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New security thinking: defence and societal transformation in South Africa

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New security thinking, with its specific focus on human security, is different from earlier perspectives, which focused primarily on state security. In South Africa, state security is no longer threatened by conventional threats. With new challenges such as global poverty, unemployment and economic decline, the needs of people are addressed as much as those of the state or military strategy. An expansive approach to the concept of human security has been infused in all domestic policies. Human security includes the satisfaction of the basic needs of life, and encompasses the creation of the social, political, economic, military, environmental and cultural conditions necessary for survival, human rights and good governance.

Nuwe sekuriteitsdenke: verdediging en maatskaplike transformasie in Suid-Afrika

Nuwe denke oor sekuriteit, met die fokus spesifiek op menslike sekuriteit, verskil van vorige uitgangspunte wat hoofsaaklik op staatsekuriteit gefokus het. In Suid-Afrika word staatsekuriteit nie meer bedreig deur konvensionele gevare nie. Met nuwe uitdagings soos wêreldwye armoede, werkloosheid en ekonomiese agteruitgang word die behoeftes van mense, net soos behoeftes van die staat en militêre strategie, in ag geneem. 'n Uitgebreide benadering tot die konsep menslike sekuriteit is ingebed in alle interne beleidstukke. Menslike sekuriteit sluit in die bevrediging van basiese lewensbehoefte en dit omvat die skepping van die sosiale, politieke, ekonomiese, militêre, omgewings- en kulturele toestande wat nodig is vir oorlewing, menseregte en goeie regering.

The major determinants of South Africa's security position have changed considerably since 1989. There has been a complete change in the strategic environment within which the state, the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and civil society operate. This change was due to precipitating events such as the end of the military conflicts in Angola and Namibia in April 1989, the end of the Cold War and the demise of the communist states. The unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and the transition to majority rule in April 1994, following the first democratic elections, made it necessary to revise security and defence strategies and focus on new security thinking. The new, democratic South Africa required a restructured Intelligence service, a new defence mission, roles and tasks and a new force design. As democratic societal needs changed, so the nature of security thinking had to change. Intelligence services and the SANDF were constitutionally obliged to transform. New White Papers on Intelligence (RSA 1995) and Defence (RSA 1996) were produced. The White Paper on Defence was submitted to Cabinet and approved in May 1996 (Frankel 1998: 149). It outlined the new concept of human security very clearly, explaining that security is an all-encompassing condition in which individual citizens live in freedom, peace and safety, participate in governance, are protected by fundamental rights, have basic necessities and live in a healthy environment (RSA 1996). These prescriptions laid the foundation for new security thinking in South Africa. The *Defence Review* (SA 1998), based on the White Paper, was hailed as the most consultative, inclusive and transparent process of its kind anywhere in the world. People from various sectors of civilian life made inputs. It was completed in 1998. It focused on the new force design and roles and tasks of the SANDF, which have an effect on peacekeeping roles in Africa.

South Africa currently faces realities such as large-scale unemployment, housing shortages and consequent internal instability. Other problems include car hijackings, robberies, assault, murder, trafficking in drugs and in people, as well as white-collar corruption. These realities dominate the security situation in the country and a new approach is needed. Security thinking has changed considerably over the thirteen years of democracy. The main focus has shifted to human security. Yet, despite the development of new security thinking and related social transformation based on these principles, as well as the eventual stabilisation of

state institutions and societal structures, historical and emotional factors have still distorted and influenced institutional transformation (Meiring 1994: 1).

The notion of stability sought in South Africa by means of attaining human security in society in general, and in the military system in particular, points to an underlying functionalist (systems) conceptual framework. The main premise is that societal and military matters of an institutional nature are regarded as organised systems of activities directed at attaining specific goals or fulfilling manifest functions (human security) in South African society at large. The influence exerted upon people's lives by the new security thinking and consequent social transformation in institutions like the military cannot be underestimated. Military transformation spills over into the transformation of various other institutions like Intelligence and International Relations. Human security is not the concern of only one government institution. It encompasses the interdependence of all institutions. The integration of the human security strategy into national policies on the basis of consensus among the relevant institutions will eventually stabilise South African society.

Providing evidence of the achievement of human security in societies can be difficult. The assumption is therefore that the operationalisation of the concept involves the way in which institutions rearrange their structures and operating principles in order to pursue human security objectives. These must be directly linked to and facilitate social transformation based on specific government policy documents. This strategy has been studied and is reported on in this article, which concludes with "lessons learnt" from recent experiences.

1. Historical background to human security: origins and definitions

The concept of human security emerged from the thoughts of the German philosopher Leibnitz, who in 1705 expressed the need for security for citizens, as well as from the French philosopher Montesquieu, who noted that true political freedom could only be achieved when people were secure (Solomon 1998a: 3-7, 1998b: 375-81). Both philosophers saw the security of people as more important than that of the state. Views regarding security have changed over time, depending on the period and

the context. In 1930, American national security thinking revolved mostly around economic security; this then changed to military security during the Cold War period (Van Aardt 1998: 122). In 1950 Harold Laswell (Solomon 1998a: 4) wrote of a broader conceptualisation of security that included the security of individuals as well as the more traditional security of the state. These viewpoints were adopted by Robert McNamara, a former US Secretary of State and then president of the World Bank, who supported “less of a military-political focus on security” in 1968 (Solomon 1998b: 376, Van Aardt 1998: 122).

Despite the broadened, holistic perspective on security, the prominent view remained focused on military-centred security to uphold the state. This referred to national security, which was synonymous with defence. A reason for this could be the threat of nuclear annihilation and the arms race during the Cold War. According to Solomon (1998a: 4) the dominance of the conventional, traditional perspective changed during the 1970s. Solomon referred to five factors which laid the foundation for these changes in security thinking and for the scaling down of military dominance. These were:

- the beginning of the *détente* between the Superpowers in the early 1970s and the signing of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) in 1972;
- the American experience in Vietnam, which underlined the limitations of military solutions to certain types of conflict;
- the financial costs of the Vietnam war in a time of world economic recession, leading to inflation costs;
- America’s economic decline in comparison to the economies of Japan and the European Economic Community, which were successful in international trade;
- the exorbitant increase in oil prices imposed by the Organisation of Oil Exporting Companies (OPEC) during the 1970s, sending urgent warnings to the West, highlighting their vulnerability to the global economy in obtaining strategic resources, and underlining the economic interdependence of states in a globalising world.

