

Chapter 4: Civil Society and the Changing Political Landscape of South Africa

When exploring theoretical paradigms and their relevance in understanding non-governmental organisations and civil society organisations' critical roles in consolidating democracy in state policymaking framework, appreciation of the human security dynamics is paramount in the new approach to Peace and Security concept. After a brief discussion of human security, multi-sectorality and externalities framework which was a necessary tool for developing a platform to human security idealism. South African non-state actors grew out of the anti-apartheid movement and were autonomous and influential with strong ties with the community-based organisations (CBO). Ironically, within the African National Congress (ANC) coalition, Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) sometimes acted like an opposition political party. Non-state actors played a critical role in consolidating democracy and state policymaking framework in the new approach to peace and security paradigm in South Africa. The political space accorded the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations (CSOs) by the SADC member states was directed to develop a platform to work towards human security multi-sectorality and externalities framework. The good working relationship between the state and NGO/CSO provided the necessary tool for developing policy and programme coherence among the state's relevant sectors which were involved in programmes critical to human security idealism. The SADC's integration thrust was also persuaded by the critical activities carried out by the non-state actors to improve citizens' lives threatened by the vagaries of political and economic developments.

The human security components such as economic security, food security, healthy security, political security and personal security

remained the cornerstone of every non-governmental organisation and civil society organisation that desired to register and penetrate the sacrosanct areas of statehood domination. The non-state actors come into the states' domain of power through complimentary roles of providing humanitarian needs to the less privileged people, who needed mostly peace and security in their environments. This chapter approaches the human security efficacies through assessment of vulnerabilities and capacities of the affected communities and nationalities to help prevent and mitigate the recurrence of insecurities. On the other hand, because poverty and inequality were front and centre in the South African public debate and discussions about the democratic processes. Whites in South Africa by 1994 exhibited lukewarm support for the democratic processes due to their scepticism towards the new democratic regime (Mansfield & Snyder, 1995:45).

The Human Security conceptual framework examines the exigencies of peace and security of both the community and the individual person. In the late 1990s, the South African government was blamed for failing to provide security to both foreigners and citizens after an episode of xenophobic attacks in the country. South Africans were craving for the desire to participate in policymaking framework that was suspected to catapult them into positions to be able to secure jobs, food and health facilities. Issues of human security have attracted modest attraction both by the leading state and regional structures especially with experts of international relations. Although, there were difficulties in researching sensitive issues like food security and personal security in their complex forms and the institutional set ups, there was a lot the political leadership of South Africa was expected to uphold to improve the lives of the citizens. This was partly a heritage which derived from the former apartheid South African government and had entrenched in the African National Congress regime which had also a lot to protect against the Non-Governmental Organisations and the Civil Society Organisations (Sparks, 2003:104; Ballard *et al.*, 2005:153).

South Africa was generally widely known for its history of a popular struggle against apartheid system that spanned decades of restive struggles against inequality treatment of the blacks. The ill-treatment of blacks by the apartheid regime captured world attention. With some of the media focus on Mandela who was incarcerated for 27 years, this became the rallying point for the international focus. The popular struggles against post-apartheid systems in public institutions were understood as part of a broad but singular struggle led by the ANC (Baines, 2007; 284). Among the many organisations that developed anti-apartheid options against the apartheid system in South Africa, the civic groups stood out to challenge the local government structures. Rather than defining themselves as representatives of a particular segment of the population such as workers, women, youths, civic groups claimed to represent all people living in a particular geographical area but marginalised by the state in terms of race, class and ethnicity. By presenting themselves as the “true” representatives of a township or set of townships, they directly challenged the legitimacy of local governments which were non-racial but divisive authorities. In some parts of South Africa such as Soweto, the civil society organisations offered a unique view into the processes by which ordinary people worked to challenge structures of power. The civil society organisations’ experiences also provided key insights into the interactions between various local government authorities and national opposition movements, mainly the ANC.

