

**SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE SINCE 1994:
A STUDY OF POLICY-MAKING**

by

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the degree of MMil in Military Science (Military Strategy)
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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature:



Date:

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ABSTRACT

As South Africa entered the transitional period towards establishing a multi-party democracy, its defence policy changed fundamentally. The African National Congress (ANC) as the upcoming governing party established the Military Research Group (MRG), to help formulate its defence policy positions, which subsequently largely determined South African defence policy. Through this think-tank the ANC leadership became interested in and supported the idea of non-offensive defence (NOD). NOD is a European idea of the Cold War era, which was aimed at preventing the security dilemma, arms races and accidental war between states. The aim of this study is to describe the nature of defence policy-making in South Africa since 1994, by describing how NOD became prominent.

Non-offensive defence ideas influenced South African defence policy significantly and appeared in all legislation and policies pertaining to defence. NOD complemented the ANC's domestic policy goals with the new security paradigm, which like NOD, originate from the Peace Research school of thought. As a defensive idea, NOD emphasised South Africa's intention to improve relations with Southern African states, as well as its strategic defensiveness, which determined the military doctrine of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). The ANC used NOD to transform the SANDF, especially to scale down its power projection capabilities. Two arguments are made in this study to describe the nature of defence policy-making in South Africa when the prominence of NOD is considered. Firstly, that South African defence policy-makers are open to ideas and models from industrialised states, despite the limited applicability and shortcomings of such models. Secondly, models can be used in various ways by interest groups to influence policy. NOD was used as a theoretical tool by the MRG and the military to influence defence policy according to their interests.

Several characteristics of South African defence policy-making were also identified. Firstly, that the Constitution does not prioritise state or individual security as more important. This makes conflicting world-views of realism and idealism about defence possible. Defence policy therefore often has to involve a compromise between these views. Secondly, although the Constitution makes provision for public participation in defence policy-making, there is no equal distribution of power for interest groups to influence policy. In this regard the legislature and parliamentary defence committees are also weak compared to the executive authority. Thirdly, the use of non-governmental organisations in defence policy-making has created a form of direct and unrestricted lobbying, as well as the privatisation of policy-making.

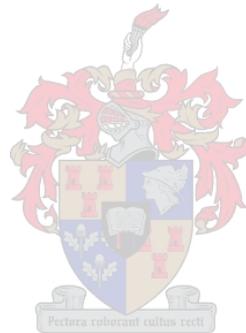
OPSOMMING

Tydens die politieke oorgangperiode en die aanloop tot die vestiging van 'n veelparty demokrasie, het Suid-Afrika se verdedigingsbeleid wesenlike veranderinge ondergaan. As opkomende regerende party het die *African National Congress (ANC)*, die *Military Research Group (MRG)* gestig om die party se standpunte rondom verdedigingsbeleid te formuleer. Sedertdien het die MRG, Suid-Afrika se verdedigingsbeleid grootliks omskrywe. Die MRG het ANC leiers aan die term *non-offensive defence (NOD)*, wat 'n Europese idee uit die Koue Oorlog-era is, bekendgestel. NOD is daarop gemik om die veiligheidsdilemma, wapenwedlope en toevallige oorlog te verhoed. Die ANC het NOD ondersteun en bevorder. Die doel van hierdie studie is om die aard van Suid-Afrikaanse verdedigingsbeleidmaking sedert 1994 te beskryf aan die hand van NOD se prominensie.

Non-offensive defence idees het Suid-Afrika se verdedigingsbeleid beduidend beïnvloed en verskyn in alle wetgewing en beleid wat verband hou met verdediging. NOD het die ANC se plaaslike beleidsdoelwitte binne die nuwe veiligheidsparadigma ondersteun. Soos NOD, is die paradigma 'n produk van die *Peace Research* denkskool. As 'n defensiewe idee het NOD, Suid-Afrika se oogmerk om betrekkinge met state in Suider-Afrika te verbeter, benadruk. NOD het verder ook SA se strategiese defensiewe postuur en gepaardgaande militêre doktrine bepaal en beklemtoon. Die ANC het NOD gebruik om die Suid Afrikaanse Nasionale Weermag (SANW) te transformeer en magsprojeksievermoëns af te skaal. Twee argumente word in hierdie studie benut om die aard van verdedigingsbeleidmaking in Suid-Afrika te beskryf, met die inagneming van die belangrikheid van NOD. Eerstens, dat beleidmakers ontvanklik is vir idees en modelle van nywerheidslande, ten spyte van die beperkte toepaslikheid en tekortkomings van sulke modelle. Tweedens, dat modelle deur verskeie belangegroepes gebruik kan word om beleid te beïnvloed. Die MRG en die SANW het NOD as 'n teoretiese instrument benut om verdedigingsbeleid tot die bevordering van eie belange te beïnvloed.

Verskeie eienskappe van Suid-Afrikaanse verdedigingsbeleidmaking is geïdentifiseer in die studie. Eerstens, dat die Grondwet nie die staat of die individu se veiligheid bo die ander stel nie. Dit veroorsaak botsende wêreldbeskouings van realisme en idealisme oor verdediging. Beleid behels dus dikwels kompromieë tussen die twee uitgangspunte. Tweedens, alhoewel die Grondwet voorsiening maak vir openbare deelname in beleidmaking, is daar nie gelyke 'n verspreiding van mag tussen belangegroepes om beleid te beïnvloed nie. In die opsig is die wetgewende gesag en parlementêre komitees aansienlik swakker as die uitvoerende gesag.

Derdens, die gebruik van nie-regeringsorganisasies in verdedigings-beleidmaking, het 'n vorm van direkte en onbeperkte invloed werwing, asook die privatisering van beleidmaking, tot gevolg gehad.



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To my Heavenly Father for His grace and love.

I dedicate this thesis to those who died on duty in the armed forces of the New South Africa.

“Purposes and plans are established by council; and [only] with good advice make or carry on war.”

Proverbs 20:18

KEY CONCEPTS

Policy: Policy is a form of generalised decision-making in which whole sets of decisions are considered.¹ Policy involves decisions about what to do and how to do it, as well as a series of purposive actions over time to implement it.

Defence policy: Defence policy consists of those elements of both foreign and domestic policy, which directly affect the armed forces.²

Policy-making: Policy-making is the conscious and deliberate act of analysing problems and the examining of grand alternatives in all their implications, as well as alternatives chosen aimed at achieving over-arching ends.³ It involves many interests, which makes it a political decision-making process.⁴

Pluralism: Pluralism is a theory of group politics, in which individuals are represented principally through their membership of organised groups within a democratic political system, and all such groups can compete for influence.⁵

Posture: Force posture is usually defined in terms of the entire military means possessed by a state in terms of numbers, characteristics and the deployment disposition of its armed forces.⁶

Security: Security involves some or all of the following: social, economic, political, military, and physical (including ecological and environmental) concerns.⁷ It involves perceptions of the well-being of individuals and collectives, as well as the assurance of the core values central to the self-definition of communities.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Garnett, J, "Defense Policy-Making", In: Baylis, J, *Contemporary Strategy II, The Nuclear Powers*, vol 2 (2nd Ed), New York: Holmes and Meier, 1987, p 2.

² Huntington, SP, "The Two Worlds of Military Policy", In: Horton, FB et al (eds), *Comparative Defence Policy*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1974, p 108.

³ Garnett, J, "Defense Policy-Making", op cit, p 16.

⁴ Ibid, pp 18-19.

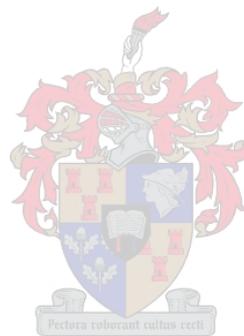
⁵ Heywood, A, *Politics* (2nd Ed), New York: Palgrave Foundations, 2002, p 78.

⁶ Lider, J, *Military Theory: Concept, Structure, Problems*, Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Aldershot: Gower Publishing, 1983, p 358.

⁷ Job, BL, "The Insecurity Dilemma: National, Regime, and State Securities in the Third World", In: Job, BL (ed) *The Insecurity Dilemma, National Security of Third World States*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992, pp 14-16.

National security policy: It is that part of government policy that creates national and international political conditions favourable to the protection or extension of vital national values against existing and potential adversaries.⁸

Human security: Axworthy defined it as the “...freedom from pervasive threats to people’s rights, their safety, or even their lives...taking people as its point of reference, rather than focusing exclusively on the security of territory or governments”.⁹



⁸ Trager, FN, and Simonie, FL, “An Introduction to the Study of National Security”, In: Trager, FN, and Kronenberg, PS (eds), *National Security and the American Society*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1973, p 36.

⁹ Hadingham, J, “Human Security and Africa: Polemic Opposites”, *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 7, no 2, Winter 2000, p 117.

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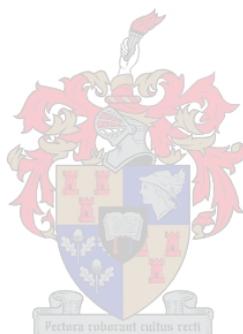
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE POLICY AND THE IDEA OF NON-OFFENSIVE DEFENCE

1. RESEARCH PROBLEM

In 1990, South African society moved into a period of political transition, which included the unbanning of all liberation movements, developments toward a multi-party democracy and the renunciation of *apartheid*.¹ South Africa's security and defence policy subsequently changed fundamentally.² The 1994 general elections and the constitutional reform that took place had immediate effects on security policy, which emphasised strategic defensiveness. Even prior to the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa, some of the leading members of the African National Congress' (ANC) workgroup on military affairs (Military Research Group) expressed strong support for non-offensive defence (NOD), which convinced ANC members of parliament (MPs) also to uphold it.³ NOD is an approach to defence aimed at creating an environment that favours defensive rather than offensive strategies.⁴ The ANC then called for the restructuring of the military along NOD lines, which also influenced government policy commitments.⁵

Non-offensive defence thinking had a significant impact on the formulation of South African defence policy in the 1990s. According to Williams, the principles of NOD "...remain explicitly and implicitly pronounced within policy positions of South Africa."⁶ Williams refers in this instance to the Interim Constitution, the ANC's guidelines as a ruling party as published in *Ready to Govern*, the Joint Military Co-ordinating Council agreement, as well as the Draft White Paper on Defence. NOD thinking featured prominently in the White Paper on Defence, which underlined the already strong support for a defensive posture.⁷ The subsequent Defence Review explained the defensive posture in much more detail and many principles of NOD were "borrowed" in order to broaden this concept.⁸ There is, however, no clear reference to the term "non-offensive defence" and terminology, such as "confidence-building defence" and "primarily defensive posture," was rather used in the context of NOD-type policy-guidelines.

Two questions then arise: Firstly, how did NOD become so influential in defence policy? Secondly, what does that signify about policy-making in South Africa? The aim of this study is to describe the nature of defence policy-making in South Africa since 1994, by describing how NOD became prominent. By addressing several features about NOD and how it was advocated, the nature of defence policy-making in South Africa will be addressed.

The research problem has several parts. What is the nature of public policy-making in South Africa? What does NOD entail? What was the influence of NOD on South African defence policy-making? By addressing these questions, conclusions will be made about the nature of defence policy-making in South Africa since 1994.

