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Regional and Economic Security: A Driver for South African National Security?

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Abstract

South Africa in 1994 transited from a regional destabilising element into inclusive democratic governance with equal opportunity for all and has since experienced transformation in her security system as typical of a regional hegemon. To the realists, security is achieved once threats to state's security can be managed or totally eliminated. Using the discursive argumentative approach, this paper contends that the end of apartheid and other associated socio-political and economic modifications have led to a fundamental rethinking that security at regional level, economic development, and cooperation plays a significant role in defining South Africa's national security objectives. Concluding that accentuating dialogue and mediation as the key means to resolving security issues rather than confrontation is fundamental to South Africa's national security.

Keywords: *Apartheid, Regional, South Africa, Security, Threat*

1. Introduction

As a burden on the rational state actors, efforts designed for security unavoidably are bound to be experienced; thus making security as

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nothing but the absence of the evil of insecurity (Collins, 2016). For some years, various governments across the globe have embraced courageous steps to pull different security strings of various purposes, goals and institutions under the conception of national security. This is borne on the fact that national security is driven by the impression that countries and their citizens are faced with different security threats, and fundamentally, requires serious attention. Apart from this, every government has different strategic means to salvage security challenges. However, these policies should be used in the most effective way to avoid human and material damage while addressing security challenges.

Predominantly, the central theme of discussions on security studies for a long time, have been around International Relations, dealing with the issues of war and peace. In the past twenty-two years South Africa has emerged to be among some 40 countries that have successfully transited from authoritarian governance to democratic rule. South Africa dated from the period of apartheid² have had a long history of conflict and concerns over security, as well as long history of approaches to the management of security issues in this context (Cawthra, 2013).

Naturally, governments should be able to give total and complete interpretation of the security threats they face. The responses they would make to such threat would produce an all-encompassing national security strategy. White (2012) referred to this as, the idea of national security. One might ask the question; what does the idea of national security mean? Universally, the idea of national security lies at the heart of the condition of statehood and the anarchical nature of the international system (Johnston, 1991). In his work "Discord and collaboration", Arnold Wolfers (1975) contends that a nation is secured to the extent which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice its basic values, if such state is willing to avoid war, and is able if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such.

Central to the idea of security amongst states is the mutual recognition of a number of qualities and conditions that underpins security which includes; sovereign equality, non-intervention and self-defence. To this, Article 51 of the UN Charter recognises the right to self-defence which is highly essential to the idea of security (UN

² Apartheid is an Afrikaans word that means separation; a political and economic system, which separated South Africans along the line of races. The system formally ended in 1994 following the adoption of an inclusive democratic system.

Charter). Hence, the right to self-defence is a right closely tied to conceptions of national security – an idea that emerged in the years after the Cold War – which are still relevant, though still very limit given the range of security threats in the contemporary world, in that it presupposes cross-frontier violence of some sort (Johnston, 1991). The national security idea thoroughly informed South Africa that accentuating dialogue and mediation and not confrontation is fundamentally important to resolving security issues within and outside the Republic.

Practically, economic growth and security are deeply interconnected which means; the uncertainty associated with an unstable insecure political environment may reduce investment from local and international investors, and the rapidity of economic development. Strategically, South Africa is debatably, a state in transition owing to its views about her national security; a situation that reflects that change. Taking queue from countries such as the US, Canada and Japan, South Africa stands to ensure national security without losing sight of the need to sustain economic growth and development. Overtly, the South African security system has experienced some sort of transformation after the transition to inclusive democratic governance.

Traditionally, security is considered as the fundamental value and definitive goal of state behaviour (Evans and Newnham 1996). During the period of Cold War, South Africa security to a large extent was said to be comprehensively based on the defence of the country and the preservation of apartheid. The transition to democratic governance following the elections of 1994 that eventually eliminated apartheid system introduced all-encompassing political, social, economic, and security reforms; a situation that has made South Africa to fundamentally rethink as well as rework its security system.

The concept of external threat and views of governments on security has however as a result of internationalization and globalization of security system changed. By implication, security is much of socio-political, economic, and environmental issue where diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy is better used than, a situation where the military has to be used. In its view, the South African government believe that in the absence of peace and stability, socio-economic development cannot take place as this constitutes the needed conditions for the sustainability of all round development.

