:81; Buzan, 1991:136; UN Commission on Human Rights, 2003:70). The phenomenon of placing people-centred approach to security is meant to measure the effects of the success or failure of actions and policies that promote peace and security. A regime may adopt peace and security mechanisms to counter threats that derail policy and legal formulation agenda. The state's security in respect of threats exposed by non-state actors, the mechanisms is premised on the capacity to provide the peace and security to the citizens. The military threats include among others intra-state war, small arms proliferation, communal based violence, insurgency, rebel activity and civil war. It is the non-military threats that involve serious human rights violations, famine, environmental degradation, violent crime, economic collapse, food insecurity and natural disasters. The Southern African states and South Africa in particular, have gone through a peace and security provisional circle which was implicitly to ensure and preserve human security for all citizens (UN Commission on Human Security, 2003:2).

The Human Security theory is an emerging paradigm for understanding global and local vulnerabilities whose proponents challenge the traditional notion of national security by arguing that the proper referent for security should be the individual rather than the state. It is premised on that the idea of human security holds a people-centred view of security which is supposed to be or necessary for national, regional and global socio-political stability. The emergence of the human security discourse was the product of a convergence of factors observed at the end of the Cold War era. The factors that

challenged the dominance of the neorealist paradigm focus of states' 'mutually assured destruction' military security and briefly enabled a broader concept of security to emerge. The increasing rapid pace of globalisation and the failure of a liberal state building capacity, reduced threat of nuclear war between the superpowers. The exponential rise in the spread and consolidation of democratization offered a space in which economic development and the concept of security were reconsidered, while placing greater emphasis on the interdependency and transnationalisation of non-state actors.

The paradigm shift in international security responded to the evolution of geopolitical realities. The advent of human security in the 1990s can be seen as the triumph of the South in putting development concerns into the global security discussions. The human security concept has led to the recognition that people can be agents of change themselves. The 1994 United Nations Development Programme Human Development Report can be seen as a continuation of protests the inefficiency and amorality of the security arrangements that once responded to the East/West arms confrontation marginalizing the development concerns of the rest of the world. Although, the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report sought to reconcile post-Cold War belligerents, the Western countries and the Soviet block the later were adamant about being associated with political and civil rights while the other and postcolonial developing states emphasised on economic and development rights (Cilliers, 1996:45; Thompson, 2000:65).

The North-South Report of the Commission which was chaired by Willy Brandt in 1980 argued that the hunger and economic crisis had led to the breakdown of peace as such as military aggression. The 1982 Report of the Commission chaired by Olaf Palme called what was termed 'common security' that was defined as a blueprint for people's survival, and it further elaborated that hunger and poverty were

immediate challenges for survival more than wars and military aggression. Just like the 1994 UNDP Report, the 1992 Boutros-Boutros Ghali's Agenda for Peace, enunciated the explicit reference of human security as part of international responsibilities towards preventive diplomacy, peace-making, peacekeeping and post-conflict recovery. It was only at 1995 Copenhagen Summit that the concept of human security was met with scepticism from the developed countries for fear that it was going to lead to violations of state sovereignty (Rugumamu, 1993:45; Mathews, 1994:32; Tickner, 1995:173).

In the late 1990s, human security concept was adopted by then UN Secretary- General Kofi Annan, who postulated that sovereignty does not only protect a state from unwarranted outside interference but also obligated the state to respect the basic rights and interests of its members. Within the UN, the concept of human security stressed the indispensable role of the UN as one of the new requisites in peace and security provision. The adoption of a Human Security Agenda by the UN stemmed from the desire to involve the NGOs to complement more feasible development agenda. To maintain international peace and security, the UN set a broad framework for collective programmes to address new and exacerbated security threats, such as economic and social threats, poverty and deadly infectious disease, inter-state conflict and rivalry, internal violence and other non-traditional threats including genocide, xenophobia and transnational organised crimes. It is therefore, prudent to describe Human Security theory both as an ethical rapture with traditional security paradigms and a methodological one with the idea that by securing individuals first, the security of the state, the region and the international system can be at least guaranteed. The Traditional Security paradigm emphasises human security by making the security of people and community as the goal (Tadjbakhsh, 2005:3; Falk, 1995:147).

Human Security theory brings together the human elements of security, rights and development that display characteristics of inter-

disciplinary concepts such as people-centred, multi-sectoral, context-specific and prevention-oriented. As a people-centred concept, Human Security theory places the individual at the centre of analysis considering a broad range of conditions which threaten survival, livelihood and dignity. Human security theory is also based on a multi-sectoral understanding of insecurities. It entails a broadened understanding of threats which includes cause of insecurity relating to economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security.

Although, the various definitions of human security differ as to the relative value to be accorded each element and the strategy to be employed, the understanding of the serious and widespread threats facing human security can be deepened by placing them into seven different components. As Table 1.1 illustrates, the first component is the economic security. Economic threats can follow from a collapse of natural economy or getting into significant debt. The issue of unemployment and lack of economic opportunities such as problems related to administration and taxation when starting a business. It was threats related to food security arise from, for example famine and armed conflict which often resulted to the collapse of national food production system. Then the responsibility to distribute food and have food available rests with the international humanitarian and development agencies.

The third component consists of health-related threats such as epidemics, contaminated or polluted food or drinking water and mental traumas. Environmental security on the other hand, consists of problems linked with climate change, decline of biodiversity and illegal exploitation of natural resources among others. Environmental problems are closely connected to health and food security. Cluster bombs left in nature after a war can be seen as an environmental problem, but they also have a significant effect on health. They can also ruin the soil's cultivability decreasing food supply possibilities.

Direct or indirect, physical or mental violence caused by state, community or another person is a threat against personal security. Threats that are part of this component are for example armed conflict, genocide, state torture, human trafficking as well suicides. Personal security threats are very often similar to threats directed to community security. However, UNDP considered it to be important to separate these two components as entire communities can be targets of direct or structural violence. The last component of human security is political security of which human rights violations consist of a party. The greatest threat to political security is that the state does not implement international human rights treaties. Corruption in public administration and impunity of civil servants or politicians can have significant negative effects on political security (United Nations Development Programme: <http://www.undp.org/>; Alm & Juntunen, 2000:23-26).