These developments made people more aware of the dangers of economic decline and of individual and social well-being than ever before. In 1972 the economic dimensions of security were highlighted by

William Blair, the US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. He said in the US Congress: "Our national security today depends on things like balance of payments, economic affairs, foreign assistance ..." (Romm 1993: 3). This new perspective on the dimension of economic security opened the way for a widening of the security agenda. During the 1970s and 1980s the concept broadened in both the developing and the developed worlds. Galtung (Solomon 1998a: 4) underlined this perspective by referring to war, hunger, repression and eco-disasters as real threats to humankind. In Europe the concept of a broadened perspective slowly gained ground and in Africa the Frontline States increasingly included economic and social security in their agendas, which had initially referred mainly to opposing apartheid and South African military destabilisation (Van Aardt 1998: 122). In 1980 these states formed the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which became the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1993. This appears to have been the first link drawn in Southern Africa between security and development, underlining the essential meaning of human security, which is freedom from threat and want. According to Buzan (1991: 19), human security threats emanate from five sectors: military, political, economic, social and environmental. However, when the historical development of the security concept is taken into account, this is of course not really 'new', since it has existed and changed over a period of time (Van Aardt 1998: 122).

During the 1980s the conventional approach to security was shaped by the political conditions of the Cold War, which ensured that security policy worldwide would focus mainly on the protection of the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of states. The focus was mainly on protection against the influence of modern weaponry and nuclear threats. According to Nathan (1994: 12) the predominant response was to strengthen military capacity by building larger armies and arsenals to counteract perceived threats and worst-case scenarios. After November 1989, with the demise of the Cold War as well as the arms race, the focus was slowly shifting to include all security issues of a political, strategic, economic, social or ecological nature. It was a changed world, which might not have become more stable and peaceful, but was definitely different as the shift in security thinking gained credibility. The concepts of economic security and security interdependence were

developed even further to include transnational threats like drought, narco-trafficking, and pollution, which necessitated interdependent, collective responses. The national security of states now became inseparable from international security. During the 1990s the world's superpowers started to demilitarise, with consequences for international relations. This paradigm shift in security thinking required answers to questions like: "Whose security is at stake, and security from which threats?" (Clover 2005: 104).

In 1992 the International Institute for Strategic Studies, based in Britain, suggested a different area of concern in security thinking, moving away from the narrowly defined military understanding of threat and vulnerability to that of human security in terms of social and political transformation. An early milestone in the success of the new approach was reached in 1993 with the United Nations Development Program's annual report on Human Development, which promulgated the concept of "human security". Although it was a controversial concept which propagated a broader definition of security than had previously been held, it made an impression on policymakers, who were ready to see the inadequacies of earlier definitions. According to Nathan (1994: 12) these inadequacies included the following aspects:

- it failed to recognise the underlying reasons for conflict;
- it failed to take adequate account of the security of people and other non-military threats to their security;
- it contributed to a militarist ethos in civil society;
- it used sources which could have been used for more productive (social) ends, and
- it failed to use various non-violent forms of conflict resolution.

To eliminate the older thinking, the UNDP report of 1994 offered a much broader definition of security thinking of including all threats to human security, such as hunger, disease, political repression and disruption of daily life. Even "water security" started playing a role. According to Cornwall (1997: 18) "there was a good case to be made for states and individuals taking a wider view of security than generally offered in strategic or military terms" — especially in Africa with its fragile environment in which people live marginalised lives. According to Cilliers (2004: 8), an expansive approach to human security has traditionally been followed in Africa. The draft African Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact states:

[H]uman security means the security of the individual with respect to the satisfaction of the basic needs of life; it also encompasses the creation of the social, political, economic, military, environmental and cultural conditions necessary for the survival, livelihood, and dignity of the individual, including the protection of fundamental freedom, the respect for human rights, good governance, access to education, healthcare, and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his/her own potential (Cilliers 2004: 8).

Glasius & Kaldor (2006: 17) are of the opinion that the process by which human security operates should entail a multilateral commitment to international law and international institutions at the global level, and a bottom-up approach (concerning the security of individual human beings) at the local level. They stress the equal value of all human lives, in a process situated in a framework of international law and aimed at protecting people and arresting individual criminals rather than defeating an enemy. The global context of human security should be acknowledged and security policies should be built on human security, not only on state security. According to Glasius & Kaldor (2006: 330), “human security means individual freedom from basic insecurities” such as genocide, inhuman and degrading treatment, disappearances, slavery and crimes against humanity.

There are three reasons why the human security concept should be adopted (Glasius & Kaldor 2006: 331). First, human security has to do with the common morality of human beings. Secondly, it should be legally enforced. States and international institutions have a legal obligation to concern themselves with human security worldwide. Thirdly, “enlightened self-interest” dictates that people cannot be secure while others live in severe insecurity, for instance human trafficking. This reason is closely allied to the moral and legal reasons.

This new people-centred approach was contentious and attracted criticism. According to Nathan (1994: 18) one of the main criticisms of the new security thinking was that the concept was so broad that it could be unmanageable and that choices had therefore to be made about scarce resources. It was Nathan’s opinion that security concerns had to be prioritised and were not the responsibility of one government department alone. The various dimensions of security should be handled by Defence, Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Police and Development. The strength of the security concept lies precisely in the fact that it has such

a broad agenda. Non-military threats, or social issues like poverty and environmental decay, need to be balanced against military needs. This means that social welfare needs must not be undermined by excessive military spending. The idea of opportunity costs may be described as “guns versus butter” (Nathan 1994: 19). In most of Africa, however, state security is not threatened by conventional military threats from other countries, but rather by “insidious measures many of which flow from the very weakness of the state and its absence of control over its own territory” (Cilliers 2004: 9). This can be ascribed to the fact that Africa has never had a history of strong, stable states.

2. The background to South African security thinking: pre-1990

According to Williams (2004: 3), in order to understand the changes that occurred in the management of the South African national security function, one must understand the nature of the period prior to the 1990s. Between 1973 and 1979 the political situation in South Africa changed drastically. During this time the border war between South-West Africa (later Namibia), Angola and South Africa was fought. South Africa ruled Namibia as a Class C Mandate of the United Nations from 1918 until the 1960s, but contested the UN ruling in the World Court in The Hague. Namibia provided the South African government with considerable strategic strength in the sub-continent since the former South African Defence Force used it to destabilise adversaries in the Southern African region, particularly Angola. Namibia, the once Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, as well as Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe) were ruled by policies that were basically “variations of the apartheid and separate development policies practised by the South African government” (Williams 2004: 3). National security policies in these countries targeted domestic and South African resistance movements engaged in political struggles similar to those being conducted in South Africa. As a result of their similar struggles these governments found common cause. Formal agreements which included joint training of security forces personnel, the exchange of military staff and the provision of financial support were entered into. The resistance/liberation movements in these countries, on the other hand, co-operated with socialist countries (Russia, Cuba and Red China) for political, moral and material support. This so-

cialist support for the liberation movements was regarded by the Angolan, Mozambican and South African governments as a threat: a communist conspiracy to propagate socialist ideologies. Once Angola and Mozambique gained independence in 1975 and 1976, respectively (and Rhodesia in 1980), the situation changed drastically. The new governments opposed South Africa's constitutional dispensation by providing various forms of support to the South African liberation movements. Because of their socialist tendencies, these countries were now seen as threats to South Africa's security position. Direct military confrontation by South Africa followed in the case of Angola and indirect military support was given to dissident groups in Angola (UNITA) and Mozambique (RENAMO) (Williams 2004: 4). These political organisations were regarded by South Africa as allies in the fight against communism and as stabilising elements in the region. However, South Africa's involvement was used as an excuse to destabilise its neighbours through their proxies, in an attempt to keep the fight away from South Africa.