Traditionally, the belief is that national security is all about the role played by the armed forces in the defence of the sovereignty of nation-state. However, national security is centred on the development of state's sovereignty, democratic and national values, freedoms as well as its political and economic independence. In essence, there are both domestic and a regional dimension to national security. From despotic, authoritarian and isolated apartheid state to a democratic state; South Africa have moved to a stage where the security system is taken to be the totality of institutions and practices that interact to produce a system devoid of instability.

As the era of cold war passed, naturally, it is imperative that political leaders, policymakers, would start to shift their attention to new threats and their priorities to new policy approaches and instruments to combating these threats. By implication, new security issues would as a matter of urgency emerged, thus, demanding new policy instruments and possibly new uses for old security policies. In essence there would be a shift in security priorities from military capabilities towards other security policy instruments.

Using the discursive argumentative approach, this article examines the post-apartheid national security in South Africa. The paper is divided into four main sections, the first being this introduction, the second examines the substance and nature of security and national security from the standpoint of a number of scholars. The third provides a debate regarding national security in South Africa looking at regional economic development and cooperation as well as regional security as contingent to South Africa's national security. Finally, based on the analysis presented, the fourth presents this paper's position on South Africa's national security.

2. Theoretical Literature

To Baldwin, (1997) conceptual analysis is not concerned with testing hypotheses; rather it is concerned with clarifying the meaning of concepts. Without clear conception of theoretical issues on security, scholars and possibly policy-makers may as well find it challenging to distinguish between alternative security policies. By interpretation concepts in social sciences attempts to specify the coherent structure of given expressions; while aiming at reducing the limitations, ambiguities,

and inconsistencies of their ordinary usage. This can be achieved by proposing another interpretation intended to heighten the clarity and exactness of their meanings as well as their ability to function in hypotheses and theories with explanatory and predictive force (Hempel, 1952). It is in this line that this study shall attempt to make clarifications on security and national security.

Security - as an area of research is highly interdisciplinary. It is of an interest in many fields such as political science, sociology, International Relations, history, and law. Mróz, (2012) contends that the interpretation of security as a concept varies depending on the nature of knowledge which determines its perspectives. In relation to State there is no explicit adopted interpretation of security, hence, the three dimensions of security; subjective, objective and future oriented (Kukulka, 1994). The subjective aspect of security has to do with national and international security, while objective defines State conditions to preserve their own identity and autonomy and future-oriented refers to the development of states, and especially the ability to co-decide about the processes occurring in the environment.

Generally, the study of national security is considered to be a field where critical analysis of ends is much encouraged, although the means to the end are commonly the subject of critical debate (Johnston, 1991:150). Right from the onset, the literature on security has been fundamentally represented in the main idea of International Relations, dealing with the questions of war and peace. Owing to continuous changes in the international environment; there is no consensus in opinion on the concept of security or its explanation, States that were not exposed to specific types of threats become more vulnerable and the States that were vulnerable, become safer through the elimination of threats argued (Ušiak, 2014).

Johnston (1991), while trying to define security asks the following questions; what does security mean in a general sense? How is its meaning transferred to the specific entities like states in which we are interested? What exactly is the referent object of security when we refer to national security? If it is the state, what does that mean? Are we to take the state as meaning the sum of the individuals within it? Or is it in some sense more than the sum of its parts? These questions definitely call for its application to individual states. This probability presents itself in the case under consideration.

Understandably, security covers many things; covering threats to anything we value as individuals, physical survival, wellbeing to economic welfare, relationship with others and sense of self-worth, from where it extends to anything valued collectively as part of a society or group. What this translates to mean is that security can be applied to many things, as well as those things that applies it to something that makes such a big difference to how we approach it.

The provision of security no doubt is the essence of every state. The history of government in human society is the history of the steady expansion of the role of the state, driven by and perhaps also driving changes to, conceptions of security for which the state is responsible. Security of state is therefore subject to the guarantees of security in all its dimensions; define as national security considerations (Pokruszyński, 2010).

There are different types of security: political, social, economic, military, ideological, cultural, ecological, intellectual, information but majorly, internal and external security. External security is to ensure political and military guarantees for state to prevent an armed attack or socio-political, economic, ideological and cultural pressure. Fundamentally, at international level, good and clear foreign policy of a state is very important which strongly and reliably occurs in international alliances.

Internal security on the other hand, is a condition obtained as a result of compliance by the state of internal functions implemented in the framework of a strategic national security policy. It can be viewed in two dimensions: narrow and wide. In the narrow dimension there is protection of the constitutional order, public security and public safety. While the wide dimension; is characterised by the protection of constitutional order, life and health of citizens, national property from illegal actions, as well as natural disasters and technological catastrophes (Wisniewsk. 2003).