Table 1.1: Possible types of Human Security Threats (*Adapted from text in UNDP Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security, pp. 25*)

Type of Security	Description
Economic Security	Economic Security means that people have the possibilities to work and earn their livelihood. People also must have the possibility to have the society's support if for some reason they are not able to earn their living.
Food Security	Food Security refers to people having both physical (food is nearby) and economic opportunity to have food versatile enough for good health.
Health Security	Health Security is having low exposure to different diseases and high access to health services if needed, e.g. Deadly infectious disease, unsafe food, lack of access to basic health care, malnutrition
Environmental security	Environmental Security builds on actions which reduce the impact of natural and

	manmade environmental problems on human life, such as land degradation, resource depletion, natural disaster, pollution
Personal Security	Personal Security means freedom from physical or mental violence exercised by state, community or another individual, for example, physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence, child labour.
Community Security	Community Security arrives from belonging to a small or large community whose identity and values a person can share. Community Security is strengthened if there is no inside or outside threat against it, such as inter-ethnic, religious and other identity based tensions.
Political Security	Political Security means respecting human rights, such as political repression and human rights abuses.

Human Security theory emphasises the interconnectedness of both threats and responses when addressing these individual insecurities. Threats to human security are mutually reinforcing and interconnected in two ways. Firstly, they are interlinked in domino effects in the sense that each threat feeds on the other. Secondly, violent conflicts usually lead to deprivation and poverty thereby leading to resource depletion, infectious diseases, education defects and food shortages. The other threats which can possibly erupt within a given country such as South Africa or Zambia can spread into a wider regional and international security conflict.

As a context-specific concept, Human Security theory acknowledges that insecurities vary considerably across different settings and as such advances contextualized solutions that are responsive to the particular situations they seek to address. It is therefore, in these contexts that in addressing risks and root causes of insecurities, Human Security theory is prevention-oriented and introduces a dual focus on protection and empowerment. When Human Security theory is operationalised in terms of protection and empowerment, capacities of

the governments or institutions of security require more assistance to identify impending threats. There is a need to enhance the capacities of the institutions or governance structures needed to protect the affected communities against the identified threats. It is also the empowerment strategies that build upon the capacities of the affected communities that should cope with the identified threats and on the same note to strengthen their resilience and choices to act on their own behalf and those of the others.

The thrust of protection and empowerment strategies in Southern Africa are inadequate, hence they cannot resist and respond to the identified threats and vulnerabilities. It demonstrates that since 1997, most of South African citizens have been toiling in poverty due to lack of human security. It posits that an adequate capitalization of human security for Southern African states would link human security with human development. It utilises Rugumamu (1993:15) contention that economic development must be at the top of the institutional agenda since development and security are 'two sides of the same coin'. Non-state actors do not have the capacity to bring about large-scale developments or to resolve the new security threats alone without any state assistance. It is critical to note that it is only academic to conceive of rudimentary security and development without strong and legitimate states (Tickner, 1995:210). Consequently, in the context of Africa's 'soft' states, strengthening the state was a necessary precondition for the institutionalization of peace and security. Southern African states, particularly South Africa, had to remain interventionist to build the institutional capacity to manage the non-traditional security threats that affect the people of the Southern African region. The threats of illegal movements across the borders pose serious threats to the host country which culminate in xenophobic attacks, drug and human trafficking among other illicit deals.

The Human Security theory approach to peace and security in Southern Africa and South Africa in particular, shows that the notion

of constitutional democracy assumed a form of governance where the power of the people is spelled out in a constitution. The conundrum in South Africa was a mismatch or disharmony between the theory and practice of constitutional enshrinement of governance by the South African people (Comfort, 1995:122). South Africa's democratization process had to grapple with the realization of people's expectations and accommodating their perspectives while supporting equally important socio-economic and political reforms. There had been a need for public programmes targeted at the citizens so that they understand that democracy and democratic governance means sovereignty, vested in the people and the need for them to seize the opportunities it presents (Comfort, 1995:156).

The Human Security approach to peace and security cannot be fully examined if the notion of civil society groups and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) is left out. Borrowing from the World Bank's *Operational Directive 14/70 of 1984*, NGOs are private organisations that are characterized primarily by humanitarian or co-operative, rather than commercial objectives. NGOs pursue activities that are meant to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect environment, provide basic social services or undertake community development. NGOs are one group of players who are active in the efforts of international development and increasing the welfare of poor people in both the third world countries and very poor countries. There are other NGOs such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) that see a gap in state capacity and move in to compliment the effort to improve human security. However, on the African continent, they sometimes emerge as proxy entities serving Western interests and therefore not necessarily complimenting state delivery. In South Africa, however, given the emergence of the COSATU and other democratic inclined bodies during the late 1980s, the NGO community has played a progressive role. There are differences that were noticed among the SANGOs and these were

naturally pacified after independence in 1994 and during the same period saw money and other resources flow in South Africa. This was because of SANGOs ability to levy subscriptions on a currency, the rand that had managed to maintain its strength, even as part in the emerging markets. Accordingly, the wealth management aspect which had allowed political characters such as Cyril Ramaphosa, Ibrahim and Viva Vavi, to remain relevant while enjoying some clear sense of independence in a political and economic environment that was polarised.

NGOs work both independently and alongside bilateral aid agencies from developed countries, private sector infrastructure operators, self-help associations and local governments. For a long time, NGOs have captivated the imagination of some policymakers, activists and analysts. Other observers claimed that NGOs are amid a quiet revolution. NGOs from this perspective are idealized as organisations committed to “doing good” while setting aside the profit or politics. Furthermore, optimists of NGOs’ activities ignore the fact that the grassroots connections cannot survive without strong community-based organisations that mobilise local voices and interests. In criticising the “gatekeeper” role of intermediary NGOs, their link with international peace and development have been characterized as the new competitors against government in policy formulation. Although NGOs are proclaimed as a “magic bullet” to target and fix the problems that befall the national developmental process of states, they interfere in governance system which at times render weak governments to lose legitimacy. They are equally seen as instrumental in changing citizens’ mind-sets and attitudes in addition to being more efficient providers of goods and services. The role of NGOs, however, may be more focused on extending and deepening individual peoples’ participation, particularly if they are able to place the participatory peace into the larger provision of peace and security puzzle (Fisher, 1997; Zivetz, 1991; Edwards & Hume, 1996; Keck & Kikkink, 1998).

While the NGOs are spreading democratic and liberal values, there are other fundamentally distinct institutions that go with the civil society entity in uplifting peace and security of the populace. Civil society refers to uncoerced associational life distinct from the family and institutions of the state (Post & Rosenblum, 2002:54). Contemporary interest in civil society focuses predominately on associational life rather than market economy or exchange relations. Due to the civil society's distinct relationship with the state, current trend rather, is the power and role of associational freedom vis-à-vis the state. The association of the NGOs and civil society groups is on one hand with the state and on the other reflects different understanding of the relations. This has been the case in most SADC member states where the regime seems to be on the receiving end of non-state actors on democratic governance. Various perspectives on civil society/state relations are not mutually exclusive nor do they necessarily compete. The civil society can work apart from or against, in support, in dialogue or in partnership with the state but at the end of it all, the interests of either the civil society or state usually would raise scepticism. South Africa is a good case study for this research because it was burdened with two inherited political distortions. These included the siege mentality of the apartheid state on one hand and the legacy of the anti-apartheid struggle for liberation that sometimes left little room for dissent. Sisulu (2005) argues that the way the human rights issues are dealt with by ANC government should not be the same way it was heavily and callously handled by the apartheid regime.