During the late 1970s, under P W Botha's leadership, a national security management system (NSMS) was developed under the auspices of the State Security Council (SSC), which had been established in 1972. The SSC consisted of cabinet ministers and heads of state departments, a working committee, a security planning branch, inter-departmental committees and joint management centres. National security policy shifted to a more bureaucratic type of strategy. According to Nathan (1994: 10):

[S]ecurity strategy was formulated by a select group of cabinet ministers and security officials, excluding parliament and the public from effective participation.

National security was used as legitimisation for political extremism, called the Total and Revolutionary Onslaught strategy.

Events in neighbouring states affected the apartheid government's total onslaught policy. The primary goal of this security policy was to uphold the system of white minority rule and safeguard the exclusive white state and community against an overthrow of the government and the *status quo* and its replacement by a black communist government, subservient to the Soviet Union. The real enemy was thought of as communism, which was deemed to want South Africa's mineral resources and geopolitical location for its own benefit. Communism would infiltrate all areas of life in South Africa. National security was

used as the justification and legitimation for state action and this was accompanied by a shift from a constitutional to an authoritarian form of governance (Nathan 1994: 25, Geldenhuys 1984, Grundy 1988). This gave the South African apartheid government leverage for several repressive measures undermining the rule of law and for the curtailment of individual rights, the granting of extraordinary powers against civilians to the security and military forces, and the destabilisation of neighbouring states (Nathan 1994: 25). Driven by a severe sense of insecurity, most white South Africans saw the situation as a struggle for survival and there was little time or place for democratic ideas or questioning the authority of the state. The years between 1978, when P W Botha assumed leadership as Prime Minister, and 1990, when formal negotiations to unban the ANC commenced, were historically significant (Williams 2004: 3).

In the early 1980s the security strategy in South Africa was essentially repressive and was carried out by military means, both internally and externally in neighbouring countries. However, the NSMS also effected political and economic reforms as part of the security strategy. The socio-economic upliftment programmes which were established for Blacks were too limited, fragmented and substandard to make any meaningful difference to the human security of the targeted communities. The tri-cameral parliament in 1984 extended participation in parliamentary affairs to the Coloured and Indian communities of the population, but excluded Africans (Cobbett *et al* 1988: 30, Nathan 1994: 10-1). Nation-wide resistance to the Constitution and revolts in the townships during 1984-1985 eventually forced the government to consider including Africans. The primary threat to national security was the mass-based opposition emerging against the government (Williams 2004: 4). The local and international liberation/resistance movements were perceived to be security threats. Internal anti-apartheid groups — as well as individuals, foreign governments and states that opposed the constitutional order of the country — were all targeted by the government and the security forces. State security was highly centralised, autocratic and covert. Government departments

... within and without the security community possessed covert budgets of which literally hundreds of billion of dollars were utilized to ensure the survival of the regime (Williams 2004: 4, Schutte *et al* 1998: 375).

In short, the key features of security management during this time were its highly militarised nature, its prioritisation of state security, the centrality of the security forces in the management of national security matters, and its racially exclusive character.

3. South African national security between 1990-1994

The ousting of president P W Botha in September 1989, after an illness, also spelled the demise of the former SADF. He had been inextricably linked to the military, first as Minister of Defence and later as executive president. In October 1989 F W de Klerk assumed duties as President. This was the beginning of the transition from authoritarianism to democracy in South Africa. Liberalisation was further expanded in early 1990 with the unbanning of the ANC, the PAC and the SA Communist Party (SACP) by president De Klerk (Liebenberg 1998: 141).

According to Williams (2004: 5), De Klerk had no prior relations with the security community and had to “rely on the loyalty and the skills of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) to inform him of intelligence-related developments”. He restructured the apparatuses that had constituted the locus of Botha’s power. These were the Office of the State President, the State Security Council, the National Security Management System and the Intelligence hierarchy (Williams 1991: 60). This was done to curb the relative autonomy of sectors of the Military and Police Intelligence by establishing a special Chief Directorate within the NIS, with the function of infiltrating the SADF and the South African Police (SAP) in order to determine the extent of covert activities. De Klerk had little time for the military-style pomp and ceremony which had been characteristic of the Botha era. One of the first elite units he disbanded was the State President’s Guard, because he “did not attach much importance to ceremony” (Williams 1991: 60, Nathan 1994: 60). He demilitarised the state to a significant extent between 1989 and 1993 and instituted a civilian Defence Secretariat in 1995 to exercise civil control over the military.

The National Security Management System (NSMS) and the State Security Council (SSC) were marginalised. The military and police chairs of the NSMS were replaced with civilians in political careers on whom De Klerk relied for advice. All the prominent civilians in Cabinet were

members of the exclusive Broederbond (Williams 1991: 63). He was set on replacing the influence of the military within the NSMS. The demilitarisation of the Defence influence was effective and far-reaching and the Cabinet replaced the SSC as the real source of executive power within the state. The SSC was, however, retained as a statutory body with the sole and reduced purpose of deliberating on security matters. De Klerk was its chairman, which ensured that activities were mediated through a non-military member or civilian, underlining the civilianisation of security (Williams 1991: 63).

The civilian NIS played an increasingly important role within the structures of the state, and simultaneously extended De Klerk's only foothold within the security establishment (Williams 1991: 64). The military's political role was substantially reduced within the executive of the state. During the transition period (1992-1994) and the negotiation process for a new government comprising the National Party and the ANC, new security restructuring was initiated (Williams 2004). Civil control over the military came into effect in April 1995.

4. Majority rule, redefinition of security and the application of human security concepts

In 1992 the Deputy Minister of Intelligence, Joe Nhlanhla, stated:

[T]he redefinition of SA's security needs and the interrelationship between the security of the state and that of the people must be seen in arriving at a new definition of national security (O'Brien 1995: 172).

The ANC won the first democratic, non-racial elections on 27 April 1994 and for the first time in history South Africa had majority rule. Although there was consensus, stemming from negotiations between the apartheid government and the ANC regarding a mutually acceptable future for South Africa after 1994, different political viewpoints were held by the influential partners in the new government. There were competing demands for access to social and defence resources, especially on security issues. The plight of disadvantaged civilians and the need for social transformation revealed a clear need for a reconceptualisation of security.

