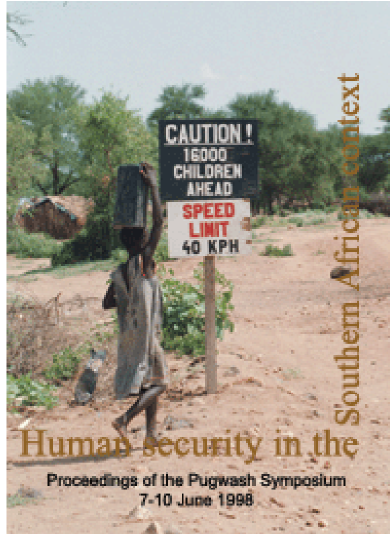

Human security in the Southern African context

Proceedings of the Pugwash Symposium 7-10 June 1998 Midrand, South Africa

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Preface

Pugwash Symposium on human security in the Southern African context

Marie Muller & Bas de Gaay Fortman

BACKGROUND

Southern Africa can undoubtedly be considered as one of the most conflict-prone regions in the world today. The recent wars in Angola and Mozambique are just one sign of the area's susceptibility to intrastate confrontation. In countries that have so far been spared intrastate violence at the level of civil war, the following indications of human insecurity are nevertheless cause for concern:

- rapid population growth;
- AIDS and other diseases;
- water scarcity;
- threats to food and environmental security;
- the presence of landmines;
- the proliferation of light weapons;
- high levels of crime;
- the availability of illegal drugs;
- poaching and cattle theft;
- mass migrations;
- high rates of unemployment;
- insufficient and jobless economic growth;
- a culture of violence;
- a culture of illegality;
- ethnocentric nationalism(s); and
- democratisation in the context of instability.

Each of these indicators has provoked policy reactions, both internally and on the part of donors. Thus, programmes aimed at promoting democracy, good governance and human rights (including crime prevention); economic projects and policies (e.g. structural adjustment); humanitarian aid and measures for conflict prevention; peacekeeping and efforts towards conventional disarmament; agricultural and food policies; and programmes for environmental security abound.

However, a major problem with these programmes is the lack of co-ordination of

efforts. This concerns not only the various areas of policy responses, but also communication within the region and between internal actors and external donor agencies. In fact, the need for an integrated vision of and approach to human security in the Southern African context forms the background to the Pugwash symposium that was held in South Africa in June 1998 that will be reported on in this publication.

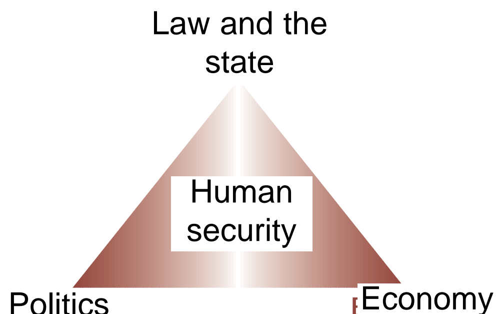
SYMPOSIUM OBJECTIVES

The symposium had as its starting point the definition of human security provided by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its *Human Development Report* (HDR) of 1994. A basic need was felt for an integrated approach to development and security. In this regard, it was suggested that the security concept should be broadened to:

*"**human security** in the sense that people are free from worries, not merely from the dread of a cataclysmic world event but primarily about daily life ... Human security is **people-centred** while being tuned to two different aspects. It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruption in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities"* (HDR 1994: 3, 23).

The symposium approached the challenge of an integrated vision of human security in the Southern African context by approaching the topic from three different angles:

- **politics** (including the party system, the role of political models and the functioning of democracy);
- **law and the state** (including good governance, human rights, the role of the judiciary, the military and the police); and
- the **economy** (including regional co-operation and integration (SADC), structural adjustment programmes and economic development). Graphically, this approach may be illustrated as follows:



During the first session, speakers introduced human security from these angles and focused on matters of co-ordination and integration. The implications of an integrated vision were subsequently discussed in three groups, each dealing with one of the three major problem and policy areas. The exchange of opinions was based on the papers dealing with specific policy issues. The groups reported back to the full session which focused its further discussions on possibilities for, and constraints hampering the co-ordination of policies for human security.

The symposium in South Africa will be twinned with a follow-up workshop organised by UNESCO (Netherlands) together with Pugwash (Netherlands Chapter). Thus, while the meeting in South Africa focused primarily on policy responses on the part of internal actors, the workshop in the Netherlands will centre on donors' responsibilities, co-ordination with internal actors, as well as donor co-ordination.

Participants will be drawn from Southern Africa and Western Europe, and will represent governmental and non-governmental organisations, as well as academic institutions.

REPORT STRUCTURE

The proceedings of the symposium are presented in this report as follows:

- Introduction: This presents, in summary format, the conceptualisation of 'human security', approaches to human security, the current paradigm of globalisation and liberalisation, the role of the state as well as the three human security pillars. A number of challenges are also pointed out.
- The concept 'human security' is discussed by **Dr Jakkie Cilliers** of the Institute for Security Studies based on a short opening address presented to the symposium.
- The paper by **Virginia Gamba** of the Arms Management Programme of the ISS on *An integrated approach to development and security* is presented as the background against which the three security pillars are examined.
- Papers discussing the three pillars follow next: *Democratisation, politics and stability* by **Richard Cornwell;** *Law and the state* by **Lala Camerer,** both from the ISS; and **Co-operation and integration** by *Maxi Schoeman* of the Rand Afrikaans University.
- A summary of the **workgroup discussions** is provided.
- The **recommendations** set forth by participants in the symposium are presented.
- Concluding remarks by **Professor Marie Muller,** chairperson of Pugwash South

Africa are presented in conclusion to the report.

- The final **agenda** of the symposium and the **list of participants** are included as appendices.

Introduction

Human security in the Southern African context: concepts and challenges

Claudia Mutschler

CONCEPTUALISING HUMAN SECURITY

The dramatic changes in the international arena since the end of the Cold War a decade ago and the far-reaching developments in global politics and economics have necessitated the reconceptualisation of the notion of 'security'. There has consequently been a notable paradigm shift in the understanding of security, away from a narrow focus on its political, military and defence dimensions to a new, broader conceptualisation of 'new security' that also includes an economic, social and environmental dimension.

Reconceptualising security has also implied that the concept 'threat' should be reconsidered. Broadly speaking, threats can be grouped into three categories:

- **classic military threats:** interstate violence or insurgency;
- **non-military threats:** energy, water, gender discrimination, ecological degradation; and
- threats as a result of the reduced functional **capacity of the state** as is evident in increasing poverty, unemployment, crime, corruption and transnational, organised criminal activities.

In essence, security concerns or threats are now delineated as **any** situation that makes an individual feel insecure, including poverty, desertification, hunger, unemployment, gender dynamics, repression and ecological degradation. The United Nations 1994 Human Development Report defines human security as *"... the sense that people are free from worries, not merely from the dread of a cataclysmic world event but primarily about daily life. Human security is people-centred while being tuned to two different aspects: It means, first, safety from such chronic threats of hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruption in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in job or in communities."*[1]

This new conceptualisation recognises that an integrated approach to development and security is needed. Development is seen as a process of extending the range of people's choices, while security means that these choices can be freely and safely exercised over time. Security is thus conceptualised as more than deterring a threat. Security is both 'freedom from want and freedom from fear'. Within this new

understanding of security, the problem of human security in the Southern African context was considered.

APPROACHES TO HUMAN SECURITY

The current understanding of the concept ‘security’ as including the individual dimension and the broader recognition of security concerns gives rise to new approaches to security. These approaches are premised on the understanding that, in contrast to the short-term problem-oriented focus of traditional strategic studies, safeguarding human security requires the significant lengthening of timescales within which security concerns are addressed. Security issues must be dealt with on a much deeper dimension. Whether discussing interstate or intercommunal relations within a conflict-prone society or region, building confidence and security is an extended and interconnected process that includes transparency, problem-solving, negotiation, the implementation of agreements and the creation and protection of valued political, cultural and economic relationships. A variety of actions across the spectrum of social, economic, cultural, political and military concerns are required for stability, peace and the avoidance of conflict. There is thus a need for more than confidence-building measures. An ‘enabling environment’ has to be created that will sustain stability. New security approaches have to acknowledge the fact that peace and stability are ongoing processes, that they are not a given, but treasures that must be nurtured.

With this in mind, human security in Southern Africa is seen in terms of three approaches:

- integrative;
- multi-actor; and
- regional.

Integrative approach

The new understanding of security places the emphasis clearly on the security of the individual. However, in his well-known study of security, *People, states and fear,* Barry Buzan[2] admitted the difficulty (but not the impossibility) of incorporating the individual level or dimension of security into his broadened conceptualisation of security. He concluded his discussion by noting that individual security is *“... essentially subordinate to the higher-level political structures of states and international systems.”* To sidestep the dilemma of integrating the individual level in security conceptualisations (at least to a point), the UN *Human Development Report*'s definition of human security distinguishes between *“human security”* as an *“integrative concept”* dealing with people as opposed to *“territorial or military security”* which is defined as a *“defensive concept.”* In other words, the focus is on security between people, as opposed to security only between states.

However, human security should be incorporated into the broad definition of security. Human security is an integrative concept as it underlies or cuts across each dimension of broad/new security. It does not form a separate dimension or entity of analysis. Recognising the individual level is the first step in developing an integrated vision of human security in the Southern African context.

Multi-actor approach

A broader understanding of development and human security opens the space for different structures to build stability. This implies that there can be a shift away from focusing solely on the traditional top-down approach of strengthening administrative structures or a state-centred approach to security thinking, towards recognising that there are also other loci of power and influence. Other actors can be utilised, for example, community-based and possibly more traditional leaders and structures may be more appropriate in a specific scenario. These actors include civil society, the business community, the media and political parties, in particular opposition parties.

Regional approach

With the redefinition of security, it has been realised that problems are often common to many countries, particularly neighbouring countries. Problems clearly do not end where states' borders end, but instead, ignore official state delineation and flow freely across boundaries. A regional approach as opposed to a strictly national approach is therefore needed. Security cannot be established individually. It can only be achieved collectively within a region.

Yet, regarding regional concerns and interests especially with regard to security issues above those on a national level is still a new concept to many developing states, particularly in Southern Africa. There is an inherent tension between nationbuilding and regionbuilding based on concerns over sovereignty. Thus, while advocating a regional approach, vital questions need to be asked regarding the possibility and probability of such an approach succeeding in the context of the 'threat to sovereignty'. There are definite limits, under the present circumstances, to states considering regional issues as more important than national ones.

GLOBALISATION AND LIBERALISATION – THE CURRENT PARADIGM

The rapidly evolving process of global integration and liberalisation has posed a number of key political and economic challenges for Southern Africa. In line with the convergence of views on the fundamentals of neo-liberal policies – first emerging within international financial institutions, and later within a growing circle of policy-makers and academics – most developing countries have embarked on an exercise of 'rolling back the state'. The motivation for reducing the state's role is simple: the

less office, the less potential for the misuse of office.

The terms attached to the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) introduced by international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in many debt-ridden African countries, imposed strict conditions and timetables on liberalising the economy and reducing state expenditure. The imposed market-oriented reform included tariff liberalisation, drastically reducing budgetary deficits and privatising state-owned enterprises. IMF conditions also included a greater focus on human rights through the emphasis on political freedom, steps towards consolidating democracy, and decentralising government as a means to ensure greater accountability to its citizens and thus so-called 'good governance'. The externally imposed 'consensus' seemed the only way out of the precarious, often paralysed situations in which countries found themselves at the time. The exhaustion of economic models had undercut the legitimacy of political regimes, forcing democratic opening up (to varying degrees) in most countries.

In essence, the debate around economic policy and reforms in the developing world became a debate about the state: what it is and what its role should be in the economy.

PARADOX OF THE STATE

Any consideration of human security in the current paradigm of political and economic liberalisation leads to the paradox of neo-liberal reforms. The very reforms which set out to reduce the scope and role of the state, require the services of efficient and competent state structures for their implementation. If economic reform is to be consolidated in newly democratised emerging markets, it is necessary not merely to introduce new initiatives and efficiencies into previously state-owned sectors of the economy (through privatisation and restructuring), but also to introduce these in the state itself. The debate is not simply one about what the state should not be doing and how to facilitate the involvement of the private sector in these areas, but also about what the state **should** be doing, and how to strengthen its capacity in this regard.

A competent state is required with an immediate technocratic capacity, as well as an ability to consolidate and institutionalise processes of renewal. For this reason, the dangers of substituting an 'amputation' of state capacity for a more judicious pruning and restructuring process have to be acknowledged.

The state has a vital role to play in balancing the imperatives of the market with the needs of the people. Experiences elsewhere have shown that reforms tend to be the most successful and sustainable where there has been effective guidance from the state, and (possibly more importantly) where the state has also turned its reforming

eye inward to embark on a process of internal restructuring.

HUMAN SECURITY PILLARS

To consider the different facets of human security, it is examined in terms of three pillars:[3]

- the **political** pillar: democratisation, politics and stability;
- the **legal** pillar: law and the state; and
- the **economic** pillar: co-operation and integration.

The political pillar: Democratisation, politics and stability

Since the early 1990s, the complex linkages between democratisation and stability have become quite apparent throughout Africa as the continent embarked on its 'second experiment' with democratisation.