The early civil society organisations in South Africa included, in their ranks, political activists and by the late 1990s the majority endorsed a non-racial approach. Many civil society organisations folded after the ANC was unbanned in 1990 as part of CODESA negotiations and normalisation by the apartheid regime. They emerged into a larger organisation allied to the reinvigorated ANC in 1995 (Zuern, 2011:22). The ANC sought to appropriate the history of the civil society organisations though suggesting that they be under its direction and

guidance. Indeed, many civil society organisations which were formed prior to 1995 and beyond included ANC members and supporters in their ranks. The formation of civil society organisations in the new democratic South Africa such as the Diepkloof Civil Association, the Soweto Civil Association (SCA) and the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO) were noteworthy for their determined resolve to fight for greater rights for the communities. The fundamental reason which bound the non-state actors was the call for political and personal security for all the people. The apartheid regime was determined to make sure that the apartheid legacy was maintained through suppressing the black individuals' voices in matters of governance. The historical fact of the struggle for independence in South Africa was premised on a range of civil society organisations' strategies to rope into political enlightenment to effectively attract workers and students (Thompson, 2000: 225). There were civil society organisations which made different choices regarding mobilisation to advocate for residents' welfare (Collinge, 1986:253). The political and personal security remained a thorny issue in the South African political development because prior and after 1995 general elections in that country, civil society groups continued to support the ANC political party.

Since the late 1990s, South Africa had seen political mobilisation in many poor communities as new organisations grew out of past experiences of civic society organisations' efforts of complimenting government's activities. The following names of several of the movements underlined their focus included the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee (SECC), the Landless People's Movement (LPM), the Anti-Eviction Campaign (AEC) and the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF). Zuern (2011) argues that participants in these civil society organisations in South Africa repeatedly defined themselves as both poor and in need of a greater say in the public sphere. It was in this way that they worked to connect their material struggles to demand

for more political and security space in democratic governance. The demands by the civil society organisations in the quest for human security in South Africa had made the root cause of power struggle. In this case, threats to peace and security are rampant because the once racially degraded blacks have not yet economically and politically been empowered. The citizens in South Africa allege that the fight against apartheid was to destroy the injustices so that everyone could have access to basic needs such as food, healthy, peace and freedom of movement among other necessities that needed important attention (Ake, 1996:161).

After the 1994 South African democratic elections conflict emanated from a process of empowerment. By challenging existing understandings and widely accepted forms of discrimination, civil society movements worked to expand debates which involved the applications of basic rights that provided the “alternative blueprints for democracy” (Alvarez & Escoba 1998:136). The civil society organisations and non-governmental organisations of South Africa in their deep-rooted desire to participatory democratic experiences of ordinary people encouraged demands for the ANC government to incorporate some of the more successful democratic practices of local organisations (Mamdani, 1996:350). Although these processes were by no means immediate or necessary, they produced long-term institutional effects by providing a basis for the construction of democratic processes which provided the basics of human security which included political security, food security and social participation in all areas of governance. Through their efforts to counteract threats to peace and security of the individual citizens of South Africa, civil society groups helped to bring about regime transformation and encouraged the continued development of a democratic ANC government.

The year 1994 remains a historic one where a new political dispensation in South Africa ushered an end to over decades of

apartheid rule and violent conflicts. However, as efforts to consolidate the hard-won democracy, stability and democratic governance continued to be undermined by the forces of the apartheid legacy which remained vividly visible during the period 1997 to 2007. In the early 2000, areas such as Soweto, Diepkloof and Johannesburg continued to witness persistent violent crimes, high homicide rates, xenophobic attacks and a ready supply of firearms which sustained a culture of fear and intimidation (Atkinson, 2000:97). Lessons learnt from these manifested experiences of political and personal insecurity suggested that an integrated approach which included multiple sectors, various government agencies and the civil society participation were imperative to effectively improve the human security of the country. Meanwhile, given the seriousness of political and personal insecurity, gender inequality and human rights abuses also required special considerations as human security was going to be unachievable without the active participation of women among other stakeholders (Ogata, 2002:6).

