

Chapter 8: The Future of Peace and Security in the Human Security Agenda of the SADC

Our vigilance means the rigorous selection of friends, a constant watch and struggle against enemies (both internal and internal) and the neutralization or elimination of all factors opposing progress. - Amilcar Cabral

This book advances the argument that peace and security mechanisms adopted by any regional member grouping or a state guaranteeing and preserving people's fears from economic, political and social threats. The analysis reveals that SADC member states' political, economic and security transformations have a relationship to socio-political legacies of colonial and apartheid past. This gives an understanding as to why the democratic governments of the SADC region fail to guarantee human security to their citizens. The research findings suggest that there were no strong human security mechanisms in the SADC region, particularly in South Africa between 1997 and 2007 due to poverty, human rights abuse, racial discrimination, xenophobic attacks and workers' arbitrary dismissal, among a plethora of other ills which militated heavily against most of the citizens. This study concludes that the SADC region and South Africa in particular, should take cognisance of non-state actors' complementary roles to the state's effort to guarantee and preserve human security of the individuals and the community.

The SADC member states need to formulate national policies that address not only traditional security threats, the military and territorial security of the state, but also non-traditional threats such as economic, political, social and environmental degradation. These non-traditional security threats respond to the evolution of geopolitical realities.

There are severe challenges concerning the effectiveness of non-state actors' operations in South Africa to complement the government's efforts to provide and guarantee human security to the citizens. While Waever (1995) propounded that human security takes individual people and their community as its main referents, rather than the state or territory, the non-state actors should have come into play to assist in policy management and implementation. According to Khanyle (2003), the South African government was helped by the NGOs in various technical areas to formulate policies which were to address peace support missions in 1998. The support which was extended by the NGOs was not enough to guarantee the peace and security of the individual people and communities.

Although there were instances in this study that the NGOs/CSOs were found engaging in various activities to assist in areas of political, economic and social transformation in South Africa, there were serious areas where they clashed with the government on policy formulation. Cawthra *et al.* (2007) argue that when it comes to policy formulation related to defence and security and broadly foreign affairs, the NGO/CSO cannot be acceptable to the state to participate in policy formulation due to secrecy and nationalistic ethos surrounding it. Although NGOs/CSOs have the capacity to assist the government to formulate policies of defence and security which are able to uphold and guarantee the human security of citizens, limitations of sovereignty of the state makes it difficult for the two institutions to agree on state governance models. Due to state's preservation of sovereign rights, the NGO/CSO efforts to complement the government efforts to address people's human security are limited.

The relationship between the CSO/ NGO and governments have concentrated on humanitarian assistance in times of strife or conflicts. According to Hogue & Harrop (2007), CSOs/NGOs are loosely organised institutions whose origins lay outside the country's

legislature. This makes it difficult for the state to totally embrace the corresponding role of the CSO/NGO in assisting citizens' human security. The importance of the civil society organisations as a human security popular force has captured the political initiative from the state leadership that has resulted in the rapture of trust between the two.

The CSOs/NGOs are portrayed as institutions that want to replace the government on democratisation process. It was the activities of CSOs/NGOs such as IDASA in partnership with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation which contributed by creating platforms to discuss human security issues. The two institutions hosted a conference to discuss the South African economy, political developments, human rights abuse and security sector reforms as an attempt to bring together political organisations, and business groups.

The ANC government was not involved in the discussions hosted by NGOs/CSOs which meant that the efforts of the two institutions to come up with an economic policy and a political realignment initiative were resisted by the government. According to Valentine (2010) the ANC government resisted any policy formulations which were initiated by the CSO/NGO without its involvement.

The changing political, economic and social face of South Africa saw limited roles of CSO /NGO in transitional process to democracy because of scepticism of the ANC government which believed them to be a front for post-apartheid elements. Furthermore, the NGO/CSO's concentration in democracy and governance systems led the government to resist some progressive and brilliant ideas which were going to protect and guarantee the individual citizens' human security. As a result, the government has sovereign rights ahead of NGO/CSO in policy formulation processes.