There were different understandings of security in terms of what should be protected and how. According to Solomon (1998b: 380) state

security has often been prioritised at the expense of human security, especially in some third-world countries. But the answer to the question of whose security needs should be protected should include the people. State interests have overshadowed the welfare of civilians for too long. In South Africa the meaning of security has changed through policy documents (the South African Constitution, the White Papers on Defence and Intelligence) promulgated and implemented by the ANC government since 1994. It encompasses many more issues and concerns than previously. The post-1994 South African security model was based mainly on the existing traditional emphasis on intelligence, police and the military. But despite the primary function of security being the preservation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, the new security thinking was simultaneously focused on human security and on human objectives, including disaster relief and peace support missions, under the control of a civilian Defence Secretariat. The military strategy became primarily defensive, focusing on regional co-operation (Nathan 1994: 74). The contention was that neighbouring armies do not pose real threats any more. Internal and external challenges like economic collapse, overpopulation, mass migration, ethnic issues, terrorism, crime, sickness and human rights issues are now seen as threats (O'Brien 1995: 172). Democracy and all it encompasses, like social transformation, is now being striven for. In the absence of any threat to the SA state or the military, human security can be viewed as a priority.

The management of national security has been redefined and considerably changed since 1994. Several new security policies have been promulgated. A new Interim Constitution in 1993 and the White Paper on Intelligence in October 1994 outlined how to resolve different viewpoints and described new policy. This focus was in accordance with the UN Development Program (UNDP), which emphasised human needs rather than the sovereignty or prerogatives of states. The most significant development was the delimitation of a state-centric approach to security. By December 1994 three bills of legislation for restructuring the security services had been released (O'Brien 1995: 170). These developments laid the foundation for a peaceful settlement between the former government and the former liberation groups. The future role of Intelligence and security institutions were stipulated by functions and mandates defined in policy documents. The intelligence community

now operated in a much broader field than before. Non-military security — human security, threats to stability, development issues, and international interdependence — had to be catered for (O'Brien 1995: 172). This more people-centred approach to security signalled the adoption of human security as the framework for understanding security (Aboagye & Bah 2005: 35). It encompasses individual safety from hunger, disease, political repression and the disruption to daily life caused by war and conflict.

From the above it is clear that SA underwent real political and social change, at least legally and structurally. Change was also evident in national security, in changes in the security and intelligence services. On 21 October 1994 it was announced by the Minister of Justice that South Africa intended adopting a new secret service structure. The government White Paper on Intelligence, released in October 1994, defined security as follows:

National security should be understood in comprehensive terms to include the military, political, economic, social, technological and environmental dimensions.

National security should, therefore, besides its traditional concern with defence, violence and subversion, encompass the basic principle and core values associated with and essential to the quality of life, freedom, justice, prosperity and development. The following broad principles should underpin the activities of the Intelligence community:

South Africa shall be committed to resolving internal and external conflict primarily through non-violent means.

National, social and individual security shall be sought primarily through efforts to meet the social, political, economic and cultural needs of the citizenry.

South Africa shall pursue peaceful and co-operative relations with neighbouring states in order to promote regional security, stability and development (RSA 1995: 11).

Emphasis was placed on the roles of the state and the armed forces in ensuring the creation of a climate of national and international security, but concepts of human security remained prominent in the general national discourse and were concretely incorporated into, and applied in various national policies. New security thinking also emerged in the White Paper on Defence (RSA 1996), which stated that national security is no longer only a military and police problem, but involves a paramount concern with human security. The role of the armed forces would also be affected by the various non-military tasks they would

have to perform, like disaster management and peacekeeping in foreign countries (Solomon 1998a: 11).

Since 1994 human security concepts have formed the basis of the government's approach to socio-economic reconstruction, development and economic growth in an attempt to uplift previously disadvantaged people. They were incorporated into the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which outlined the interconnectedness between political, socio-economic, developmental, physical and moral security to ensure people's total security from want. Human security is thus directly related to and facilitates social transformation and this is why the government makes it a part of development programmes. The White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (1994) placed human security within a holistic framework by stating:

The Reconstruction and Development Programme is an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilize all our people and our country's resources towards the final eradication of the results of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future. It represents a vision of the fundamental transformation of South Africa. That integrated process of transformation must ensure that the country:

- develops strong and stable democratic institutions and practices characterized by representativeness and participation;
- becomes a fully democratic and non-racial society;
- becomes a prosperous society, having embarked upon a sustainable and environmentally growth and development path, and
- addresses the moral and ethical development of society (Williams 2004: 7).

The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Macro-Economic Strategy, instituted in June 1996, was designed to form the basis of the government's economic strategy for the societal upliftment of all. Its objectives, which also reflect the human security perspective, were as follows:

As South Africa moves towards the next century, we seek:

- a competitive, fast-growing economy which creates sufficient jobs for all work-seekers;
- a redistribution of income and opportunities in favour of the poor;
- a society in which sound health, education and other services are available to all, and
- an environment in which homes are secure and places of work productive (Williams 2004: 8).

Strategies for rebuilding and restructuring the economy (like GEAR) were set out in line with RDP. It is now known that these efforts to promote development and human security did not succeed as well as expected, despite high expectations on the part of government. The following are examples of negative outcomes:

- Although affirmative action was applied, services are not up to standard yet. Inexperienced people with potential are put into jobs which they are not yet trained to do, while experienced, trained people from other racial groups are not even considered for the positions. This does not reflect a democratic, non-racial society.
- Society does not reflect socio-economic equality, because while a very strong black middle-class has emerged, there are more and more impoverished, unemployed people of all races.
- Housing for poor people in informal settlements is still insufficient.
- Job losses continue as economic growth is slow, gold mines close down in the Free State, and foreign migrants occupy jobs that could have been occupied by South Africans.
- Health and education services are neither up to standard nor available to all in rural areas — particularly in the case of anti-retroviral drugs for AIDS patients.

5. Human security and South African foreign policy, 1994-2005

Since the popularisation of human security by the UNDP in 1994, the concept has had significant implications for national policy-makers, who have made it the foundation for foreign policy. After the inception of democracy in 1994, some of the most significant changes in government policy have occurred in the International Relations, Peace and Security (IRPS) functions of the state. South Africa has stated publicly that its foreign relations should be based on human rights (Koetje 1998). The new government set out to achieve broad objectives through the functions and activities of various state departments. Defence played a supportive role in government's diverse foreign policy initiatives, which were readjusted to fit the new security paradigm (Ferreira & Henk 2005).