With emphasis given to special needs of vulnerable groups, communities and attention to advancing inter-governmental partnerships, the human security approach was viewed as the most suitable mechanism for fostering co-existence and civic security in urban and rural areas of South Africa. The peaceful coexistence and improved citizen security was only achievable after the government of ANC comprehensively developed strong public institutions and civil society engagements to augment human security. This was meant to provide the foundation for achieving sustainable development where threats of political violence and personal insecurity were to be eliminated. Peace and security in South Africa and the SADC region needed to benefit from the peace processes created through advancing the protection of workers from labour malpractices and the prevention of armed violence among other ills which plagued South Africa.

According to Seekings (2000:162) the dual goals of South African liberation and democracy were matched by two complementary projects meant to strengthen peace and security of the citizens. Firstly,

it was tearing down of the old structures and secondly, the construction of democratic structures. In the period 1997 to 2007, non-governmental organisations and the South African government laid the groundwork for new democratic institutions that promoted political, economic, social and personal security to all the citizens. It was the tearing down of the old institutional structures which was white dominates. It was the same whites, who participated largely on spontaneous acts of uprising, violence and the destruction of human security artifacts while on the other hand, building up viable mass-participatory institutions that strengthened human security aspects.

Leaders at various levels in South Africa and even among the civic structures had argued that grassroots civic groups were the key to both the development of democracy and the revolutionary liberation process. While recognising the importance of the civil society organisations as a link between national level organisations and grassroots participants, the ANC government tended to emphasise the importance of sovereignty over democratic practices (Cherry 2000:89; UDF 1998). Cherry (2000) argues that surveys in township residents in the Eastern Cape of South Africa demonstrated that the level of coercion to support civil society organisations' activities was generally low and certainly much lower than state actors. When violence and other human rights abuses against the individual citizens broke, state actors were complicit. The areas of intervention in the promotion of human security included consolidation of harmony between the state and non-state actors and promoting public awareness on civic culture coexistence norms.

In orthodox international relations, it is often suggested that small states must learn to live within their international environments (Pettersson, 1996:145). In contrast, more powerful nations can shape external settings more directly to their liking. Thus, Thucydides, in his famous work titled "The Peloponnesian War", has argued that international relations, is but the aggressive pursuit of national interests by all means possible and those that are unable to wield similar capacity become victims. The efforts of the external environment for the safety of the people especially food and personal security, remained at the epicentre of the citizens' rights to human

security. From the traditional realist perspective of human security, the focus was on military aspects of nation-states goals (Block & Berkowits, 1990:122-134).

However, little in the realist perspective on human security remained focused on the important developmental processes within Southern African States. The strategic conception of security policy was concerned with the preservation of the independence and sovereignty of nation states thereby leaving human security aspects which civil society organisations and non-governmental organisation found more accommodative to challenge the role of the stated (Krause & Nye, 1997:135). The strategic conception of security policy conceived human security in terms of abstract values and the preservation of the independence and the creation of proper conditions, favourable to the protection of values that provide peace and security to the citizens of the SADC region.

Transformation was essentially a political function driven by political pressures and agendas in South Africa and SADC region with a trajectory strongly influenced by human rights based civil society groups. It was seen in some respects as a means whereby the "levels of power" which were to a great extent represented by the public service were able to be controlled. Control over the South African public service, especially during the late 1990s, was often mooted by the government as being essential to address economic imbalances and social injustices that was entrenched in every sector of the country. Central to the vision of transformation was affirmative action whose mission was "facilitating the transformation and reform of the public service into a high performance, democratic, accountable, effective and professional organisation that was representative and affirming of the disadvantaged in culture (SAIIA, 1997:75). In line with the pro-poor policy reforms enunciated by the ANC government in 1998, an increase in spending became part of a long-term economic plan to consolidate peace and security in the country.