The driving force behind democratisation came from both the conditions imposed by the global economic environment and the growing impatience of an ever-bolder public consciousness with the continent's prevailing economic woes. For their part, the World Bank, the IMF and other aid donors made it quite clear that, if further financial assistance was to be forthcoming, Africa's governments had to pay urgent attention to their human rights records. More specifically, they had to become politically more accountable to their people and curb corruption. They were also required to adopt SAPs to allow market forces to regulate their economies. Structural adjustment entailed a number of policy changes, of which few increased the short or medium term popularity of the politicians who were expected to implement them. In short, the course of economic and political liberalisation, advocated and enforced by the free-marketers, has an inherent paradox.

For many African countries, SAPs involved a sharp decline in living standards and a steep rise in the price of food and social services, while democratic movements were locally driven by popular demand for improved living standards. These programmes thus aggravated social welfare problems, diminishing the capacity of government to cope with political demands. The contradiction between the imperatives of democratisation and structural adjustment soon became apparent: at the very moment when democratisation stimulated the popular demand for better social and welfare services, structural adjustment required that this should be denied. The early 1990s were thus particularly difficult times for Africa's rulers, as democratic liberalisation took place at a time of deep and structural economic crisis.

Structural adjustment, with its insistence upon government accountability and the reduction of rent-seeking opportunities, created drastic changes in the availability of resources and thus the patterns of resource allocation. Rulers had to build new

constituencies based on consensus in times of increasingly adverse conditions. Much of this has been done through crony political capitalism – corruption. Under the guise of economic liberalisation and privatisation, state assets have moved into the political arena.

Disappointed with the state's performance and disillusioned by democratic paralysis, people are turning away from the state. Participation in democratic processes, such as elections, is declining as people lose faith in the parliamentary mechanism. In essence, while many countries may have become democracies, these have not necessarily been consolidated. Democracy in these countries thus means little more than periodic elections, as opposed to genuine participation by the citizenry and accountability to them by the state.

This results in people organising around alternative loci of power and influence, which impacts negatively on political stability. By emptying the political arena of participation and ideas, competition for power is reduced to its bare essentials, and local and ethnic considerations become paramount. The weakness of the centre thus helps to revive old unresolved ethnic tensions. Increasingly, 'men with guns' have become the important players in the political arena. The effects of this instability (sometimes even war) on human security are devastating. Apart from the loss of life and the destruction of infrastructure, it diverts scarce resources and energy. Most often, it is the most vulnerable who pay the highest price. In some countries, children are recruited or forced to participate in the ensuing conflicts.

Furthermore, this breakdown of the capability of the state does not only have national implications. National problems related to security and stability seldom remain within the confines of national boundaries. Thus, numerous countries have had to deal with the spillover effects of instability into their territories. Capacity-building to support this pillar of human security therefore has to include a regional dimension.

The legal pillar: Law and the state

A functioning state and legal machinery are assumed as guarantees of the basic conditions of human security so that 'people are free from worries' in their daily life. However, indicators pointing to human insecurity – such as high unemployment, high levels of crime, distrust in the criminal justice system, and general concerns about the political will and capacity of the state to deliver basic services – show the repercussions of a state that is unable to safeguard law and order. Broadly speaking, infringements on this pillar of human security are manifested in three areas: crime, corruption and organised crime.

A society victimised by high levels of violent crime suffers all kinds of threats to human security. Crime impacts on the quality of life and restricts lifestyles, while a range of economic impacts affect growth and development. Crime may:

- result in losses in productivity;
- act as a deterrent to foreign investors;
- impact similarly on local business;
- affect tourism;
- encourage a skills exodus; and
- further stimulate xenophobia and racism.

The seeming inability of the state to deal with crime and allay public fears leads to a number of actions which range from rumblings of discontent to more proactive measures, such as private security and overt vigilantism. The inability of the state to police crime effectively leads certain groups of citizens and communities either to withdraw or to take the law into their own hands, posing new security threats. This raises a number of pertinent questions regarding the legitimacy of the state as experienced by its citizens.

Any discussion of crime also necessitates a look at the role of various state agencies that are responsible for the prevention and control of crime. As state capacity is undercut, these agencies also falter. This leaves many citizens disillusioned over the capabilities of the criminal justice system to fulfil its vital role in securing human security.

Corruption, while also prevalent in developed countries, is particularly harmful in developing countries which tend to have fewer resources to address the problem, as resources are sometimes either wasted or not used in the most effective or equitable way. Corruption impacts severely on human security. It:

- threatens economic growth;
- jeopardises efficiency and social development;
- creates significantly higher levels of risk and uncertainty in economic transactions; distorts public expenditure in that it diverts scarce resources to lesser or non-priorities;
- acts as a disincentive, possibly deterring prospective economic activities and investment; and
- stifles private initiative and enterprise.

Corruption thus becomes both the cause and consequence of underdevelopment and poverty in general.

Politically, corruption is often a consequence of the unaccountable monopoly of power of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. Where representative processes to enforce government accountability are weak or non-existent, political structures provide the greatest opportunities for corruption. These exist where political mechanisms are absent that may be used to dismiss a government that tolerates,

condones or participates in rent-seeking and corrupt practices. The political impact is such that an electorate's perception of widespread corruption may corrode the popular legitimacy and trust in the government. Corruption in many regards is the antithesis of good governance.

Organised crime has direct regional implications as criminals are not deterred by national borders from conducting their criminal business activities such as drug-trafficking, vehicle-smuggling and gun-running. Organised crime impacts on individual, community, national and regional security. International and regional security is threatened as organised crime utilises globalisation networks for criminal activity.

In considering the law and the state as pillars to maintain or respond to human security needs, issues of capacity and governance are central. Most important is the ability of the state both to maintain law and order and to deliver basic services in an equitable fashion. Not to do so threatens the 'daily life' of people. Unfortunately, the capacity of the state alone to focus on its people and deliver the necessary services is highly questionable. The role of other actors in ensuring human security is thus of the utmost importance.

The economic pillar: Co-operation and integration

In the context of changed security perceptions and a reconceptualisation of security, budgetary allocations have to be revisited. A highly contentious issue in rethinking the security budget is the allocation of natural resources between economic welfare and military security – the division of resources between 'guns and butter'. A strong argument can be made for demilitarisation and plowing these resources into poverty alleviation programmes instead. In Southern Africa, external pressure and significant changes in the military and political spheres of regional relations since the early 1990s, have resulted in a much lower rank for military security (guns) compared with that of economic welfare (butter). But an equally compelling argument can be made that a too radical diminishing in the resources allocated to the military could undermine other dimensions of security in the long run. The argument is often heard that money spent on, for example, maritime capability, might be spent much more productively on socio-economic upliftment, like housing. But it can also be argued that having shelter but suffering from food insecurity because fish resources have been exhausted by external poaching, does not contribute to long-term human security either.

It is important to highlight that, while military threats are specific and often intentional, economic threats are diffuse and systemic, and often the result of vulnerabilities rather than being threats as such. Economic vulnerabilities thus need to be identified.

Developing states find themselves subject to particular vulnerabilities, given their position in the global economic system. States may feel threatened by the implied

erosion of political autonomy associated with the level of openness (to external influences) of its economy. SAPs are externally applied policies that disregard local needs and requirements in their aim to balance the macro-aspects of the economy. Furthermore, the burden of debt repayment and the imposition for SAPs can threaten economic security to the extent of also spilling over into social and political dimensions as IMF riots have demonstrated in the region. The lack of development and delivery in many of the most basic social services increased the potential for internal conflict. The multiple crises of economy, polity and society often find expression in an upsurge of ethnic identity and consciousness. Especially if one group considers itself deprived of access to resources and entitlements in comparison with another group, conflict will often be along these intergroup lines. African countries that were long run on the principles of 'divide and rule' provide fertile ground for such conflict based on a 'perceived entitlement threat'. In security and conflict analyses, perhaps more than in any other field, the polity and economy are inextricably linked.
Other vulnerabilities can also be identified, such as the AIDS pandemic threatening the social and economic fabric of many African countries.

Three elements of economic security can be identified, all related to state ability:

- the state's ability to protect the social and economic fabric of a society;
- its ability to maintain social integrity; and
- its ability to foster, together with other states, the international climate conducive to co-operation in and across the various dimensions of security.

There is little value in defining economic security only in terms of the individual states in the region. In fact, this might make countries economically less secure. From a Southern African perspective, an overview of the economic history of the region consistently points to the fact that Southern Africa is a regional economy. The tasks of protecting the social and economic fabric of society and the maintenance of social integrity are regional rather than national concerns. An integrated vision of security, particularly economic security, would therefore demand a regional approach, supported and implemented at the national level of the region's states.

CHALLENGES

A number of challenges are apparent when approaching human security in the Southern African context in an integrative manner.

Sovereignty

It is obvious that the overriding challenge to an integrated approach to security for Southern Africa is to confront the notions of 'state' and 'sovereignty' as opposed to the scope and depth of interdependence and links which already exist in the region. It has

to be recognised by policy-makers that, in terms of security concerns, national boundaries mean very little. National borders only constitute artificial divisions at a social and cultural level. This is not to imply that the state is obsolete; but prevailing concepts and images of the state have to be revisited in an attempt to find a new way to deal with sovereignty.

Doubts have been expressed about the possibility of overcoming the 'sovereignty constraint' with the current 'crop' of leaders in the region. To many Southern African leaders, sovereignty is the last defence of territorial integrity in this age of constant external assault on the economic and political functioning of states. Their approach to regional politics, though referring to a spirit of regional co-operation and possibly integration, thus seldom goes beyond rhetoric.

Capacity-building

Southern Africa certainly does not suffer from a lack of practical policies and solutions to its many problems. However, the implementation of plans remains problematic. The inability of states or other actors to implement appropriate policies and measures is usually due to a lack of capacity. One of the key challenges requiring dedicated attention is therefore capacity-building. Various actors can be identified as appropriate agencies through which to build capacity. It may occur in different forms and on several levels: from technical assistance to the facilitation of bureaucratic and general institutional efficiency. Effective capacity-building is about empowerment. The identification of the most appropriate 'target' for capacity-building is therefore imperative.

In some cases, it may be the most appropriate to work towards joint capacity-building on a regional level, for example, with regard to regional policing.

Civil participation is considered essential in a properly functioning democratic society. Yet, many African states have little experience of democratic government and civil society is consequently weak. Capacity-building should also be directed at different agents of civil society. Educating people on the rights (and obligations) of citizenship is a fundamental step in empowerment. Empowerment of civil society also implies strengthening non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Such a focus should take into account the fact that some states impede the operation of NGOs though various restrictions.

Non-state actors

To safeguard human security effectively requires the input of various actors, alongside that of the state.

Civil society has a vital role to play in influencing political, diplomatic and military policies. It is their critical task to harness the opportunities of democracy to

encourage positive changes in Southern Africa. In this regard, the presence of effective NGOs must again be highlighted.

Another very important and powerful group is the business community. Business can play a significant role in human security. Multinational corporations (MNC) have an enormous impact on the economies of developing countries. Efforts can be made to leverage MNCs to accept their social responsibility towards the citizens of the countries where they operate. This can be done in ‘carrot and stick’ ways. Tax concessions and incentives, for example, could be used to encourage and reward companies that make meaningful contributions to human security. At the same time, codes of conduct, blacklisting and boycotts can be utilised to expose those companies that undercut human security in developing countries through, for example, exploitative labour practices or corrupt dealings with the host government.

The power of consumers, especially those in industrialised countries, is arguably greater than that of the voter. Thus interest groups could lobby consumers to take cognisance of their ability to contribute to human security by ‘voting with their money’.

Free media can also play important roles in safeguarding human security, by exposing those who infringe on human security.

Endnotes

1 UNDP, *Human Development Report,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994.

2 Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear,* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1991.

3 However, it became clear during deliberations that a full consideration of human security may probably necessitate the addition of the environment as a further pillar.

The concept 'human security'

Jakkie Cilliers

The Institute for Security Studies is an independent policy research institute which aims to enhance human security in Africa through applied research services and the dissemination of information relating to individual, national, regional and international security. The Institute is committed to three core values, namely those of democracy, good governance and the promotion of common security.

Against this background, and given the theme of human security in the Southern African context, it is appropriate to make a few remarks on what is understood as being 'human security.'[1]

Although there has been an expansion of both the concepts of development and security in recent years, the two terms are clearly not synonymous. While volumes have been written on the concept 'development' and its implications in the global sense, the concept 'human security' requires some delineation. In fact, there is a closer overlap between security and the term 'peacebuilding' than with the term development. For example, the ISS does not focus on the issue of development as such, *"a process through which people's physical/material, social/organisational and motivational/ attitudinal vulnerabilities (or capacities) are reduced (or increased)."*[2] Other forms of humanitarianism such as emergency aid and the co-ordination and interface between development and peacekeeping, however, would fall squarely within the Institute's concerns. Similarly, the effects of (failed) development approaches and policies may impact dramatically on individual and communal security.

This approach does not attempt to deny any linkage, causal or otherwise, between poverty/development and conflict, but actually focuses on these linkages. Therefore, at the **international** level, while not denying the importance of the Bretton Woods institutions within a developmental concern, the ISS will tend to focus on the UN peace process, although the interplay and effect of the former on the latter remains cogent to Institute's deliberations. Nor does the focus on security imply a restricted top-down approach to the strengthening of administrative structures or a state-centred approach to security thinking. An approach which relies upon structure as opposed to content and process is thus rejected. Peace support operations such as that in Somalia have in fact failed largely as a result of the top-down focus in dealing with warlords and factional leaders. A reliance on community-based and possibly more traditional leaders and structures may have been more

appropriate. The concern with human security therefore of necessity leaves space for **community-based approaches** to the building of stability, as well as a host of initiatives between this and international responses and initiatives alluded to above. Finally, in contrast to the short-term problem-oriented focus of traditional strategic studies, a focus on human security is an attempt to lengthen the **timescale** within which security concerns are addressed.