According to the discussion document of the Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services (PCAS) of the Presidency (RSA 2003b: 57) the IRPS functions were to:

- transform the foreign, defence and intelligence organisations and functionaries, including appropriate training and equipping of South African diplomats to promote the country's IRPS priorities;
- ensure South Africa's acceptance into the community of nations and establish relations with other countries by imaging, branding and marketing South Africa in international communities;
- expand and diversify trade relations to attract foreign investments by promoting and deepening international co-operation;
- promote international respect for human rights and democracy through international peace, security and stability, as well as international crime prevention;
- prioritise commitment to the interests and development of Africa through the promotion of south-south co-operation and the transformation of north-south relations, and to
- reform and strengthen the multilateral rules-bound political, economic, security and environmental organisations in order to advance the interests of developing countries.

Although South Africa has made great progress in international relations since 1994, some objectives were difficult to promote and attain. The success of South Africa's international relations policies was dependent on a range of actors and variables in the international field, including states and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). External issues like peace and security are complex as their dynamics are determined by international, regional and local variables (RSA 2003b: 58). South Africa has an interest in preserving regional peace and stability, especially in Africa, and according to human security principles, does not stand aloof while people suffer political repression, violence, or natural disasters. It is on this basis that South Africa's foreign policy makes Africa its prime focus (Jele 2004). The Department of Foreign Affairs compiled the White Paper on South African Participation in International Peace Missions, tabled in Parliament on 24 February 1999, which serves as a framework and guideline for peace missions. This is seen as an important document since it describes South Africa's interest in Africa and its philosophy on conflict resolution (Neethling 2004: 1).

The International Relations, Peace and Security functions (IRPS) of South Africa are to advance national interests, specifically as these pro-

mote nation-building, human rights, security, wealth creation and distribution, employment creation and trade diversification. Security interests include military, economic, social and environmental issues. Integrating such issues is beneficial for policy-making, specifically in a time of new security thinking, which includes a concern with challenges like terrorism, illegal immigrants and refugees, illicit arms and the light arms trade, international crime syndicates, money laundering, narcotics smuggling, environmental degradation and the spread of infectious diseases like HIV/AIDS. This approach helps to address poverty and put the underdevelopment of the south on the international agenda.

South Africa's re-entry into the international arena in 1994 required the country to expand its foreign representation to countries with which it had no prior relations. It had to realign itself internationally, which necessitated recruitment and capacity-building for South Africa's diplomatic corps. Its future international relations will influence its national security. The Foreign Affairs component of the IRPS function, however, started off with a highly fragmented and ideologically polarised personnel structure. The integration of the new corps of officials into the old bureaucracy was not a smooth process, due to insufficient capacity, human resource development, training and performance management. The transformation of the Department of Foreign Affairs occurred in three stages. The first was a "critical assessment in 1996 of the key global challenges facing SA's emergent foreign policy" (RSA 2003b: 60). The aim of the assessment was to protect and promote South Africa's national interests and values. It also focused on the repositioning of South Africa in the global arena and the recognition of the interdependence of foreign policy with economic and security issues. The second stage focused on two interdependent issues, namely wealth creation and security. The third stage commenced during 2000 and focused specifically on the renewal of Africa and the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment. During 2001, Foreign Affairs undertook a supplementary assessment focusing on its capacity requirements, which established that the department was not able to fulfil its mandate. However, some progress has been recorded since, in all dimensions, towards efficiently and successfully fulfilling intelligence production requirements (RSA 2003b: 60).

With regard to diplomatic normalisation, South Africa has successfully established significant regional, continental and multilateral re-

lations within Africa and abroad. A significant level of formal diplomatic representation abroad, including increased defence and foreign commercial representation, serves to illustrate this fact. Another indicator of strengthened relationships is the range of multilateral conferences hosted by South Africa since 1994, for instance the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1996 and the World AIDS Conference in 2000, to mention but two. More recently South Africa won the bid for the Soccer World Cup to be held in 2010, which also indicates foreign relations success.

Furthermore, South Africa has applied human security by promoting international respect for human rights, democracy and good governance in conjunction with African states and through multilateral organisations such as the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). South Africa has played a part in some interventions to promote international peace, security and stability in several countries on the African continent and beyond, for instance in Angola, the DRC, Lesotho, Rwanda, Burundi, and Madagascar. The country was also involved in the diplomatic resolution of the Lockerbie case in Scotland. It is clear that South Africa has defined its place in the world, despite its limited resources and capabilities.

The key challenge defined by government for South African foreign policy is that of encouraging the world to contribute to new projects and ideas relating to the principle of the New Partnership for Africa (NEPAD). The challenges facing South Africa include its active participation in international political and economic systems, the speeding up of transformation, the promotion of multilateralism and ensuring that AU structures are implemented and operationalised (RSA 2003b: 62).

6. Applying human security to defence, 1994-2005

The Department of Defence (DoD) is one of the security instruments of the State. Its roles and functions are based on Constitutional imperatives, the Defence Act of 2002, The White Paper on Defence (RSA 1996), and the *Defence Review* (RSA 1998). The primary objective of the SANDF is to defend and protect the Republic, its territorial integrity and its people. According to Williams (1998: 334), the instruments of

defence may be, and are, used in pursuit of a wide range of human security needs. This includes military aid to provide power against external threats and internal armed threats, both to the constitutional order and to the democratic dispensation, as well as supporting the national police force in combating crime, should its capabilities be inadequate.

With the attainment of a democratic, non-racial dispensation in South Africa since 1994, relative peace has prevailed. Given the no-threat scenario, it was necessary to revisit the issue of security, as well as to balance the defence and security environment to fit the new human security paradigm. The transformation of the National Defence and Security function is stated in the SA White Paper on Defence (RSA 1996: 3):

In the new South Africa national security is no longer viewed as a predominantly military and police problem. It has been broadened to incorporate political, economic, social and environmental matters. At the heart of this new approach is a paramount concern with the security of people.

Security is an all-encompassing condition in which citizens live in freedom, peace and safety; participate fully in the process of governance; enjoy the protection of fundamental rights; have access to resources and the basic necessities of life, and inhabit an environment which is not detrimental to their health and wellbeing.

At national level the objectives of security policy therefore encompass the consolidation of democracy; the achievement of social justice, economic development and a safe environment, and a substantial reduction in the level of crime, violence and political instability. Stability and development are regarded as inextricably linked and mutually reinforcing.