In this region there have been settler governments and liberation movements have taken on the mantle of government but have not changed the political construct. South Africa has gone a little further in changing that construct than other countries, but even in South Africa it is a contest.

Regrettably, the lack of public trust has been further accentuated by the gulf between a modern democratic state on the one hand, and an extremely inequitable division of wealth. This has been the case in a strong preference for socio-economic over political change.

The Human Security theory attempts to transform traditional notions of security that are framed in terms of national or regional settings, the stability of political and economic systems and to focus on human beings. Internationally, South Africa's orientation to its external national security has changed from explicitly offensive strategy as characterised by the South African apartheid's Total Strategy approach of the 1970s and 1980s to that of a defensive approach. The White Paper on national defence in 1996 emphasised the defence of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence of the South African state and the promotion of regional security in the SADC region (Hough & Du Plessis, 2000:65). In a document entitled 'Ready to govern: ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa', adopted at its national conference in 1992, the ANC identified lack of security in terms of underdevelopment, poverty, and an absence of democratic values as promoting conflict within and between states. The primary threats to human security to be dealt with were no longer the exclusive domain of the military forces. In some instances, focus is on the primary security threats where internal economic failure, violation of human rights and political discrimination are used as tools of human security provision. The most criticism of national security is no longer found in the military power but in the favourable social, political and economic conditions which promote human rights and protect individual peoples against human insecurity (Hough & Du Plessis, 2000:16-17; Tadjbakhsh, 2005:181).

Although, the definition of Human Security theory remains devoted to international relations and developmental issues, it has also been referred to in various terms as a new conceptual framework that

defines individuals' insecurity. There is consensus among scholars of international relations that the human security conceptual framework should advocate for a paradigm shift of attention from a state approach to a people-centred approach to security. These unintended outcomes should motivate the state to ensure that the national borders are secure against any threats of incursions and invasions so that peace and security are guaranteed (Gasper, 2004:132; Doyle & Nicholas, 2006:232). Although, there was an attempt to leave the state outside the realm of governance by sharing some of its autonomy with non- state actors, the state continues to be the main referent of human security. Apart from Human Security theory as a Peace and Security conceptual framework the "absence of insecurity and threats" is premised in that individual should be free from both fear and want (Buzan, 1992:108). The notion of being secure and safe in any society or community for the individuals should be free from physical and sexual violence, death and persecution threats which might be caused by the state's negation of issues that lead to insecurity. Matlosa (1999:98), in response to the notion of security elaborated that individuals can be free from the threat of want if they are physiologically secured. Human Security theory, therefore, is all about the will and the capacity of the state to identify threats, and where possible counter them from happening. This line of reasoning asserts that the continued entrenchment of apartheid's ideological systems will exacerbate widespread insecurity across ethnic and racial lines in South Africa.

Regrettably, the core elements of Human Security theory do not necessarily reveal that security is a single concept at the heart of every individual. In fact, Human Security theory generates a conceptual framework where security "means the absence of threats" (Booth, 2007:75). This again confirms three variables which categorically assume that there should be a referent object which is supposed to be under threat, the impending or actual danger threatening the referent and a desire to escape harmful possibilities of threats. The question

which arises is mainly to be able to distinguish which one is a referent object between the states or individuals. No matter what insecurity was experienced in South Africa in the 1990s, the blacks did not stop to fight for peace and security. According to Vale (2013), “lives of the whole society can be overturned by an assault on its security” the 9 September 2011 terror attack at the World Trade Centre in United State of America, produced exactly the opposite of what is expected to protect the security of citizens. The citadel of capitalism stir up patriotic reactions and produced absolute rule in the targeted state. The attack caused the new insecurity landscape in the international system.

The outbreak of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) conflict of 1998, also known as a “Third World War” caused the whole of SADC region and beyond to live in fear of refugee movements, food insecurity, political insecurity and ethnic killings (Mandaza, 2005:127). When a state or nation lives in a condition of war or is threatened by war, peoples’ survival are normally disregarded and priority consideration would be in all dimensions pointing at nation’s survival. In fact, political and social ideals which include public welfare and cultural pursuits are put on hold to give military threats a priority. Additionally, the opportunities of all Human Security theory aspects are usually ought to be forgone when survival at national level is threatened.

In Britain’s so called “finest hour” when it stood alone against Nazi Germany in 1940, the Prime Minister Winston Churchill was asked about the country’s human security policy. His answer to the British House of Commons was blunt and heroic when he said:

“It is to wage war by sea, land and air with all our mighty and with all the strength that God can give us; to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime. I can answer in one word: Victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory,

however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival" (Wohlforth, 2010:231).

Churchill's speech contained one serious misconception when he equated victory and national survival of the country. Survival is an existential condition which relates to the existence of the regime. Survival is not synonymous with living tolerably well and less still with having conditions to pursue cherished and social ambitions. For Churchill, security is required not just for survival but also to be free from life threatening threats and to have space to make choices. Critical security theory appeals to the authority of Thomas Hobbes' articles on "Morals" and "Political Philosophy". Hobbes (1894) declared that 'the safety of the people is the supreme law and opined that by safety, one should understand not merely survival in any condition but a happy life thereafter (Morgenthau, 1978:84). What is true of states and nations is also true of individuals and families. Just a condition of war in any circumstances determines the behaviour of states, so poverty determines the lives of individuals and family.

A major source of military conflict that provided focus for the Western World's perception of threat to human security was removed when the Cold War era came to an end in the late 1980s. The apartheid system's orientation of the then apartheid South Africa was the source of insecurity which was to be eradicated after its effects had compromised peace and security of Southern African states. This showed that the threat of insecurity does not come from military force only. According to Mathews (1994), as early as the 1970s, the United States of America had already expanded its definition of national security to include international economics, when it was clear that the USA economy was no longer the independent force it had once been, but it was affected by economic policies of other countries. There are two main contemporary theoretical frameworks behind the new human security, one approach is based on a neo-realist theoretical framework which maintains a continued emphasis on the primacy of

the state with a broadened conceptualization of Human Security theory (Thompson, 2000:134; Booth, 2007:41). A post-modernist or 'critical human security' approach that is rooted within that pluralist theory of international politics which represents the other end in this security discourse. There is an attempt by proponents of neo-liberalism to dislodge the state as the primary referent of security. The greater emphasis by the neo-realistic theoretical framework is on the interdependency and transnationalisation by the state on the non-state actors.