After World War II and synonymous with strategic studies is security studies with a discrete focus on the military sector. It has been discovered that in other for states to realize its security objectives directly, quickly, and sometimes forcefully and effectively; independents states have had to engage in unlimited arms race and arms building. However, the essence of security is becoming narrower owing to the growing complexity of the international relations' agenda – the rise of

economic and environmental challenges, emergence of new security challenges, risks and threats, emergence of the new and non-state actors (Šulovic, 2010).

Having it in mind that without clear and precise definitional knowledge of security; it is going to be difficult to advance realistic interpretations of the phenomenon, Collins (2016), conceived security as the condition provided by the military or defence advantage over any external forces; a favourable foreign relations position of a state; or a calculative and a defence posture capable of successfully repelling destructive action from within or without, overt or covert. Hence, Buzan definition of security as the pursuit of freedom from threats (1991). Buzan's definition has been criticised that, it's like shrinking the definition into one sentence that eventually removes the identification of the subject without eliminating its ambiguities and inconsistencies.

Different meanings have been ascribed to security by virtually every actor talking about the term. From the realist, security is the dominant concern for every state. Debatably, the major instrument for maintaining security is force; nevertheless, governments must preserve and maintain unity while interacting with one another (Nye, and Lynn-Jones 1988). The belief is that once threat to state's security can be managed successfully or completely eliminated, security is achieved. In reaction to the realist assumption, the social constructivist observes security as resulting from the interactions of various actors, with social values and identities that shapes these relations. Accordingly, security is intersubjective; constituted by a process of interaction and negotiation. Once the perception of security has changed, and the fear of one another is overcome, security is achieved (Ulusoy, 2003).

The Copenhagen School however, argued that security can be viewed as comprising five sectors, with each having its particular referent object and threat agenda. In the military, the referent object is the defence of the territorial integrity of the state, the threats being defined in external, military terms. In the political sector, what is being threatened is the legality of a constitutional authority, and the threats can be ideological and sub-state, thus leading to security situations where the state authorities are threatened by the political elements of the society, and where states can become the principal threat to their own societies (Williams, 2003). However, scholars believe these definitions are not enough, hence a textual organisation within two schools of thought, the

traditionalists vs. wideners (Williams, 2003:7). The traditionalists define security as a freedom from any objective military threat to the state survival in an anarchic international system. Therefore, what a country does to bolster its security may be interpreted by others, as a threat to their security. Obviously, if this happens, the vicious circle of what John Herz (2003) described as the security dilemma sets in, where the efforts of one state to ensure security incite countermeasures by other states which invariably tends to wipe out the gains of the other state. Fundamentally, this approach is based on two points of view; the ontological and epistemological assumptions. The ontological point of view sees security as a social relation that is predominantly influenced by material factors (Ejdus, 2009). In essence, the social relations as well as security threats are the result of material factors and both objectively exists.

The epistemological school of thought believes that security in reality has expanded from exclusively military onto political, economic, societal and environmental sectors. Arguably having this in mind, underpin the relevance of distinction between real and perceived threats that seems to exist. To this end, Baldwin, while conceptualising security ask some questions that beg for answer; security for whom, for which values, how much security, from what threats, by what means, at what cost, in what time period (1997: 12-18). Hence, Bátor contention that security addresses all aspects of public safety, in particular establishment of a safe and secure environment and development of legitimate and stable security institutions (2014). It encompasses the provision of collective and individual security, and it is the precondition for achieving successful outcomes in the other pillars – socio-political, economic, and environmental. By implication, security concerns securing the lives of the people from immediate; and large-scale violence as well as the restoration of state's territorial integrity. This however does not take away the fact that the trouble with the contention of fact, however, is that the term "security" covers a range of goals so wide that highly divergent policies can be interpreted as policies of security (Collins, 2016).

National security - For years, the term national security has always been used by political actors as a periphrastic expression and by the military to define security policy objectives. In other words, national security is a political as well as a security policy paradigm which characterise the way governments talk about a state security issue as well

as define what they are doing about it. Collins (2016) contends that the term national security, like national interest, is well enough established in the political discourse of international relations to designate an objective of policy distinguishable from others.