Whether discussing interstate or intercommunal relations within a conflict-prone society or region, building confidence and security is an extended and interconnected process that includes transparency, problem-solving, negotiation, the implementation of agreements and the creation and protection of valued political, cultural and economic relationships. It is therefore not argued that confidence-building measures between states or communities are predicated upon the resolution of the security dilemma, but it is recognised that there is a varied impact of actions across the spectrum of social, economic, cultural, political and military concerns upon stability, peace and the avoidance of conflict. It is for this reason that the use of confidence and stability-building measures (CSBMs) is preferred as opposed to the more restricted term CBMs which essentially has its origins in arms control parlance. Peace and stability are therefore seen as ongoing processes and not merely events upon which a variety of interactions may impact.

The table below outlines, in the first column, the various 'sectors' or areas that an understanding of human security could claim to occupy. The second column identifies those nodes of competence necessary to address these sectors in terms of research, policy and practice. By its nature, the Institute is an applied policy research organisation and therefore focuses upon research, and the impact of research on policy and public information and dissemination activities.

It is hoped that this vision of 'human security' will contribute to the further debate on human security in the Southern African context.

Human security component/sector	ISS foc
Social reconstruction	• reintegration of refugees, displaced persons, combatants • societies in transition
Governance and democratic development	• corruption, transparency, accountability • civic education and training • judicial reform and training • press freedom
Conflict resolution	• study of various tracks of diplomacy • approaches to mediation and negotiation • analysis, policies and prospects
Early warning of conflict	• intelligence and monitoring activities • data collection, storage and analysis • scenario generation • policy options and policy analyses in response to emerging/developing crises • dissemination

Environmental security (as part of early warning)	• conflict assessment related to resource depletion, human migration, resource competition as a source of conflict, etc.
Human rights (as part of early warning)	• gross abuses • social and other effects on trends
Economic affairs (as part of early warning)	• conflict assessment and resolution related to economic trends, resource competition • security and development
Regime security (internal or intrastate security)	• police matters • intelligence affairs • civil-military relations, armed forces in society • doctrine, policy and thinking related to the above
Interstate security	• collective, collaborative and co-operative security measures and issues • foreign relations and security policy • confidence and security-building arrangements/measures • armed forces, doctrine, posture, etc. • defence industries, arms trading, arms proliferation issues
Physical security (as opposed to regime security)	• crime • violence • disarmament • demining • protection of civilian population
Individual security (as part of early warning)	• gender-specific violence • sexual orientation-specific violence • racial/cultural-specific violence
Peace support operations	• peacekeeping • peace enforcement • military, police (including CIVPOL) • humanitarian • civilian • other
Humanitarian relief and emergency assistance (food, shelter, health, relief of suffering)	• doctrine, policies, effects
Policy development, assessment and advocacy	• research • assessment/evaluation • lessons learned • public consultation
Training and education	• public information activities on all the above, including seminars, conferences, publications, etc.

Endnotes

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Threats to contemporary regional security and challenges to governance

Virginia Gamba

THOUGHTS ON HUMAN SECURITY

Security remains an issue that deserves considerable attention, even at the end of this century. The focus is no longer on military or state security, but on the deeper dimensions of individual and collective human security. In theoretical terms, however, this focus is not new. As far back as 1950, Harold Lasswell already put forth the idea of a more inclusive conceptualisation of security, *"... all measures which are proposed in the name of national security do not necessarily contribute to the avowed end ... Our greatest security lies in the best balance of all instruments of foreign policy, and hence in the co-ordinated handling of arms, diplomacy, information, and economics; and in the proper correlation of all measures of foreign and domestic policy."*[1] Robert McNamara, former United States Secretary of State, pleaded for a lessening of the military-political focus on security in 1968, a plea that was echoed by Galtung's reference to *"... four highly credible, but also totally avoidable threats to our existence on earth – war, hunger, repression and eco-disaster."*[2]

With the greater accessibility of the media as a result of global news networks and the Internet, ordinary people found themselves with acute knowledge of the threats posed by famine, adverse economic conditions and ecological disasters. Goldfield,[3] for example, points out that poverty, famine and disease make Hiroshima insignificant in comparison: *"The atom bomb on Hiroshima killed 180,000 people; every three days a silent Hiroshima occurs in childhood deaths. Globally, children are dying at somewhere near the rate of 270,000 per week, 14 million a year; 217 million will not reach their fifth birthday; one death in every three in the world today is the death of a child."*

The need for greater co-operation in countering security threats was also identified in the early 1950s when John Herz introduced the idea of the 'security dilemma', *"... a structural notion in which the self-help attempts of states to look after their security needs tend, regardless of intentions, to lead to rising insecurity for others as each interprets its own measures as defensive, and the measures of others as potentially threatening."*[4]

The concept of security interdependence or 'common security' soon gained ground and in 1982, the Palme Commission supported the idea in its argument that *"...*

states can no longer obtain security at each other's expense, but only through co-operative efforts."[5] Scholars like Kennedy, Lizee and Peou further developed this notion in the 1990s by pointing out that the rise of transnational security threats, such as drought, narco-trafficking and pollution, necessitated transnational or collective responses.[6]

Within this paradigm, Booth emphasised the problem with traditional security perspectives that equated security exclusively with state security.[7] Buzan[8] argued that state security was often obtained at the expense of human security, specifically in authoritarian regimes in the developing world. Human security as a concept meant that people became the centre of security as opposed to the state. In this regard, the Bonn Declaration of 1991 defined human security as *"... the absence of threat to human life, lifestyle and culture through the fulfilment of basic needs."*[9]

The focus on human security makes the identification of threats more attainable on subnational, national, regional and transnational levels.[10] According to Buzan,[11] human security is affected by threats emanating from military, political, economic, social and environmental sectors. The broadened concept of security has therefore necessitated its redefinition to include current realities, as well as a reconsideration of the concomitant definition of threats to security.

Examples of such definitions abound, but some are provided here as background. Ullman defines threats to security as follows: *"... a threat to national security is an action or sequence of events that (1) threatens drastically and over a brief time span to degrade the quality of life for the inhabitants of a state, or (2) threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy choices available to the government of a state or to private nongovernmental entities (persons, groups, corporations)."*[12]

Members of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) changed a key text of their Constitution in 1992. It now reads: *"The object for which the Institute is established is to promote on a non-party basis the study and discussion of an exchange of information upon any major security issues including without limitation those of a political, strategic, economic, social or ecological nature."*[13]

The shift in security thinking has also had a significant influence on international and regional organisations. The Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Salim Ahmed Salim, pointed to changes in Southern Africa at a meeting in 1994 with regard to the Frontline States: *"In security terms, the objective was to defend against colonial aggression and apartheid destabilisation. Now that circumstances have so radically changed, the first task must be to rethink security, to redefine the security needs and to elaborate a new defence doctrine ... we should now find a new basis for common security moving from confrontation to co-operation in Southern Africa. This common security must be one in which all find relevance and which is holistic in scope, embracing the non-traditional areas such as social and economic domains."*[14]

The idea of common security and a broadened security agenda have also found practical expression in the focus of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD); the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the Maghreb Union (UMA); the Southern African Development Community (SADC); and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS).[15] Although all of them started with development issues as their main concern, security functions were gradually added to their mandates. This points to the interconnectedness between security and development.

The new conceptualisation of security is also represented in the Southern African security debate. At a meeting of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security in Gaborone in January 1996, one of the main objectives of the Organ was identified as the promotion of "... the political, economic, social and environmental dimensions of security."[16]

Policies of the South African government have also not remained untouched by the broadened view of security. President Nelson Mandela eloquently pointed to the wider implications of security concerns in an address to the United Nations: *"It is ... true that hundreds of millions of politically empowered masses are caught in the deathly trap of poverty, unable to live life in its fullness. Out of this are born social conflicts which produce insecurity and instability, civil and other wars that claim many lives and millions of desperate refugees ... Out of this cauldron are also born tyrants, dictators and demagogues ..."*[17]

The South African Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aziz Pahad in turn criticised military perceptions of security and argued for the inclusion of the promotion of human rights, democracy and good governance; sustainable economic development that would benefit the political, economic and social well-being of all the people of Southern Africa; constructive interaction between SADC and the rest of Africa; a focus on environmental issues, arms proliferation and control, arms and drug smuggling, refugees and displaced soldiers, mass migration, drought and other natural disasters; ethnic conflicts; and territorial claims.[18]

This wider focus is also evident in the South African Department of Defence's *White Paper on Defence* which explicitly states: *"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."*[19]

With the end of the Cold War, the international community entered a new phase:

- Countries could now turn 'inwards' and set their own houses in order (exhaustion at the end of the Cold War). In the best cases, this led to an overwhelming wish to look inwards: to ethnocentrism, nationalism and the revision of defence budgets and defence priorities. In the worst cases, it led to the re-emergence of ethnic, political and religious divisions and conflict.
- No country wanted to take the lead in the emerging new world order, as no single country was left with the same level of real and perceived power as it had during the Cold War. This led to a renewed look at international organisations and collective security processes.

The biggest problem for decision-makers at the end of this period was to reassess the nature of security threats. Would they be hard issues (military threats to security in the traditional sense) or would they look at the softer and more likely issues of security (non-military threats to security)? The answer was vital to most countries, since it would guide their policies and budgets, as well as their international interactions in the near future. Although this applied primarily to countries in the North, for developing countries a similar process occurred after democratisation, leading also to shifts in defence and security allocations.

A decade later, the answers are not yet clear and policies to deter security threats have not been standardised. But some general lines have emerged which are pushing the discussion of security well beyond traditional agendas. The topics under discussion can be divided into three broad categories:

- **Military-type threats to security:** these range from classical intervention (as seen in the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in 1991), to insurgency wars (as seen in the military operations leading to the change of government in Zaire in 1997).
- **Non-military threats to long-term security:** these are the hardest issues to catalogue, since they deal with the consequences of given situations. Thus, problems related to energy, water, health, economics, development and environmental issues are or can become security threats to countries and to regions.
- Any **threat to the capacity of nation-states** to govern themselves, and therefore to react to military and non-military threats to security in the long term, is – in itself – a security problem. This could include the emergence of non-state actors in the international context, corruption, lack of effective governance processes (including challenges to democratisation), crime and violence (including transnational organised crime, and the increase in the availability of illegal and cheap arms and ammunition), poverty and socio-economic challenges (including the existence of competitive black markets), and massive humanitarian crises leading to a large exodus of people either within a country or across borders

(which often stretches the capacity of governments to deal with the situation and also fuels resentment and competition with local inhabitants and migrants).

Although these threats to security seem disparate, they are really connected: the effects of one being felt in the other two.

Thus, for example, a civil war in one country can lead to a mass exodus of people to another, which, in turn, can fuel increases in violence and crime (mostly with small arms as the tools of violence). This pressurises governments to increase spending on their security forces (taking funds which should be earmarked for socio-economic development and growth). This also opens the door to insecurity, private security, lack of faith in government, and/or increases in corruption. The situation can set the scene for worse evils, such as the illegal operation of non-state actors, for example, those transnational criminal organisations that operate under black market conditions and that trade and barter everything from drugs to light weapons to counterfeit goods. These issues all challenge the economic well-being of the nation and make governance a difficult if not impossible task.

The approach to these threats can either be national, regional or international. Given the dynamics of globalisation prevalent today – in economics, security, technology and business, among others – there is a trend to consider these threats as international in character, since even a civil war in one country can influence the daily management of neighbouring states. This has led the international community to take on issues such as the regional and global responsibility of nations to secure individual human security, to restore order in failed states, or to manage post-conflict reconstruction processes. Since no country is powerful enough to undertake this alone, and there is no mandate that grants such power to any one international actor, there has been renewed interest in making regional and international organisations operative in this sense. This meant that existing institutions, which had served as more passive structures for discussion and facilitation before, were now pressed to become active and operational not only to facilitate dialogue, but also to implement changes and obtain results. The era of preventive diplomacy had begun.

This thrust led to an increased interest in the widening of peacekeeping concepts, both in scope (regional as well as international) and in depth (peacekeeping versus peace enforcement). Inevitably, organisations had to undergo intense restructuring to be able to manage these new tasks. This process is still under way.

The linkages between the kinds of threats to the community and the need to operate jointly in preventing and resolving problems, have opened a door to new patterns of co-operation, consultation and assistance between countries, whether at economic or military level. But, this has not provided relief to the more prevalent situation today: the ability of countries to govern themselves in the face of massive increases in crime and internal instability. The role of defence forces has been downgraded,

that of security forces upgraded, and yet, there does not seem to be an end to the problems. Clearly, new ideas and structures for the maintenance of order, the upgrading of the justice system, and the provision of effective security must be devised that take both short-term and long-term threats to internal security into account and that consider the fact that internal instability directly relates to regional security, affecting both the economics and the security of neighbouring states.

At a time when integration and co-operation have become regional imperatives all over the world, this must occur without negatively influencing the security of individuals or communities. Enhanced regional action for both development and security will have to take the emerging security threats into account for governance purposes, whether they are traditional, non-military or destabilising. For this reason, it is necessary to flesh out the new security agenda, and to look at the national, subregional, regional and international mechanisms that must be enhanced to implement this agenda efficiently and safely.