The functions of the South African government's administrative matters were drawn parallel to any other structure of SADC member states governance system. There was a distinction between the interventionist state and the non-interventionist state composed of non-state actors (Vale, 1997:96-113). The state in this context referred to newly established government of South Africa composed of all races and the entire public administrative apparatus of the country. In this context, interventionist and non-interventionist denoted the degree to which the state intervened in the society that was part of its sphere of influence. The nature and type of state intervention were relevant in so far as some states were not permitting full democratic freedom by means of thwarting non-state actors in areas undermined government's authority.

According to Venter (1998:121);

"All state interventions can be arranged into four primary categories or collective functions, namely power functions, security and protection functions, economic functions and redistribution functions. These functions are not limited to the national level of government but can also manifest themselves at provincial and local government levels. They are evident in the form of public goods and services that are provided by the state to provide a suitable enabling environment in which individuals and society can strive to maintain or improve the quality of their lives."

With regards to South Africa, prior to independence the state and its policies tended to be interventionist in nature on both the political and economic fronts. There were political interventions in the form of non-state actors' activities on political freedoms and economic intervention in the form of regulation of the economy and other various sectors of production. There was less intervention by the state in the early 2000, specifically in the political and economic freedoms where the ANC government embarked on a national plan to improve health services and food security. Labour laws were formulated and access to basic services became mandatory for every citizen.

A simplified view was that individuals were able to achieve on their own in terms of political, economic and personal security after they formed groups to enhance their chances of survival. It started with the formation of small groups such as the Diepkloof Civic in Soweto, Alexandra Action Committee and the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) which converged and formed a strong force to complement the government efforts in human security provision. The role the civil society organisations included issues related to defence and more broadly affairs. The civil society organisations and non-governmental organisations' actions are generally visible whenever the security of the individual and the society comes under human insecurity. It was under President Mbeki that challenges became visible around policy implementation and service delivery. The CSOs/NGOs developed a lot of interest in areas of policy formulation, to the extent that some policies were often developed without the appropriate oversight by and accountability to parliament and the executive. The government of Mbeki came up with the national programme, the Integrated Governance and Planning Framework for Government which was adopted by the cabinet of July 2001 and January 2002. The government established five clusters comprised of heads of government departments to provide strategic policy direction and monitoring performance in all areas of governance. The clusters were given the mandate to identify gaps and critical challenges, including pulling together of cross-cutting issues. Furthermore, the new policy formulation process was necessary to reflect the character of post-apartheid South Africa at a period where CSOs/NGOs had indicated that they wanted to critique the country's formulation process (Motumi, 2003:130).

As the ANC government became a more formal democracy, most civil society organisations and non-governmental organisations in South Africa became less participatory and less democratic. This contradiction was due to the process of institutional disciplining that

was occurring at three levels. The first level was premised on the state-based discourse of neo-liberalism and good governance which was proved by the second democratic elections conducted in 1999 which ushered President Thabo Mbeki's reign. The other level was that of political party leaders' actions to reduce perceived sources of challenges. The ANC government was being challenged by the enormous and voluminous calls by the citizens to deliver both economic and security freedoms which were still under the neoliberal policies under the tutelage of the remnants of the apartheid die-hards. The last level was that of the leadership-driven reorganisation of the non-state actors which was meant to increase efficiency and political influence. This was important to realign the complementary efforts of non-state actors to newly established ANC government (Zuern: 2011:118-119; Venter 1998:233; Baines, 2007:283-302; Bratton & Mattes, 2001:45). The South African political and economic expedition in the period 1997 to 2007 did not proceed in any fixed order with participants including the government and non-state actors moving in the same direction in closed columns.

According to Mclean (1996:370), there is no politics without policy. Public policy considers both the processes and contents of government and governance practices. Taking the general usage of the most buzzword, 'policy' means the behaviour of an actor or actors such as officials, government agencies or a legislature in an area of activity such as the economy and social sectors. Anderson (1997:8) postulated that the political decision-making and public policy-making in South Africa were overlapping and closely intertwined in such processes that decision-making continued to be a subdivision of public policy-making. In one of the most succinct conceptualisations of policy formulation in South Africa, Anderson (1997) further describes it as the involving of the development of "pertinent and acceptable proposed courses of action for dealing with public problems". The meaningful implementation of government policy systems suffices when the

wishes of the stakeholders, the non-state actors, state and the citizens are fulfilled.