Davis (2003:65) avers that the Constitution of South Africa provided for the establishment of local government as an important sphere of government. Bound by legislation and policy frameworks to work with the people, local government was strategically positioned to furnish services and amenities to communities, deepen local democracy and uphold governance. In this case, the challenges for South Africa's municipalities were the racial and ethnic divisions created during the apartheid regime. Their task was to harmonize the competing interests and unite all constituencies. There was also a question of harmonizing traditional leadership with modern governance institutions. The scope and functions of traditional institutions versus the local government system remained blurred. The constitutional powers of traditional authorities in South Africa were circumscribed and their roles were reduced to advisory, ceremonial and extra constitutional. The creation of homelands during the apartheid era was the next step in controlling the location of the African population. The apartheid government delineated nine reserves, renamed them black homelands or Bantustans, and developed unilateral plans to populate them with Africans deemed to be unproductive. All unemployed and unemployable Africans were to be resettled in these homelands that according to Setai (1998), were 75 Bantustans in total, across the country. The government's main targets were women, children, the aged and the sick. As well, at the end of

their working life, all Africans in the urban areas were to be removed to the homelands (Setai, 1998:115; Ntsebeza, 2003:27; David, 2003:79; Comfort, 1995: 157).

The homelands, comprising 13.7% of the total land area of South Africa, consisted of about 276 areas spotted throughout the country. The Transkei's homeland was the only one that was almost homogenous. The rest were widely dispersed, pocket-sized reserves, enclosed in white territory. More than 200 unconsolidated reserves of this type were in Natal. To enhance the achievement of the resettlement policy, the government further divided the homelands into ethnic enclaves. This division reflected the poor understanding the apartheid government had of the extent of detribalisation. Through industrialisation the African cultures were converging and moving forward into a more modern world. For example, many Africans who had a Xhosa name might never have learned to speak the Xhosa language or have been exposed to the Xhosa culture. They might, however, be fluent in Sotho or Zulu, and well versed in the traditions and values of these cultures. The ethnic divisions served merely to create more strains for an already besieged people and to move a step backward by reversing cultural progress (Setai, 1998: 115-118). The history of South Africa's political and security strategies showed that the country had managed to maintain to a lesser extent, peace and security for the citizens, although relations with non-state actors remained fragile and continued to gradually deteriorate. However, Human Security theory needs to be situated in relation to state and national security. The motivation behind the Human Security theory strategies is to capture peace dividends so that individual citizens live in peace where they can access basic necessities of life. The nature of the relations between the South African government and non-governmental organisations seem to suggest that cooperation in the governance system is desirable, although there is the absence of commonality in human security approach to peace and security

aspects. This study, therefore, seeks to analyse the nature of non-state actors' operations since 1997, focusing on why peace and security is difficult to attain and how apartheid regime's legacy rendered it difficult for the South African government to ensure and guarantee human security for South Africa's individual citizens and that of Southern Africa at large (Ogata, 2002:35; Ntsebeza, 2005:142; McDonald, 2002:321; Matlosa, 1999: 47).

The human security architecture provides an understanding of Human Security theory or concept, as a starting point of analysis, a political agenda or as a political framework. In fact many studies have rigorously researched on the effectiveness of the Human Security theory on the improvement of peace and security for the community and individuals. The motive was to identify the best conditions under which Human Security theory can achieve the best results for the provision of peace and security of the state, community and individual. A majority of scholars have concluded that human security work in cases where the state is complimented its efforts in providing human security aspects. The inserts that appear throughout in this book, apply the analysis to SADC competence to analyse the effectiveness of the member state's capability to provide peace and security to the individuals and the community.

There is consensus among analysts that Human Security theory can inflict both negative and positive unintentional effects to the state, community and individuals. In the literature devoted to international relations, there should be a shift of attention from states security to security of the people who live within the states borders. Other generalisations of human security aspects include political and economic variables which need to be comprehensively attended to, for the country to enjoy peace and security. In some instances, focus is on the relationship between the state and citizens, that is how the former perceive the human security variables especially the political and

economic developments. However, other scholars question whether human security should be considered as a just means for peace and security provision for the society and individuals.

The most common criticism of human security is that it can be used as a tool in the active campaign of spread or rather imposes liberal democratic values and human rights on other countries. While this may be partly true, it is important to critically analyse in what aspects are human security aspects deemed deleterious to state's sovereignty. Consequently, and most significant to the motivations of some studies, it was identified and analysed that the negative unintentional effects of human insecurity to the society and individuals in South Africa was due to racial historical differences. The unintended outcomes include the amplification of subjective aspects and individual values while reinforcing the economic and political power of the developed countries. The debate around human security as a Western notion was therefore not a simple contestation of Asian or African values based on societal concerns over liberal individual-based values. It was entangled in grievances over conditionalities, and democracy imposition as indicated in the preceding sub-topics.

The discourse on democracy devotes considerable attention to the concept of civil society, but particularly its relationship to the state. Just as the neo-liberal variant of the concept of democracy stresses economic liberalisation as its condition and guarantee, the civil society organisation thrives better if separated from the state (Sachikonye, 1995:140). This perception highlights that the liberation of civil society from the clutches of the state is the major condition for democratisation. Keane (1992:13) posits that civil society can be conceived as an aggregate of institutions whose members are engaged primarily in a complex of non-state activities such as economic and cultural production, voluntary associations and household life. In this way, civil societies preserve and transform their identity by exerting all

sorts of pressures or controls upon state institutions. Civil society includes organisations such as professional associations, student bodies, independent communications media, trade unions, cooperatives and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The concept of civil society spans several centuries. It features significantly in the writings of Hegel, Marx, Max, Weber and Gramsci on the state. Although the concept of civil society was synonymous with the 'commonwealth' or political society in English political thought in the 16th and 17th centuries, it underwent some modification in Hegel's distinction between the state and civil society. Marx transformed Hegel's distinction between the state where it expressed the peculiarities of civil society and its class relations (Wood, 1990:61).

Gramsci appropriated the concept of civil society to define the terrain of a new kind of struggle which extend the contest against capitalism not only to its class economy conditions but to its cultural and ideological roots in everyday life. This speaks directly to South Africa's nature of and culture of NGOs that exhibit ethnic, racial and even sub-regional characteristics for example the teacher's union, the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) and the Eastern Cape history and even roots. In Southern Africa, civil society groups are viewed as playing a critical role against statist of various shades but primarily the statism associated with a prominent role of the state in economic and political activities. In Bangura's article, he posits that the concept of civil society has been utilised in Eastern Europe in the defence of political rights and the restoration of capitalism (Bangura, 1992:75). Although the separation of the state and civil society in the Western countries gave rise to new form of freedom and equality, it created new modes of domination and coercion. The civil society was reconstituted to become a new form of social power in which main coercive functions that once belonged to the state were relocated to it in the private sphere, class exploitation and market imperatives (Gibbon, 1992:76). Other theorists concur when they observe that a

civil society organisation has no natural innocence because repressive power relations also exist in its fold (Kean *et al.*, 1992:211).