2. THE VALUE AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

The academic value of this study is threefold. Firstly, many studies have been conducted on the transformation of the defence community in South Africa since 1994, but little research has been done on defence policy-making in South Africa. Secondly, few empirical studies have been done about public policy in South Africa during the same period. Thirdly, there is a deficiency in literature about the influence of NOD in South African defence thinking. Williams acknowledges that very little academic research has been done on the role of NOD thought in South Africa.⁹ Because of the gap in the literature, this study also relates to relevant empirical facts regarding the influence of NOD in South Africa. The contribution of this study is twofold. Firstly, it will contribute to a better understanding of public policy-making in a transitional South Africa in general and secondly, it will also shed more light on defence within a democratic transition.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to obtain an overview of research that was done about NOD in South Africa, the work by several authors needs to be discussed. Most of these studies (or range of publications) strongly advocate NOD in South Africa. The contribution of non-South African authors will be discussed first.

One of the first authors to write about NOD in South Africa was Finan. In 1991, he wrote an unpublished paper entitled "The Republic of South Africa: Nonoffensive Defence"¹⁰. Finan followed a quantitative approach to indicate the asymmetry between the military power of South Africa, compared to its regional neighbours. The aim of his study was to determine the degree of disarmament needed in South Africa to stabilise relations with states in the region without making South Africa too vulnerable to outside threats. Finan argued that arms control in Southern Africa could be feasible in an NOD context and that states should adopt similar defensive force structures, as well as defensive weapon systems capabilities.

Unterseher also wrote an unpublished paper dealing with NOD and South Africa, in 1993, which was titled "Confidence-Building Defence for South Africa?"¹¹ In this paper Unterseher

argued that in principle, the possession of military power (for the purpose of invasion) should be substituted by a defensive capability and orientation that would only allow the defence of territory. He added that disarmament and defensive weapons alone did not always remove the threat of invasion and, therefore, suggested a system of confidence-building defence. With reference to South Africa it was suggested that in such a system there should be no invasion capability and that the location of infantry bases should be geographically distributed so as to avoid a concentrated threat. Unterseher highlighted the apparent financial advantages of such a defensive system and its potential to make the South African armed forces compatible with a regional security regime.

Møller, one of the first authors to use the term non-offensive defence¹², wrote extensively on NOD in Southern Africa, yet his research was not focussed on suggesting specific models for South Africa. He did, however, argue in several publications that NOD had significant utility for South Africa as a strong military power located near weak military powers. Examples of his publications are "Small States, Non-Offensive Defence and Collective Security",¹³ "Non-Offensive Defence: A Brief Introduction"¹⁴ and "Non-Offensive Defence: A European(ised) Concept with Wider Application?"¹⁵

In 1997, Connetta, Knight and Unterseher presented a case in an article "Building Confidence Into the Security of South Africa"¹⁶ for restructuring the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) along the lines of NOD and they emphasised the need to reduce South Africa's power projection capabilities. Their article was based on the same views as most NOD proponents, as they emphasised the disadvantages of an offensively orientated military structure, which could aggravate the security dilemma and lead to an arms race with neighbouring states. They also supported the need for a small, full-time military with a large part-time force for deployment in local areas, which refers to territorial defence. They made specific force structure suggestions for both part-time and full-time forces.

Non-offensive defence has received little attention in both academic and defence circles in South Africa. Prior to the Defence Review in 1996, Williams stated that: "In light of the strong defensive orientation of South Africa's major policy documents, surprisingly little has been written on NOD in an academic context".¹⁷ Williams refers to himself, Nathan and Cawthra as authors who wrote about specific themes of NOD in South Africa by 1996. He describes Nathan's work as "...strongly normative...stressing why NOD ought to be introduced without providing detailed analysis".¹⁸ Williams describes his own work as "...attempted to apply European NOD principles to an African environment".¹⁹ Williams also refers to the research of Cawthra as "...concentrated on the regional dynamics of NOD

without detailing force design and strategic implications".²⁰ At this stage it may be useful to refer to a number of the publications and papers of these authors and other authors.

In 1994, Nathan made a case for NOD in South Africa in the book *The Changing of the Guard; Armed Forces and Defence Policy in a Democratic South Africa*.²¹ In a chapter on doctrine Nathan argued for the acceptance of NOD as an alternative to the former South African doctrine, which was based on offensive defence and cross-border raids.²² He argued that such a doctrine was against international law on armed conflict, as well as inherently provocative and destabilising to neighbouring countries. Nathan further argued against a new defence force obtaining a significant offensive capability, which could make states in the region more insecure and create an arms build-up. He proposed NOD because it is aimed at minimising offensive capabilities, but ensures the necessary defence against attack. Nathan expressed his support for the reduction of force levels in South Africa to levels comparable with those of neighbouring states and he argued for a volunteer reserve as the bulk of the country's fighting force.

Williams wrote several papers on NOD in South Africa. In 1996 he wrote an unpublished paper, "Non Offensive Defence and South Africa: Considerations on a Post-Modern Military, Mission Redefinition and Defensive Restructuring".²³ In this paper Williams argued that South Africa had to adopt a primarily defensive posture, but not a totally defensive one based on a pure model of defensiveness. He used the theory of NOD to argue that a higher premium should be placed on defensive mechanisms and strategies. Williams also referred to the principles and application of NOD for Southern African states with reference to NOD's possibilities and inconsistencies in a Third World context. In a paper, entitled "The South African Defence Review and the Redefinition,"²⁴ Williams alluded to the introduction of NOD into the policy-making debate and process of South Africa. In an article on "Confidence-Building Defence and Southern Africa: Implications for Non-Offensive Defence for South Africa's Defence Posture",²⁵ Williams acknowledged that many central principles of NOD have been taken up in South African defence policy pronouncements and defence strategy.²⁶ He also pointed out that certain post-*apartheid* developments made NOD an ideal concept to apply in South Africa. The improving regional security co-operation in Southern Africa was cited as an example. Williams identified aspects that limit the total application of NOD in South Africa by referring to the country's need for mobile forces to protect its borders and the international expectations placed on South Africa to become more involved in peace support operations in Africa. He argued that although NOD had some direct relevance for Southern Africa, it could not be applied in totality because of current political, financial, geo-strategic and operational reasons.

Cawthra's relevant work on NOD focused to a large extent on the defence policy-making process in South Africa since 1994, despite his other work on regional security co-operation. In these publications he briefly referred to the role of NOD thinking in the making of South African defence policy, but he never discussed it in any detail. One such publication is a book *Securing South Africa's Democracy; Defence Development and Security Transition*.²⁷

The existing research on NOD in South Africa has focussed mainly on its usefulness as a defensive approach for security and defence transformation. Most of the authors advocated NOD, although Williams pointed out some limitations of NOD for the South African context. Although there are some references to the influence of NOD thinking on the defence policy-making process in South Africa, there is no specific descriptive literature on this aspect. Most of the work on NOD in South Africa merely advocated NOD, which implies that little empirical study has been done on this.

4. METHODOLOGY

Two questions are posed in this study: How did NOD become so influential in defence policy and how does this reflect upon policy-making in South Africa? Since the type of question asked here is in the empirical realm, it also follows that this study revolves around empirical facts and is largely presented as a descriptive study of defence policy-making.

There are different meanings attached to the term defence policy and it has several dimensions. It would, therefore, be important to define defence policy-making and defence, its limits, as well as its nature. It is essential to include a perspective from a theoretical framework and to exclude other dimensions. This means that theory will be used to demarcate limits of policy, as well as policy-making. Pluralism will be used as a perspective on how defence policy is made in a competitive policy-making framework. It will also be used as a guide to assemble the relevant facts about defence policy-making in South Africa. Interpretive explanations will be provided to foster a better understanding of defence policy-making in South Africa by observing how NOD was promoted. Consequently this study could be termed an empirical case study, bolstered by some theory.

Primary sources such as draft policy documents, published policy documents, Hansards and interviews were primarily relied upon in order to obtain the appropriate facts. The content of South Africa's defence policy documents and drafts, especially parts that contain NOD principles, were of particular importance. The draft documents were analysed in order to study certain proposals for the acceptance of NOD. The final policy documents were studied

in order to determine which principles of NOD were accepted into South African defence policy. Personal correspondence and interviews were also used. Interviews were used to obtain views about NOD thinking in South Africa and were conducted with practitioners, academics and researchers who were involved in the defence policy-process. This was done in order to obtain facts and views about South Africa's defence policy-making process and the promotion of NOD. The data was collected through voice recorder and electronic mail (whenever personal interviews were impossible). The data was analysed after relevant parts of interviews had been transcribed. Relevant information and views regarding the study were used. Secondary sources, such as journal articles and books were used, especially for the literature overview and theoretical framework of the study.

The first chapter of the study will deal with the theory of both defence and policy-making in general, in order to define and explain these two concepts. The dynamics involved in defence policy-making, as elaborated in the theory, will be discussed and the context of policy-making in South Africa will also receive some attention. The broad consultative nature of these processes will be emphasised and the pluralist model will be used as a theoretical point of departure to explain the function of various role-players. The second chapter of the study will deal with the concept of NOD, its meaning, origins and the support for this within the context of the Cold War and the early post-Cold War era. The theory of what NOD entails and the critique against it will also be discussed. The third chapter will deal with three questions: The first deals with the reasons why South Africa's defence community was receptive to NOD thinking, the second with how NOD was promoted during the policy-making process, and the third with the impact of NOD principles in South Africa. Conclusions will then be made about defence policy-making in South Africa. The last chapter is a summary and conclusion of the whole content of the study.

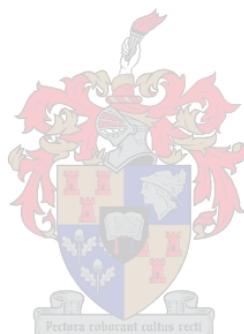
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- 1 Du Plessis, L, "A Perspective on Perspectives: The Expanding Focus of South African Thinking on Security", *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, vol 17, no 2, November 1995, p 27.
- 2 Cawthra, G, "From "Total Strategy" to "Human Security": The Making of South Africa's Defence Policy 1990-1998", *Copenhagen Peace Research Institute*, 1999, [www.copri.dk/publications/workingpapers.htm], p 1; also published in University of Zimbabwe, *Journal of Peace, Conflict and Military Studies*, vol 1, no 1, March 2000.
- 3 According to Bjørn Møller, the ANC's MPs supported the promotion of NOD as suggested in the publication *The Changing of the Guard, Armed Forces and Defence Policy in a Democratic South Africa*, Pretoria: HSRC Publishers, 1994, which was written by Laurie Nathan, who was a member of the ANC's think-tank on security and the drafter of the White Paper on Defence (Source: Interview with B. Møller, Saldanha, 15 April, 2003). Len le Roux (a retired SA Air Force general and former Director Strategy of the SA National Defence Force) indicated that principles of NOD were reflected in the Interim Constitution in 1993 (Le Roux, LN, electronic correspondence on non-offensive defence, 3 December 2002, p 1).
- 4 Butfoy, A, *Common Security and Strategic Reform; A Critical Analysis*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1997, p 40.
- 5 Cawthra, G, "Prospects for Common Security in Southern Africa", In: Cawthra, G, and Møller, B, 1997, *Defence Restructuring of the Armed Forces in Southern Africa*, Ashgate: Aldershot, p 159.
- 6 Williams, RM, "Non Offensive Defence and South Africa: Considerations on a Post-Modern Military, Mission Redefinition and Defensive Restructuring", *unpublished paper*, March 1996, p 25.
- 7 Defence in Democracy, *White Paper on National Defence for the Republic of South Africa*, as approved by Parliament on 14 May 1996, p 6.
- 8 Le Roux, LN, Electronic correspondence on non-offensive Defence, 3 December 2002, p 1.
- 9 Williams, RM, "Non Offensive Defence and South Africa: Considerations on a Post-Modern Military, Mission Redefinition and Defensive Restructuring", *op cit*, p 24.
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CHAPTER 2

DEFENCE POLICY-MAKING: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The first aim of this chapter is to define policy and the second aim is to discuss the way policy is formulated in South Africa, according to the definition. Concepts, such as policy and defence policy, will be defined, which will be used to direct the descriptive part of the study. A theory of policy-making will also be discussed to gain a better understanding of policy-making in a democracy.