The decision to co-share some of the state's responsibilities to NGO/CSO groups remains a suicidal move, especially in countries like South Africa, where post-apartheid regime elements still secretly influenced both economic and political systems. The aspects of human security are difficult to accomplish where the government does not involve the NGO/CSO in various social activities which by the end of it all, provide peace and security to individual citizens. This can only be a success when NGO/CSO realise that the question of national sovereignty of any state is the domain of the ruling regime. It is conceptually wrong for the state to invite NGO/CSO to execute peace security roles because these roles are beyond their realm of legal accountability. The state is the constitutional entity empowered to uphold the matters which deal with peace and security.

According to Sisulu (2005), Nkiwane (2000) and Lindley (2004), it is clear that policy formulation in defence and security in South Africa receive a lot of white supremacy bias due to the nature of those who contributed to policy formulation and crafting. The existences of former apartheid regime elements within the South African governance systems remain precarious due to euphemism of social segregation against the blacks. The apartheid system still controls the economics and politics of South Africa because most of the economic resources were in the hands of the whites who were in the apartheid government before the democratic elections of 1994. The black South Africans were subjected to brute inhuman treatment during the apartheid rule, to the extent of being denied the opportunity to education. The majority could not qualify to be promoted to high policy making positions, hence they remained in positions where they implemented policies formulated by the whites. The former apartheid regime loyalist has a cause to continue maintaining the status quo because they must safeguard their economic and social interests which are in danger of evaporating into political oblivion.

Chief among the objectives said to have been achieved by entrenched apartheid system in the South African context, are labour disputes in every economic sector. Many daily and weekly newspapers in South Africa have attributed the deaths of thirty-five mine workers at Marikana Gold Mine as caused by the low wages offered by the employers. The wages in the mining sector among other economic sectors were very poor and were far below the national poverty-datum-line (PDL). The owners of the Marikana Gold Mine received a lot of complaints from workers unions which included COSATU, but no action was taken. The irony behind the resistance to award salary adjustment remained political. If the wages of the workers were adjusted to levels of the agreed PDL in South Africa, that alone would have threatened the racial structure where the whites enjoyed the high echelons of the social structure.

The efforts to consolidate hard won independence stability and democratic governance continues to be undermined in South Africa by the forces of the apartheid legacy which were vividly visible in the military, mining, civil society groups, education and civil service among other sectors. The human security dividends of the peace and security processes where the country was not able to see impending threats such as xenophobic attacks, food insecurity, labour injustices and high homicide rates could only have been avoided if security mechanisms were under the guidance of the democratic systems stemming from the inner government circles rather than a racial group. A human security approach that emphasises special security attention to vulnerable groups and communities is the ideal panacea to maintain peace and security in most urban and rural areas of South Africa.

The struggle between the NGOs/CSOs and the state often take the form of an attempt by the state to overpower NGOs/CSOs by bringing them under government control. The pretext for the attempt to bringing non-state actors into the sphere of the state is often given as

their financial mismanagement, the lack of control of their funds. But the reality behind the attempts is linked to a fear by government of the potential NGOs/CSOs have for organising people outside the state structures. Human security is focused on the developmental processes which improve and guarantee peace and security of the individual citizens. Although, the strategic conception of security policy is conceived in abstract values, its preservation is based on livelihoods of the people. It is quite lucid that human security has been receiving little attention from SADC governments. Thus NGOs/CSOs can be seen to be in direct competition with government over donor funds. However, the non-state actors have proved that if they were to get conducive environment from the state, they were going to compliment the state to provide and guarantee peace and security to the citizens and individuals with peace and security they deserved. This again proved that human security aspects in terms of peace and security for the individual citizen cannot be left to the state alone. The NGOs/CSOs need to complement the government's effort in services delivery.