The democratic principles upon which the management of the defence functions was based facilitated the restructuring of the Defence Force (SANDF) to include people of all races. The SANDF now has its own values and culture. It was created through the successful integration of the eight former statutory and non-statutory forces, each with its own military background. Legitimacy in the eyes of the population has been achieved by adopting a new security doctrine and ethos, becoming more representative of the South African population, and strictly applying affirmative action and gender equity (Ferreira 2000: 61). After the successful and peaceful integration into one National Defence Force (starting from 1996 and completed after 2000) it was also necessary to look at new functions for the SANDF in relation to the new human security environment. Acceptable levels of human security

were to be pursued in areas which would normally be referred to as non-military security issues, such as poverty, disease and unemployment. Defence and security expenses now became second priority, and human security needs more important. The Force's design and defence budget were queried. Furthermore, conscription was abandoned and an all-volunteer force was established, successfully implementing civil control over the military by a civilian Defence Secretariat. A new code of conduct and rank insignia were adopted, while departmental restructuring took place in all sections. Budget cuts were implemented and supernumerary personnel posts rationalised. After the integration of the eight forces a few thousand soldiers were demobilised, since no space existed for them in the new, smaller, more effective defence structure. They were demobilised without ample pension, which led to a serious social problem of unemployment (Ferreira 2001: 54). However, the restructured Defence Force now had more responsibilities, like building an effective Early Warning Capability by means of increased intelligence and foreign relations capacity, and developing a unique defence culture in South Africa, especially in the context of peacekeeping operations (RSA 2003b: 59).

With the principles of human security in mind, large defence budgets are not propagated, nor are military establishments defended. But if the military is largely responsible for maintaining security, it should be equipped to do so. Despite the current no-threat scenario in the region, continuous modernisation of equipment/armament and skills should be maintained. In the same way modernisation of the philosophy, attitudes, approaches and doctrines underlying the role and functions of modern, or for that matter, post-modern forces should continue (Van Aardt 1998: 111, Moskos *et al* 2000: 15). Some would call this a re-professionalisation of the military. However, in the South African case, the developments surrounding the Strategic Defence Package (SDP) sometimes translate into an almost tangible animosity towards the military and its needs, or towards views on what is required to maintain and secure a stable, peaceful South Africa. The SDP led to the corruption trial of Schabir Shaik in Durban over the last few months and the eventual guilty verdict on two counts of corruption and one of fraud. This implicated Deputy President Zuma, who was released from his post by President Thabo Mbeki and charged to appear in court on two corruption charges. The apparent lack of understanding of this court case by

the large sector of society supporting Zuma — who allegedly received, or endeavoured to solicit a bribe of R500,000 per year from the French weapons manufacturer Thomson CSF/Thales in exchange for protection from government investigation of Thompson/Thales — as well as the lack of understanding of the current demands of security forces in the region, is cause for concern.

The management of defence procurement was under the civil control of various parliamentary committees on Defence and a civilian Defence Secretariat. However, this control did not assist a great deal in the much debated and publicised Strategic Defence Package (SDP), initially costing US\$3.9 bn (R24.9bn). This was to be paid from 1999 over a period of eleven years by the SA government to European arms manufacturers in Britain, Sweden, Italy, France and Germany. Its purpose was to re-equip the SA Navy and Air Force, whose weapon systems were obsolete (Ferreira & Liebenberg 2004: 75). It was openly said that there was a lack of civil control concerning the SDP. Some felt that the defence expenditure should have been much lower, with more focus on human security priorities. However, this aspect of human security was very well looked after, since an obligatory countertrade principle was built into the contracts with the arms manufacturers to invest four times more (US\$ 13bn) in the country in order to counteract unemployment and poverty and to ensure economic upliftment, especially of black people (Ferreira 2005).

A few examples will serve to illustrate the extent to which the new human security perspective was implemented in the SANDF to ensure that the management of the defence function was consistent with the new human perspective, while propagating transparency, equality, and other values:

- the very successful Defence Review Process (1998);
- drastic cuts in the defence budget, making way for attending to the social needs of the people, and
- the shifting away from the traditional approach to defence which focused on preservation of territorial integrity and sovereignty towards human security and peacekeeping (Williams 2004: 10).

Despite these successes in the implementation of human security, more challenges remain within the corporate culture of the SANDF regarding the institutionalisation of the concept “than policy pronouncements would have us believe” (Williams 2004: 10). This is because of histo-

tical baggage which is difficult to shed and a culture of aggression in the mentality of the members of the armed forces, which is not amenable to non-violent military deployment or peacekeeping exercises. The nature of the SANDF itself may not be as closely aligned to human security as that of the ANC government. This seems to have been a deliberate intention of the *Defence Review* (RSA 1998), which emphasised a conventional military, based only on the primary function of protecting the sovereignty of the state and the *status quo*. There is an ambivalence about the expansion of military roles among some senior government and military officials who are concerned about the lack of resources to fulfil all the expectations relating to a broad range of potential peacekeeping missions (Ferreira & Henk 2005: 24).

Balancing the needs of the defence sector with other more humane social needs is essential in order to ensure the appropriate utilisation of scarce resources. One way of ensuring the optimum utilisation of these resources is to “re-examine critically the role of the military and security services in order to ensure that they remain aligned to their primary roles” (Ngoma 2004: 101). However, in taking heed of the expanded roles of human security, such as providing educational services, health facilities and improved communications in remote areas, the defence sector does not have to downgrade its primary roles of providing defence and security to the state and its people. According to Ngoma (2004: 101) “it is incumbent upon the legislature to evaluate critically the need for the defence sector to undertake additional roles”, such as peacekeeping in Africa.

7. Applying human security principles to military operations

The White Paper on Intelligence (RSA 1994) referred to the creation of a safe environment within which human security can flourish and to ensuring regional peace and stability. Theoretically the broad conceptualisation of security relates well to the principle of civilian protection (Aboagye & Bah 2005: 36). South Africa has therefore committed itself to regional peace, stability and security and to participate in international conflicts. This is evidenced by the multilateral security approach described in the White Paper for Participation in International Peace Missions (1999), which states that “South Africa has an obvious interest in preser-

ving regional peace and stability in order to promote trade and development and to avoid the spill-over effect of conflicts in its neighbourhood.” It therefore supports stabilising weak or failed states on the African continent. According to Cilliers & Sturman (2002: 18) “African governments have always faced the dilemma of balancing security interests with support for democracy and human rights” — which relates to the fact that most African states were seen as unstable and weak.

Since 1999 South Africa has contributed towards post-conflict peace-keeping. It has since participated in peacekeeping in African countries like Ethiopia and Eritrea, the DRC, and Burundi. The Burundian mission was undertaken before a ceasefire agreement was in place, hence a new approach to peace support operations had to be initiated, which was to assist in the ongoing political processes. Future peace support missions, the enhancement of regional security arrangements, disaster relief and humanitarian assistance are envisaged (RSA 2003b: 71). However, South Africa’s ability to contribute to these missions is not unlimited, because of transport and logistic problems. This is because South Africa does not have enough helicopters and transport aircraft to transport troops and supplies. The recent SDP will not provide much assistance to alleviate these problems either, since the focus of the purchases was mainly on servicing the Navy with submarines and corvettes and the Air Force with light utility and maritime helicopters and fighter aircraft (Hawks and Gripen), and these will only be delivered seven to eleven years after the deals were signed in 1999. These armaments are not necessarily suitable for peacekeeping operations (cf Ferreira & Liebenberg 2004). An additional contract to rectify this oversight was signed with a foreign supplier in September 2005. Eight transport aircraft, to be used by the SANDF for peacekeeping troops in Africa, will be bought.