In the first part of this chapter, public policy-making is demarcated by means of the pluralist perspective. The chapter then continues by explaining the meaning of defence and the dynamics involved in formulating defence policy. The ambiguity around the meaning of defence and defence policy will be elaborated and these concepts will then be clarified. Secondly, the general trends in South African public policy-making will be explained in order to understand the broader context in which defence policy is formulated. The discussion will focus on constitutional guidelines, formal procedures, as well as the role and power of various institutions and role-players in South African public policy-making. The third part of the chapter then deals more specifically with defence policy-making in South Africa, with an overview of the defence policy processes, as well as the role of interest groups and individual officials.

1. UNDERSTANDING POLICY, PUBLIC POLICY-MAKING AND DEFENCE POLICY

Policy and decision-making are often viewed as synonymous.¹ Although the two concepts are related, there is a difference between them. Policy is usually considered a concept of higher order than decisions. Policy may be described as a form of generalised decision-making in which whole sets of decisions are considered. It is also a flow of purposive actions over time, which suggests that policy is in constant flux. Policy involves decisions about what to do and how to do it. Although policy is revealed by general statements of purpose, it should be borne in mind that statements of intent are not policies. Policy also refers to implementation and actual behaviour attempting to effect goals. Policy, therefore, entails decisions about what to do, as well as the actual behaviour to implement those goals. This study deals with defence policy-making, which forms part of public policy and will be discussed in more detail in the next few paragraphs.

Public policy and legislation in particular are used to direct the essential services and products provided by the state through public institutions.² According to Van der Walt, the formulation of public policy involves the participation of state institutions and fragmented structures of semi-independent groups and organisations through a complex system of formal and informal delegation of responsibility and control. Public policy is processed, authorised and ratified within the framework of a government and, therefore, has to be approved and promulgated by an institution that is authorised by the legislative branch of government through a Statute or the Constitution of a state. Policy-making cannot be separated from the entities that implement and administer it and, therefore, also involves the bureaucratic institutions and relevant Public Service departments, as well as the executive authority of government.

Public policy is shaped by both public and private role-players and their interests, as well as frameworks of beliefs or attitudes toward certain policy proposals.³ The institutional and/or personal interests may play a role in policy-making. Public policy involves a process that is political and involves diverse interests.⁴ It entails negotiation, persuasion, bargaining and compromise. The making of public policy, therefore, embodies a competitive political process between political actors, often referred to as pluralism.

1.1 Pluralism: A Description of Public Policy-making

Pluralists make the following observations about public policy-making. Firstly, that public policy is made by a large number of state and non-state actors. Secondly, that those role-players consist of various interest groups. Thirdly, that policy making is a competitive process between interest groups. Fourthly, that the power between interest groups is distributed evenly. Lastly, that because of various interests, policy-making often involves compromise.

The interest group approach to politics is largely based on the work of Bentley's *The Process of Government* (1908), which influenced Truman's *The Governmental Process* (1962).⁵ This approach addresses the complexity of policy-making, by appreciating the large number of role-players functioning both within, as well as outside, the state.⁶ It is of significant importance because the typical role-players in policy-making consist of groups. The state itself is composed of groups, rather than a single entity. For example, political parties are composed of groups, legislatures are constituted by group action, and bureaucracies also behave as groups in their own right. Governing institutions are often fragmented and even

form alliances with other groups. Public policy-making processes are influenced by interest groups within and outside state bureaucracies.

The pluralist (or interest group approach) to public policy tends to assume that public policy is the outcome of a free competition between ideas and interests.⁷ Interest groups are organised bodies seeking to influence public policy.⁸ Their activity is a fundamental feature of modern democracies and establishes a system of representation parallel to electoral representation. Interest group theorists argue that groups are not only important in a policy process, but that they actually define the process. Truman even argued that groups usually "...formulate policy and set the agenda; they try to influence the legislative and executive decisions...".⁹ Public policy-making is, therefore, a competitive process where interest groups attempt to influence both policy, the agenda and process of making policy. According to some pluralists, power is distributed between different groups and is structured by a series of minorities.¹⁰ The interest group approach suggests that public policy-making is a competitive political process where power is distributed fairly evenly between interest groups.

Pluralism suggests that change occurs in small increments. The incrementalist view of policy-making (which is one view that resembles defence policy sectors), however, assumes that groups are unequal participants in the policy process and that powerful interests aim at preventing change.¹¹ The problem with the incrementalist view in general is that it does not explain different types of group interaction and, therefore, limits the descriptive approach needed to study public policy-making. Incrementalism on its own does not provide a framework to study the varying influence of interests, ideas and change in a policy sector. Incrementalism is often considered as a justification of the pluralist model of decision-making. According to pluralists, change in a pluralist system in fact works in small increments.¹² The interest group approach provides¹² for a descriptive study of the interaction between interest groups.

The interest group approach with regard to policy-making has several limitations. Firstly, the assumption of the interest group approach that politics could be reduced to, or is mainly concerned with associational relationships, can not be supported in theory or practice.¹³ The theory is limited as an explanation of decision-making, because it does not provide insight about which issues are processed and why they differ between various sectors and countries. Secondly, the interest group approach could be a restrictive and reductionist explanation of policy-making as its framework may exclude small, but relevant details outside group interaction. The third point of criticism is that the interest group theory underplays the role of the state and institutions. Although institutions are recognised in interest group theory,

it underplays the state's influence to dominate the policy agenda and exclude groups from debating and influencing the policy-process. Political parties for instance are not merely a combination of interests, but institutional entities "...that seek to fuse their actions with branches of the state."¹⁴ In the last instance, another shortcoming of pluralism in domestic politics is that the best organised and best financed interest groups are able to represent their points of view and interest most effectively, leaving groups with fewer resources and expertise in a weaker position to influence policy.¹⁵

The discussion on policy-making and pluralism was aimed at identifying and demarcating public policy-making, in order to describe it more fully at a later stage. Pluralism involves numerous state and non-state actors in public policy-making, which consist of various interest groups. These interest groups compete to promote their interests in policy, which converts this into a competitive process. In practice opposing interests often lead to compromise on the policy-making level.

1.2 Understanding Defence Policy

The term defence policy is often used, but its meaning is rarely defined.¹⁶ This term has to be clarified and pinned down, because it is often inaccurately used to refer to various levels of security policy. The term is alternatively used to refer to operational capabilities and policies concerning the armed forces, to strategy and strategic policy, as well as to imply the whole spectrum of national security policy, which includes all elements of national power. The overlapping domains involved in defence policy complicate an understanding of this term. Its formulation takes place within both the military and political domains, which creates problems of demarcating its boundaries.

It is often argued that defence policy relates to the implementation of a given set of national goals.¹⁷ Most models assume that national policy, foreign policy and national security policy are decided first and defence policy is then formulated subsequently. Although this appears like a logical process, it is hardly ever the case in reality. Defence policy is often formulated without adequate national or foreign policy guidelines in place.

The more contemporary view of defence policy involves the provision, deployment and use of military resources to facilitate not only the protection, but also the pursuit of the perceived national interests of the state.¹⁸ National interest normally does not subsist within domestic society, but is rather unique to the sphere of international politics.¹⁹ It is those vital interests on which a nation-state is unwilling to compromise (for example territorial integrity) and for

which it is willing to go to war. Defence policy is, therefore, concerned with the policies pertaining to the utilisation of armed forces to achieve the policy goals of the state. The term defence involves not only the defence of a country's territorial integrity and protection of its population against foreign invasion, but also the protection of its overseas territories and population, as well as the political and economic interests of the state worldwide. Defence policy entails the selection of objectives, which have to be achieved by the armed forces in order to support foreign and even domestic policy. Furthermore, defence policy issues often overlap with regional security issues, as regional security structures traditionally serve as a common front for defence against external adversaries.²⁰ Defence policy consequently involves the use of the military to protect the state's national interests and its population, often with regional co-operation.

1.3 Defence Policy and the Interest Group Approach

The interest group approach is relevant to the way defence policy is formulated. Huntington states the following about the dynamics involved in defence policy-making: "military policy is not the result of deductions of a clear statement of national objectives...it is the product of the competition of purposes within individuals and groups and among individuals and groups".²¹ Defence policy is the outcome of the competition between the external goals of government (such as trade, influence and power) and its domestic goals (such as social welfare, individual freedom and low taxation). It is thus the result of politics. Particular groups participating in the policy process have their own specific and limited goals and interests. The interest group approach is suitable to defence policy-making, since it is a competitive process between various interest groups.

Defence policy-making is the outcome of a complicated process that involves many interests. Hillsman argued that defence policy is the sum of separate or vaguely related actions and "...on occasion it is an uneasy, even internally inconsistent compromise among competing goals or an incompatible mixture of alternative means for achieving a single goal."²² Defence policy is multifaceted because it includes not only the governmental decision-making processes but also civil-military relations.²³ Defence policy-making is a competition between many interest groups, which often leads to inconsistent compromise between interest groups.

According to Dillan, defence policy processes are incremental and sometimes confusing.²⁴ The incrementalist model of decision-making implies that policy is the result of slow-moving bargaining between groups. Slow adjustment and progress is characteristic of much public

policy-making. There is, however, no “best” way to formulate policy.²⁵ Defence policy-making would consequently typically involve compromise and bargaining between interest groups.

1.4 The Two Worlds of Defence Policy

Huntingtonⁱ, a renowned author on the military, describes defence policy as existing in two worlds.²⁶ One is international politics and the other is domestic politics. International politics involves the world of power politics, wars and alliances, the "...subtle and the brutal uses of force and diplomacy..." to influence the behaviour mainly of state actors.²⁷ The actual or potential use of military power is used in this environment as one avenue to achieve the goals of security policy. The international environment produces threats to the state's interests and provides opportunities, which may be exploited to promote the state's interests.²⁸

The other arena of defence policy is the domestic political environment, the world of political parties, interest groups and social classes, often with conflicting interests and goals. In this environment, two basic political influences should be distinguished. Firstly, the governing political doctrine of long-term national goals is related to the socio-economic and political system.²⁹ Secondly, the influence of the current policy and the decision-making process has a significant bearing on the domestic domain. Defence policy may be determined by a single principal decision taken by leadership based on long-range policy. It could, however, also be determined by a number of separate decisions, which are an outcome of rivalry and bargaining between political groups, institutions and individuals. Many decisions on specific problems of defence policy fall between these two extremes. Since defence policy is largely determined by the domestic political processes, many variables of this process and bureaucratic politics may be significant. The outcome depends for instance on the strategies and tactics chosen by the rival groups, organisations and individuals, and their ability to implement these.

In the domestic dimension of defence policy, the resources of a society are at stake, which include financial, material and manpower resources.³⁰ Any decision that is taken in either the international (external) or domestic (internal) political environment has a direct impact on the other. Foreign policy consists of those activities of a government that affect the allocation

ⁱ Although Huntington uses the term military policy, the term has generally been dropped in favour of the term defence policy (See the introduction to: Baylis, J (ed), *British Defence Policy in a Changing World*, London: Croom Helm, 1977, p 13).

of values between the said government and other (external) governments. On the other hand domestic policy refers to those activities of a government that affect the allocation of values among groups in (the internal) society. It should be borne in mind that these categories are not mutually exclusive, since defence policy overlaps the usual distinction between foreign policy and domestic policy.