The most remarkable roles of civil society organisations were observed in South Africa during the apartheid era and after independence in 1994. The civil society groups such as IDASA worked with the ANC cadres to dismantle racial segregation and the apartheid system. Although, relations between these parties were fluid due to security threats imposed by the entrenched post-apartheid system, the ANC had the advantage of publicity, funding and mandate of policy formulation. The CSOs/NGOs were participants in the fight against the apartheid regime through organising peace talks and aiding the victims of war. The CSOs/NGOs engagement with the apartheid ruling elite made it possible for the ANC to negotiate for a peace process which brought independence in 1994. The NGOs among other civil society organisations in the sub region and South Africa in particular, were given both political and economic space to legitimise

policies and then build support for the government actions. In this case, the objective was to achieve what was called the “social consent” to avoid further criticism and antagonism from government critics.

Chief among achievements by the human security approach to peace and security in SADC was the formation of the SADC’s Organ on Politics, Defence and Security (OPDSC) in 1996. Its “injure one injure all” security conceptual framework played a significant role in bringing peace and stability in most SADC member states. The NGOs/CSOs were involved in arm twisting the government to formulate policies which guaranteed peoples’ human rights, peace and stability.

The dividends of the peace and security processes in SADC and South Africa are premised on the consolidation of the availability of political, food and personal security. It has remained the wish of everyone to enjoy peace and stability in the SADC region but with poverty in most people’s doorstep, there will be a serious political and personal insecurity. The peaceful co-existence of people in a country or region can only come by if there are strong public institutions and civil society groups to provide the foundation for achieving and sustainable development for the individual peoples. Many conflicts which erupted in the SADC region were of political, economic and social in nature. These were ostensibly caused by segregation, racial and tribal enmity over resources and to a larger extent competition over domination in every facet of life. The peaceful co-existence of the individual citizens depends on the management of issues and materials which threaten their livelihood. Peace and stability can only be achieved if a state formulates policies which guide the existence of people with different ideas to live in appreciation of one another.

The national security aspects in the SADC region need to be developed to equally compete with those of the developed countries like United States of America, Britain and Japan. The national security frameworks need to be balanced between the central direction of government systems and the security organs of the state. The country's intelligence system plays a critical role if it provides intelligence services to the state to formulate policies which are compatible with the contemporary trends of political, economic and social development. The intelligence service of any of the SADC member state should contain features whereby their mandates and the way they conduct it, mirrors the priorities and value systems of the society they serve. It is also necessary to appreciate how the emergence, growth and strengthening of democracy affected a decisive shift in intelligence. Human security aspects can only be effectively nourished in a state if the intelligence service can collect, evaluate, analyse, integrate and interpret all available information, supportive of the policy and decision-making processes pertaining to the national goals of stability, security and development. In this analysis of intelligence, the priorities of the intelligence community assume a focus on the greater national agenda of stability, security and development.

However, the human security aspects together with its complexities need to be viewed as an indispensable adjunct to statecraft. The SADC region needs to address the citizens' peace and security exuberance by fully utilising and arming the secret intelligence services so that human security ethos could be promoted and guaranteed. Since intelligence services provide the governments with intelligence information obtained secretly and discreetly on domestic threats or potential threats to national stability, this enables the ruling elite to implement policies to deal with the threats. The intelligence sector in a state needs to identify, monitor and neutralise the manifestation of threats against the society. The goal of any intelligence service in the SADC region should be to know the potential threats against the state so that

corrective measures could be taken before they are catastrophic to the society or any individual citizen.

Peace and security in the SADC region need great attention, due to lack of cohesion in terms of humankind's economic and political development. In Southern Africa, the Collective Security concept has been concentrating on the security of the member states' sovereignty giving less attention to the security of the individual and community. Individual citizens' security remains a nightmare because the immigration laws of each member state do not address the illegal movement of people across the borders. The SADC region needs to harmonise the immigration laws so that the movement of people can be coordinated and guided in a manner that does not expose the individual citizens to the vagaries of societal abuse.

The SADC region needs to put in place security mechanisms that regulate movements across the borders especially against people who do not have stable employment contracts in foreign nations. The threats which are posed by emigrants from various SADC member states are a great security concern to South Africa. There is a need for SADC member states to come up with specific policies which should be adopted to prepare for, prevent or engage in military conflict. The structural inhibitions that left the whites to remain in possession of the best economic resources subjected the South African citizens to live in poverty.