In South Africa, the policy-making process involved many consecutive and interconnected steps. There was an effort by the government to decide the form of health care for the citizens who were once ostracised during the apartheid regime. There was to be restriction on the same health policy issue, in terms of abortion for example. The general alignment of health issues dispelled ripple effects which had negative effects which required attention. Once the health issues were resolved through a policy making framework, then draft legislation and administrative rules were promulgated. However, the adoption of principles of health care issues by the ANC government meant that implementation by the responsible government department. Non-state actors offered cover in instances where there were gaps in the state's financial and capacity to provide health care to the whole society. The state was easily able to lose legitimacy of the society if it failed to provide services which non-state actors were able to provide through donor funds.

With the transition to democracy, far-reaching changes in South Africa were instituted in the domains of political decision-making and public policy-making. The political decision-making and public policy-making processes and the substantive policy objectives changed with political actors driving the process of policy-making, the structuring of the processes through which ANC's political decisions were taken and the priorities and goals of the policy-making processes. There was a great reordering of the organisations and individuals that wielded power over the policy-making processes. Although there were no definitive changes in the early years of planning, decision-making and coordination continued to be reorganised to improve policy implementation. The government of Mbeki was preoccupied with the restructuring policy-making processes. It was argued that only

legitimate and considered processes would achieve to produce a restructured society reflective of the ideals of the independent citizens of South Africa (Anderson 1997:9; Ham & Hill, 193:97; Heymans, 1996:28-50). To this end, the most powerful policy-generating clusters in South African politics centred on top government officials, in particular, the ANC cabinet ministers and President Mbeki and the structures of the governing political party the ANC. In South Africa, as elsewhere in SADC member states, the political leaders interpreted needs that they had identified based on community contact, opinion polls, interpretation of international trends and the influences of the non-state actors. The process did not necessarily follow the stereotypical linear progression from the articulation of a need to the eventual adoption of the policy. The process was mainly aimed at addressing the injustices which were perpetrated and were entrenched in economic and social systems.

The South African government embarked on political and economic security drive in 1996 that provided for a successful democratic society with governing institutions and civil society working together to improve human security of all the inhabitants of the state. It was at this conjuncture that transformation and affirmative action were additional important dilemmas and processes affecting the public service in South Africa. In essence, transformation was essentially a political function driven by political agendas. It was observed in most aspects as a means whereby the 'levers of power' that to a greater extent was represented by the public service, was able to be controlled.

The first South African democratic government had to control the public service as a way of providing political and social security to the South African citizens who over the years of apartheid rule were riled by segregation and injustices. In fact, central to the vision of black empowerment in South Africa, an economic affirmative strategy which had its mission on facilitating the transformation and reform of the

public service. It has been difficult to establish high performance, democratic, accountable, effective and professional organisations functioning in an environment where post-apartheid systems existed (South Africa, 1996:20; Webner, 1998:105). The primary goal of transformation was, therefore, to make the public service more representative and comparable to the demographic composition of the country. According to Barger, (1999:52) the composition of the public service in South Africa as of 30 September 1996 was as follows:

Table 4.1: Race Ratio in Public Service as of 1996 (*Barger, 1999:52*) Table 12

Race	Percentage
Black	65%
White	23%
Coloured	9%
Asian	3%
Total	100

These figures indicate that in comparison with the demographic figures, black people were greatly under-represented in the public service as they comprised 76% of the population yet only 65% were in the public service. This compared with an over-representation of whites, who were 13% of the population but made up 23% of the public service. The percentage of Asians and coloureds in the public service compared favorably with their percentage of the overall population (South Africa, 1996b:17-19). The transformation process was necessary to reduce the dominance of whites, specifically white males who were in the higher management echelons of the public service.