Domestic politics serve as a constraint on the formulation of policies, which are largely responses to the international environment and have their main impact on that arena.³¹ The most persistent domestic constraint is the financial one, which is influenced by economic realities. Ministries of defence have to compete with other Public Service departments for a share of the national budget. Another significant constraint on defence policy is the inheritance of a former defence policy. For example, ongoing military acquisition programmes and agreements of military co-operation could severely restrict the defence planner's short to medium term policy options. Dillan, therefore, argues that policy-makers have to make decisions about the future of militaries at a specific point in time onwards and should not focus entirely on future goals without considering ways to address current challenges.³²

International politics are also a constraint on the formulation of policies, which are responses to the domestic environment.³³ In terms of defence policy it is difficult to identify the primary focus of this domain and its constraints. It would be unambiguous to say that defence policy consists of those elements of both the foreign and domestic policy environments that directly affect the armed forces of a country.

The interest group approach is frequently used as a framework to explain the nature of public and defence policy-making and this is also the case in South Africa. This approach is suited for this purpose, because it explains the role of various interest groups in a competitive political environment, where compromises often have to be made to reach some consensus. It also underscores that the legitimacy of policy is enhanced with the involvement of interest groups. Defence policy involves the use of armed forces to protect the state's national interests and its population, but it should simultaneously be conceded that it is often formulated without clear national policy guidelines. Defence interests compete with other national interests, especially individual security concerns. The making of defence policy is consequently characterised by competition between interest groups, which often involves bargaining and compromise in terms of the external and domestic interests of a nation. In summary: Defence policy exists in two worlds; an external and domestic dimension. The external dimension deals with the use of military power in an international context, while the

internal dimension involves domestic politics and debates about the allocation of resources to the military. Hence the interest group approach is applicable to defence policy-making.

The following part of the chapter discusses the various interest groups and role-players in South African defence policy-making, within the framework of the Constitution, as well as the domestic political scene. The competition between these interest groups, in terms of policy-making, will also receive some attention. South African defence policy will be discussed in terms of its external and internal dimensions, as well as the changes it underwent during the last decade.

2. PUBLIC POLICY-MAKING IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1994

In the first part of this section a discussion follows on the constitutional framework in South Africa, which determines how public policy is formulated. The discussion then continues with the influence of various groups in public policy-making, such as the legislature, the executive and NGOs. The focus of the discussion then turns more specifically to defence policy-making and the changes that occurred in the new dispensation. An overview will be given about the nature of the defence policy process since 1994 and the influence of the various interest groups and role-players in the formulation of policy.

An analysis of defence policy takes place within the context of the institutional structure by which governments formulate and implement their defence policies.³⁴ The domestic political process determines the nature of policy-making in a state and a proper understanding thereof is essential. All legislation of a state is subject to the supremacy of its Constitution.³⁵ One of the primary principles in the South African Constitution is democracy and a representative, multi-party governmental system.³⁶ South Africa is a constitutional democracy, which makes provision for proportional representation and a common voters' roll. This ensures party representation in the legislature. The Constitution is considered South Africa's supreme law and, therefore, defence legislation and policy should comply with its underlying principles.

The South African Constitution of 1996 established important responsibilities with regard to the making of public policy and three of these, which are relevant to this study, will be highlighted. The first principle entails that the legislative authority of the Republic of South Africa is vested in Parliament.³⁷ The passing of legislation requires a majority vote by the National Assembly, which provides a great deal of influence to the majority party in the formulation of policy and the passing of bills.³⁸ The second principle is that the National

Assembly should facilitate public involvement in the legislative and other processes of the Assembly and its committees, which should include public meetings.³⁹ The process should thus remain open and consultative. The third principle provides that cabinet members or deputy ministers may introduce bills in the National Assembly.⁴⁰ Consequently the executive branch of government and the relevant cabinet ministers have a prominent role to play in the process of drafting the bill that is submitted to the National Assembly. The South African Constitution also stipulates that other procedures should be followed by government in terms of policy-making. The process is quite complex and all activities are not necessarily regulated.⁴¹ The political nature of policy-making is, therefore, of particular importance.

The Constitution further lays down the following principles, which are relevant to defence policy: "National security must reflect the resolve of South Africans, as individuals and as a nation, to live as equals..."⁴² It also states that "...the primary object of the defence force is to defend and protect the Republic, its territorial integrity and its people in accordance with the Constitution and the principles of international law..."⁴³ This suggests three points about defence-policy making in South Africa. Firstly, there should be agreement on defence policy, which necessitates a consultative way of formulating defence policy. Secondly, both the individual and the nation/state's interests are important, which leaves room for interpretation and balanced views regarding the desired emphasis of security policy. Thirdly, the primary objective of the SANDF is to protect the Republic against external threats and not to deploy internally in support of the South African Police Service, which could erode the military's apolitical role in the democracy, and democracy itself. All these principles are aimed at protecting democratic principles.

The next part of the chapter will focus on the influence of the legislature in South Africa, the personal constraints on policy-makers, as well as the organisational constraints they have to deal with.

2.1 The Influence of the Legislature in South Africa

By 1994, many policy-makers in government had little experience and saw policy-making primarily as a moral activity to "...right the wrongs..." of *apartheid* policies.⁴⁴ Considering South Africa's past this was an understandable approach. It was, however, not a practical one. Many ideas and models that influenced policy-makers and their policies were derived from highly industrialised and rich countries. How these had to be applied, implemented and sustained in a middle-income developing country had not generally been thought through. The differences between South Africa and these societies were not always properly

considered. During the first five years of democracy, South African policies were characterised as being voluminous, mainly well intended and ambitious, but generally weak. Most White Papers reflected a lack of real analysis, and although most documents were clear about the intended achievements, there was a lack of thought on how these should be implemented. The poor quality of certain bills may also be attributed to many departments being under considerable pressure to pass legislation.⁴⁵ It is clear that legislators formulated public policy with a great deal of idealism and moral motivations. Some of these ideas were close to utopian and impractical.

Another constraint on the contribution that policy-makers could potentially make was their lack of exposure to policy-making.⁴⁶ By 1994, most South African policy-makers did not have the necessary skills and experience in making and analysing policy. This contributed towards the gaps that developed between multiple policy reform initiatives and implementation, in combination with the policy management capacity shortcomings of government. One of the methods government has employed to deal with its incapacity and inexperience in policy-making was to make extensive use of outside agencies, most often consultants and NGOs. The lack of experience among politicians to formulate policy, frequently led to consultants and NGOs being relied upon to draft policy and legislation. The influence of these consultants on government has been immense. However, as ministers made new appointments of senior public servants, this practise has declined.

The parliamentary committee system is an important mechanism whereby Parliament is able to make contributions in policy-making processes and oversee the work of the executive.⁴⁷ It is regarded as the "...working machinery of the new parliament".⁴⁸ There is a parliamentary committee for each national department. It stands to reason that the ANC would dominate the parliamentary committees because of its large majority in Parliament. Many members of the ANC are hesitant to critically evaluate the performance of the executive. In cases where ANC members of parliamentary committees have adopted critical stances on policy, they were subjected to severe political pressure and became soft targets. Legislators – and especially ANC members – are, therefore, constrained in terms of making personal contributions to the formulation of policy.

At one extreme, selected NGOs were given almost *carte blanche* to write policy in a department under the false pretence that they represented the people's views.⁴⁹ In principle the involvement of NGOs and consultants in the policy process could be positive and a useful assistance to government. There are indeed occasions where such involvement has been advantageous. On many occasions since 1994, outside consultants played a key role

in helping ANC officials to focus on issues in a pragmatic and sensible manner. A dilemma that quite frequently arose regarding some reliance on consultants and consultative committee-driven policy, was that many of the individuals who make inputs were not accountable either politically or administratively. The responsibility to formulate policy, therefore, generally shifted from politicians to private role-players.

Internationally, legislatures rarely make major policy decisions and their inputs are usually more reactive than pro-active.⁵⁰ The contribution of legislatures (in general) with regard to policy-making is considered to be less visible through public debates, interaction with interest groups, links with constituents, and debates within the legislature. The South African parliament is no exception and the legislature tends to be weak compared to the executive sphere of government. The situation is aggravated by members of Parliament (MPs) and their committees facing shortages of technical, research and administrative resources. The tendency in South Africa is that the executive usually takes main responsibility for developing legislation in major policy areas and it bears the main task of implementing the policy.⁵¹ In general, parliamentary committees have to rely on the departmental drafter of the relevant bill. Parliamentary committees may be expected to initiate legislation pertaining to matters that are of special interest to the legislature, such as parliamentary privilege and public participation in the legislature, but not major policy initiatives. Their ability to develop an active role in policy-making is thus limited, but frequently the chairpersons of parliamentary committees enjoy significant political power.⁵² With parliamentary committees relying on departmental drafters, responsibility for drafting legislation devolved to the ministries.

The relations between Parliament, the executive and civil society organisations depend to a significant extent on the relevant minister, and the strength and effectiveness of the chair of the parliamentary committee, as well as the political sensitivity of the issue at hand.⁵³ Since 1994, public opinion and the media in particular had a limited impact on policies in South Africa.⁵⁴ The ANC considers itself as being the credible reader of public opinion. Opposition parties also had little impact on policy-making processes, in part because they are relatively disorganised and because they are deemed unable to offer credible and practical policy alternatives. In practice opposition parties play no prominent role in public policy-making.

In an attempt to change the wrongs of *apartheid*, policy-makers formulated policy according to idealist and moral motivations, which were understandable, but impractical. Policy-makers' inexperience and lack of skill to formulate policy made reliance on consultants and NGOs often necessary for the drafting of legislation. The legislature, and parliamentary committees in particular, should play an important role in public policy-making, yet legislators and

especially ANC members have little leeway to give inputs or be critical. The legislature is, therefore, weak compared to the executive. Opposition parties in the legislature also play a limited role in policy-making. With the limited freedom of parliamentary committees and their lack of support staff, they have to rely on departmental drafters and in the process the responsibility for the drafting of legislation transferred to the ministries. As the executive relied on outside consultants and NGOs for drafting policy, the responsibility to formulate policy shifted from politicians to private actors.

2.2 The Role of the Executive

In this section the role of the President and the cabinet will be discussed, as they are influenced by the ANC. It will also cover the sequence that policy-making follows.

The executive authority plays an important role in public policy formulation and consists of the President and members of the cabinet. The Constitution lays down the rules for the appointment and role of the President and the cabinet. It stipulates that the National Assembly chooses the President, which means that the majority party is in practice able to determine who becomes the President.⁵⁵ The President of South Africa is the Head of State and also leads the national executive.⁵⁶ The President appoints the cabinet, which constitutes the national executive.⁵⁷ The cabinet consists of the President, as the head of the cabinet, a Deputy President and ministers and he also appoints all these other members. The President may also appoint deputy ministers from members of the National Assembly to assist the members of the cabinet.⁵⁸ He exercises the executive authority with other members of the cabinet.⁵⁹ The cabinet is responsible to initiate, prepare, develop, and implement national legislation, as well as co-ordinate the functions of the state departments and administrations.