TRANSITIONS AND PARTNERSHIPS IN HUMAN SECURITY

There are two major issues in today's international context which exacerbate the security of nation-states: transition and participation. In other words, what is the status of the new world order after the Cold War, and who are the principal actors?

The decade of the nineties is characterised by transition. This applies to both industrialised countries and less developed ones. In the North, for example, former integrated units (such as the former Soviet Union) and integrated 'states' (such as the former Yugoslavia) deconstructed themselves to form different and disparate identities. In some cases, the transition was conducted in relative peace, in others it spawned protracted wars. In the South, the erasing of the Cold War divide and the fall of extreme ideologies have propitiated the continuation of politics by other means: at times allowing for repressive military solutions to flourish, such as in the case of the former Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville; at times deciding that long-standing disputes should be settled peacefully, as in the resolution of the conflict in Mozambique and Cambodia as a consequence of the intervention of the United Nations.

Aside from these transitions in specific countries and regions, all nation-states, to a lesser or greater extent, are experiencing political transitions (as in the case of South America and Southern Africa) and economic transitions (as in the case of South East Asia, China, Central America and Eastern Europe). Only a few regions remain constant in their dynamics, most notably the Middle East, Europe and North America; but even they must react to changes in others. It is therefore not surprising that the age of transitions has led to an interest in the issue of governance: whether national, multinational or global.

Renewed interest has emerged in rendering the mechanisms for action effective in a co-operative mode. As a result, the reform of the United Nations and the institutionalising of active *ad hoc* communities of nations into subregional entities with common development and security objectives, has begun at the macro-level. At the micro-level, states are grappling with the needs for effective governance, on the one hand, and the pressure for rapid socio-economic reform, on the other.

Another item that has changed on the modern agenda is that of participation. The state is no longer the one determining entity that makes things happen. Non-state actors are proliferating and their impact is far-reaching, whether positively as in the case of global civil society, or negatively as in the case of transnational criminal organisations. Although there is some recognition of these new actors in world dynamics, this is usually kept in positive mode. That is, global partnerships are being formed with the objective to serve a common need or procure a common object. However, there is no such emerging partnership to combat common threats, though these threats may also be global in character. Of the latter, none are more pervasive than the emergence of transnational criminal organisations and the newly found dynamics with which black markets operate.

CRIME: AN OLD THREAT WITH NEW POTENTIAL

As Williams indicates, *"... criminal organisations add turbulence to domestic politics, and challenge the normal functioning of government and law. They are also linked in complex ways to the growth of the black market."*[20] Many would dispute that these are the only threats to global security in the future. However, there are many challenges to peace and security today that are both military and non-military in character, but that do not touch on either of the above. But even if transnational criminal organisations and the new competitiveness of black markets are not the only future threats to global security, they are certainly two of the most pervasive. This happens because of the far-reaching destabilising effects they create. There is, for example, no proportionality in the way these threats affect governments and societies: the environment in which these threats operate and where the greatest amount of damage can be caused, is that of transitional systems. And transition, as indicated above, is the mark of the decade.

Since criminal activities and parallel economies thrive in the disorder prevalent in times of transition, it follows that illegal actors, elements, and procedures are in prime condition today. The response of the international community to the development of this threat has been slow and ineffective. But, it is this threat that has the greatest potential for disaster, as it directly or indirectly influences all parties to the international system.

From a security point of view, these illegal organisations pose a direct challenge to

the judiciary and law enforcement capacity of all states. Indirectly, they generate a corrupting influence, eroding the effective functioning and the integrity of state institutions. But, in states in transition, these indirect threats include stopping the establishment of a legitimate state apparatus which is essential for responsible governance.[21] According to Williams, transnational criminal organisations are *"... the HIV virus of the modern state, breaking down the immune system, and allowing the spread of infection into law enforcement agencies and other state institutions."*[22]

From an economic point of view, the challenge is even worse. The problem with the economics of transnational criminal organisations is that the influx of money generated by them can easily be confused with quick gains for society. Leaders are sometimes tempted to downplay the long-term effects of this problem, because they mistakenly think that it is an issue that can be controlled down the line. Although it is true that illicit trafficking can be a major source of earnings and employment in countries with limited export earnings, the negative long-term effects of these operations far outstrip the advantages of 'letting them be'.

This unusual situation is easily explicable. The rise of these illicit operations occurs amidst conditions of poverty or as an accompaniment to social upheaval, economic dislocation or political disruption. For example, in Russia, the *"... pool of laundered money in the economy provided an important cushion in early transition as industry tried to move from a command to a market economy."*[23] However, although criminal capital has many advantages over legitimate capital, it often drives out legitimate entrepreneurs, as Williams indicates. Moreover, considerable illegal money in the economy renders the task of economic management problematic. Thus, transnational criminal organisations are ultimately predatory, because they repress the emergence of a strong and sustainable economic base in emerging countries.[24]

The impact of this threat on societies is considerable, since illegal trafficking means the movement of illegal goods and this, in itself, adds to human insecurity. For example, drug trafficking for profit generates violence against individuals that steal to feed drug habits and become violent as a consequence. The same can be said of guns and other types of small arms: arms provide power to the user, who becomes increasingly accustomed to achieve his aims through the use of violence.[25] At times, two illegal commodities, such as arms and drugs, are linked when street gangs, who operate to sell drugs or other illegal goods in specific areas, must defend their operations in typical gang-warfare style and need the weapons to do so. At times, competitive drive is confused with power and assertion, and leads to the use of force as is evident in the infamous taxi-wars in South Africa where guns figure as instruments of deterrence in a business that should be considered 'legitimate': the transport of passengers. In all of these variations, it is not only the user who gets hurt, it is the innocent bystanders, either because they become victims of violence themselves or because they must pay the social price of insecurity in higher taxes to pay for lost productivity and increased policing, or in the

need to pay for their own private security when the state cannot provide it.

Finally, illegal trafficking does not stop at the trading of objects: the facility to exploit the more vulnerable members of society, such as women and children, is always there, leading to the ultimate commodity trading: that of human beings. The gross violation of human rights and the total disregard for the essential dignity of man are direct threats to human security. On the economic front, these illegal operations threaten the integrity of financial and commercial institutions, because they try to maintain existing systems, in order to exploit their multiple points of access, the capacity for rapid and anonymous money transfers, and the lack of transparency. Once a trafficking network is functioning effectively, product diversification is easy. Not all countries might see weapons as the more destabilising commodity: illegal trade in mineral resources, gems, rare species, humans, counterfeit goods and drugs can all be processed through the same channels. The infiltration of the banking system, on the one hand, and the corruption of computerised information systems, on the other, are particularly pervasive problems that directly challenge the capacity of societies to govern themselves.

Today's context of rising transnational criminal organisations, supported by competitive black markets, provides an immediate threat to societies because of the level of insecurity and violence it brings to individuals, and because it challenges the establishment and consolidation of accountable and responsible government structures. Since the international arena consists of national actors, it follows that the stronger and more secure the national actor, the stronger the international community. Conversely, the weaker the national actor, the weaker the regional and international community will become, and the greater the need for the establishment of multinational processes for crisis management and conflict resolution. For all of these reasons, the context in which transnational criminal organisations operate must ultimately be seen as a direct challenge to the capacity of states firstly to govern themselves, and secondly to participate in multinational governance initiatives.

CONCLUSION

At the end of the 20th century, the concept of security has been broadened to include an holistic view of humankind within its physical and spiritual environment. In its definition, the need for an integrative, collaborative approach in addressing the particularities of the security needs of individual people is implied as an imperative. Specific issues need to be approached in such a way that they address the real needs of people, while making use of the capabilities and expertise of a variety of actors able and available to contribute to human security, not only in the Southern African region, but also in the world at large.

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Democratisation and security in Africa

Richard Cornwell

INTRODUCTION

It is certainly no coincidence that the debate about Africa's 'second liberation' and democratisation has taken place in an environment in which the major powers no longer need to compete so ferociously for Africa's international support. In the early 1990s, African rulers discovered for the first time since independence, that domestic support could be more important than foreign patrons. This realisation forced them to confront the inherent weaknesses of their regimes and to consider sharing power with others. The early 1990s were uncomfortable times for Africa's rulers and their clients, for all this happened at a time of deep and structural economic crisis.

The driving force behind Africa's second experiment with democracy came both from ideological conviction and the growing impatience of an ever-bolder public consciousness, and from the related matter of the continent's prevailing economic woes.

On the one hand, the politically conscious, urbanised, professional and student bodies began to rail against the continued failure of their rulers to match rhetoric and promises to economic progress, for much of Africa had experienced a steady decline in living standards through the 1970s and 1980s.

For their part, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other aid donors also made it quite clear that, if further financial assistance was to be forthcoming, Africa's governments had to pay urgent attention to their human rights records. More specifically, they had to become politically more accountable to their people and curb corruption. They were also required to adopt structural adjustment programmes and to allow market forces to send the major signals through their economies.

Structural adjustment entailed a number of policy changes, few of which were calculated to increase the short or even medium term popularity of the politicians expected to execute them. In short, the course of economic and political liberalisation, advocated and even enforced by the apostles of the free market, was not without a certain inherent paradox, because structural adjustment programmes involved a sharp decline in living standards and a steep rise in the price of food and social services, especially in the towns of many African countries. But locally, the

democratic movement had been driven largely by popular demand for improved living standards. Structural adjustment programmes thus aggravated social welfare problems, diminishing the capacity of governments to cope with political demands. The contradiction between the imperatives of democratisation and structural adjustment soon became apparent: at the very moment when democratisation stimulated the popular demand for better social and welfare services, structural adjustment required that this be denied.

Simultaneously, the insistence upon government accountability, and the reduction in rent-seeking opportunities this brought in its train, put severe pressure upon state-centred patronage networks. This meant that, despite increasingly adverse conditions, rulers had to try to build new constituencies based on consent. In as much as structural adjustment created a drastic change in patterns of resource allocation, it eroded the clientelistic foundations on which most African state systems were based. In essence, this structural adjustment/aid-linked movement towards democracy contained within it the seeds of its own undoing. As one wag put it: *"At the end of the light was the tunnel."*[1]

There are some critics who argue that the change in emphasis from democratisation to good governance implies a recognition of these difficulties, and that the donors' priority has now shifted to the creation of bureaucratic structures capable of carrying out the instructions of foreign technocrats, rather than the will of the electorate.

As Reno Lemarchand warned some time back, it is one thing for an urban mob, a guerrilla army or a national conference to topple a dictator, it is quite another to construct a democratic polity. This is especially true when scarce resources are made scarcer, and where the political environment has been shaped by the intolerance and brutality of previous regimes.[2]

The expectations of many of the opponents of autocracy have proved over-sanguine. Many of the new leaders have proved just as ambitious and fractious as the men they replaced. Furthermore, countries lack a strong civil society in the Western sense to contain these leaders, or a political culture that internalised what Adedeji had called the five Cs: consent, consensus, conviction, commitment and compassion.[3] In any event, it soon became apparent that new leaders, where they had come to power, had little or no say in shaping their countries' economic destinies, so all encompassing was their economic dependence on external forces. It is perhaps this closing down of the political space, and the denial of policy options that constitute the most serious flaws in the Washington consensus. By emptying the political arena of ideas, competition for power is reduced to its bare essentials, and personality and local/ethnic considerations become paramount.

Meanwhile, the very viability of many African states and their ability to provide a modicum of order or a stable enabling environment, have also been eroded by a

lack of resources. The further one moves from the capital or the major centres, the weaker the influence of the state becomes.
The weakness of the centre has helped to revive the old, unresolved tensions between ethno-politics and the demands of the nation-state. Some African states have more or less disintegrated now that the end of Cold War competition means that the major international players no longer feel any pressing need to sustain largely fictitious entities as diplomatic or judicial units.

Increasingly, the men with the guns – and Africa is awash with them after the conflicts of the 1980s – have become important players in the political arena. The reduction in ideological conflict has further reduced the political and military incentives for outside powers to intervene on the continent and, contrary to some expectations, an Africa omitted from the calculations of external rivals has not become a more peaceful place. Now that local disputes are less globalised, outside powers have less influence on the conduct, termination and outcome of these conflicts. Local rivalries and antagonisms are given freer rein, being more remote from world centres of power and insignificant in terms of the global system. African states are therefore less able to rely on outside assistance to end local wars that are no threat to vital foreign interests.

In addition, new non-state actors are also given a freer rein for their activities. The 'privatisation of war' is a noticeable trend, as uprooted men-at-arms offer their services to new versions of the chartered companies.

WAR AND DEVELOPMENT

What effect does a war have on the development of a poor nation? Quite apart from the loss of life as a direct result of military action, it wrecks the physical infrastructure, from hydro-electric schemes at one end of the scale to village wells at the other. Roads and bridges may be destroyed or fall into disrepair or be obstructed by fighting. Transport capacity and fuel supplies are redirected to military use.

War and the preparation for war divert scarce resources and energy. Trained and skilled manpower is redirected from the economy and administration. Many skilled professionals, to all intents and purposes, have fled Africa for employment elsewhere or, having completed courses overseas, simply never return. This leaves the prospect of the 'Haitianisation' of Africa, as those with the ability to run modern states abandon the field to local varieties of the *ton ton macoute.*

Warfare destroys food supplies and livestock, either directly or by their being pillaged or requisitioned by armed men whom civilian populations are unable to resist. From the vital agricultural sector, which provides the livelihoods of most African families, manpower is conscripted, press-ganged off the land or forced into flight. The social

and gender relations so important to the survival of communities with small margins, are disturbed.