According to the *Defence Review* (RSA 1998) and in terms of the mandate of the SANDE, it is important to note that participation in international peace support operations remains a secondary function. The SANDF will not create special structures for such operations, but will provide for peacekeeping within its primary structure. The Army, Navy, Air Force and the Military Health Services are not creating dedicated force components for peace missions alone. A multi-role preparation and skills-based training has become essential (Jele 2004: 9). According to retired General Len le Roux (personal communication), the

Army includes peacekeeping modules in all “battle handling” courses at the various Corps Schools and the Army Battle School. There is a specific peacekeeping phase in the Senior Joint Staff course at the SA National War College. This includes a one-week seminar facilitated by the Institute for Security Studies. Through the SADC, combined peacekeeping exercises are held from time to time, as recently in Botswana. Pre-deployment training is done before any specific deployment. It is mission-orientated, because it will enhance the execution of missions and provide the necessary flexibility to change swiftly and easily between missions. Resources are required for this purpose, for instance equipment standardisation, logistic supplies, and equipment maintenance, which all require expenditure. Sustaining forces on peace missions is usually a huge financial burden as well as a challenge.

According to Jele (2004: 7) South African participation in peace missions should occur only when there is a definite threat to international peace and security which, unless addressed, may cause long-term instability in the region. South Africa has to comply with specific conditions before a mandate for such operations can be given. Parliamentary approval and public support for such involvement, costs and risks must exist. The mandate must be approved by the UN and must have a clear, realistic mission and objectives. These missions are authorised by Parliament, the President’s Office, the Department of Foreign Affairs, the DoD and the intelligence community.

Peacekeeping affords South Africa the opportunity to enhance its importance and influence in Africa. However, this role also involves external and internal risks, such as political, military, strategic and economic risks. According to Motsi (2005), the political risk lies in the principle of sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of any state. The political risk for South Africa lies in the fact that Africa remains divided on the interpretation of the principle of sovereignty. The UN and the African Union (AU) also have different conceptual orientations regarding mandates and jurisdictional issues (Motsi 2005).

The military risks of peacekeeping for South Africa relate to its relative lack of experience in peacekeeping, which can result in military losses and casualties. This would have a negative impact on the security of the country as well as weakening the SANDF. The plurality of actors involved in any conflict can cause a discrepancy in the command

structure which can in turn lead to military discordance that could prove to be another risk.

The economic risks facing South Africa in terms of peace missions are obvious. The “guns and butter” and human security debate can be used here. It is argued that expenditure on sufficiently equipping the SANDF for external peace missions and the deployment costs involved could be redirected to the socio-economic needs of the South African people (Motsi 2005). The contentious nature of these peacekeeping missions is clear. In February 2005, the Minister of Defence, Mosina Lekota, warned that the African peace burden cannot be borne by South Africa alone (Hartley 2005). Criticism has also been expressed by security analysts like Heitman and Cilliers, and it is suggested that peace support missions may be outrunning the SANDF's capacity. However, the South African government has displayed its willingness to participate in these missions, despite the risks involved.

8. Stakeholders and human security in contemporary South Africa

As has been stated, human security is not the concern of only one government institution or department. It encompasses all departments of state. To achieve human security is to restructure and rearrange institutions and operating principles in order to pursue the objectives of human security (Ferreira & Henk 2005). According to Van Aardt (1998: 109), the agents of security take final responsibility for its implementation.

The International Relations, Peace and Security (IRPS) departments faced significant challenges, since they had been closely linked to the former apartheid government. This was also the case with the military. By carefully revising the respective missions of these departments and transforming them internally to ensure their alignment with the new vision, namely human security, some of the challenges currently facing South African society have been addressed. The ANC government would like to believe that it has improved governance, performance and accountability.

At the social level, Government is trying to affect the lives of children, the youth, women, people with disabilities, and the aged. There has been great improvement, with the de-racialisation of social services. In the delivery of social grants and pensions the impact has been particularly

significant. For instance, the child support grant for unmarried mothers of children up to the age of fourteen was instituted after 1994. Large numbers of people, however, have not yet registered for the grants available. The services are also very poorly administered and distributed. Despite the fact that progress is slow, it has been established that opportunities for women in governance have increased significantly since 1994. Gender equity, especially for black women, has been targeted and nearly a third of political representatives in all spheres of government are women. The media often describe white males as unwanted in the employment market, and this situation has led to poverty not seen before in cities like Pretoria. In March 2003 South Africa had an unemployment rate of 31.2% among economically active people according to Statistics SA (RSA 2003a: 67), but informal sources estimated the figure as even higher in 2005, namely 37%.

In the education system the focus is on the learning possibilities and opportunities available to learners. Bursaries and student loans are freely available, especially for black students, through poverty upliftment programmes. In the health sector, education about proper health principles is also being provided. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is receiving attention: both educational forums on prevention and the state rollout of anti-retroviral drugs. This, of course, is a contentious issue, since the current Minister of Health, Dr Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, does not give her full support to the distribution of antiretroviral drugs and promotes other “cures”, such as eating certain vegetables to boost the immune system. President Thabo Mbeki’s view of the AIDS pandemic is also quite bewildering. An article was published in *Time* magazine (2004: 91) stating that President Mbeki “seemed oddly reluctant to acknowledge the threat of AIDS”, but AIDS activist Zachie Achmat was promoting the antiretroviral rollout to all people who have contracted the HIV virus and was bound to let Mbeki know the facts about the pandemic. Although the government has changed its health policies, Mbeki once expressed the opinion that AIDS is like a war, only to say to a reporter later on that he personally knew no one with AIDS. It has been established that 5.3 million South Africans are infected, which equates to more than 1 in 10. Former President Nelson Mandela has described the AIDS pandemic as a greater struggle than the struggle against apartheid (*Time* 2004: 91). The article further stated that Pres Mbeki “sometimes gets it right; often he does not”.

The changing structure of the economy reflects another social trend. There has been a shift away from employment in the Public Service, construction and mining towards internal trade and finance, real estate and other business service sectors. This has happened as a result of the restructuring of the Public Service and the mining sectors. In South Africa, two economies exist: one is advanced, skilled and sophisticated, the other is mainly informal, marginalised and unskilled, performed by the unemployed and those unemployable in the formal sector. The second economy should benefit from the first, but this does not happen without proper intervention from government (RSA 2003b: 96).