According to Booysen and Erasmus, South African politics centre around top government and the structures of the governing political party, the ANC, which is also the strongest policy-generating cluster in the political system.⁶⁰ In theory the ANC's policy-making outcomes are the result of several sets of processes: those focussed around the National Executive Committee's sub-committees, those based on the ANC's parliamentary study groups, permanently staffed policy units, or departments at the ANC's headquarters.⁶¹ Formally, the party structures of the ANC formulate policy, and government turns it into legislation and implements it. Although the national executive plays an important role in the formulation of policy, the ANC party structures and committees seem to play a more decisive role.

The ANC caucus exerts significant political power, because it meets more regularly than the main ANC party structures to discuss important issues.⁶² This is where the executive and legislative wings of the party meet and key policy decisions are sanctioned. It should, however, be borne in mind that decisions made at the ANC's caucus meeting should have the approval of the party's constitutional structures. The ANC caucus as a party structure, plays a significant role in making key decisions on important policy issues.

A hierarchical process is usually followed to formulate policy, which for the most part originates in government, often with the help of outside experts.⁶³ In practice, however, the most influential individuals in government who formulate policy, are cabinet ministers and their deputies, the directors-general in the public service, the chairs of the NEC sub-committees, and some ANC parliamentary caucus study group and portfolio committee chairs.⁶⁴ The cabinet is a core agency in policy-making and implementation and is closely linked to ANC structures, such as the National Working Committee and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. The increased power of the cabinet and its associated structures over the party is an inevitable consequence of assuming power.⁶⁵

The cabinet has an important responsibility to initiate, prepare and develop national legislation, although the ANC's leadership structure also plays a very influential role through the cabinet. ANC policy is usually determined first and government then ensures that it becomes legislation. The process to formulate public policy and drafting legislation is a hierarchical process with cabinet members as the most important figures.

2.3 Interest Groups, NGOs and Lobbying

The South African government is required by the Constitution to operate in an open and accountable way.⁶⁶ The Constitution stipulates that the National Assembly has to facilitate public involvement in the legislative and other processes of the Assembly and its committees in an open manner.⁶⁷ However, governments are by nature not inclined to operate in this way, which resulted in lobbying becoming a new phenomenon in South African politics. It would seem as though it would become a more important factor in future policy-making processes. In this section, lobbying as a new development in South Africa will be discussed, as well as the different categories of lobbying. The focus of lobbying groups' efforts will also receive some attention.

Lobbying in South Africa is unregulated and as a result there are no rules to govern the conduct of lobbyists, or policy-makers with lobbyists.⁶⁸ A broad range of interest groups and

associations – often including NGOs, business or labour organisations – used the opportunity presented by the new openness in the South African decision-making process (since 1994) to lobby for policy decisions related to their interests.⁶⁹ A number of NGOs became involved in policy development through research projects undertaken on behalf of Public Service departments. Various international, regional and national organisations can and do assist in the process of policy-making, for example the Centre for Policy Studies and the Public and Development Management Department at the University of the Witwatersrand. Such organisations significantly improve the policy-making capacity of governments. Lobbying in South Africa is unregulated, which provide business concerns and NGOs the opportunity to influence policy decisions.

The ability of a lobbyist to influence the policy process depends to an extent on the expertise of the relevant lobbyist.⁷⁰ The more of an expert a lobbyist is, the greater the chance to persuade policy-makers, especially if the policy-makers are laypersons and do not have the time or means to study the topic in-depth.

There are three main categories of lobbying organisations: Firstly, large corporations and the business sector; secondly civil society organisations, which include trade unions and single issue interest groups; and lastly professional lobbyists.⁷¹ There are various categories of interest groups.

The business sector uses three methods to lobby government. Many companies recruited directors and senior managers with strong links with the new government, hoping that they would be able to have access to the ANC.⁷² Companies also established public affairs departments and the services of public affairs consultants (professional lobbyists). Several business organisations – such as the SA Chamber of Business (SACOB) – also set up a parliamentary unit to monitor, advise and lobby policy-makers.

The number of civil society lobbyists in Parliament has increased since 1996.⁷³ By 1998 there were approximately ten active lobbying groups that made submissions to parliamentary groups, including IDASA (Institute for Democracy in South Africa) and the Black Sash. The Institute for Security Studies is another example of a civil society organisation. It is often not clear whom these groups represent, or the specific issues that interest them. Most civil society groups have an interest in democratic principles and the effect of policy on marginalised groups. Their representation is often expertise-based and they employ advocacy experts to represent professional groups. Civil society lobbyists also share an

interest in value-based lobbying, drawing on highly mobilised and specific constituencies in civil society.

Professional lobbying takes place when an organisation hires a professional lobbyist to represent its interests directly with policy-makers.⁷⁴ For example, Terry Crawford-Brown is a professional lobbyist for Economists Allied for Arms Reduction and he constantly represents interest groups that support the notion of a reduced defence budget and he frequently criticises arms acquisitions (among other matters) at public meetings, including those of the parliamentary defence committee. The professional lobbying community in South Africa is small but growing, such as voluntary lobbying organisations, including the South African Institute of Race Relations, and Business South Africa. Generic lobbying is undertaken in many different ways by a wide range of interest groups. Parliament is being lobbied primarily by organisations from the left or centre of the political spectrum. "In the particular circumstances of Cape Town, these organisations have considerable influence which will indubitably change if Parliament were to move to Pretoria".⁷⁵ The location of many lobbying organisations in Cape Town, therefore, has a significant influence on their ability to influence policy with Parliament being located in Cape Town.

International consultants and aid organisations have also played a significant role in the policy environment in South Africa.⁷⁶ The influence of international consultants stretches into almost every Public Service department, especially in trade policy. Foreign aid in South Africa is largely used to fund consultants and NGOs from donor countries to undertake work in South Africa. Many foreign professionals work in South Africa and their organisations choose certain policy areas in which they make contributions. Foreign governments and diplomats have also played a role in developing policy.

In South Africa lobbyists started to shift the focus of their energies from MPs to ministers, departments and advisers.⁷⁷ Parliament is considered to be a rubberstamp, while policy and legislation tends to be written by the ministries. Parliament seldom presents a substantial challenge to the government's agenda. Williams noted (in the context of the defence policy process) that Parliament was rather weak.⁷⁸ As the influence of MPs in policy-making decreased, ministers and departmental representatives are increasingly lobbied.

Lobbying is a new and unregulated development in South Africa, which allows business, civil society and professional organisations to influence public policy. Foreign aid is often utilised to fund NGOs and consultants to lobby government. Because of Parliament's lack of power

in policy-making, lobbying groups have focussed their efforts on ministers, their advisers and the relevant departments.

3. DEFENCE POLICY-MAKING IN SOUTH AFRICA

The first part of this section involves a discussion of the constitutional framework for the security and defence of South Africa. The changing views on security and defence will be discussed, as well as the subsequent divergent views in the defence debate regarding individual and state security.

3.1 The Constitution and Defence

Before 1990, the South African approach to national security was state centred, in which the military played a pivotal role.⁷⁹ Since 1994, South Africa has accepted an integrated approach to national security policy.⁸⁰ The academics who assisted the ANC in formulating its policies on security and defence introduced this approach and advocated the so-called new security paradigm, which originates from critical security thinking.⁸¹ Subsequently the traditional narrow and almost exclusive military-strategic approach towards national security in South Africa, made way for an approach, which incorporated political, economic, social and environmental issues.⁸² This view of achieving security forms part of the broader post-Cold War view of security that places less emphasis on the security of the state through military means, but more on the security of the individual.⁸³ International and domestic changes, therefore, coincided, which profoundly altered South African security and defence policy views.

According to the Constitution, South Africa's national security should be pursued by adhering to domestic and international law.⁸⁴ Consequently South Africa has to promote peaceful relations with Southern African states through high level co-operation in politics, economics and military affairs.⁸⁵ National security perspectives shifted from a state centred or realist approach, to a more idealist approach with an emphasis on the advancement of the principles of collective security, non-aggression and peaceful settlement of disputes.⁸⁶ The ANC's advisers introduced policy-makers to the new security approach that was adopted.

The Constitution contains principles along which national security should be achieved. It determines that "...national security policy 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...".⁸⁷ Two concepts are important here, namely the individual and the nation.

The Constitution does not set one entity's security above the other and this leaves the prioritisation of security issues open for interpretation. The need to secure both the nation and the individual is supported by the Constitution. In the South African Bill of Rights, the security of the individual is emphasised by means of the right to have access to adequate housing, health care services, sufficient food, water, social security and basic education.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the Constitution determines that the primary object of the defence force is to defend and protect the Republic, its territorial integrity and its people.⁸⁹ The Constitution is, therefore, not clear about whether the state/nation or the individual's security is most important and this question was subsequently also raised in defence debates.

After the democratic elections in 1994, the Constitution provided a balanced, democratic view of security in South Africa. It emphasises the equal protection of citizens,⁹⁰ the protection of the state's territorial integrity, as well as the regulation of military force under international law. A clearer notion of development in South Africa also became apparent.⁹¹ The 1996 Constitution of South Africa commits the government to responsibility for the welfare of its people and the development of all parts of the nation,⁹² whereby a broader, balanced view of security is entrenched in the Constitution, which provides for different interpretations of defence.

In 1994, the ANC's views on development converged in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The RDP stood as the pinnacle of national policy and consequently also of defence policy:⁹³ *"...the size, character and doctrines of the new defence force must be appropriate to a country engaged in a major programme of socio-economic reconstruction and development."*⁹⁴ It received high priority and was the daily responsibility of each department.⁹⁵ The ANC and the government emphasised the principle of human security.

During the Cold War era, a major source of instability in the Southern African region was *apartheid*.⁹⁶ According to Malan,⁹⁷ many people who were involved in the writing of South Africa's defence policy documents assumed that *apartheid* was the last source of destabilisation in Southern Africa. Such idealistic views were proven wrong with the continuation of conflict in Angola and the eruption of conflict in the Great Lakes and Democratic Republic of Congo (in particular) during the middle 1990s. While most policy-makers had idealist world-views, the leaders in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) on the other hand had a more realistic view of the international system.⁹⁸ The defence debate, therefore, took place within the context of two opposing worldviews,

idealism and realism. The Constitution enabled these different world-views to co-exist, side by side..

According to Fourie,⁹⁹ the idealists who were involved in the defence policy process were very influential. Their views and perceptions of the military in general were very negative. In the process of compiling the 1996 White Paper on Defence, many politicians questioned the need for a military in the absence of a conventional military threat. The then Minister of Defence Modise decided to allow idealist views to be represented in the White Paper on Defence for the sake of an undisputed and accepted defence policy document. The new defence policy framework, which was established by means of the White Paper on Defence (1996), as well as the more detailed Defence Review (1998), was described by Cock as: "...an agenda for demilitarisation".¹⁰⁰ While the *apartheid* model of security militarised all aspects of national policy, the new security approach sought to demilitarise the concept of security.¹⁰¹ Anti-militarist views, therefore, coincided with idealist views and these represented the most influential policy position during the defence policy-process.

Although idealist views were more influential than realist views, the White Paper on Defence represented a measure of compromise between those groups that promoted demilitarisation and disarmament, as well as the institutional interests of the SANDF, which supported a strong defence force.¹⁰² During the subsequent Defence Review process (which was a more detailed policy process), compromises between the interests of both had to be made to reach consensus, but with a threat perception that was still largely idealistic. The consultative way in which defence transformation was undertaken, resulted in a large degree of positive co-operation on defence policy between the Department of Defence and civil organisations.¹⁰³ This was, however preceded by initial friction and suspicion. Despite the dominance of idealist views in the defence debate, certain compromises had to be made to achieve some consensus.