Veterinary services and control measures prove impossible to maintain, resulting in the rapid spread of animal disease and massive losses of stock. Because of its social and ritual importance, the loss of livestock involves more than economic damage, however, and disrupts the entire fabric of social life.

The delicate network of trade between peasant communities is disrupted and even destroyed, as is that between the towns and the countryside. Small traders, the essential links between peasant producers and the urban market, who provide farmers with access to vital agricultural inputs, are driven out of business, either because their stores are destroyed or because hostilities prevent them from selling in needy areas. They refrain therefore from purchasing surplus crops even when these are available.

Social welfare services are disrupted, schools and clinics closed, ransacked or destroyed, immunisation programmes are discontinued and hospitals placed under immense strain.

The often wanton destruction of life and property and the military use of terror undermine the sense of value and of the dignity of humanity. War wrecks religious and other value systems and may cause whole societies to slump into fatalism.

War causes massive disturbances in the settlement of whole communities, displacing them internally or externally, most often into marginal areas in the countryside or vast squatter settlements on the edge of towns, where they aggravate local demand for water, food, fuel and rudimentary services, and may distort local development plans. Such settlements of displaced persons are also the recruiting grounds for combatants to fuel the war.

Refugee camps and settlements highlight the relationship between conflict and environmental stress and degradation, though they are by no means the only links in this chain.

Most authors agree that political conflict and environmental degradation are closely interrelated, though the causal link is not clear-cut or uniform, and cause and effect are difficult to separate.[4] Environmental degradation and socio-political conflict are part of the same vicious spiral. A more detailed analysis could provide valuable insights into issues influencing security for nations and for individuals. What kinds of environmental problems lead to political imbalance and conflict? And what kinds of political conflicts lead to environmental degradation? A government fighting for its life tends to accord a low priority to tree planting, terracing and environmentally sound agricultural practices.

Then there is the matter of military expenditure. Phil O'Keefe of Earthscan is quoted as saying that *"... the only early warning system you need of famine is lists of which governments are spending disproportionate amounts of the GNP on military activities."*[5]

Arms purchases not only increase foreign debt, they require the growing of more export/cash crops, often at the expense of food crops, to earn the necessary foreign exchange. Sometimes weapons shipments have even been paid for by the direct transfer of internationally provided emergency food aid shipments.

The whole question of conflict in zones with meagre resources raises another set of questions, those concerning individual versus national security. Only too often are the definitions of security accepted that are offered by national governments, without questioning what is at stake or whether the defence of the *status quo* in fact offers security to the individuals and communities constituting a country: physical security, cultural security and so on. As Irving Markovitz asked more than twenty years ago: *"Stability for whom and in whose interest?"*[6] The current crop of crises raises the question of how much longer the United Nations, and by extension the Organisation of African Unity, will be able to maintain even a theoretical position of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states.

There is a very good case to be made for states and individuals taking a wider view of security than that generally offered in strategic or military terms. Particularly in Africa, with its fragile environment, security has to address the needs of people, especially those leading a marginalised life, as much as it does the security of the state. Indeed, the two are inseparable.

It may perhaps be thought odd to be writing of conflict just when a number of civil wars appear to be coming to an end. With absolutely no desire to indulge in *Schadenfreude,* it is suggested that optimism should be tempered with a realistic consideration of just how long the road back will be for those countries where the end of protracted conflict may now be in sight. Rehabilitation involves more than the rebuilding of physical infrastructure – roads, water supply, housing, schools, clinics, reclaiming land for agricultural use, and the resettlement of vast numbers of refugees and displaced persons. It also means restoring the confidence of local people, especially those returning to their homes, in the agents of government and law and order – the very agents who may have been responsible for the devastation in the first place.

The dangers inherent in the continuation of a culture of violence have to be highlighted. Christopher Clapham put the consequences of a general awareness of the fragility of the state, leading to the increased viability of resistance to bad government, most succinctly: *"Resistance, however, is infectious; and once the boundaries of peaceful political opposition have been crossed, the prospects of a*

further resort to violence are enormously increased ... War teaches few skills beyond the use of weapons; it destroys much of the already weak economic base on which a newly independent government must painfully build; and fighters who view themselves as having borne the brunt of the struggle for freedom, then find their expectations of victory bitterly disappointed, have few resources with which to improve themselves beyond a renewed resort to arms ... However understandable the initial resort to violence may be, its long term consequences are appallingly counterproductive."[7]

As James Mayall has remarked, "*... the fact that the Soviet model is no longer available, does not mean that Africa is made safe for social democracy and liberal capitalism ... It is possible that ... the culture of insurgency may have taken root. If so, it is likely to frustrate all attempts to construct a viable political order."*[8]

In conclusion, what is to be done? As a matter of priority, the realisation must be reinforced that much of what happens in Africa is conditioned by the unequal and inequitable relationship between this continent and the rest of the world. This is revealed most starkly in the unsustainable burden of debt under which many of Africa's states now labour. To change the metaphor, this debt is the chain by which many are coerced into policies that are, in all conscience, destructive of the social fabric and political peace. So long as this problem remains unaddressed, the outside world will continue to find itself assailed with pleas for humanitarian, peacekeeping or peacemaking assistance.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND SECURITY

There is much talk about democratisation in the African context at present. As with the concept of globalisation, there is a grave danger in surrendering to the temptation of reifying the idea of democracy – of seeing this phenomenon as one thing, rather than as a variety of coping mechanisms, adapted to the prevailing circumstances.

There is also a tendency in much of the current literature about the process of democratisation to see each country as located somewhere on a continuum. This is modernisation theory revisited. Where it also fails to reflect the experience of many African states and communities is in its inclination to seek likenesses with the Western experience, which is tacitly accepted as the norm, even though there are many questions to be asked about the nature of these idealised forms of democracy. This is most apparent in the search for civil society, which is assumed to be one of the elements vital to the democratic project. Yet, Western insistence upon conformity to a culturally and historically specific norm may be self-defeating in its expressed intention to secure human rights and civil peace. As certain innovative researchers have demonstrated, what is remarkable about Africa is the way in which the well-known phenomenon of the second economy is paralleled by

a second politics involving the creation of voluntary neighbourhood governments and rural grassroots movements that produce alternative institutions of decision-making, drawing on customary notions of justice, fairness and political obligation.

In addition to this, certain centres of power may be identified as alternative to the formal political arena emerging among groups and in areas that suggest an adaptation of traditional systems. This again is a process with various manifestations and full of interesting possibilities. It is here that Africa's ability to innovate will be revealed, for better or worse. One suspects that it is here, rather in the impossible uniformity advocated by the acolytes of globalisation, that African communities will find the answers to the quest for security.

Endnotes

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7 C Clapham, The African State, presentation to the Conference of the Royal African Society on *Sub-Saharan Africa: The Record and the Outlook,* St John's College, Cambridge, 14-16 April 1991, p. 15.

8 J Mayall, The Hopes and Fears of Independence: Africa and the World, 1960-90, presentation to the Conference of the Royal African Society on *Sub-Saharan Africa: The Record and the Outlook,* St John's College, Cambridge, 14-16 April 1991, p. 26.

Law and the state

Lala Camerer

"Human security is the sense that people are free from worries, not merely from the dread of a cataclysmic world event but primarily about daily life. Human security is people-centred while being tuned to two different aspects: It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruption in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs, or in communities."

1994 Human Development Report
United Nations Development Programme

INTRODUCTION

The normal functioning of the state and its legal machinery is assumed to be the guarantee of the basic conditions of human security that enable *"people [to be] free from worries"* in their daily life. Yet, widespread insecurity arising from increasing unemployment, high levels of crime, distrust in the criminal justice system, and general concerns about the political will and capacity of the state to deliver basic services, points to the fact that all is not well in many countries around the world.

Many of the above indicators of insecurity are all too familiar to those living in the Southern African region, and to South Africans, in particular. In tackling such a complex topic, three specific areas have been chosen as the basis for the discussion of the law and the state. Viewed through the lens of human security, crime, corruption and organised crime are discussed in terms of the threat they pose to *"patterns of daily life,"* especially given the inability of the state and law to address these symptoms of human insecurity effectively.

CRIME AND ITS IMPACT ON HUMAN SECURITY

The seemingly random and indiscriminate nature of crime creates a fearful and traumatised society whose ability to function normally, whether in school or at work, may be severely impaired. Even the fear of being victimised by crime can severely impact individuals' quality of life and threaten their basic right to freedom of movement, not to mention denying them their constitutional rights to safety and security.

In addition, a range of negative economic consequences flow from high rates of crime:

- a loss in productivity on the part of both direct and indirect victims, and the curtailment of much needed development initiatives that could empower communities to escape violence-prone environments;
- the loss of foreign investment, as companies choose to invest in other less precarious markets, and the added burden of extra costs to provide proactive security;
- the negative impact on local business, which, because of fears of increased exposure and risk, will be less likely to expand and create additional jobs;
- the direct impact on tourism and on a country's reputation as a tourist destination; and
- an exodus of young professionals, especially those with families, who leave their home countries if they feel that their safety cannot be guaranteed.

Crime may also have the further impact of stimulating xenophobia and racism, even though such attitudes are often based on preconceived notions of both criminals and victims (victim surveys have been useful in demonstrating, for example, that South African black people are disproportionately victimised by violent crimes).

The seeming inability of the state to deal effectively with crime and allay public fears can spawn various responses, from an increased reliance on private security companies to overt vigilantism which, in turn, poses new threats to the state. An already over-burdened police force is stretched even further with people taking the law into their own hands, while certain groups in society (such as farmers who feel the state is doing little to address attacks on farms) become alienated from the state and organise themselves into military-style commandos.

The growing insecurity in South African society, for example, has resulted in a deepening of those economic and racial divisions which the new democratic state was meant to overcome, but with a difference. In the past, whites were more likely to look to the state for security while blacks turned to their communities. This has now been reversed, as victim surveys seem to indicate, and it raises a number of questions regarding the legitimacy of the state as experienced by all South Africans.

In South Africa, the transition to democracy is particularly pertinent to the way in which crime and the ability to control it are understood. The challenge in transforming an authoritarian police agency into one which is people-centred and focused on delivering an effective service is fraught with problems, among others around issues such as legitimacy versus service delivery, centralisation versus devolution, and accountability versus operational independence. Indeed, the entire criminal justice system is widely regarded as being 'in crisis'. While the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) has made some progress in pointing the way

towards a more effective and an integrated justice system, its initiatives remain largely on paper, and corruption remains an endemic problem.

CORRUPTION AND ITS IMPACT ON HUMAN SECURITY

In the past, only developing countries were perceived to be plagued by corruption. However, recent revelations in Japan, Belgium, Italy, France, Spain and the United Kingdom have shown that pervasive political corruption can also be entrenched in highly industrialised, democratic societies, and is not necessarily related only to underdevelopment or authoritarianism. Corruption is, however, particularly harmful in developing countries, which tend to have fewer resources and less capability to combat such corruption. Moreover, endemic corruption hits developing countries particularly hard by:

- stunting economic growth, efficiency and social development through a misallocation of resources, sharply increasing the cost of goods and services;
- creating significantly higher levels of risk and uncertainty in economic transactions, especially in capital investment and entrepreneurship; and
- distorting public expenditures away from fundamental needs, such as food, health and education.

In short, corruption becomes both a cause and consequence of underdevelopment and poverty.

In terms of economic impact, it is almost impossible to measure corruption. Judge Heath, the head of the Special Investigating Unit in South Africa, believes that the 92 000 cases currently under investigation and possibly involving R10 billion worth of fraud and corruption, are merely *"the ears of the hippo."* Politically, the impact of widespread corruption can greatly reduce popular legitimacy and citizens' trust in their government. When an administration loses credibility, in a country like Zimbabwe for example, a climate of instability, unrest and general lawlessness may be created, which further deters significant business activity.

Throughout the world, national governments and international organisations are trying to create effective anti-corruption measures for both the public and the private sectors. These initiatives tend to have certain common elements: the reform of substantive government programmes; changes in the structure of government and strengthening methods to ensure accountability; changes in moral attitudes; and, perhaps most importantly, the involvement and support of government, the private sector and civil society. Yet, where political will is lacking, the existence of institutions to control corruption may be of no consequence if they lack independence, critical resources, and public visibility and respect.

The growing threat posed by organised crime affects human security on a number of levels: individual, communal, national and regional. One example of its effect on individual security involves the growing incidence of car hijacking, as it is commonly acknowledged that hijackers and their organised crime bosses are often linked with corrupt licensing and customs officials. At the community level, organised crime often targets specific neighbourhoods (the violence associated with the drug trade on the Cape Flats, for example) or services (taxis run by crime syndicates).