Migration is yet another social trend. Migrants move from rural areas to the cities in search of employment and a better life. Around all the major cities and even the smaller towns in South Africa squatter camps or illegal settlements may be found. This leads to problems of spatial development and concentrations of absolute poverty. Both the influx to urban areas and the population loss in rural areas have a negative impact on social relations and economic opportunities in these areas. Family networks and support systems break down when economically active people leave extended families to live in informal settlements. The social, economic and political consequences of this transition are significant. The negative trends of the social transition, such as unemployment and poverty, have not declined, despite government intervention. The development potential of some areas is delimited while other areas suffer from increased criminality. Governance of such areas becomes more difficult and is not in line with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of the government, which is based on the concept of human security. Yet, we know that GEAR has effectively replaced the RDP, and that the RDP has been jettisoned — with potentially disastrous consequences.

9. Lessons learnt from the South African experience

South Africa has made a considerable effort to incorporate key concepts of human security into its domestic and foreign policies. To a certain extent this has been successful, with the exception of some policies, like the RDP and GEAR, where the implementation met with less success. The practical implementation of human security in the Defence Force also encountered problems, for instance the aggressive military mindsets that are still inculcated into soldiers deployed on peacekeeping missions.

The SANDF itself may not be as closely aligned to human security thinking as the government. The *Defence Review* (RSA 1998) emphasised a conventional military, implementing only the “primary function”. Some senior government and military officials have been ambivalent about the expansion of military roles and the lack of the resources necessary to fulfil all the expectations of a broad range of potential missions (Ferreira & Henk 2005: 24). This ambivalence is evident in the lack of specific training for peacekeeping missions.

The baggage of the Cold War intelligence tradition is still in operation in some instances. In the case of South Africa’s intervention in Lesotho in 1998 the intelligence was faulty and did not prepare the South African soldiers for the level of resistance they encountered. The national intelligence portfolio is now focusing on analysing threats of a non-traditional nature, like disease, crime, socio-economic deprivation and service delivery, as well as the development of an early warning system (Williams 2004: 15).

According to Williams (2004: 16) defence and societal transformation can be determined in four different areas applicable to the human security perspective:

- Cultural transformation

This refers to the transformation of the culture of an institution: leadership, management and administrative ethos. It also involves the value system of the institution.

- Human transformation

This entails institutional transformation with regard to the racial, ethnic, regional and gender composition of human resource practices. Human security is held to be an all encompassing feature of the institution.

- Political transformation

This refers to the institution’s political features with regard to democracy, the acknowledgment of the principles of civil supremacy, the institution of appropriate civil control, and adherence to the principles and practices of accountability and transparency. There should be a shift from state-centred security to collaborative security management.

- Organisational transformation

This refers to the technocratic right-sizing of institutions, management practices, cost-effectiveness and the ability to provide services

more efficiently, as well as to respond to human needs rather than merely to rigid organisational managerial needs.

According to Williams (2004: 17), wide-ranging transformations of this nature are difficult to attain. The restructuring of the security sectors of a previously authoritarian and violent past demands an integrated transformation strategy if it is to prevent regression into previous behavioural patterns. There are, however, key lessons to be learned from South Africa's experience, while the relevant parties are themselves still in the process of learning:

- It is vital to distinguish between good policy and good intentions. Human security strategies need to be costed and should be allocated to appropriate role-players, such as the government, the private sector, international donors and civil society.
- It is essential to distinguish between vision and policy. Policy is what governments do, not what they merely want to do. Human security should be about concrete practices, not rhetoric.
- It is essential to be realistic about objectives. Actors do not possess the capacity to implement human security strategies. They should rather adopt approaches to creating and managing grass-roots projects.
- Civil society and political society, not only the state, should be involved in the formulation and implementation of human security projects. This should be an interdependent process.
- Meaningful implementation requires a sufficient focus on human security strategies, which should not be too broad for meaningful policy formulation and implementation.
- The state continues to be the key actor in the human security agenda. Its role should not be eliminated as a result of mistrust or inadequacy.

At a practical level there is considerable debate on human security thinking, but more policy-oriented thinking is required (Williams 2004: 18). The level of implementation or application, rearranging the structures and operating institutional principles in order to pursue human security objectives, will ultimately determine whether it is possible to attain peace, stability and personal development.

10. Conclusion

It was necessary to redefine security in South Africa after the first democratic elections of April 1994. It was felt that an interrelationship between the security of the state and that of the people should arrive at a new definition of national security which would comply with all South Africa's security needs. In accordance with the UNDP strategy (1994) for human security, new policy documents were promulgated to shift the focus of state security to include human security.

Human security is an all-encompassing condition in which people live in freedom, peace and security. Its proponents differ from those supporting traditional security thinking in that they focus on more prominent threats such as social, economic, political and environmental problems. It remains, however, in close interrelationship with state security. In South Africa new security thinking includes the notion of meaningful development for all people. The process started by incorporating human security principles into all domestic and foreign policies and infusing them into social transformation programmes. The interdependence of all state institutions assists in promoting the security strategy. This notion corresponds with the functionalist theoretical framework, focusing on the interdependence of institutions in attaining specific goals.

Human security was applied to defence, with several achievements, like the successful *Defence Review* process in 1998 and the drastic budget cuts in all defence sectors after the Angolan/Namibian war. The no-threat scenario and the consequent rationalisation and demilitarisation of the SANDF to an efficient, lean core force enabled the government to reallocate funds to more human and development needs. As a consequence of the obsolescence of its weapon systems, however, the government embarked on the much-debated Strategic Defence Package to re-equip the Navy and the Air Force. This action did not convince some neighbouring states and some citizens of South Africa's good intentions for the peaceful development of the region as a first priority. In fact, though, South Africa has gone the "extra mile" to depict itself as a co-operative regional partner, participating in regional organisations (the AU and the SADC), accepting roles in regional conflict resolution and peacekeeping support, and generally refraining from pursuing narrow national interests with military strength. Despite these exercises, ambivalence remains among

government and military officials about training soldiers specifically for peacekeeping operations, since the *SA Defence Review* (RSA 1998) deliberately states that only the primary function of the SANDF should be executed. This is in line with the UNDP (1994) human security formula, which suggests that security should be sought through activities and agencies largely outside of the military sphere. There is no inherent reason why military forces should be trained and equipped for exclusively human security roles. Still, it is evident that military forces find themselves responsible for the restoration of some sort of normality to those regions most deficient in human security (Ferreira & Henk 2005: 24). It is quite possible that such operations will be the main focus of the SANDF for the foreseeable future.

The International Relations, Peace and Security departments have had some success, which reflects the fact that the current ANC government has made progress based on human security thinking in raising the South African influence in the international and regional spheres, even beyond its own expectations and resources, with the former President, Nelson Mandela, successfully intervening in international disputes.

The concept of human security refers ultimately to the social, political, economic, educational, environmental and developmental issues associated with and essential to the quality of life, freedom, justice and prosperity. These must be addressed in order to uphold the stability of any state and its various institutions, as well as for the well-being of all citizens. Only time will tell if the South African experience and the clear intention of the government in pursuing human security and its application in all sectors of society and defence will have been worthwhile.

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