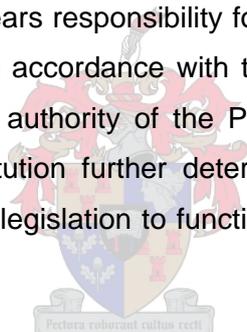
3.2 Role Players in the Defence Policy Process

A short review now follows on the role and influence of important groups and individuals in the defence policy process. Some constitutional aspects with regard to defence will be discussed in the first part of this section. The second part will emphasise the lack of expertise among defence policy-makers, which resulted in policy being formulated by a few influential individuals. Thereafter the limited role of civil society in the process will be elucidated.

The South African Constitution lays down some important guidelines, which should be considered with regard to national security and defence. Defence forms part of national security and is subject to the authority of the South African parliament and the national executive.¹⁰⁴ The Constitution further stipulates that the SANDF should be regulated and structured by national legislation. The national executive and Parliament is responsible for defence legislation, which should determine the structure of the SANDF.

In order to give effect to the principles of transparency and accountability, multi-party parliamentary committees have oversight of all security services in a manner determined by national legislation.¹⁰⁵ The Constitution requires Parliament's defence committees to ensure public involvement in its processes and the conduct of their business in an open manner through public sittings. Civil society should be able to play a role in defence policy-making through parliamentary defence committee meetings.

According to the Constitution, a member of the cabinet is responsible for defence,¹⁰⁶ and accordingly a minister of defence bears responsibility for defence matters. Command of the defence force must be exercised in accordance with the directions of the cabinet member responsible for defence, under the authority of the President, who is the Commander-in-Chief of the SANDF. The Constitution further determines that a civilian Secretariat for Defence be established by national legislation to function under the direction of the Minister of Defence.¹⁰⁷



Forums were an important part of the defence policy-process. Forums opened up the policy process and facilitated the participation of community-based groups and NGOs. Although defence policy was in a state of considerable flux in "...fairly open-ended debate... at a formal level defence policy was to some extent protected from wider transitions, and ring-fenced by the main actors in the interests of stability".¹⁰⁸ Mti concluded that public participation during the White Paper process was limited to those who had direct interests in the matters of the SANDF, which included defence academics, defence experts, companies with interests in armaments and defence related production.¹⁰⁹ Mti argued that the advantage of the close involvement of these groups in the policy process ensured that "...people who knew about these matters were involved...the downside was that it tended to be elitist...".¹¹⁰ A small group of experts, therefore, were mainly deemed to influence defence policy.

The major role players in the defence debate were the Ministry and the Department of Defence, as well as the parliamentary committees on defence.¹¹¹ The role of the Portfolio

Committee on Defence, which was chaired by Groenewald, was, however, sidelined by the ANC members by not attending certain meetings.¹¹² The role of the Joint Standing Committee on Defence (JSCD) then became more prominent as the ANC members threw their weight behind Yengeni from the ANC, who chaired the JSCD. Yengeni played a valuable role to facilitate defence debates and the JSCD became characterised for its hard work and motto that "...defence is not a party political matter".¹¹³ The JSCD became the most influential committee to the extent that the portfolio committee was abolished.¹¹⁴ The ANC used its position as the majority party to play the leading role on the JSCD.

Civil society organisations were involved in the defence policy process in various degrees. According to Mti, there was public participation in the process through public submissions, workshops, conferences and public hearings at Parliament.¹¹⁵ Several MPs, however, expressed their criticism about the public's access to public hearings and many argued that hearings were only attended by those who could afford it. Consequently civil society had a limited role in the defence policy process.

After 1994, the majority of South Africa's politicians had a very limited knowledge on military matters and did not understand the concerns of the military community on strategic issues, which limited credible inputs from government and a political vision for the future role of the military.¹¹⁶ Consequently a range of NGOs, academics and security experts became involved in the defence policy-making process¹¹⁷, and became more prominent in the process.

The ANC-aligned think-tank on defence policy (the Military Research Group-MRG) played a significant role in the defence policy process since 1990. It filled the need in the ANC in terms of a defence transformation planning capacity and many of its recommendations were used (often *verbatim*) in negotiations, ANC conferences, and eventually in policy-outputs of government.¹¹⁸ The principal drafter of the White Paper on Defence was a member of the MRG.¹¹⁹ A few other NGOs also played a role in the policy-process. The Institute for Defence Policy (now the Institute for Security Studies) influenced the debate through policy-orientated research and the Ceasefire Campaign promoted demilitarisation and some of their less radical proposals were accepted in multi-party forums.¹²⁰ The JSCD also played a very important role in the defence-policy process, since the drafting process of the White Paper.¹²¹ The JSCD for example insisted on ratifying every line of the draft White Paper. The few issues that could not be resolved by the JSCD were submitted to the Minister for final decision. The ANC relied on members of the MRG to formulate its policies on defence

and the drafter of the White Paper originated from this group. Many of the ANC's initial policy principles directly became government policy.

3.3 The Two Defence Policy-making Processes: White Paper and Defence Review

The first part of this section contains a discussion of defence debates prior to the 1994 elections. In the second part a brief review will be given of the 1996 White Paper on Defence and the Defence Review processes. Specific attention will be paid to the manner in which these two processes were structured and facilitated in order to indicate who held the power to make decisions about defence policy.

The landmarks of South Africa's defence policy process between 1994 and 1998, were the White Paper on Defence and the Defence Review. The defence debate, however, started as early as 1990 and the discussions that took place at this initial stage of South Africa's transition should receive attention. Prior to the 1994 general elections in South Africa, certain agreements were already concluded between most parties for the transition of defence in the new era.¹²²

Some of the ideas regarding a framework for transformation were already informally discussed in May 1990 at a conference in Lusaka on "The Future of Security and Defence in South Africa".¹²³ This conference was attended by senior ANC members, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) members, South African Defence Force (SADF) Citizen Force members, retired SADF officers, researchers and members of the non-conscription campaign, but excluded formal representation from the South African government. The defence approach formally adopted by the ANC since 1990 was accepted by most parties and included the following: the adoption of a peaceful strategy and co-operative security relationships with Southern African states in a collective security system, the establishment of democratic control over the military and the integration of all armed forces into a national defence force.

With the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) in South Africa (in late 1993), a Sub-Council on Defence was established to take responsibility for the overseeing of the armed forces and initiating the planning for the creation of a new national defence force.¹²⁴ A multi-armed force structure (the Joint Military Co-ordinating Council - JMCC) was established as a non-command council for taking military-strategic and operational responsibility to achieve the above goals under the Sub-Council on Defence. The JMCC consisted of military representatives from all armed forces with political representation on the TEC. The ANC, as the most influential party on the Sub-Council, was able to ensure that

certain key principles were accepted for the future policy. These principles included the acceptance of a primarily defensive posture, the creation of a primarily civilian ministry of defence, an integration process and the transformation of the defence force in terms of gender and race. The strategic and force design proposals accepted by the SADF-dominated JMCC, resembled traditional approaches and were later revised during the Defence Review process, which was finalised almost two years after the White Paper on Defence. The ANC-dominated Sub-Council on Defence's agreements on a defensive force posture was maintained throughout the rest of the defence policy-process, but the SADF-controlled JMCC's traditional force structure proposals were rejected and had to be finalised during the Defence Review process.

After the 1994 democratic elections, there was an urgent requirement for an appropriate published defence policy for South Africa.¹²⁵ The Minister of Defence initiated the drafting of a White Paper on Defence in June 1995 and the target date for completion was set for May 1996.¹²⁶ The Minister then appointed Deputy Defence Minister Kasrils personally to ensure that it was finalised.¹²⁷ Being ultimately responsible for the process, Defence Minister Modise was described as "...reluctant and largely absent...".¹²⁸ Modise also did not give policy direction and he was not considered to be fond of reading policy documents. In theory the Defence Secretary should have taken responsibility for the drafting of the White Paper, as defence policy became one of its key functions as a civil authority. The IDP wrote a draft paper, which was rejected by the Minister.¹²⁹ The Minister then appointed the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) under the leadership of Nathan as the principal drafter of the White Paper. Because of the lack of expertise in the Defence Secretariat to facilitate the defence policy process (at that stage), the responsibility for drafting of the White Paper devolved to civilian consultants. Thus the responsibility for drafting the White Paper devolved from the Minister to the Deputy Minister and then to the non-governmental organisation CCR, under the leadership of Nathan.

The process of drawing up the White Paper was more inclusive than previous white papers and a great deal of interaction took place between the Ministry of Defence and the JSCD.¹³⁰ The White Paper on Defence was tabled in Parliament in May 1996 and accepted by all parties. The White Paper established a broad policy framework with regard to civil-military relations and normative aspects for the Department of Defence (DoD) and the SANDF within the new democratic dispensation.¹³¹ However, it did not cover the whole spectrum of defence transformation issues and a more comprehensive defence policy had to be formulated through the Defence Review process in order to address other matters in more detail, such as the defensive posture, size, structure, strategy, doctrine and acquisition.

The Ministry of Defence.¹³² initiated in July 1995 the Defence Review process, which had to pay more attention to specific strategic and force design aspects. The Minister of Defence once again tasked the Deputy Minister to oversee the process. The Deputy Minister of Defence then instructed the DoD to commence with a comprehensive defence review process and the first Defence Review Work Group (DRWG) was established to draft a Defence Review for discussions with the JSCD.¹³³ The first group consisted of members of the Defence Secretariat, the SANDF and two ministerial advisors with the Director Strategy (SANDF) as the convenor. The first consultative conference was held in February 1996 with the JSCD.

The Deputy Minister then set up another DRWG and he appointed Williams (then Director of Defence Policy at the Defence Secretariat) as the convenor of the DRWG.¹³⁴ In February 1997, the Ministry of Defence expanded the working group¹³⁵ to include three parliamentarians from the JSCD, members from the Secretariat, the SANDF, two ministerial advisors, representatives from ISS, representatives from the defence industry, and also Nathan and Cawthra (University of the Witwatersrand).¹³⁶

A significant development during the Defence Review was that the power to formulate policy rapidly shifted from the SANDF to the Ministry of Defence, the civilian-controlled Defence Secretariat and, to a limited but nevertheless significant extent, to civil society through the JSCD.¹³⁷ During the Defence Review process the Departments of Foreign Affairs and Intelligence were not comprehensively consulted on foreign or broader national security policy.¹³⁸ Neither was the Department of Finance consulted on long term defence budget planning.

As part of the Defence Review process, specialised workgroups were established to focus on specific defence issues.¹³⁹ Open workshops were held in the nine provinces, as well as three national consultative conferences in Cape Town between 1996 and 1997. The force design options were completed during this process and these determined the defence acquisition programmes.

4. SUMMARY

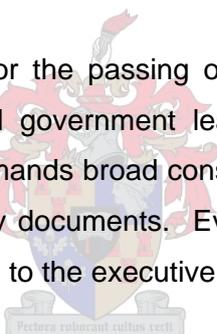
Public policy and defence policy is a series of decisions (intention) and actions (implementation) of a bureaucratic institution in order to achieve its objectives. Public policy is shaped by private actors and their interests, but should be approved by the legislature.

With opposing interests involved in public policy, this is a political rather than an intellectual process, and often involves compromise between the role-players.

The interest group approach (pluralism) was selected as a theoretical framework to explain the various activities and role-players involved in defence policy-making. Pluralism promotes the legitimacy and implementation of legislation. The interest group approach assumes that policy-making is a competitive, self-interest driven process, usually with an even distribution of power. It is, therefore, essential to study the relationship between interest groups involved in policy-making.