National security presages domestic problems, elevating non-military external threats to national well-being as security issues. Therefore, if a state must survive the onslaught of internal and external threats, the security of the populace, as well as the security of citizens of other states must be respected. The idea of security has been described as an essentially contested concept owing to its ambiguity as to what it means (Bátor, 2014). Essentially, contested concepts are said to be so value-laden to the extent that it becomes difficult for scholars to agree on a single explanation as the correct use. To the neorealists the utmost security objective a state can have is the same way that winning a match is most probably the main objective of a football team.

The conception of national security should therefore be considered in the perspective of values, process and status. One very important aspect that States should take into consideration is safety which changes in the domestic and international environment. Debatably, safety is understood when a state measures the ratio of defence to the scale of impending threats. Theoretically, the concept of state security is frequently identified with national security. However, one fact that needed to be pointed out is that in terminology it can create confusion nonetheless experts in the field has always be consistent as to the possibility of using these two terms interchangeably (Koziej, 2006) which also applies in this study. Zając sees state security as the ability of the authorities and the nation to protect its internal values. This (internal value) refers to the survival of the State as an institution, the nation as an ethnic group, the biological survival of the population, the State's territorial integrity, political independence and freedom of international peace, protection of property, quality of life (2009). However, there are some socio-political and economic factors that can undermine these internal values. Across the globe the historic causes of rebellion arguably, are usually an increase in prices of essential commodities particularly food, dissatisfaction with government, wide gaps in income levels and political corruption, unemployment, disregard for the poor by the ruling elites, several of which ignited the Arab Spring (These were a series of

anti-government protests, uprisings and armed rebellions that spread across the Middle East in early 2011).

All these conditions are at its peak in South Africa, hence, the prioritising of South Africa's national security. Therefore, allowing survival, development and implementation of the freedom of national interests in a particular position of safety. It also occurs while reducing risks and prevention of all kinds of threats to South Africa's national interests. From this point, national security can be couched as a process or state to ensure the functioning of the basic state apparatus.

The genesis of the idea of national security, nevertheless in the US, can be found in various historical formulations of the concept of national interest. Arnold Wolfers considers a simple translation of the national interest into the national security interest, combined with a normative admonition that nations should pursue such an interest (1952). Therefore, a nation has security when such nation does not have to expense its legitimate socio-political and economic interests to avoid using its military against other state, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by confrontation.

Buzan subjects the idea of national security to close scrutiny; where he acknowledged that the idea of security has many referent objects, and that security should be treated at the level of the international and individual, as well as the state (1991). Security therefore should be seen as a process or state where the functioning of the basic state fields as well as the ability of the authorities within the nation maintain or protect its internal, external and individual values.

Between traditional (and Western-oriented) explanations of national security, there is a peculiarity which has broadened its conceptions and precisely definitions applicable to Third World countries has also developed (Sobhan, 2005). The concept of the "definitions applicable to Third World countries" developed as a result of lack of consensus on national issues, with fragile political institutional capabilities to sustain peace and order, with uneasiness, with threats internally, rather than external ones and narrowly based regime lacking unconditional legitimacy. Decision makers within these countries are therefore forced to concentrate on immediate regional threat owing to the geographic proximity and weak state structure, of these countries. Writing on the cusp of national security, Grizold notes that it was not until World War II that the term national security acquired its place in the strategic

dictionary amidst the traditional terms, such as military affairs, external and military policy, etc. (1994).

During the Cold War the traditional definition of national security was the protection of the state and its vital interests from attack by other states (Grizold: 11). The security environment no doubt is persistently been altered owing to the uncertainties as a result of geopolitics as well as the kaleidoscopic scenery of insurrections across the globe, hence, the definition of national security as a complex interaction between political, economic, military, ideological, legal, and other internal and external security factors through which different states attempt to ensure adequate provisions to maintain their political independence, territorial integrity, survival of its population, and possibilities for a balanced and rapid socio-economic development on an equal footing (Nobilo, 1998). In essence, national security underpins and guarantees the pursuit of nation's objective in a competing international arena. The understanding of national security therefore has shifted to the threats to individual citizens and to ways of life, as well as to the integrity and interests of the state following the end of the Cold War.

The variation in the conception of national security thus emphasised that the security environment has shifted from a bipolar system to a more complex one, while the threats are more and more complex (Nobilo, 1998: 12). Therefore, national security can be seen as an activity of states with which they within the range of their social capabilities at present and in future, considering shifting landscapes in international environment and development, protect their identity, existence and interests Grizold, 1994: 41).