It is argued that not all civil society institutions are democratic because they do not exist independently from the state. In fact, there is an inter-penetration and interlocked nexus between the state and civil society. Beckman cogently argues that:

“for the notion of civil society to make sense, it must involve some structuring of relations that distinguishes it from just being a society. It is the relationship to the state that is this structuring principle. Civil society is situated in rules and transactions which connect states and society” (Beckman, 1992:355).

In South Africa, the Chamber of Commerce organised and represented business interests in any public arena as defined primarily by relations to the state via legislation, tax and license provisions. This culminated in the construction of civil society being considered on rules that regulated relations between competing interests in societies. Thus, the South African government’s protection of human security aspects was sought in the pursuit of productive and reproductive life. This enforced separation between the South African government and civil society in the neo-liberal mould to be conceptually untenable.

The density and outlook of civil society institutions have a bearing on the democratisation process. Civil society and the state must become the condition of each other’s democratisation process. This can depend on the extent to which the totality of civil society and the state could become the condition of each other’s democratization (Keane, 1992:79). This process depends on the extent to which the civil society would temper with the political instinct of a dependent and compradorian post-colonial state. Furthermore, the civil society poses as an opposition when the state has become as weak as to self-propel itself towards the one-party state (Mandaza, 1991:39). Admittedly, the growth of the civil society has been uneven within and between

countries but associations representing workers, occupational groups, students and business interests, have lately become more active, robust and better organised in the pursuit of their interests (Beckman, 1992:65; Sachikonye, 1992:56). They have made it more difficult for states to engage in coercive authoritarianism with impunity and their resistance has been instrumental in broadening the domestic space. In the post-white settler era, civil society organisations which included the bourgeois in manufacturing, mining and agriculture have played a key role in limiting the states control over economic and social civil life.

Authoritarian regimes with a dense civil society tend to be more precarious than those with a 'thin' one (Gibbon, 1992: 166). However, where a dense civil society was composed largely of traditional or neo-traditional elites, these proved amenable to certain forms of state subordination. Although the elements of civil society have been central in the drive for the restoration and consolidation of multi-party politics and structures in such diverse countries such as Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi. The tendency by the student unions, labour, consumer associations and employers' associations to then represent the only centre of resistance and potential take-over of power of the former liberation state is something that continued to cause further insecurity to the citizens. The tension which was visible between the labour unions under COSATU and the ruling party ANC in South Africa caused blacks to be more vulnerable to the vagaries of economic inequalities. In Zambia where the late Fredrick Chiluba, backed by the labour movements, managed to remove President Kenneth Kaunda's UNIP political party from power using the peoples' power. The ZANU-PF and MDC political dynamics of the 2000 years created animosity among these competing institutions of power. While these forces represented sources of pressure for democratization, they also achieved their development through access to state patronage and resources or legal structures. The state/civil society relations bring

back the earlier argument that the compartmentalization of state from the civil society is more confusing than dealing with the challenges.

In Marx and Engels works, the concept of civil society hinges on the nature of bourgeois society and democracy. There are conceptual challenges presented by analysts who claim to be Marxists yet there is a lack of reflection on the theoretical status of the term in Marxism as a whole. The term is used as if it appeared only in the contemporary period with no root in Marx's works. Tracing the meaning of civil society in the Marxist classics provide the theoretical backdrop against which to assess both the theoretical and political validity of the usage of this concept in contemporary political and economic transitions in South Africa. In Hegel's (1896) article, on the other hand, he uses the term civil society to distinguish between what he called political society, whose consummation was the state and civil society, the sphere of private individuals pursuing their own interests. Hegel (1896) further argues that the state is the rule of reason in society and the incarnation of freedom of which by inclination it includes the rationalisation of the irrational and rabid civil society organisation that try to subvert the state's governance systems (Narsoo, 1991).

Marx postulates that the real threats of history are not the state but civil society itself. Through the political society from the civil society, Marxists argue that the latter was born out of bourgeois revolution as part of the freedom from the capitalist productive forces. In this regard, the perception is that the bourgeois revolution had smashed the feudal order, and it gave birth to civil liberties (Arthur, 1970:165). However, the birth of civil liberties does not constitute human emancipation and full freedom. This was a mechanism where the state is separated from the civil society so that civil society interest groups become autonomous to pursue their own interests without hindrance. The separation of the civil society and the state is an embodiment of human alienation and is reflective of sophisticated forms of

institutionalization of capitalist exploitation throughout the society. This separation serves to mask the true nature and basis of exploitation in modern bourgeois societies. What Marx is pointing at is that the freer bourgeois society seems to be, the more exploitative it becomes. In practice, NGOs do not generally perform well in the early stages of democratic consolidation. The reasons can be found in the dynamics of the democratization process, notably in the deflation of political energies that occur immediately after transition. The new regime may draw civic leaders into leadership positions in government or party institutions, thereby effectively co-opting and silencing them. Among citizens, the intense levels of political engagement that were whipped up during the election campaign cannot be sustained under normal political conditions. Indeed, political elites deliberately seek to defuse and contain the ebullience and unrealistic expectations of citizens. In addition, political factions which united around the common goal of ousting an authoritarian leader rediscover differences of interest that can divide, incapacitate and even destroy NGOs. In addition, in poor countries many of the people who became politically active during the transition choose to withdraw again into the household realm to address pressing and neglected needs of economic survival (IDR Reports, 1994).

The non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are a heterogeneous group. There are many alternative or overlapping terms in use and some of the NGOs include the third sector organisations, non-profit organisations, voluntary organisations, civil society organisation and social movement organisations. An NGO is a legally constituted organisation created by natural or legal people that operate independently from certain forms of governmental control. The term originated from the United Nations (UN) and normally refers to organisations that are not part of a government and are not conventional for-profit businesses. In cases in which NGOs are funded totally or partially by government, they maintain their non-

governmental status by excluding government representatives from its membership in the organisations. The term is usually applied only to organisations that pursue wider social aims that have political aspects but are not political parties. Shivji (2007) posits that NGOs are constituted of an independent voluntary association of people acting together on a continuous basis for some common purpose other than achieving government office, making money or illegal activities.