Defence policy may be defined as the provision, deployment and use of military resources to protect and pursue the national interests of the state. Defence policy relates to two worlds, namely the external dimension of international politics and the internal dimension of domestic politics. Domestic political demands in South Africa give defence policy less prominence because of the inward looking stance involved.

In South Africa, the political power for the passing of bills resides in the ANC's national leadership, which includes party and government leaders, as well as their consultants. Although the public policy process demands broad consultation of civil society, the ministries largely determine the content of policy documents. Even the legislature and parliamentary committees tend to be weak compared to the executive, while following party guidelines.



South African defence policy consisted of two processes, namely the 1996 White Paper on Defence and the 1998 Defence Review. The defence debate, however, dated back to the 1990 Lusaka conference on the future of defence in South Africa. Support for defensive and co-operative strategy was already then expressed and remained influential in the debate. The ANC ensured the acceptance of defensive principles on defence forums during the TEC-era.

The Constitution determines that both the security of the individual and the nation is essential, but it does not prioritise these factors. This enabled opposing worldviews about security to be held and complicated the formulation of South African defence policy. While the ANC had an idealist view, the SANDF held a realist view. These opposing world-views created a competitive policy process between the two interest groups and eventually involved compromise to establish broad support.

The making of South African defence policy involved politics and compromise, rather than rational decision-making. Defence policy, in common with most public policy, lacked an element of thorough analysis and practical consideration. The main aim of the policy-makers was to change the former *apartheid* policies. This introduced some idealism and models of industrialised nations into formal policy. Some of these models had little relevance to the realities in South Africa, especially the Peace Research school of thought. Idealism and compromise characterised SA defence policy.

In an attempt to deal with the incapacity and inexperience of government in defence policy-making, government relied extensively on the MRG, NGOs and consultants. During both defence policy processes, the Minister of Defence devolved responsibility for drafting policy to the Deputy Minister, who then appointed MRG members as lead drafters and coordinators. During the White Paper process the Deputy Minister devolved the drafting to Nathan and during the Defence Review, to Williams. The lack of research and technical support for parliamentary committees led to a reliance on the drafters and consultants provided by the Ministry of Defence. Policy-making, which is largely the responsibility of the Ministry, then devolved to private actors. NGOs and consultants may play an important role to assist government, but they carry no political or administrative responsibility for policy.

The openness required in legislative processes in South Africa, created the opportunity for lobbying groups to influence public policy, but such groups are not being regulated. Foreign aid is often used to fund consultants and NGOs to influence policy. The focus of lobbying groups shifted from MPs to ministers, the departments and their advisers, which is a further indication that the power to formulate policy has shifted from the legislative to the executive.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Since the early 1990s defence policy-making in South Africa, has shared similarities with the interest group approach in several respects. Firstly, various organised interest groups were involved: civil society, NGOs, lobbyists, the legislature, government, the ANC and the SANDF. All the various interest groups tried to influence defence policy, which made it a competitive process. Secondly, defence policy did not only involve rational or intellectual decision-making. There was free access and competition of ideas and interests, as required by the Constitution, but the policy process involved some compromise. Thirdly, interest groups, such as the MRG, served as a source of expertise regarding security thinking. The interest group approach, therefore, has some clear relevance to defence policy-making in

South Africa, because it involves a competition and bargaining between various interest groups.

Simultaneously South African public and defence policy formulation deviates from the interest group approach in some ways. The assumption that political power is distributed fairly even between interest groups, does not occur in South Africa. The ANC uses its majority in the legislature and parliamentary defence committees to off-set the possibility of a power balance. The involvement of the ANC leadership in party, parliamentary and government structures creates a natural alliance between certain “interest groups”. The ANC alliance, with its majority, structured the defence policy process rather than the institutions of the state. In the absence of expertise in its own ranks, the Defence Secretariat was unable to steer defence policy-making and had to rely on outside expertise.

The ANC leadership largely formulates defence policy through its party structures, cabinet minister and consultants. The executive, and specifically the Ministry of Defence, therefore, have the political power to determine defence policy to a large extent. The ANC-dominated legislature, which includes the JSCD, has limited power to influence defence policy, being compelled to adhere to ANC party policy.

Civil society plays a limited role in defence policy-making. Lobbying groups, with the help of foreign aid and in the absence of any regulations, are in a better position to influence policy.

Although there were open forums for public participation through the parliamentary defence committees, a relatively small group of MRG members mainly influenced defence policy. Politicians had a limited knowledge of defence matters and a lack of expertise to formulate defence policy. The ANC and the Ministry of Defence, therefore, relied on MRG members to formulate its policies. The formulation of defence policy devolved from the Minister to the Deputy Minister, to MRG members.

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CHAPTER 3

NON-OFFENSIVE DEFENCE: A COLD WAR PHENOMENON?

The aim of the chapter is to describe the origins, development and application of non-offensive defence (NOD) thinking in Western Europe. NOD may be defined as an assimilation of political-military ideas aimed at preventing war and the security dilemma through a configuration of defence with the least offensive, but maximum defensive strength and capabilities.

The first part of this chapter commences with the early origins of defensive ideas in the 20th century and the development of NOD thinking in West Germany during the Cold War. The influence of NOD thinking in Europe and the acceptance of NOD by the Warsaw Pact will then be discussed. The end of the Cold War will then be highlighted, and its impact on NOD thinking will be explained. The second part of the chapter is a theoretical section that deals with the origins and meaning of the term “non-offensive defence”. The lack of conceptual clarity on the variety of defensive terms that are used, will be described. The paradigms inherent to NOD ideas will also be discussed. Finally the critique against NOD ideas will receive some attention.

1. THE ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF NOD THINKING

In this section, the origins of ideas inherent to NOD, will be described, as it became predominant in certain eras of war and political tension. The development of NOD thinking will be explained as it gained momentum during the Cold War, as a way to ease tensions between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. NOD will also be explained as a tool that was used to criticise NATO nuclear strategy and deployments, as well as its conventional strategy.

Ideas relevant to NOD could be traced back to several historical origins within three distinct eras, namely the post-First World War era, the post-Second World era and the Cold War.¹

The central ideas that emerged during these eras were:

- a. that arms races cause war;
- b. that there is a distinction between offensive and defensive arms;
- c. a conviction that defensive weapons and defensive zones provide political and military moral power;

- d. a preference for predominantly non-standing armies;
- e. a desire for transparency to replace military secrecy; and
- f. a consideration of a country's own role in the creation of threats.

Ideas from the post-First World War era had a significant impact on NOD. Shortly after this war, the problem of war and the means to prevent it, received a great deal of attention from Western governments and academics.² Several conclusions were made, which became generalised assumptions in NOD thinking during the nuclear crisis, as the First World War was revisited for answers about preventing a third world war. The first assumption was that an arms race was largely responsible for the outbreak of war.³ Secondly, arms races had to be stopped with disarmament and arms control measures. The third conclusion was that the defensive seemed to have the advantage over the offensive, which was based on the static nature of First World War battlefields. The cult of the offensive was considered an overarching cause of the war, which strengthened support for the defensive.⁴

Prior to the Cold War, Carr argued that with developments in military technology, states could not ensure their military or economic security on their own.⁵ Carr suggested that international security be approached in a way that was free from the limitations of national sovereignty and state-centred perspectives. Carr's views were largely ignored against the background of the then prevailing realist prescriptions.

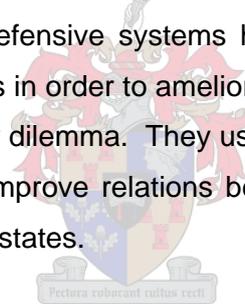
The development of nuclear weapons presented a major challenge to defence thinking after the Second World War⁶. Nuclear weapons affected defensive ideas in two contradictory ways. Firstly, the scope for defensive military ideas declined as deterrence doctrine started to dominate.⁷ The emphasis in military doctrine shifted from defence to deterrence. Realism, therefore, became a prominent feature. Secondly, as deterrence evolved, critical views about a deterrence doctrine developed and revived defensive ideas. The prevention of accidental war was a matter of great concern during the Cold War and the security dilemma concept was used to explain the problem of East-West tensions.

According to Jervis "...the core argument of the security dilemma is that, in the absence of a supranational authority that can enforce binding agreements, many of the steps pursued by states to bolster their security have the effect-often unintended and unforeseen-of making other states less secure."⁸ Jervis established a link between the security dilemma, and the defensive and offensive nature of strategies and weapons.⁹ He argued that as states build up their security with strategies and weapons, they often unintentionally decrease the security of other states.¹⁰ Other states could then misinterpret such efforts as being

offensive strategies and weapons, rather than defensive steps. Such misperceptions may cause a cycle of insecurity that affects many states, and even give rise to arms races and war. Herz identified the following elements of the security dilemma, which could lead to war: mutual suspicion and fear, the conditioning effect of anarchy and worst-case assumptions, and the need for preventative attack.

Jervis argued that the only way to differentiate between offensive or defensive intentions was to look at military technology and whether it made territory easier or harder to attack, or to defend.¹¹ Herz and Jervis wrote about the security dilemma from an academic perspective and were cautious to suggest practical solutions, such as defensive restructuring. NOD proponents, however, sought a practical use for the security dilemma idea.

Non-offensive defence proponents assumed that the security dilemma and arms races were central problems to be solved.¹² They believed that arms races were a manifestation of the security dilemma and that unstable arms races inevitably led to war. NOD advocates argued that as a solution, demonstrably defensive systems had to be developed to prevent any uncertainty about a state's intentions in order to ameliorate the competitive, destabilising and war-producing effects of the security dilemma. They used the idea of defensive restructuring as one of the "mix of policies" to improve relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) states.



Non-offensive defence ideas are based on defensive assumptions of the post-First World War era. The main assumption is that war should be abolished. NOD and its emphasis on defensive restructuring, disarmament and arms control, was used as a tool to point out the high risks involved in mutual suspicion, worst-case planning and the idea of preventative attacks. These NOD ideas were attempts to devise practical solutions for the security dilemma. These emerging NOD ideas became the critique of NATO's nuclear strategy and conventional strategies.

1.1 The West German Defence Debate and Early Scholars

Defensive ideas and debates, which established the basis for NOD, emerged mainly among West German authors during the early 1950s with the controversial rearmament of West Germany after the Second World War.¹³ Germany was a pivotal strategic location during the Cold War and had the largest concentration of East-West armed forces.¹⁴ In an attempt to

lessen tensions, defensive theorists argued for defensive conventional postures and subsequently the complete elimination of nuclear weapons from West Germany.

Bonin, a former West German military staff officer, was one of the first authors to write about NOD ideas.¹⁵ He was concerned that West Germany would become the buffer of NATO and suffer the most in a war with the Soviet Union. He was further alarmed by the introduction of battlefield nuclear weapons by NATO and the perceived threat it could pose to the Warsaw Pact¹⁶. In order to prevent Western Germany from becoming a major battlefield, he argued for defensive warfare preparations.¹⁷ Instead of encouraging the emerging *Panzer* divisions, he suggested a strictly defensive orientated border protection force, consisting of light infantry in concealed bunkers with an integrated network of anti-tank weapons and minefields.

Kennan made some interesting contributions to the West German defence debate and NOD.¹⁸ He argued that nuclear weapons could not provide security for Europe and that nuclear attacks could never be limited. He further suggested that only defensive wars should be fought and that Europe's conventional forces had to be separated and built upon the Swiss model of territorial defence.