Nationally, the extent to which organised crime networks have penetrated the South African state has to be questioned. With the advent of democracy and the country's emergence from international isolation, South Africa has reportedly been the target of transnational organised crime groups who have quickly moved in to exploit the country's strategic location and weakened law enforcement capacity. This experience is similar to other states, particularly in Eastern Europe, which are undergoing a transition from authoritarian rule to democracy. Without exaggerating the scale of the problem, the growth of international organised crime in South Africa in the 1990s can be traced to:

- South Africa's favourable geographical location on major trafficking routes and its accessibility via land, sea and air;
- poor customs and border controls; since 1994, the number of airlines using Johannesburg International Airport have increased from twenty to more than 120, including flights originating in drug supply countries such as Thailand, Brazil and India;
- corruption among police and customs officials;
- the involvement of apartheid era security officials (as well as former liberation fighters) with criminal underworld gangs;
- a criminal justice system weakened by the challenges of political and economic transformation;
- poor intelligence gathering on crime syndicates; and
- South Africa's sophisticated banking and communications infrastructure.

There have been a number of recent legislative measures in South Africa aimed at strengthening the state against penetration by organised crime. These include legislation that criminalises money laundering, allows for the confiscation or forfeiture of criminal property and funds, applies criminal law to all intermediaries in the banking and financial sectors, and creates a model for regional co-operation in Southern Africa as a basis for mutual legal assistance and extradition.

Another area affected by organised crime is regional security. Because of its transnational character, threats posed by organised crime to society are receiving greater attention in the region. In July 1997, the second Annual General Meeting of the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Conference (SARPCCO) in Cape Town

identified the following transnational crimes as priorities and adopted resolutions to enhance the capability of national police forces to combat them:

- smuggling of illegal firearms and ammunition, stolen motor vehicles and illicit drugs, diamonds and precious metals;
- corruption in respect of transnational crimes;
- infiltration by illegal aliens and their involvement in criminal activities;
- the effects of commercial crime and the illegal exploitation of currency (counterfeit and money laundering); and
- the falsification of identity documents, travel documents and ownership documents of stolen vehicles.

Finally, international security may also be threatened by organised crime as global networks (transportation, communication, financial) are utilised for criminal activity. The impact of information technology, in particular, in facilitating activities such as cyber-money laundering, is only now being realised as a possible threat to the integrity of financial systems and the global economy. In the end, only bilateral and multilateral efforts will be effective in combating transnational organised crime. Yet, the strength of transnational organised crime is also its weakness. While such crime can exploit international gaps in legislation and enforcement, criminal enterprises can also be weakened by co-ordinated actions taken by numerous countries, such as mutual extradition treaties and legislation which criminalises money laundering, freezes foreign bank accounts and ensures co-operation in criminal investigations. The greatest obstacle to such co-operation, however, is that not all states may be willing or administratively able to implement similar and effective systems.

CONCLUSION

In this brief analysis of the law and the state as pillars necessary for ensuring human security, such issues as governance and state capacity are critically important. State structures and the administration of law must be able both to maintain law and order and to deliver basic social services in an equitable fashion. While the capacity of the state to be responsive to issues of human security is often in question, it nonetheless remains indispensable to such efforts. As Francis Deng notes in *Sovereignty and Responsibility* (1996), *"... the locus of responsibility for promoting citizens' welfare and liberty, for organising cooperation and managing conflict, when not exercised by the society itself, remains with the state. Until a replacement is found, the notion of sovereignty must be put to work and reaffirmed to meet the challenges of the times in accordance with accepted standards of human dignity."*

An integrated vision and approach to human security in Southern Africa

Co-operation and integration

Maxi Schoeman

INTRODUCTION

In this article, the obvious need for an integrated vision of and approach to human security is addressed, taking the link between human security and development into account. The specific threats which cause the high level of human insecurity in the region are not only to a greater or lesser extent related to a lack of development, but all of these are in some way amenable to being addressed at the regional level. These threats are mostly confined to the region and do not have much of a spillover potential into other regions – they cross intraregional borders. The challenge remains to develop an integrated vision and approach at both the conceptual/theoretical level and in terms of a programme of action.

When considering an integrated vision and approach, this article is confined to providing a broad overview of the issues, challenges and opportunities facing the region in its search for such an approach. This background sets the parameters within which specific policy options may be examined. It takes the form of identifying some of the issues, challenges and opportunities surrounding and constituting the process of developing an integrated security vision and approach.

The emphasis is on the economic dimension of security, also including aspects of economic development. However, it is not possible to discuss any of the dimensions of security and development in isolation. The wholes are parts of bigger wholes and this discussion is therefore situated within the context of broad security and multidimensional development, but based on the premise that, without attention to economic security and development, little progress would be possible in the other dimensions in the long term.

ISSUES

In order to develop an integrated vision and approach to human security, the issues involved in such a process must be identified, particularly those at the conceptual level, as the concepts and definitions that are used, determine or guide the policy options that are considered in building security. Brief attention will be paid to these concepts and a few issues related to them will be pointed out. This is by no means an exhaustive list, and some important issues, such as the relationship between development and security at the (regional) institutional level, have not been touched

upon.[1]

It is important if policy options on human security are considered to be as clear as possible about the definition of human development – is it something different from or even wider than 'new security' with its identification of at least five broad dimensions of security, namely the political, military, economic, social and environmental levels? The reason why clarity is important, is that the scope of 'human security' also has some bearing on the agents of security who would be responsible for such security. If human security is something different from traditional military-political security, and obviously it is, or even from 'new' security, it might mean that there is no need for military security to be considered or linked to this kind of security. In his well-known study of security, *People, States and Fear,* Barry Buzan admitted to the difficulty (but not the impossibility) of incorporating the individual level or dimension of security into his broadened conceptualisation of security. He concluded his discussion by noting that individual security is *"... essentially subordinate to the higher-level political structures of state and international systems. Because this is so, national and international security cannot be reduced to individual security."*[2] The 1994 *Human Development Report*[3] side-stepped this problem up to a point by distinguishing between 'human security' as *"an integrative concept"* dealing with people as opposed to 'territorial or military security' which is defined as *"a defensive concept."*

It is argued that human security has to be incorporated into this broad definition of security rather than conceiving of it as being either synonymous with broad/new security or in a sense representing a 'next generation' of security thinking. Human security is an integrative concept that underlies or cuts across each dimension of broad/new security. But it does not form a separate dimension along with the other. Security, after all, is supposed to be about and for people, just as it is accepted, within a democratic ethos and in its absolute sense, that 'the state' is first and foremost a construct developed in order to fulfil certain functions for the benefit of people and not for some abstraction. Such an approach is the first step in developing an integrated vision of security. At the practical, or policy level, this approach has certain implications. It means, for example, that all policy options have to be measured or evaluated against the requirement of providing, contributing to or maintaining human-based security. Building such a benchmark into policies, would make it very difficult, for instance, to argue in favour of developing a nuclear arms capacity and, as have been witnessed recently, this is suddenly not a far-fetched idea in the developing world context.

It was recognised in the early 1990s that the traditional security dilemma as defined by Jarvis[4] was actually, in the African context at least, an insecurity dilemma involving intrastate threats. This dilemma has been exacerbated during the course of this decade. But there is another security dilemma that must be acknowledged: the division of national resources between economic welfare and military security – the so-called 'guns and butter'.[5] Social preferences, especially in South Africa, together with external pressure, not least in the form of International Monetary Fund (IMF) structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), have resulted in a much lower

ranking of military security (guns) compared with that of economic welfare (butter) due largely to the changes in the military and political spheres of Southern African relations since the early 1990s. A human security approach to the evaluation component of policy options, based on short, medium and long-term considerations of security, could provide the necessary justification for and efficient expenditure of financial resources on defence budgets, because a too radical diminishing in the resources allocated to military defence, in the long term, could undermine other dimensions of security.

In this regard two examples can be mentioned – the need for the availability and continuous training of military and civilian personnel for peacekeeping operations and the need for modern and relevant technology, also in the form of armaments, to protect environmental security and to build capacity for disaster relief. The argument is often heard that money spent on, for example, a maritime capability may be spent much more productively on socio-economic upliftment like housing. But having shelter while suffering from food insecurity because resources, such as fish have been exhausted by external poaching, does not contribute to long-term human security either.

But security or calls for the enhancement of security should not be confined to an ostensible justification for building and maintaining military security. Another concept at issue in exploring the development of an integrated vision and approach to security is that of defining economic security.

Economic security, as has long been held by mercantilists,[6] stands in a rather close relationship with military-political security in the intersection between military expenditure, economic growth and national security. But this is only one aspect of economic security, though it would appear to be the one most focused on, as it represents the classic guns versus butter debate. But in considering policy options, the field of vision cannot be narrowed to this link – economic security *per se* has to be considered.

To the extent that a country, or region for that matter, might feel threatened by the implied erosion of political autonomy associated with the level of openness of its economy (or economies) military security hardly comes into play. The burden of debt repayment and the imposition of SAPs can threaten economic security to the extent of also spilling over into social and political dimensions, as IMF riots have demonstrated recently in Zimbabwe, and in the past in Zambia. Less obvious, but in the long term more dangerous, is the impact of economic insecurity in the broader context of state-society and intrasociety relations. Lack of development and neglect to deliver many of the most basic social services, as pointed out by Annan,[7] increase the potential for internal conflict and it could have been added, for international conflict.

Being forced into liberalising markets from a position of inequality – i.e. having to play by the rules of free trade as unequal partners – also contributes to economic

insecurity. This is illustrated by the difficulties experienced between South Africa and the European Union (EU) in negotiating a free trade agreement which would also be a 'fair trade' agreement between Southern Africa and the EU.[8] In South Africa and many other African countries, there is also hesitation about and less than enthusiastic acceptance of the US's new African trade policy. The fear is that these agreements and policies will result, in effect, in countries' markets being swamped by imported goods inhibiting their own industrial and manufacturing development, while their exports are often being subjected to various tariff barriers in the target countries. Accounting for the openness of an economy is therefore crucial in defining economic security. But the difficulty lies in deciding what it is that has to be protected and how this should be done.[9] Whereas military threats are specific and often intentional, economic threats are diffuse and systemic,[10] and often the result of vulnerabilities rather than being threats as such. The 'how' of economic security will be determined by the 'what' that has to be protected. The 'what' again implies some kind of a benchmark for evaluating policy options, thus underlining the need for a definition of economic security.

Such a definition should be premised on accepting the fact that national economies operate within a capitalist world economic system, and that capitalism means competition. Therefore, as Buzan points out, relative security is possible, while absolute security is not.[11] This returns the discussion to the liberal economic perspective that gains are relative, not absolute.

From a Southern African perspective, an overview of the economic history of the region points relentlessly to the fact that, perhaps more than anywhere else, Southern Africa is a regional economy[12] and there is no sense or justification for defining economic security in terms only of the individual states in the region. In fact, this might make countries economically less secure. Given these two premises (relative security is possible, but not absolute security, and Southern Africa constitutes a regional economy and has done so for the past century), a definition of economic security seems attainable.

Sperling and Kirchner[13] identify three distinctive elements of economic security, all related to state ability. These are somewhat adjusted to make them more relevant to Southern Africa, as the authors are dealing with aspects of European security. They are the state's ability to protect the social and economic fabric of a society, to maintain social integrity and to foster, together with other states, the international climate conducive to co-operation in and across the various dimensions of security. It is argued that it is not only the third element – co-operation with others to foster a stable international economic environment – that is relevant to an integrated approach to security in the region. It has already been mentioned that the Southern African region is characterised by the historical evolution of a regional economy, despite the imposition of borders to create separate political units. Therefore, the tasks of protecting the social and economic fabric of society and the maintenance of social integrity are regional rather than national. It should be clear from the

identification of these elements of economic security to what extent it would focus the attention on policies dealing with some of the threats under discussion. An integrated vision of security, particularly economic security, would therefore demand a regional approach, supported and implemented at the national level of the region's states, a point that will be returned to below in the sections dealing with the challenges to and opportunities for regional co-operation.

One other issue requiring clarity is the relationship between security and development. That such a link exists, and that it is almost impossible to extricate the two or to pay attention to the one without including the other, is clear. The 1994 *Human Development Report* emphasised this link, Boutros-Ghali's *Agenda for Peace* (1992) and *Agenda for Development* used such an integrated approach. Kofi Annan's recent report on Africa is aptly titled *The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa*.[14]

CHALLENGES

The overriding challenge in developing an integrated approach to security in the region is to confront notions of 'the state' and of sovereignty as opposed to the scope and depth of interdependence and linkages which already exist in the region. As mentioned before, Southern Africa is a regional economy. Furthermore, national borders in the region constitute artificial divisions at the social and cultural levels in many cases. Neither the destruction of the state, nor the creation of a United States of Southern Africa is advocated here. The states of Southern Africa are here to stay for the long term.[15] But the threats facing the region are mostly intraregional and cross national borders. In order to deal with them, the concepts and images of the 'state' have to be revisited, and ways of dealing with sovereignty have to be found, at the very least, to deprive politicians of the perennial excuse for not showing the political will to deal actively, efficiently and innovatively with problems: 'doing X might infringe on the sovereignty of the state or of a neighbour'.

The debate about the nature of the state and the meaning of sovereignty in the context of the current globalising era is often seen or dismissed as a rather theoretical concern. The state and the doctrine of sovereignty are brushed aside as necessary evils and as God-given supra-historical forces, and the fact that they are very much human-made, social constructs is easily ignored. The desire is to 'get away from all these esoteric concepts and ivory tower debates and do something really practical and worthwhile that will have an impact on the region'. And it is said, 'let us develop policies and make practical recommendations that will change everything for the better'.