In general terms; national security can be defined as a state of security of the nation-state, involving security of the state's territory, protection of the lives and property of its people, existence and preservation of its sovereignty, and exercise of the basic functions of its society. Fundamentally, national security is an intrinsic structural element of every society. It involves preservation and an assurance of balanced relation between the physical and material existence of individuals and the community as a whole in relation to other states. The term preservation, presupposes conscious, thoughtful and definite actions of government that guides its efforts, evidence in the advancement of the security programme of that society.

One factor that seems to have redefined the content of the national security approaches of contemporary states is the process of internationalization and globalization which have induced the fusion of the entire world order, in comparison to the security systems of individual self-governing states. Recognizing this fact South Africa has had to fundamentally rethink its approach to national security to accommodate domestic and international (regional) dimensions.

3. Understanding national security in South Africa

In terms of its expediency the level of security to which a nation should aspire when defined, should be that every rational policy maker must of a necessity ensure the security of its citizens. In essence every state has the right to protect and preserve the values to which it has a legitimate title and the moral duty to pursue a socio-political and economic policy meant to serve such preservation by all means.

To every government, national security is its most important responsibility. It involves the protection and safety of the country and its citizens; the safeguarding of national ideologies and securities against both internal and external threats that have the capability of challenging the security of the state, as well as the society. National security according to IWGNS (2009) includes freedom from undue fear of attack against their person, sources of their livelihood and sovereignty, the protection of socio-political and economic values which are fundamental to the quality of life in a modern state. The Department of Defence (South Africa) asserts that security is an all-encompassing condition in which every citizen live in freedom, peace and safety; participate fully in the democratic process of governance; enjoy the protection of rights; have access to the basic necessities of life; and live in an environment conducive to their health and well-being (1996). Therefore, a threat to national security is a sequence of socio-political events such as dissatisfaction with government, job losses, economic crisis leading to unemployment, and political corruption, that significantly threatens and over a momentary period of time vitiates the quality of life for the inhabitants of a state, or meaningfully threatens to narrow the range of policy choices available to a state or to private, non-governmental entities within the state (Ulman, 1983).

The South African approach to national security is clear in this sense. The Defence Review, of 2012 repeats the mantra of a broader concept of safety and security for all citizens, listing health, human rights, violations of gender rights and economic rights as national security issues and if threatened would compromise the sovereignty, independence, survival, continuance of liberty of the Republic and are therefore considered vital for the functioning of the state, the security of the people and preservation of the South African way of life (2012).

South Africa no doubt has a long history of concerns over security, and an equally long history of approaches to its management. South Africa's concern with national security has been intense and far-ranging, encapsulated as far back as the early 1970s in the ideas of total onslaught and total strategy to broaden the base of support for the government by moving away from an explicitly racial conception of security to one which "claimed" to embrace all population groups; which came to codify, justify and articulate the entire range of government socio-political and economic policies (Defence Review, of 2012: 2).

In the new South Africa from 1994, national security, significantly, is no longer regarded as predominantly military and perhaps police problem. Rather it has widened to integrate some sort of socio-political, economic and environmental problems. Central to this new approach is the concern for the security of the people. Consequently, national security in South Africa is centred on the promotion and protection of its sovereignty, democracy, national values and freedoms, and its political and economic independence (Department of Defence, 2014). What this suggests is that there are domestic and a regional dimension to South Africa's national security.

Traditionally, national security has always been seen as primary in military and political terms. The principal threat to South Africa's national security possibly could be military forces, the political ideologies, and the foreign policies of other states. All this is however changing as recent global socio-political events have provided some forceful reminders of the connection between a country's economic performance and its ability to pursue the traditional goals of national security aiming at influencing the socio-political and economic behaviours of other nations while controlling its own destiny. In essence, South Africa's national security would be examined within the premise of both national (domestic) and international domains.

Protecting the domestic - In the contemporary South Africa, as stated above, the new approach to national security has changed from the predominant military and police problem it used to be. Overtly, it is seen as a socio-political, economic and environmental matters; with the security of the people as the most paramount. South Africa as a developmental state, no doubt faces the arduous task of addressing a number of challenging security issues that poses problem to its security domestically. This includes poverty, unemployment, inequality, criminality all couched within the premise of economy security. What this suggests is that the South Africa's national security is contingent on the capability of the state to maintain steady growth in its economy.