South Africa government was sensitive to the people’s call to address the human security aspects especially transformation in the service delivery, human resources development and training and

democratisation at workplace. These areas were dominated by elements of the post-apartheid regime while blacks remained in confinement of the economic and political periphery. Proper assessment of promotion of professional services, institutional capacity-building and public service management at all levels of government systems. In this case, critical areas which needed address included democratisation processes. Vale (2004: 24) argues that political leverage of black people, especially uplifting standards of the once disadvantaged blacks were necessary to give attention. The uplifting of living standards in all aspects and provision of economic space to formerly exploited groups was considered critical.

In general usage, "policy" means the behaviour of actors such as officials, government agencies or a legislature in an area of activity such as the economy in general, land reform or education (Anderson, 1997:81). In one of the most succinct conceptualisations of policy formulation, Anderson (1997:13) describes it as involving the development of "pertinent and acceptable proposed course of action for dealing with public problems". The political culture of loyalty to the ANC as the major liberation force nevertheless continued to contribute to an overriding sense of loyalty and legitimacy which other opposition political parties found it difficult to conquer. According to Charney (1995:4-28), after democracy the South African population expected fewer benefits under the new policy formulation of the ANC government. People were disappointed that the rate of political and economic change was too slow. People expected that the democratic government was going to speedily transform the economic sector which was still being controlled by racially biased elements of Afrikaans and English extraction. Although, there was a deep-seated belief that the new democratic government required time to effect transition, the time frame of up to 2007 became too long for the ordinary peoples who were suffering from poverty to apprehend. It was on this notion that the human security provision became a

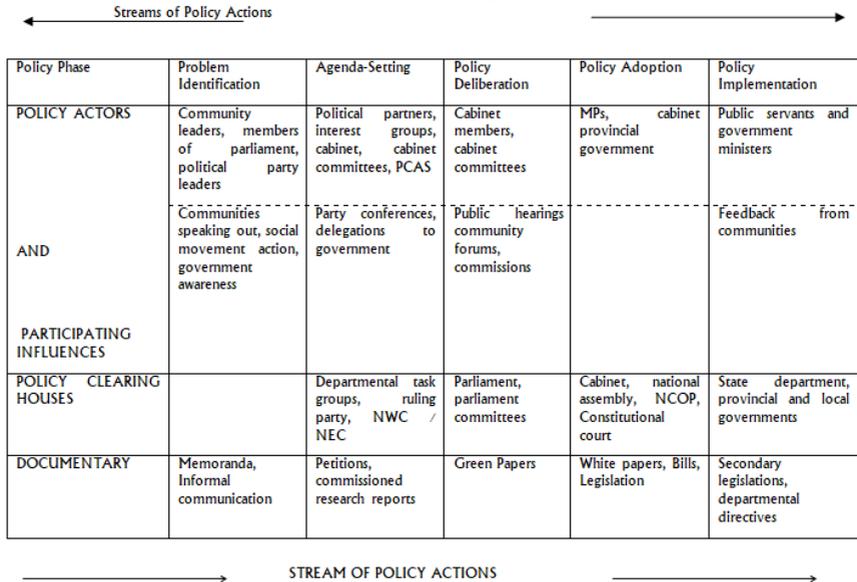
complex issue for the citizens who expected the government to take grand stances to create environment that empower citizens (May, 2000:213; Meier, 1989:34-39).

The search for comprehensive human security strategies need national policies which are guided by governance systems that include measures designed to provide safety nets for the population. Such measures were supposed to restructure the economy and to implement empowerment policies which serve people during both crises and peace (Venter, 2000:248-250). Such policies should be people driven and multi-dimensional as threats to human security were multiple and interconnected. Given the multiplicity of democratic challenges which South Africa was exposed to, an interdisciplinary approach combining economic, political and sociological strategies was needed. Like, other SADC members, South Africa was flexible and capable of responding to rapidly changing scenarios where human security was a tool to furnish a framework for preventive policies based on an understanding of root causes of peace and security threats against citizens or individual people.