The last thing Southern Africa suffers from is a lack of practical policies and solutions to many of the problems confronting the region. They are called, among others, SADC protocols. However, there is a problem with implementing these

policies, stemming in most cases, from the continued insistence on sovereignty and its accompanying lack of confidence between members. The most serious challenge regarding an integrated approach to security in the region – and, for that matter, to development – is therefore to find ways in which to deal with and to adapt notions of the state and the conception and practice of sovereignty. If new ways of dealing with these constructs can be found or created in such a way that the very changes that are proposed for the sake of regional security do not create new threat perceptions, the problems of the lack of political will and 'living' an integrated approach to security will be solved more than halfway.

One way of doing this might be to look at the way in which the EU deals with the issue of sovereignty. Not that this example can necessarily be followed – the differences between the EU and Southern Africa are too great. These differences are not important in terms of levels of economic development, but rather in terms of the fact that the political systems and ideologies of the EU members are homogeneous, making for shared political values in addition to shared economic goals, as opposed to the states of Southern Africa which do not exhibit any uniformity in forms of government. But studying the example of the EU can at least provide guidance on existing options and may generate thinking on new or alternative options.

The EU deals with sovereignty in two ways. In some of its activities and functions, it constitutes a supranational body. In other words, aspects of sovereignty are 'moved up' to the level of the organisation itself. Supranational arrangements are manifest in the working and powers of the European Court of Justice which interprets EU law for national courts and which rules on legal questions raised by the institutions of the organisation, by member states and by individuals. These decisions are binding. Another area in which the EU will gain increasingly in supranational authority is that of monetary union. In some ways related to the idea of aspects of sovereignty moving to the supranational level, i.e. away from the national level, is the EU concept of subsidiarity which encompasses supranational authority, but also includes the devolution of sovereignty based on the principle of locating sovereignty at the level most useful and appropriate to deal with decision-making.

EU decision-making, however, is largely characterised by the notion of 'pooled sovereignty'. This means that no transfer of authority is made to a central body, but that states *"remain paramount in [the EU's] institutional structures and decision-making procedures."*[16] The sense in which pooled sovereignty provides a different way of dealing with the concept sovereignty, is that this form is based on majority decisions in some critical areas. This means that a qualified majority, rather than the more traditional practice in international institutions such as SADC of requiring a consensus or unanimous approval, is sufficient to make decisions that are binding on all members.

Another example from the EU which might facilitate regional integration in Southern Africa – and not only in the security realm, but particularly with a view to multidimensional development – is that of the European Parliament which is directly elected by the citizens of EU member states and which allows for representation by transnational political parties. Although its legislative powers are not as pervasive as those of EU member states' parliaments, this institution does nevertheless command certain powers and functions not at all evident in the working of an organisation such as SADC with its heavy emphasis on states and governments. These examples and the mechanisms through which sovereignty are dealt with in the EU should be studied to identify areas in which these may be feasible for Southern Africa, as well as the areas and extent to which different ways of dealing with the issue of sovereignty have to be found.

OPPORTUNITIES

Co-operation and integration are clearly the most viable options for dealing with security threats in Southern Africa. Co-operation will promote the building of regional security and the process of development which are mutually reinforcing. To quote the UNDP: *"[P]rogress in one area enhances the chances of progress in the other. But failure in one area also heightens the risk of failure in the other."*[17] For instance, a perception that regional co-operation does not result in an equitable distribution of gains may result in tensions and conflict within the region and in a disintegration of the relationship.[18] The table provides figures on trade between South Africa, the region's 'giant' and the heartland of the regional economy, and its SADC neighbours. Of particular importance is not only the overwhelming balance in favour of South Africa, but the fact that the trade relationship exhibits a classical core-periphery asymmetry. With regard to economic security, it is clear that such imbalances in terms of trade bases (level of industrial development) might lead to perceptions of threat among the smaller economies of the region. The dissolution of the East African Community (comprising Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) in 1977 as a result of resentment over the distribution of economic gains provides a sobering example to Southern African integration attempts,[19] whether in terms of economic development or in the sphere of security. Therefore, co-operation, though an opportunity and the only viable option to achieve regional security and development, is a process to be approached with care and circumspection. And because of these imbalances between the countries of the region, it would be foolish to expect that non-intervention in the form of economic planning at the regional level would encourage security and development. Free trade among unequal players, based on the principle of the 'invisible hand', might eventually not even provide relative gains.

Southern Africa has the opportunity to promote regional co-operation and integration through a variety of means. Perhaps the most obvious means is the institutional manifestation of the region's unity in the form of SADC. The discussion so far implies that SADC is the vehicle through which regionalisation in terms of

security and development might be pursued. Despite severe criticisms of the organisation and its apparent inability to promote regional security and stability efficiently, this is what is available in the region. Taking into account the region's history, it is no use believing that a functionalist, pragmatic approach that would bypass SADC or result in the establishment of a more efficient organisation is viable. It may be an option, but not one that will be taken seriously. Symbolic value and a shared history are often deemed more important than pure or rational economic logic. And maybe a reminder that SADC as a development community is barely five years old and represents a region which is still, in many ways, in the throes of state consolidation, is not misplaced. The EU had its origin in the aftermath of the Second World War, and its core members are states that have been in existence for many centuries – the bloody history that brought about the European Westphalian state system should not be forgotten.

SADC, in its Treaty and in the Declaration establishing the community, provides the building-blocks for a co-operative vision of security and development. In the Declaration, this vision is referred to as *"a vision of a shared future."* A vision is never something absolutely clear and neatly packaged with step-by-step instructions for assembly. A vision serves as an orientation, a statement of values and, as such, a guide in terms of strategies, programmes and tactics or policies needed to realise this vision. This vision is co-operative, while the focus here is on an 'integrated' vision. There is a difference. An integrated vision implies the ways and means of dealing with sovereignty so that strategies will be implemented across national borders. The co-operative vision in the SADC Declaration does not deal with sovereignty. The emphasis is still on individual member states and SADC, first and foremost as an organisation of states, is reinforced in this declaration. The need for this vision to change into an integrated one is emphasised by the fact mentioned above that the region has a regional economy with social and cultural ties that transcend national borders and, importantly, with a skewed distribution of resources within borders, but not across the region as a unit. Within Southern Africa, enough water, arable land and human and non-human resources are available to ensure a safe, stable and dignified existence for all its people. The one resource that is not abundant, unfortunately, is political will.

The existence of sufficient resources does not diminish the very serious problems that remain. One of these is the fact that much of the region's resource base, whether human or non-human, is potential rather than actual. Realising this potential is linked to the lack of peace in countries such as Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo. SAPs in a number of countries make the harmonisation of macro-economic policies difficult. Furthermore, when it comes to development and other forms of assistance or aid, the region often does not have the capacity to utilise aid and, although promised, it does not realise exactly because of this lack of capacity. The sphere of capacity-building is perhaps the single most important one in which the international donor community can assist the region in developing not so much an integrated vision of security and development, but an integrated approach which includes the ability to implement the necessary

policies to realise its ideals and potential.
Another opportunity available to the region to follow an integrated approach to achieve economic security, is the upcoming renegotiation of the *Lomé Convention.* The recent South Africa-EU trade negotiations may result in a blueprint for handling Lomé issues after 1999, but not necessarily so. It might, in fact, be better for the region, under the auspices of SADC and with other ACP countries and regions to negotiate with the EU, rather than have a single country negotiate on their behalf. Besides, South Africa is not a full member of Lomé.

There is one other way in which to encourage an integrated approach to security and development, the 'non-state' way. SADC is a state-centric organisation, one in which the members often lack the political will to work towards integration and often lack the capacity to implement what they actually do agree upon, but there is a vast network of connections and links in all spheres of security and development spanning the region. Like a cobweb, it has its thicker and thinner threads, its knots and ties, but however stretched at points, these threads bind the people of the region together. These ties are historical, social, cultural, environmental and economic. The expansion of these links in various forms is one of the most exciting developments currently taking place. At South African universities, students from the region now study a variety of subjects, academics and researchers have increasing contact with colleagues in Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho, Tanzania, Mozambique and Zimbabwe; intraregional tourism is expanding; in the fields of commerce and trade, both at the formal and informal levels, contacts are expanding – there is a Woolworths in Maseru, a Shoprite Checkers in Lusaka, 103 branches of Standard Bank spread across the region and the rest of Africa; trade union links between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and various other trade unions in the region are growing stronger and the region's peoples are all drinking and arguing the merits of each other's beer.

Co-operation and integration in Southern Africa are not only necessary because countries in the region face common threats. This does not negate the very real deprivation, fear, uncertainty and instability facing all of us, to a greater or lesser extent, on a daily basis. There is no denying the fact that aspects of this integration are negative and serve to undermine security (e.g. crime, drugs, small arms proliferation and smuggling). The point is that, at the non-state level, there are already many well-established patterns of integration. But what is as necessary for an integrated vision as a sense of shared threats, is the recognition, and then the facilitation and encouragement of links across borders, because as these develop and flourish, the region's interdependence will be strengthened, thereby contributing to the building of security and development in Southern Africa.

Security and development are not only the province of states and governments. They are also the products of neighbourliness and co-operation. And our 'African destiny' is not only one born of conflict and poverty and exploitation, but one also born of a tradition of mutual care, responsibility and sharing.

South Africa – Southern Africa trade ties

	1994		1995		1996	
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
Angola	17,40	314,00	2,40	437,80	262,00	670,50
Botswana	1,30	2590,00	1,10	388,60	11,30	771,40
DRC	360,80	360,80	334,10	551,90	501,90	674,40
Lesotho	0,10	0,14	0,03	0,01	1,00	6,00
Malawi	198,60	667,80	213,60	689,00	342,40	1063,70
Mauritius	26,00	716,40	25,00	702,80	23,30	938,30
Mozambique	100,00	1775,30	146,90	1950,80	97,70	2601,80
Namibia	0,30	0,07	1,30	0,05	4,70	2,00
Seychelles	5,20	88,40	2,60	123,50	5,00	164,80
Swaziland	5,10	3,40	2,90	4,00	1,50	17,70
Tanzania	16,80	359,80	21,70	642,00	25,60	555,00
Zambia	133,50	1193,20	17,10	1358,50	201,80	1808,20
Zimbabwe	1172,10	2586,80	1204,30	4552,70	1425,00	5439,00

30% of SA manufactured exports go to Africa, Indicative of serious structural defect in regional economy. Calculated from the *Monthly Abstract of Trade Statistics,* South African Commissioner for Customs and Excise.

Endnotes

1 See the discussion of this topic in M Malan, *SADC and Sub-regional Security: Unde Venis et Quo Vadis?*, ISS Monograph Series, 19, Institute for Security Studies, Halfway House, February 1998.

2 B Buzan, *People, States and Fear,* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1991, p. 54.

3 UNDP, *Human Development Report 1994,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994, p. 24.

4 R Jarvis, Co-operation under the security dilemma, *World Politics,* 30(2), January, 1978.

5 See R Powell, Guns, butter and anarchy, *American Political Science Review,* 87(1), March 1993.

6 R Gilpin, *The political economy of international relations,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1987.

7 K Annan, *The causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa,* United Nations, New York, 1998, p. 20.

8 See R Houghton (ed.), *Trading on Development: South Africa's Relations with the European Union,* FGD and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Braamfontein, 1997.

9 See Buzan, op. cit., pp. 237-241.

10 M McGuire, The revolution in international security, *Challenge,* 33(2), March/April 1990, p. 6.

11 Buzan op. cit., p. 234.

12 M Nkuhlu, South Africa's trade policy with the SADC and Africa, in Houghton op. cit., pp. 78-85.

13 J Sperling & E Kirchner, Economic security and the problem of co-operation in post-Cold War Europe, *Review of International Studies,* 24 (2), April 1998, pp. 228-231.

14 UNDP, op. cit.; B Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace,* United Nations, New York, 1992; B Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Development,* United Nations, New York, 1995; Annan, op. cit.

15 See M Schoeman, Celebrating Westphalia's 350th birthday: Reflections on the state of the state in Southern Africa, *South African Journal of International Affairs,* 5(2), Winter 1998, pp. 1-20.

16 C Kegley & E Witkopf, *World Politics: Trends and Transformation,* St Martins Press, New York, 1997, p. 163.

17 UNDP, op. cit., p. 23.

18 G Meier, *Leading Issues in Economic Development,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1989, p. 429.

19 See N Chazan, R Mortimer, J Ravenhill & D Rothchild, *Politics and society in contemporary Africa,* Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1992, pp. 278-282.

A triad of security issues
Summary of workgroup discussions

On the three items prioritised by participants as fundamental to peacebuilding in Southern Africa, an exercise was undertaken to identify a series of issues that were of importance to effective peacebuilding and sustainable democracy and development in Southern Africa.

After recording the list of issues, they were subsumed into three categories:

- governance
- ownership
- poverty and economics

These were seen as a triad that could impact upon the pillars of security, development and human rights – which make up a peacebuilding construct – in Southern Africa.

The group dedicated part of the discussion to each item and identified the challenges, needs, roleplayers and levels for action needed to address these issues.

GOVERNANCE

Challenges to 'good governance' practices which exist at subregional level:

Violence of procedures

- corruption (in the civil service, in civil society, and due to criminal activities)
- insulation ('closed shop' feeling, distrust, lack of clear processes for decision-making purposes, and lack of capacity)
- impunity: lack of law and order

Weak civil society

- intolerance and distrust
- ignorance and fear
- lack of information and lack of capacity
- lack of resources, poverty and inequality

Needs

To redress the first item above, the following needs emerge:

- reform civil service
- reduce corruption
- institute an effective criminal justice system (policing, correctional, public protector's office, i.e. ombudsman)
- transparency, confidence-building measures
- interagency co-ordination
- NGO-government consultation
- accountability – improving the judiciary and legislature, reduction of executive

To redress the second item above, the following needs emerge:

- strengthening of civil society – building of NGO community
- media freedom and information
- culture of rights and responsibilities – education
- solidarity and tolerance – education
- accountability
- participation – quality of politics and co-operative governance processes

It is necessary to foster regional thinking in national processes.