Security is an all-encompassing condition in which individual citizens live in freedom, peace and safety. In reflection of this the South African Constitution section 198a states that national security must reflect the resolve of South Africans, as individuals and as a nation, to live as equals, to live in peace and harmony to be free from fear and want and to seek a better life (Juta's Pocket Statutes, 2016). As stated above, the interconnectivity of economic growth and political stability makes economic security the pedestal on which national security stands. The end of apartheid and other associated socio-political and economic modifications to some extent have led to a sort of fundamental rethinking that economic factor and concerns will play a more prominent role in defining South Africa's national security objectives. There have been many talks about economic security particularly in the Western World but there seems to be no clear cut definition of the phrase. South Africa has always sees economic prosperity as the basis of its national interest, hence, different explanations in the thesis of economic security.

Economic security to Neu and Wolf is the ability of a state to protect and advance its economic interest in the face of actions that may threaten or wedge these interests. These threats may be domestic, international or regional in origin and the consequences of human or natural forces (1994). Economic security therefore, involves not only protecting the capability of the economy to provide for the people, but also the extent to which the state is able to protect its wealth and economic freedom from outside threats and intimidation. By interpretation, economic security comprises economic policy driven by national interest with international agreements on commerce, finance, and trade. Just as the recognition of new military vulnerabilities prompted a renaissance in

thinking about military security during the cold war, economic developments in and the policies of other states can have important effect on each other. Presumably, the recognition of new economic vulnerabilities and dependence underpins a new dimension of thinking about economic security. South Africa's economic security therefore, depends on its ability to shape the international/regional economic environment to its advantage by using its economic and security policies to influence the (economic) behaviour of other states.

Central to the use of economic means to achieving national security is perhaps a change in thinking about national security. Precisely national security and the associated attention to South Africa national interest will require not only defending its economy against any form of economic threat but significantly recognising and seizing economic opportunities which may require cooperation with other states; particularly those within Southern African region and the continent at large instead of confrontation. The pursuit of economic security therefore encompasses efforts at protecting South Africa's economic prosperity from loss while diplomatically influencing the regional/international economic environment to its own advantage.

Occasioned by its history, geography and economic prospects, South Africa arguably, is tactfully, pursuing a somewhat hegemonic regional policy, trying to use its large and sophisticated economy as a tool which remains a basic reference in its regional diplomatic actions. South Africa is considered the largest economy in SADC with a gross domestic product (GDP) three times that of the other SADC member states combined. South Africa's past destabilising role in the region no doubt has had impact on its developmental perspective of the region. South Africa therefore sees the development of the region, though not in the spirit of overprotectiveness but in the spirit of mutual co-operation and respect as its responsibility.

To South Africa, economic security can be seen through the lenses of regional development, cooperation through elimination of barriers to the development of entrepreneurship. While strengthening the existing economy, characterised by a desire to raise the level of society through; reducing unemployment in connection with the development of cross-border economic cooperation, promotion of activities contributing to creation of direct jobs, and direct assistance to people taking up economic initiatives. For example, in 2007, the Department of Foreign

Affairs was renamed the Department of International Relations and Co-operation (DIRCO). The reason for this was said to have been largely inspired by the international developments which require states to emphasise on co-operation over competition, and collaboration over confrontation (Hengari, 2014). Through this the security of the country's economic system is ensured. This overtly, guarantees the defence of South Africa's social and economic society, an efficient market, as well as the state's participation in shaping the international/regional economy.

Built on the Draft Defence Review 2013, where it highlighted that, although South Africa is not well thought-out a global military force, it does have a significant military role to play in the Southern African region, commitments to international peace, in terms of peacekeeping and support operations in Africa. One can argue that South Africa's national security strategy, defence and foreign policy are viewed as intertwined. Lotze and Neethling (2015) contend that South Africa's domestic security is viewed as inextricably linked to that of regional security, and vice versa. In support of its growing image as a middle power; internationally, South Africa has progressively facilitated peace processes while protecting its national interest. This is reinforced through the deployment of South African National Defence Force (SANDF) in peacekeeping missions across Africa and SADC in particular. South Africa for example as the first Africa country to deploy its forces in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in 1999, tagged "Operation Mistral" under the United Nations Organisation Mission in the DRC (MONUC).