NGOs play an important role in any country in the world as they provide an umbrella of services including promotion of equality and human rights, education, economic and political empowerment. Maunden (1998) highlights and brings to the fore the fact that NGOs help citizens to participate and influence on the decision-making process and management of public affairs. Citizens can through civil society organisations make an impact on the decision-making process at both central and local government level. An inordinate amount of attention has been focused on the civil society as the realm of organised social life that is voluntary, self-generating, self-supporting and bound by legal order (Lekorwe, 1999). Maunden (2004) argues that the civil society in Botswana is very weak and usually lobbies bureaucrats rather than politicians. Maunden (2004) further asserts that the civil society is characterized by complex ways of organising. As Lekorwe (1999) argues despite Botswana having built a successful democracy, the civil society structures remain weak and inactive to fulfil their watchdog role on government's governance systems. These assertions also confirm that the civil society organisations are organisations which are temporary in nature as they address particular issues in the society and then go into decline (Lekorwe, 1999 Maunden, 1998).

Molomo (1996) argues that some of the factors which are contributing to the weaknesses of civil society organisations, are that they are conceptually imported from outside by donor agencies in response to

the African states' donor dependency syndrome. The structure of civil society is an inward looking and less engaging when it comes to policy issues. In most cases, governments in SADC countries such as Zambia and Mozambique receive sympathetic attention from international originations and donor agencies because NGOs' pleas for humanitarian assistance (Molomo, 1996). On the same, Lekorwe (1999) argues that some civil society organisations and interest groups in Botswana continue to be manipulated by the government through state funding which is extended to them for the humanitarian purposes (Molomo, 1996; Lekorwe, 1999).

The major cultural challenge for the new democratic South Africa was to change the public perception of racial discrimination and democracy. The perception of the ethnic heterogeneity which was entrenched over a long period of apartheid system became hard to replace with the perception of multicultural supra-state. This was a by-product of the late 1990s' Immigration and Utilisation Act which targeted guest workers, refugees, economic migrants and human trafficking victims. Many people from all over Africa and beyond trekked to the post-apartheid country to seek human security in its entirety. This movement of people, especially from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia and Somalia) created a multiculturalism that is qualitatively different from the diversity of lifestyles or cultural differences of historic, territorially based minorities that already characterize the independent post-apartheid state. It is the fears, challenges, dialogues and exclusions that this new multiculturalism has given rise to, and the developments that it intimates for the future (Tariq & Momood, 1997). The collapse of the apartheid regime meant, among other things, the shifting of racial ethnic boundaries as new politics had been ushered and new social centres were created. Blacks that had previously been on the economic periphery began to reconstruct and reconceptualise with those white dominated economic epicentres. For centuries, South

Africa was a battle ground and frontier between Christians, Muslims, German nationals, English nationals, black Africans, Arabs, Israelites, coloureds and many other natives of different states (Hall, 1992:253).

Storey (1997) posits that culturalism was born out of a critical dialogue with both Leavisism, mechanistic and economist versions of Marxism. The educational space opened up by the Leavisites was occupied by culturalists in many ways that eventually challenged many of the basic assumptions of Leavisism. Culturalism is an approach that insists that, by analysing the culture of a society, the textual forms and documented practices of a culture, it is possible to reconstitute the patterned behaviour and variety of ideas shared by the men and women who produce and consume the texts and practices of that society (Storey, 1997; 24). It is an approach that stresses human agency, the active production of culture, rather than its passive consumption.

The classical political theory is accorded a very challenging representation to the citizens through the state to also promote human security needs. The modern economic addendum is more to the fact that the state is found in the web of promising a minimal standard of living to the workers. The post-modern cultural guarantee is the access to the technologies of communication. The latter promise derives its force from a sense that political institutions need to relearn what sovereignty is all about in polymorphous sovereign states that are diminishingly homogeneous in demographic terms. Heteroglossic populations complicate the executive government's expectation that its people will be faithful to the state, while claiming their support as the grounds for its grounded governance system (Miller, 2001:189).

There are three zones of citizenship, with partially overlapping but distinct histories. Firstly, there is the political zone with the right to reside and vote. In the South African context, this zone stresses that all races and ethnic groups are equal and must have a political

orientation. Secondly, the economic zone in South Africa stipulates that there are citizens who have the right to work and prosper than the others. Those who do not have the right to participate in the economic zone are being governed by other attributes which include education, racial background and professionalism, among others. Lastly, the cultural zone gives every citizen the right to know and speak. While both conservative critics and culturalist perspective explain cultural citizenship as the one of social movements, it must also be understood on an adjustment to economic transformation. It is in this premise that the right wing's project of deregulation has played a role in creating and sustaining cultural citizenship (Downey & Murdock, 2003:84).

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the 'post- apartheid economy' has been one of the hottest discussion topics in South Africa. South Africans, albeit for varying reasons, were concerned with the issues of economic growth and redistribution. When the apartheid system was dismantled through an election in 1994, the country found itself in a period of transition. The apartheid system had been increasing the degree of distortion in the labour market. Wage rates continued to differ between racial groups performing the same tasks. On another note, non-whites were crowded out of skilled and semi-skilled occupation and the homelands system made it impossible for the unskilled labour market to clear (Porter, 1978:65; Lundahl, 1982:116). Finally, the very creation of the apartheid bureaucracy imposed new costs on the economy, both directly and in the form of rent-seeking by the bureaucrats. The labour issue in South Africa during the first decade of independence witnessed a competitive era where blacks started to compete for political and economic hegemony in the new independent country.

The construction of a mythological discourse of the so called political 'correctness' has been used by the anti-racist forces of both the right and the liberal centre to undermine the validity of positive action

which exuded necessary ingredients of the race relations policy agenda (Dunant, 1994:90; Gordon, 1990:57). This political correctness discourse operated by exaggerating and ridiculing all anti-racist initiatives as authoritarian, illiberal, dogmatic or absurd. Further, it has been used in a broader context to undermine other egalitarian progressive movements, particularly feminism. In the light of apparently intractable problems of minority group exclusion, marginalization and impoverishment, some of those who were opposing abandoned the nationalistic approach for a restatement of the primacy of class interest and the state of the economy.

The end, of the apartheid system in South Africa in 1994, ushered in the new democratic dispensation that required the intelligence service organisation to safeguard the national security. The post- apartheid governance of South Africa was able to wade off and survive the national and international onslaught on its political, economic and social architectures due to the sophisticated intelligence service apparatus. The intelligence service organisations across the world have the duty to boost the capacity of the states to enhance the delivery of core state functions and responding to public expectations. The states' resilience is ensured through the intelligence service organisations' territorial embeddedness of state administration and institutional hegemony.