Roleplayers

- business – the creation of a foundation for, as well as procuring funding from business for civil society development
- media – code of conduct, information
- educators – civic education and good governance
- donor community – to assist in creation of more NGO support

Levels of impact

The levels should reflect individual, local, national, regional and international concerns.

- local and national – reform civil service and civic education, capacity-building
- regional – partnership with professional associations; seek strength in thinking regionally and teaming up with like-minded people and institutions (interactions), networking
- international – development of NGO capacity and efforts to impact on a culture of peace in the region, support and guidance

OWNERSHIP

Challenges

- inefficient political processes
- inefficient laws
- non-existence of a social pact
- exclusion
- lack of engagement in a full democratic process

Needs

To address these challenges, the following needs emerged:

- attitude change
- participation, consultation, consolidation of democratic process
- improve laws, constitution, clear roles
- social contracts
- justice, understanding, co-operative resourcing
- entitlement monitoring

Roleplayers

The main roleplayers to meet these needs should be:

- development agencies
- legislators and parliamentarians
- lawyers
- the media
- local authorities
- grassroots organisations
- educators

Levels of impact

- individuals – education and empowerment are needed
- local – participation, local governance and co-operation resourcing
- national – co-operative governance and middle-level empowerment
- regional – need to think regionally, and to build a regional identity, charter
- international – support and consultation.

POVERTY AND ECONOMICS

Challenges

- not enough resources to survive
- no choices and no access – age and gender problems
- militarisation – insecurity (politics tied to economics)

- environmental degradation – misuse of resources and reduction of resources
- no capacity
- no human dignity and a culture of violence on the increase
- lack of education – ignorance

Needs

- management and capacity-building
- middle-class nurturing and expansion
- breakdown of cycle of survival economies
- labour – employment, work
- micro-enterprise – informal economics
- co-operative resourcing
- education
- decentralisation
- the economic needs of the country and region need to be unpacked from politics

Roleplayers

- economists – international/regional/national
- educators
- the media
- social services
- industry and business
- church
- government officials
- international civil servants of African extraction – for joint awareness

Levels of impact

- individual – capacity-building
- local – co-operative resourcing, education, business partnership/sponsorship at community level, relief organisations
- national – strategic planning, main micro enterprise strategy and direction, incentives
- regional – SADC
- international – Bretton Woods and donor community

Recommendations

Participants chose common elements and needs from issues around governance, ownership, poverty and economics and formulated practical recommendations for international and regional communities on issues which require immediate action to redress these problems. These points were as follows:

- Information/advocacy and education: These should be aimed at civil society in general, but with an enabling focus on specialised branches of civil society such as business, church and political leaders. The media should also be mobilised.
- Capacity-building: This is needed for civil servants (reform of the civil service) and for civil society in general.
- There is a need for the creation or consolidation of more NGOs in the region, a multiplication of voices. More regional actors are needed to open up these discussions at all levels. One idea is to generate efforts with business leaders to create an approach with industry financially supporting NGOs. Otherwise, the creation of a Southern African Foundation for channelling resources to the region is of importance.
- There is a need for regional thinking versus national or local thinking.
- Awareness among professional groups of people has to be generated. In this sense, a possible idea would be to have an international conference/workshop bringing together professional associations that can operate regionally with international civil servants of different agencies but who are nationals of Southern Africa. This exercise could create an agenda for discussion at multidisciplinary levels on how to improve the three points of this report.

Aid by Northern donors in the effort to enhance human security in Southern Africa should aim at:

- informing, educating and advocating, with a specific focus on civil society, the business community, the churches, the political leadership, as well as all other sectors of society which play an important role in securing the three pillars of human security in society (law, politics and economics); and
- capacity-building, with a specific focus on the civil service (including the reform of the civil service) and civil society (with a view to strengthen existing NGOs and to create more NGOs especially in certain sectors of the region where there are few of these organisations in existence).

These efforts would therefore be aimed at an overarching regional action to open up society from the top down and encourage the habit of thinking regionally in dealing with the issue of human security.

In implementing the recommendations pertaining to information, education, advocacy and capacity-building, donors could consider funding a specialist workshop at which all relevant professional associations of the region would be represented. All international civil servants (persons serving in international institutions) from Southern Africa, should also be invited to this workshop. In this way a powerful network of persons concerned with human security affairs and with a specific interest in Southern Africa could be created.

Information about the findings and recommendations of the workshop should be disseminated as widely as possible in the region and should include, in particular, SADC structures, as well as the OAU.

Participants concluded that the issues involved in promoting human security in Southern Africa and which were discussed or referred to during the course of the deliberations, could be summarised and specific recommendations grouped under two broad headings. Both of these broad issue areas implied concerns relating to ownership, partnership and involvement, which were regarded as essential considerations when dealing with human security. The broad issue areas are discussed below.

GOVERNANCE

- The considerations and factors identified during the course of the symposium should be formulated into standards according to which the success of donor and government programmes may be judged. These standards could also function as conditions for the provision of donor aid.
- As corruption is an absolute infringement of and impediment to human security, the idea of a regional protocol on corruption is strongly supported and it is recommended that the possibility should be considered and that previous efforts in this regard should be taken into account. SADC should be instrumental in such a protocol.
- Serious concerns were expressed at the impasse regarding the Organ for Politics, Defence and Security and participants appealed to the governments concerned to address these issues in the interest of human security in the region.
- It was felt that NGOs should be given a voice at the level of SADC and the Organ. The lead of the UN should be followed in this regard.
- An appeal was made to the business sector to acknowledge its interest in civil society and it was recommended to Southern African governments that tax

concessions should be given to businesses supporting the enhancement of human security through support to appropriate NGOs and their activities.

- Participants recommended that an investigation or study should be undertaken into the merits of opening up the region by removing obstacles to the movement of goods, people and services. This could include an investigation of the possible effect of the establishment of a regional currency on the stability of and human security in the region.

POVERTY AND ECONOMICS

- It is recommended that a Human Security Foundation should be established to facilitate the flow of funding to NGOs in the region.
- It is recommended that an integrative approach should be followed in all development projects. This would imply that entitlement should always be taken into consideration when projects are planned.
- Strong support is expressed for efforts to effect a change of attitude throughout the region through education, as the end of humiliation includes an end to self-humiliation. Donor efforts should focus on the personal empowerment of the people in the region, thereby creating a bottom-up effect on human security.

Concluding remarks

Marie Muller

In its deliberations, the symposium dealt repeatedly with the interrelationship between security and development and came to the conclusion that an integrated approach is sensible. This implies that security and development are interdependent and cannot be separated, that they affect a broad range of basic needs and include security of the individual, as well as economic, social, environmental and political aspects. In Africa, such an approach makes particular sense as it strengthens the state rather than posing a threat to its sovereignty. Some concern was expressed regarding prevailing attitudes to the approach, and it was felt that both the governments concerned and donor agencies should be persuaded to think in these terms. This would make it possible to earmark a percentage of development aid for redressing situations impairing what would traditionally be regarded as security. Support should be given to assistance initiatives already under way which reflected this approach and institutional integration along these lines should be supported. It became clear, however, that more thinking would have to go into conceptualising the exact relationship between security and development. The discussion of a number of aspects relating to the nexus between security and development, such as the apparently complex relationship between security aspects and foreign investment contributed to this conclusion.

In terms of the role of the international community in dealing with security and development problems in Southern Africa, it was felt that local, African initiatives and involvement are extremely important in dealing with these issues at every level. However, this does not mean that the international community does not have an important role to play. Indeed, greater involvement by Pugwash and informed contributions and assistance by the international community should be urged. Such involvement and contributions would involve a number of levels or dimensions.

The Pugwash movement could play an important role in creating awareness and educating for security and development. It could also actively assist in the consideration of these issues by bringing together experts and interested persons in study groups and occasional workshops. In involving itself with the problems of Africa, it would make real efforts at involving regions and sections of regions of Africa which have not yet been drawn into the movement to any meaningful extent.

In studying the security and development problems of the region and in actually addressing these problems through action, different levels or timeframes should be

borne in mind. Peacekeeping, crisis management and crisis resolution would represent one such a level which implies short-term solutions to immediate problems. In this area, it would be important to look at research and development of technologies for humanitarian relief. This would include new technologies for mine clearance, the rapid support of mass movement, assistance to communities in conflict situations and in post-conflict transitions, and efficient multifunction peace support operations.

A second level or medium-term problem would involve peacebuilding, ranging from the prevention of new conflicts and preventive disarmament to post-conflict reconstruction. In these cases, the operative requirements are very much the same. The strengthening of existing regional bodies and conflict resolution mechanisms would also be relevant, as well as an examination of co-operation and competition within and among regions between different institutions. The role of regional hegemons also has to be considered. The specific circumstances in Africa require a specialised study group and workshops. However, it is important to apply lessons from other continents. Successful cases should be carefully scrutinised in order to learn from them.

Longer term issues, such as capacity-building in Africa at various levels, are no less important. It was pointed out in the course of the discussions that African leaders often lacked the political will to tackle security and development problems and that the basic capacity within African society to make a contribution towards tackling its own problems, was also cause for concern. The latter problem can be addressed by facilitating education and interaction which could contribute to building civil society on the continent. The international community should be urged to make assistance available to aid the strengthening of civil society as an important contribution towards democratisation. The issue of different conceptions of democracy, democratisation and human rights was raised as one that requires attention in future in the context of development and security. Relative deprivation and its role in conflict were also referred to as worthy of attention. With regard to the question of political will, it was felt that this involved building healthier states through building healthier leadership. It was suggested that it should involve an emphasis on law, the separation between the public and private domains, and the development of political skills in contrast to, for example, military skills.

Appendix A
Symposium agenda

PUGWASH MEETING NO 238
PUGWASH SYMPOSIUM ON HUMAN SECURITY IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN CONTEXT
HALFWAY HOUSE, SOUTH AFRICA
7-10 JUNE 1998

South African Pugwash Group, with gratitude to the Royal Netherlands Government for financial support, and to the Netherlands Pugwash Group and the Institute for Security Studies.

Venue: Institute for Security Studies, Constantia Square, Halfway House, South Africa

PROGRAMME/AGENDA*

SUNDAY 7 JUNE

Delegates arrive throughout the day. Transport from Johannesburg International Airport to hotel and conference venue at Halfway House. Dinner at hotel.

MONDAY 8 JUNE

08h45-12h30: First plenary session:
Towards an integrated vision of human security
Chairs: Marie Muller and Bas de Gaay Fortman
Rapporteur: Claudia Mutschler

08h45-09h15: Welcome speeches
Jakkie Cilliers
Abdul Minty
Andy Mogotlane

09h15-10h35: Panel
An integrated approach to development and security - *Virginia Gamba*

Human security pillars: democratisation, politics and stability - *Richard Cornwell*
Human security pillars: Law and the state - *Lala Camerer*
Human security pillars: Co-operation and integration - *Maxi Schoeman*

10h35-11h00: Coffee break
11h00-12h30: General discussion
12h30-14h00: Lunch

14h00-15h30: Working group 1: Law and the state
Chair: Virginia Gamba
Rapporteur: Lala Camerer

Working group 2: Democratisation, politics and stability
Chair: Richard Cornwell
Rapporteur: Virginia Gamba

Working group 3: Economics
Chair: Bas de Gaay Fortman
Rapporteur: Claudia Mutschler

15h30-16h00: Coffee break
16h00-17h00: Working group discussions
17h30-18h30: Meeting of the South African Pugwash Group
19h00-20h00: Dinner

TUESDAY 9 JUNE

08h30-10h45: Second plenary session
Chair: Laneck Goma
Rapporteur: Claudia Mutschler

08h30-09h30: Report back of working groups
09h30-10h00: Questions and answers

10h00-10h20: The application of an integrated human security vision to Southern Africa - Virginia Gamba

10h20-10h45: Discussion
10h45-11h00: Coffee break

11h00-12h30: Working groups (same chairs and rapporteurs as day one)
Needs and requirements for an integrated human security

vision to be applied in Southern Africa: Priorities

12h30-14h00: Lunch

14h00-15h30: Third plenary session
Chairs: Carin Atterling Wedar and Daniel Ntoni-Nzinga
Rapporteur: Claudia Mutschler

14h00-14h30: Report back of working groups
14h30-15h30: Discussion
15h30-16h30: Coffee break and preparation of workshop report by rapporteurs and chairs

16h30-18h00: Final plenary session
Chairs: Bas de Gaay Fortman and Marie Muller

16h30-17h00: Presentation of final report
17h00-17h30: Questions and answers
17h30-18h00: Closure of workshop
20h00: Dinner

* This is the finalised version of the symposium agenda dated 7 June 1998. Due to unforeseen circumstances, some participants could not attend the symposium, even though their names still appear.

Appendix B
List of participants*

* = mailing address
(Participants to Pugwash meetings take part in their personal capacity. Affiliations listed are for information purposes only.)

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* This is the finalised version of the symposium participants list. Due to unforeseen circumstances, some participants could not attend, even though their names appear on the list.