Following the role played by South Africa in ensuring peaceful election in the DRC in 2006, investments particularly from South Africa; flooded the country after the attainment of peace. South African mobile telecommunications network companies, Vodacom and MTN, mining companies, Standard Bank and state-owned electricity provider Eskom all invested in the mineral-rich DRC after seeing the positive outcome of the peacekeeping mission.

Debatably, while the main rationale underpinning South Africa's provision of peacekeepers in the DRC is political, the country's deployments also serve to support South Africa's national economic interests. It does mean that South Africa would as a matter of interest deploys peacekeepers in countries where it holds commercial interests. The need for effective maritime security in Southern Africa's waters saw

the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) deploying several naval and air assets to Mozambican waters. South Africa's frigates till date maintain a permanent presence in the northern Mozambique Channel, overtly because 80% of Southern Africa's imports and exports are transported by means of the sea.

One aspect of South Africa's national security cum economic security is indeed what can be called "Intellectual Security". The acknowledgement that the answers to Africa's major socio-political and economic challenges require combined, multidisciplinary brainpower and shared resources is adding impetus to the snowballing scope in the realm of research and capacity development. Among national policymakers and other socio-economic actors; debatably, the university is a driver for economic growth and development; hence, the role of the university in producing a highly-skilled and competent labour force, and in producing new knowledge. Fundamentally the university is indispensable to the building of innovation and development for a national economy that aspires to be globally competitive.

Cloete (2015) contends that in its effort to boost this sector of the polity, South Africa, through various bodies like the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET), the Department of Science and Technology (DST) and the National Research Foundation (NRF), has thrown its weight behind knowledge based driven researches. Owing to this factor a target to produce more than 100 doctoral graduates per one million of the population by 2030 was set in 2015. What this translates to mean is that the annual production of doctoral graduates will have to increase from 1420 per annum (in 2010) to 5000 per annum in 2030. By interpretation the more the production of researchers the higher the level of technologically driven economy which is the basis of South Africa's economic security.

Notwithstanding, the importance of economic security to national security, the regional environment has been characterised by uncertainty and political instability, hence the rethink by South Africa that the stability of the international system particularly Southern African region is contingent to its security.

Regional security; a contingent to South Africa national security - Essential to South African national security is the stability, unity and prosperity of the Southern African region, and the African continent in general. As one of the active member of the African Union

(AU) and New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), South Africa has played a pivotal role in restructuring the security homily on the continent. Evident is the role of South Africa within Southern African Development Community's (SADC). The thrust of South Africa's foreign policy is a strong multilateralist approach which emphasises the need to work with other countries to fashion common solutions to global and particularly regional concerns (Soko, 2007). To South Africa, national security entails both national defence as well as the protection of a series of geopolitical, economic, and other interests; which not only the defence policies, but foreign policies as well.

South Africa's policy of destabilization of the region from 1949 to 1992 during apartheid era no doubt left a residue of flashpoints, but has since demonstrated that security at regional level is of huge importance since the inception of the modern state, generally, in Africa and particularly at regional level. South Africa's security policy towards the region overtly, is driven by some socio-political and economic interests (Zondi, 2011). These includes; the relative economic size and hunger for markets. By implication, South Africa's commitment to regional stability and prosperity is debatably, tied to its economic interests in the SADC region with relatively more than a population of 350 million thus providing South Africa the opportunity to exploit the SADC's under-utilised markets.

South Africa is considered to be a power house in the region, hence, its international ambitions. The recognition South Africa gets in forums such as BRICS and G20 can be directly linked to its regional power status. This has influence South Africa as an important source of the soft power favoured by South Africa as leverage to projecting its economic weight in the international arena. Like every other regional power, there is the fear of contagion and spill over of regional political and economic instability; as its relative stability and economic power attracts economic migrants and refugees not only from SADC but also from other African countries. Though, camouflaging its hegemonic ambitions while trying to shoulder the regions responsibility; it is therefore, in the interest of South Africa to work towards stability and economic development in SADC countries. Internationally, it is perceived that instability in Southern Africa is linked to or is even in South Africa, hence, South Africa's efforts at ensuring peace and stability in the region. What this suggests is that South Africa has demonstrated that diplomacy can be used to polish

state's credentials while pursuing national objectives through essential multilateral setting to providing the country with an avenue to leverage its moral and political credentials (Dlamini, 2004).