The intelligence services are shielded by legislation, norms and values which promote secrecy, hence the scrutinisation of their governance arrangements is very difficult if not possible at all. It is therefore, difficult to measure the performance and value addition of intelligence services due to the secrecy that surrounds their operations. Nonetheless, the provision of human security remains their core business as they are mandated to predict likely insecurity threats and other trends in the security landscape. The principle of intelligence gathering is shrouded in secrecy and information

compartmentalisation is the order of the day. Lathrop (2004) postulates that the 'need to know principle' is the guiding rule to be able to live up to states' security defence mechanisms, hence the need for intelligence compartmentalisation. The public cannot readily review the intelligence organisations' outputs, because the dissemination of the intelligence reports and information is strictly circumscribed, and everything is premised based on the "need to know principle." The notion of the "need to know" means that intelligence information should be confined or disseminated to those who by a policy framework should know. Anyone who has no direct access to the intelligence service organisation is expected to trust intelligence judgment. However, this tends to unravel uneasiness when crises arise and intelligence failures come to the fore (Lustgarten & Leigh, 1994:200; Todd & Block, 2003:187; Lathrop, 2004:45).

The transformation of the South African security and intelligence service was one of many consequences of the political transition from white minority rule to a democratic government. The intelligence transformation was a complex and difficult process, integrally linked to the broader political transition which simultaneously impacted upon it. A web of objective and subjective conditions shaped its path and its outcome and only a few of these must be highlighted to ascertain the validity of security information to national security. The South African intelligence organisation, the National Intelligence Services (NIS) remained a key factor in the country's policy formulations. It remained an influential organ of the security sector which provided critical intelligence to the state and guided political decision-making on a tactical and strategic level. This was in line with given volatility of political and security conditions during the transition from the apartheid era.

Although, the South Africa intelligence organisation went through a transitional period when "The White Paper" document was

formulated to direct operational mode of the service, it remained entrenched into the imperatives that governed apartheid intelligence domain, that is, secrecy and manipulation of governance systems for national expedience. The White Paper was a product of the legislative process which recognized that the South African intelligence services should adhere to democratic principle of governance. Secrecy was entrenched in law, when it was considered very necessary to protect the identities of members of the services, the sources of intelligence and the methods of work of the intelligence services (Currie & Klaaren, 2002:119). Although the Bill of Rights guaranteed the people the right of access to all information held by the state institutions, it remains unclear to the public what information it might request from the intelligence services.

In most cases, the public does not know what intelligence information is at hand, hence in most cases the declared information is of no consequence to the inner core of national secret security domain. It is, therefore, upon the intelligence service to release the information to the public which does not strangle the ethos of state security. The fact that many if not all, senior appointments in the NIS were of ANC aligned members, meant that what was transpiring in the intelligence service take advantage of the ANC as a ruling political party. It meant that the intelligence service was going to work for the consolidation of the ruling ANC elite to remain in power.

Realists argue that due to the anarchic nature of the international system, states are generally supposed to be sceptical of possibilities of permanent peace, ideas of the world government, disarmaments and concepts such as collective or co-operative security (Garnett, 1987:9). Security was broadly defined to include military threats, not only against states but also the non-states actors, sub-state groups and individuals. Although, Morgenthau (1978) views the international system as anarchic, the critical theorists such as Garnet (1987) view the

international anarchy as a socially constructed structure. Critical security focuses on changing the way people think about security, the role and the very makeup of actors in the international system.

Quincy (1998) assumes that security is always not the primary concern of all states but merely one concern that varied in importance from one historical context to the next. For instance, both military and non-military tools of state craft would be important to national security. The recognition of the security dilemma led to cautious use of military power. There were linkages made between national security and domestic affairs such as the economy, civil liberties and democratic processes (Baldwin, 1995; 22). For example, the United States of America and the Soviet Union were divided after the Second World War, over ideologies in democracy and the so called international best practice. The realistic explanation to the analogue of international best practice became the clash of capitalism and communism, especially during the Cold War period. The USA wanted to establish an international political and economic structure that favoured capitalism, while on the other hand the Soviets were concerned with exporting the workers' revolution and overthrowing capitalism at a global level, thereby exercising unrefuted control over Central and Eastern Europe. The sour and bitter relations led to the political and security antagonism for the world. The political transition in independent South Africa caused similar challenges as clashed with the entrenched apartheid systems that had been defeated. The remnants of the apartheid regime continued to the perpetuation of colonial and apartheid systems by the new government (Kaul, 1995: 87).

At present, the security aspects have shifted away from the state to the individual and non-state actors. This focuses on how individuals can be a threat to the state or the ruling regime or how the state can be a threat to the security of individuals or non-state actors in the name of regime preservation or national security. States are the most important

actors in international politics. Realists like Thucydides (431-404B.C, Machiavelli (1500BC), Morgenthau (1985) and Waltz (1979) focus more on the states and pay less attention to individuals and transnational actors like the corporations and multinational organisations (Mastanduno, 1985:187; Migdal, 1988:90).

It has become commonplace to talk about the all-encompassing role of security, after the most spectacular bombing incident which witnessed the crumbling of the World Trade Centre in New York in the year 2011. The incident brought new security concerns and measures which affected all regions of the world (Lars, 2007:35). The state regulates the security sectors, both private and public security sectors, in terms of budgets, media coverage, powers and influence over all domains of governance, including the management of welfare systems, refugees, migration, money transfers, internet use and many others. The concept of security has undergone changes resulting in the broadening of the concept to include many referents which are not necessarily the states. Unlike the traditional concept of national security, the Human Security Agenda focuses on the safety of people rather than states, and the concept of sovereignty that is conditioned by the state's respect for the rights of its citizens. Duffield (2004) posits that the aspect of sovereignty represented the absolute and unfettered power of the state over its citizens. The state could use unlimited powers against the citizens in the name of preserving and protecting sovereignty of the country thereby violating the rights of the citizens.

Security is the term used in many ways and contexts, but generally it is associated with the perceived threat to the survival of the individuals and the state and with the use of exceptional means of countering these threats. Security is about real questions of safety and violence but it is also a way of representing particular problems in a manner that makes them exceptional and a question of survival. Security is not a pre-given or unproblematic unit of analysis. Waever (1997) postulates

that security is the move that takes political issues beyond the established democratic rules of the game and frame them within a special kind of political framework. Furthermore, the issue security as a concept needs further interrogation so that perceived threats against the state can be tackled in a manner that strengthened democracy (Waever, 1997:20). At independence most African states were faced with the rubric task of designing and implementation of plans, structures and processes that would build a unified nation by addressing the injustices and imbalances that had been brought about over centuries of colonialism.