When adopting a human security approach, there is need to reorient development and security programmes and plans to emerging challenges. Firstly, in South Africa it would mean correlating programmes in areas that were interconnected although handled by separate initiatives that acted at cross-purposes. Secondly, recognising the potential threats through systematic human security assessments, early warning signs and building capacity for dialogue among communities. The guiding principle to the achievement of human security in South Africa viewed policy making approach in the spectrum of that country's interactive process assisted that country to address racial discriminatory and political differences. In 1997, there was a range of policy actors which formed policy communities and policy networks to initiate direct or influence policy-making. The

cumulative stream of actions that combine to deliver policies and directives for their implementation is shown in the Table 4.2 that follows:

Table 4.2: South Africa’s National Policy Formulation Process (*Crush, 2005:271*) Table 12 and DTI (www.thedti.gov.za)



In human security aspects, the policy-making process became the most fundamental tool to receive systematic theoretical attention by the ANC government. The South African constitution of 1996 came up with the notion of cooperative governance to guide cooperation between the three spheres of government. The new models of policy-making formulations were pivotal in stratification of strong policy variations. This enabled the citizens to improve their lives in various fields such as politics, economy, food and health among others. Although the ANC government interpreted the inclusion of the wider community need, the policy-making processes included various stakeholders of different societal groups. In some instances, there were

relatively small groups of participants with an interest in a specific set of issues that concern governments, (Mentzel & Fick, 1996:96-149). Policy-making in South Africa integrated the arms of government, the civil society groups and opposition political parties to deliver the most desired peace and security aspects (Mboweni, 1997:51; Mclean, 1996:68; Moyo & De Coning, 1996:78-95).

The notion of constitutional democracy assured a form of governance where the power of the people was spelled out in a constitution. The conundrum in South Africa though, was that there was disharmony between the theory and practice of constitutional enshrinement of governance by the people. South Africa's democratisation process had to grapple with the realisation of people's expectations and accommodation of their perspectives while supporting equally important socio-economic and political reforms. There was a need for public programmes so that they understood that democracy and democratic governance meant sovereignty vested in the people and the need for the people to seize that opportunity (Comfort 1995:214-216).

The other critical lesson drawn from the South Africa's democratic transformation in the period 1997 to 2007 was the country's commitment to the human security concept. This represented a qualitative change in the conduct of foreign and security policy. The notion of change was particularly relevant for the ANC government to manifest in the constitutional provisions for decentralisation and establishment of the local authorities. Although, the ANC government had been able to create a legal environment conducive for development at the local level, it grappled with challenges from the local government authorities which were dominated by the whites. The decentralisation of governance, policy formulation and service delivery to the people provided the litmus test to deal with many challenges caused by those apartheid remnants in public service systems (Davids, 2003:119).

One of the challenges for South Africa's municipalities under the apartheid regime was division along racial and ethnic lines. The main task for ANC government during early years of independence was to harmonise the competing interests and constituencies which included civil society groups, businesspeople and non-governmental organisations. The scope and functions of traditional institutions in South Africa against that for the local government system was blurred by the year 2001. The constitutional powers of traditional authorities in South Africa were circumscribed and their role was reduced to that of advisory, ceremonial and extra-constitutional (Ntsebeza, 2003:15; Cilliers, 1996:13-25; Ally, 1997:86-91; Barber, 1997:58).

The domestic and international context in which the South African government operated shaped that country's foreign policy towards the advancement of the citizen's human security. As the apartheid regime gave way to democratic governance, the political situation was transformed. South Africa's domestic political changes had a dramatic impact on its international status since the apartheid state had largely been isolated. Initially, at independence the term human security was synonymous with the absence of the protracted armed struggle, but this changed after 2000 when the South Africans began to understand the concepts of conflict prevention, crisis management and the civil-military coordination to achieve peace and security of the citizens.

Just after the downfall of the apartheid, race and racism continued to form the core of the identity and experiences of South Africans in general. The structural and ideological manifestations of a radicalized order persisted in South Africa thereby threatening peace and security. The South African liberation struggle, like any other in the SADC region, was about the simultaneous institutionalisation of democratic rule and deracialisation of the societies.