South Africa has therefore made way for policies that lay emphasis on dialogue and mediation as the strategic means of conflict resolution in the region while diplomatically protecting its national interest. The new policy, which the country has sought to export to the rest of Africa, focused on provision of political solutions to conflicts and supporting ideas geared at limiting regional insecurity (Mda, 2004). This involves promotion of conflict prevention and conflict resolution through negotiations, mediation, peacekeeping and peace enforcement actions, advancing humanitarian military intervention in situations involving gross violations of human rights, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, providing assistance in monitoring and dealing with domestic issues, which have a bearing on regional stability (Hammerstad, 2005).

According to Alden and Soko (2005), South Africa over the years; at regional level has diplomatically focused on building regional unity and consensus-building, tackling SADC's institutional problems, and pursuing multilateral solutions to regional conflicts. The emerging security doctrine of South Africa was evident when South Africa together with Botswana, prevailed on the former Zambian president, Frederick Chiluba, from changing Zambia's constitution to allow him run for third term in office (South African Government, n.d). To further establish its nationally focused security stance South Africa, Botswana, and Zimbabwe jointly facilitated a peace process which saw a return of the BCP-led government to office in Lesotho in 1994. In 1998, the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) led the Operation Boleas when SADC intervened militarily to prevent a state of anarchism in the country (Neethling, 1999). South Africa, was also on ground to broker peace in Lesotho following the attempted coup d'état in 2015.

Overtly, South Africa's geopolitical and strategic economic interests cannot be discounted. Lesotho is a landlocked state, completely surrounded by South Africa, and a key strategic trading partner to South Africa within Southern African Customs Union where South Africa is the dominant player (ADB, 2014). Evident is South Africa's extensive commercial interests in Lesotho, spanning through several companies in various sectors such as housing, food and beverages, construction, retail, hotels and leisure, banking, and medical services. Currently, Lesotho and

South Africa are jointly engaged in Phase II of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, the two countries also have standing water agreements; which is significantly important to South Africa's water security strategy. By implication, the sustainability of peace and stability in the region is intrinsically important to South Africa's national security (Vhumbunu, 2015).

The traditional concept of security unarguably seeks to protect states and domestic societies from outside threats. Though nationally focused, state-centric and narrow in scope but the fact is that state interests primarily occupies the agenda of security. Therefore, at the regional level South Africa sees it as significantly important to defend and protect its existentiality in the region. Hence, the suggestion that putting pressure diplomatically on states to modify their socio-political and economic behaviour is a way of strengthening state legitimacy and capacity while providing an environment of security and stability within which people can succeed and contribute to the security of people in the region.

4. Conclusion

There are basic forms of connection between the economy of a state, regional position and national security. Arguably, these can be termed the existential, and the political which implies that there are certain aspects of the national socio-political and economic environment that are closely connected to national values and are constitutive of South Africa's security interests. Therefore, when these values are threatened, the national security is thus threatened.

Obtaining comprehensive national security requires that states answer or prioritise certain elements of the state's national interest; of all the goods a state can provide, none is more fundamental than security, hence, the question, what should a state be willing to give up while trying obtaining all-encompassing security? To be more precise how does a state find the middle ground between security and other values? (Vhumbunu, 2015: 14).

Thomas Hobbes, in his book *Leviathan* observed; there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and therefore no culture of the earth, no navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by sea; no commodious building; no instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force, no knowledge of the

face of the earth; no account of time; no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual feared, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short (2004). What this implies is that absolutely security is a value. The value which the state can go to any length to obtain, hence, the essence of national security is the preservation of the political sovereignty, economy and life of its citizens.

In ensuring a comprehensive (national) security, it is pertinent to say that states balance security against other values. Take for example freedom/right. Arguably without some sort of security, to Hobbes freedom/right is pretending to have what you cannot access. Fundamentally, every state and perhaps groups and individuals believes that a secured state is a ground for breeding all-encompassing development. In a lay man language, as citizens demand for protection from the state against any external threat, states also demands loyalty from its citizens. By implication, it is possible for states to think that enemies of the state may from time to time receive aid and sustenance either from their opponents or vice versa. Overtly, human rights and state security are thus intimately related.

In this context, the former apartheid enclave state which was once known for its policy of regional destabilization has since after jettison the obnoxious system; made way for a more acceptable and enviable policy that accentuated dialogue and mediation as the key means to resolving security issues rather than confrontation within and outside the region. As the centrepiece of her foreign policy, significant to its foreign policy is her role in recasting the security discourse in Africa, which is why South Africa has always been in the fore front to achieve pursuit of peace and security in Africa and most importantly within the Southern African region.

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