In the field of international relations, realism has long been a dominant theory and captured in ancient military theories and writings of great thinkers, such as Sun Tzu, Thucydides, Hobbes, Machiavelli and Rousseau. The realist views anarchy and the absence of a power to regulate the interactions between states as the distinctive characteristic of international politics. Because of anarchy or a constant state of antagonism, the international system differs from the domestic system (Waltz, 1979:241). The concept of security fits well in the realism theory that has a variety of sub-schools of thought based on three core assumptions which fit very well in the Southern African states' peace and security environment. The first assumption is groupism which is very fundamental to the ideals of SADC members which come together to solve security threats through an alliance under the banner of the SADC's Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation (OPDSC). Secondly, egoistic factors arise on the premise that some SADC member states want to put national interest as a priority to any other regional challenge. Thirdly, power-centrism comes into being due to states which want to take the big brother's position in economic, security and political development especially those which use their economic prowess to dominate others (Wohlforth, 2010:193).

The propagation of peace and security in different ways insinuates that peace is not just to go for war or not engage in conflict. There are other

variables of human security which make peace and security in the Southern African states unattainable. Due to failure to come up with commonly used concept of peace, the contemporary world has witnessed increased armed conflicts than ever. Peace definitions or concepts are the basis on which the regional groupings such as SADC decide on how to make peace. The greater the level of peace and security enjoyed, the more individuals and groups can have an existence beyond instinctual struggle merely to survive. The idea of world peace is synonymous with the freedom of individuals and groups' compatible with the reasonable freedom of others and universal moral equality compatible with fusible pragmatic inequalities (Booth, 2007:361).

The notion of peace contains the element of the world order as echoed by peace and security theorists like Hedley Bulls and Hans Morgenthau. Order among mankind as a whole is something wider than order among states, something more fundamental and primordial than it. The rich world lives in collective denial, believing itself to be too sensible, too rich, too intelligent and too privileged for life not to go on as hoped (Booth, 2007:67). In the 1980s nuclear disarmers used a joke unmasking the illogic of the pro-deterrence argument that because there had been no nuclear war for the previous forty years, the "so far so good" notion in this age of terror does not pay or is not a recipe for world security. The bombing of the World Trade Centre in 2011 in USA showed that no human species is safe from terror. Curiously, Nelson Mandela was denied to "have" control of the 6 Gun Type Nuclear weapons that had been developed under the Total Strategy of apartheid. The USA and allies negatively perceived the relations that Mandela had with the Gadhafi of Libya who was by then actively seeking to acquire nuclear weapons. Hence, the Pelindaba Treaty dismantling and seeking on nuclear weapons on the African continent adopted by the AU is something that has tended to downplay the realpolitik that was being played out in Pretoria. Vale (2000) posits that

the rationale of “destroying” weapons developed during the apartheid era with the assistance of Israel, the West and other countries was to deny Mandela power to be a focal point at international level. The mechanics of dismantling the weapons infrastructure prior to 1994, had significantly affected nearly hundred thousand workers and businesses that had mushroomed in and around Pretoria under this project (Booth, 2007:86).

The state is a contested concept. Marxist scholars consider it as an institution that stands for the interest of the dominant class (Pierson, 1996:78). Others view the state as the political society constructed through an implicit social contract to provide certain basic functions to its members. The Weberian view portrays the state as an array of administrative, legal, bureaucratic and coercive institutions that monopolise the legitimate means of violence. Another commonly used definition views the state as an embodiment of people, territory, government and sovereignty. The term ‘state’ is understood as a territorially embedded set of institutions that perform certain basic functions essential for the existence of a properly functioning political community. The low level of institutionalization in many African states has meant that privately motivated actions could be expressed in its name. The definition of a state employed thereafter, does not exclude the personnel working in the institutions of the state (Pierson, 1996:78-91; Einsiedel, 2005:205-215).

Although, conflict resolution, Peace and Security concept are antonyms and conceptually and analytically distinct, in this thesis the peace and conflict concepts both defined and viewed against the backdrop of security and stability in the SADC region. It is almost impossible to define conflict and peace in isolation of security and stability since both are critical variables in the analyses. For example, security is the term which denotes the absence of conflict, hence the presence of peace. However the usage of these concepts has tended to

be biased towards explaining the political predicaments of states often wrapped up in elegant terms such as “nations”.

Lippmann’s (2005) conception of security is instructive. For him “a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes” to avoid conflict or war with the adversary (Lippmann, 1999:195). Wolfers (1999:97) perceives security as “the absence of threats to acquired values and the absence of fear that such values will be attacked.” Bellany (2002: 58) says, “security itself is a relative freedom from war, coupled with a relatively high expectation that defeat will be a consequence of any war that should occur.” Presenting people as primary referent as opposed to the state, Buzan (1999) provides a more expansive explanation that encapsulates material things that are basic to human survival but does not fully delink security and therefore peace from “freedom from threats”. However, Vale (2007), Riddell (2007) and Motumi (2003) argue that security is central to individual’s freedom. Hence, it requires that “more attention should be given to societal security” because processes regionalisation and state sovereignty preservation are undermining the classical order based on nation states while simultaneously leading to fragmentation and national instability.

For Khadiagala (1997:53), security is ultimately the reduction of vulnerability impinging on states. Conceptually, conflict presents even a more serious problem, particularly with the increasingly expressed scepticism about the often-invoked realist definition used to describe it. Some analysts show that conflict often expresses itself in the form of violence, noting that once it assumes this character, “it becomes both undesirable and counter-productive” (Matlosa 1999:166). However, the concept carries no threatening connotations. For instance, Rubin *et al.* (1994:5) explain it as “perceived divergence of interests, or belief that the parties’ current aspirations cannot be achieved simultaneously.” For them conflict is not inherently violent, dangerous or inimical to

peace and security, even though they concede that it is “capable of wreaking havoc on society”, that is if poorly managed. Thus, two types of conflict are discernible from this definition namely harmful and harmless. The former has dogged SADC member states and South Africa in particular, for a long period of time and has prompted the formulation of political and economic policies that address peace and security of individual citizens.

Rubin *et al.* (1994:6) note that people always respond to and attempt to solve conflicts using various strategies. These include imposing their preferred solution on the other party, making concessions, climbing down from earlier positions or negotiating a mutually acceptable deal. Missing in these writings is the possibility of this problem occurring, warning of the danger of conflating the concepts of nation and state and subsuming the interests of the people under those of the state. To resolve this riddle, Locke & Mill (2007) stressed civil control of state institutions (Makoa, 1999:114). In fact, where competition for state power is central to conflict, it is difficult for a complainant to accept government and government-related institutions as arbitrators or mediators. When South Africa attained independence in 1994, the government of African National Congress (ANC) did not provide a tidy and coherent definition of conflict, peace and security.