Controversy still surrounds the desirability of a regional hegemon for the achievement of stated goals and objectives of regional integration which include advanced opportunity to start meaningful development that improve the human security aspects. The analysis in this study has demonstrated that the strong economic growth of South Africa compared to other SADC member states contribute to democratic

practice and culture that embraces broad participation in the provision of peace and security to the individuals and community.

The focus on the aspects of human security variables is framed in terms of national and regional peace and security settings. This advocates a paradigm shift from a state approach to people centred approach to security. The central important issues that are anchored on the transformations in approach and thinking about peace and security paradigm must adopt a common regional policy to give political direction to all member states. The SADC region should focus on the individuals as the referents for security rather than the state. Regardless that states provide security to the individuals and community, the traditional security task of the maintenance of sovereignty and territorial integrity should be paramount. However, borne out in some areas of this book, states continue to vulnerable to various human security threats. Due to the diversity of threats which are encountered by the states, the nature of national security problems differs from state to state.

The state finds itself in a murky new environment where it is challenged by a whole range of insecurities that are not fundamentally of a state security nature. These insecurities are often not about threats to state, that is, its boundaries, institutions, people and values. In many cases, it is the state itself that poses a threat to its people in a variety of ways. At the same time, some of the emerging security threats target people and the state. Therefore, one cannot revealing see human security and state security in stock terms.

It is that democracy and human rights issues have brought into the limelight the peace and security paradigm. The civil society groups and non-governmental organisations find hegemony in state sacrosanct areas of influences. The importance accorded to the non-state actors in the international relations, has rendered the state

ineffective carry out her sovereign fundamental mandates which buttress legitimate power to rule independently. Although, the civil society groups and the non-governmental organisations were driven by the interests of those institutions which fund them, they targeted areas of specific competences for national policy formulation processes which had a gender setting and socialising influence for the governance systems.

The domestic and the international settings, in which the South African government operated, shape that country's foreign policy for the sake of improving the citizens' human security. The term human security just after South Africa's independence in 1994 was synonymous with the absence of the protracted armed struggle. It was therefore, after 2000, that the citizens began to understand the concept of conflict prevention, crisis management and civil-military coordination to achieve peace and security. The South African liberation struggle however was all about the simultaneous institutionalisation of the democratic rule and deracialisation of the societies.

The concept of a community security in a largely conceptual manner has been where the human security paradigm responded to the complexities and interrelatedness of both new and old security threats. The security threats which included political insecurity, food insecurity, health insecurity and economic insecurity topped in the SADC region during finding the process of political integration. It was apparently, that there was a need to broaden and deepen the understanding of a community security set up so that human security threats could be talked through conceptual mechanisms. The book however, demonstrated that for human security aspects to be realised in SADC, the intelligence sector of member states need to firmly entrench values which provide peace and security to the individual citizens.

Overall, the study underscores the continuing challenge of human migration in SADC that continued to fail to unmask the extent of how the movement of people threatens peace and security of the host countries. South Africa and Botswana remained the fertile grounds in SADC for both political and economic migrants, who prey on the vulnerabilities created by political instability, poverty, food insecurity, unemployment and lack of democracy among others. The push factors of immigrants to South Africa were a result of the growth of economic activities of 1999. On the same, the government eliminated restrictions on the free movement of people across the borders of its neighbours. The xenophobia attacks witnessed in South Africa over the years were generally confined to the individual citizens who were occupying the lower end of the socio-economic and educational spectrum of the South African community.

The knowledge which derives from this study is related to the ruling elites' actions to create a national political and economic environment that could meet the country's ever changing development needs. Although, human security is often being related to the actions of civil society and international institutions, the government has the ultimate role in providing peoples' human security. The South African government has a critical role to play in transforming the public service institutions from the influences of the entrenched apartheid systems without compromising on systems, efficiency and best practices in the economic and political fronts. This is no small task given the entrenched white apartheid system ethos which had made the whole government institutions a key lever of settler rule, black discrimination and oppression