Since the 1950s the peace movement started to play a prominent role to protest against nuclear weapons deployment in Europe.¹⁹ NOD was a primary pillar of the peace movement's platform and an attractive idea to academics and strategic analysts who supported a radical defensive reform of Western Europe's defence.²⁰

Non-offensive defence ideas emerged in West Germany during the 1950s from defensive authors and the peace movement. They addressed their concerns about Europe's defence by emphasising defensive restructuring and the elimination of nuclear weapons.

1.2 NATO Strategy and the Peace Movement

Non-offensive defence debates were mainly a critical West German perspective from peace researchers regarding NATO's nuclear and conventional strategies for defending Western Europe. These debates became more intense with nuclear weapon deployments in Western Germany and more aggressive conventional strategies for the theatre around Western Germany.

In an attempt to deal with a possible Soviet conventional offensive with less retaliation, NATO developed the strategy of Flexible Response in 1967.²¹ The strategy relied on the option of deliberate escalation and the possible use of nuclear weapons, should a conventional defence fail to contain a Soviet attack. The West Germans criticised NATO for its reliance on nuclear weapons to defend Europe and argued that it would make nuclear war more likely.²² NATO's later decision to modernise its intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) with the deployment of 108 Pershing missiles in West Germany and 464 cruise missiles in Belgium, the Netherlands, West Germany and Britain, (arguably in response to long-range Soviet SS-20 nuclear missile deployments in Eastern Europe) raised even more concern. These concerns were manifested in many publications, which advocated NOD ideas.

European defensive theorists argued for denuclearisation, or at the least less dependence on first use of nuclear weapons.²³ Despite much protest against NATO's INF modernisation plans, new missile deployment went ahead and the Strategic Defence Initiative was launched in the early 1980s. This contributed to the decline of the peace movement, as the much-expected culmination in East-West conflict did not occur.²⁴ The anti-nuclear debate then continued mainly as programmes of leftist European opposition parties.²⁵ The conventional debate, however, intensified and NOD advocates played an active role.

Flexible Response involved a conventional deterrent posture with a forward defence capability, which included armour, to respond to Soviet aggression with conventional escalation rather than nuclear war.²⁶ The strategy was based on a linear defence, firepower, attrition and limited manoeuvre.²⁷ Flexible response remained NATO's defence approach into the 1980s.

Peace researchers, such as Afheldt, responded to the Flexible Response's conventional strategy by suggesting NOD ideas.²⁸ Afheldt's model made similar suggestions as Bonin's and also emphasised dispersed webs of light infantry. Most other pro-NOD models made provision for area defence, which consisted of troops and equipment that are widely and uniformly dispersed (defence web).²⁹ The argument to structure, equip and deploy armed forces for area defence was that it would ensure that armed forces could not be utilised for acts of aggression.

Afheldt and other NOD advocates, such as Von Müller, Gerber and Hannig, devised models in which high-technology weapons played a prominent role.³⁰ In order to have significant firepower, area defence forces had to rely on long-range weaponry such as artillery, as well

as anti-tank weapons, mines, and anti-aircraft installations. The mission for area defence units was to delay, disrupt and inflict casualties on invading forces.

Less radical models made provision for mobile and armour units to support and reinforce the more static infantry.³¹ Such a model was developed by the Study Group on Alternative Security Policy (SAS) under the leadership of Unterseher.³² The model was named “Spider in the Web”, which envisioned close co-operation between light infantry in the dispersed web and a small mobile element consisting of armour and mechanised infantry, which was located in the interior. NOD models varied between immobile defence webs and mobile “Spider in the Web” models.

Many of the models also made provision for civilian defence and important roles for home defence regiments were envisioned. Such units would form an integral part of a countrywide area defence system and could be dedicated to protect installations against special forces raids and airborne assaults.³³

It was quite obvious that a linear defence network would not have been able to halt a full-out Warsaw Pact ground offensive through the Fulda Gap or the North German Plain.³⁴ The Soviet Union had the advantage in both force-strength and the ability to launch a swifter conventional surprise attack.³⁵ By 1982, Rogers (Supreme Allied Commander Europe), therefore, argued that the nuclear threshold be raised as high as possible by strengthening NATO’s conventional capabilities without posing an offensive threat to the Warsaw Pact.³⁶ Rogers argued that NATO’s front-line forces had to be prepared to hold back the Warsaw Pact lead divisions, while the pact’s follow-on-forces could be interdicted. The controversial part of this operational strategy (which the United States later adopted as the AirLand Battle doctrine and NATO as Follow-on-Forces Attack) was that NATO had to destroy targets deep in Warsaw Pact territory by means of aircraft, missiles and artillery.

The critique against the “offensiveness” of the Airland Battle doctrine created much debate from peace researchers and NOD proponents, such as Dankbaar (1984)³⁷ and Møller (1987)³⁸. Møller argued that these doctrines of carrying the war to the enemy were against the West German constitution and could also cause a great deal of devastation of NATO territory.³⁹ Møller’s proposals and ideas, under the label of non-offensive defence, were similar to those of Bonin and Afheld.

Non-offensive defence was an unpopular alternative defence idea for NATO, because it would have eroded mutual military support within the alliance.⁴⁰ The antagonism between the superpowers and the strength of the military-industrial complex also limited prospects for the radical reform of NOD.⁴¹

Non-offensive debates intensified in three prominent stages, with the introduction of new strategies, or nuclear weapons deployments. The first era, was in the early 1950s, coinciding with the rearmament of Western Germany and the deployment of nuclear weapons in that country. The second era was in the late 1960s, when NATO's escalation strategy and reliance on the nuclear war option, was criticised. The third era was in the 1980s, with the introduction of the SDI and the AirLand Battle strategy. NOD proposals still differed little from Bonin's ideas and focussed on conventional defence and the abolishment of nuclear weapons.

1.3 Common Security and the Palme Commission

Prior to the 1980s, NOD thinking suggested mainly a military solution for a political problem. With the idea of common security, increased attention was paid to a political solution.

In the early 1980s, some research reports started to focus on how to make states more secure without increasing the levels of insecurity for other states.⁴² In 1982, Swedish Prime Minister Palme proposed that common security could be obtained, as suggested in his report "Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival", that arose as a result of the Palme Commission. The aim of the commission was to focus on providing an intellectual basis for countering the perceived trend towards nuclear war-fighting.⁴³ The relationship between NOD and common security was their focus on arms races as a cause of international tension.

Palme argued that there could be no nuclear victory between the two superpowers and that they should achieve security not against each other, but together. This became the main principle of common security, which was promoted as a solution for the security dilemma.⁴⁴ Common security formed the basis for NOD as a higher order principle for interstate relations.⁴⁵ The Palme Commission Report gave the defensive much prominence, although it did not make particular reference to defensive concepts.

Common security advocates further argued that there were global threats to all humanity, which could not be overcome by individual states.⁴⁶ This reflected the earlier ideas of Carr.

Common security suggested a radical transformation in security policy away from confrontation and nuclear deterrence, towards mutual understanding, community building, sustainable development and sustainable peace. Common security, therefore, added a developmental view of security, and suggested non-state centric and non-military perspectives to security, which became very useful for NOD's survival after the Cold War.

The notion of common security made the following contributions. Firstly, it suggested co-operation for security rather than competition, and it was presented as a solution for the security dilemma between East and West. Common security thinking added ideas of promoting peaceful interstate relations to the views that NOD proponents presented. Secondly, it also provided non-state centric views about security, which became part of NOD and allowed it to retain its relevance after the Cold War, when inter-state conflict declined. Thirdly, common security provided a development perspective of security. Common security thus became another useful policy for NOD proponents.

1.4 The Prominence of NOD During the latter Part of the Cold War

During the 1980s, NOD proponents referred to the defence models of neutral European states as successful examples of countries that avoided war through defensiveness.⁴⁷ Switzerland and Sweden, with their voluntary defensive systems, were particularly regarded as good examples, but not absolute models, by NOD to criticise NATO's offensive strategy. Switzerland and Sweden's defensiveness and neutrality had existed at least since the end of the Napoleonic wars (1815). In other words, defensiveness is an established phenomenon in Europe. The ability of neutral states to avoid wars because of such postures was cited by NOD proponents as success stories of applied NOD principles. During the Cold War, defensive postures were also prominent in Finland, the former Yugoslavia and Austria, but for these countries who bordered Warsaw Pact countries, defensiveness was a strategic necessity rather than an application of NOD thinking.⁴⁸ NOD was consequently not adopted or applied in any Nordic or West European state during the Cold War. There is also no example of a pure or absolute NOD model applied in practice.

Non-offensive defence was embraced by several major opposition political parties in West Germany, Denmark and the United Kingdom, which also took part in the anti-nuclear debate.⁴⁹ The failure of leftist parties in these countries to win in their respective general elections of 1987, sealed the fate for NOD in these countries.

In addition to West Germany, the NOD debate in Denmark was of particular importance and although it remained largely academic, some significant writing and open debate took place.⁵⁰ Theories were elaborately conveyed through Denmark's peace researchers at conferences, through publications and newspapers. Some of its peace researchers included Boserup, Møller (from the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute) and Clemmensen.

Non-offensive defence was a notion that developed in Europe during the Cold War. Political neutrality was an established practice in Western Europe, but no country adopted NOD. The Warsaw Pact, however, later became interested in NOD. There could be two basic interpretations about the relevance of NOD. The first is that NOD is only unique and relevant to the West German situation as a way to deal with its security dilemma, and secondly, that NOD is a political and military approach with wider applicability for other countries and scenarios.

1.4.1 The Warsaw Pact's Acceptance of NOD

The Palme Commission played an important role during the early 1980s to facilitate informal exchanges between defensively orientated thinkers from the West and civilian analysts and military professionals from the Warsaw Pact.⁵¹ Soviet Prime Minister Gorbachev often referred to the Commission's proposals and was receptive to ideas developed and transmitted through transnational experts and activists. The Palme Commission Report suited the Soviet Union's political goals of a détente, which was accepted by leaders from both East and West, but also the Third World. NATO's removal of tactical and theatre nuclear systems (as a significant political component of normalising relations in Europe), may have encouraged Soviet interest in NOD.⁵² Since 1987, the Soviet General Staff started to show more interest in the views of NOD proponents and started to attend their seminars, where previously their views received little attention. In May 1987, the Warsaw Pact accepted a military doctrine (in East Berlin), which shared with NOD the objective of preventing both nuclear and conventional war and it conformed to NOD's defensive posture.⁵³ In 1989, the Warsaw Pact member states promoted defensive security concepts at the United Nations General Assembly and called for an international dialogue on defensive security.⁵⁴

The Warsaw Pact was the first strong military power-block to embrace NOD, which gave NOD much prominence. NOD, however, did not receive wider support.

1.4.2. Non-offensive Defence and the End of the Cold War

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the threat of invasion in Europe subsided and as military forces demobilised, perceptions of enmity were turned around, which put the security dilemma to rest.⁵⁵ As the threat of large-scale nuclear war declined, so interest in NOD also waned.⁵⁶ NOD was formulated to deal with large-scale foreign invasion, but as this threat diminished, the relevance of NOD in Europe declined.

Wider interest in defensive ideas was illustrated in 1989 when the autonomous UN Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), convened an international symposium on defensive concepts.⁵⁷ In 1990, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on “Defensive Security Concepts and Policies” and the UN Secretary General established a group of member state experts to commence with a study on defensive security concepts and policies. The group’s report in 1993 had little impact.

The Gulf War in 1991, which included the success of offensive military doctrine, further eroded the idea of NOD.⁵⁸ This war legitimised the use of offensive force in the “new world order”. The concerns about nuclear proliferation, especially through former Soviet dominated states also made prospects for NOD’s prominence less likely.

The instability in the former Yugoslavia, led European states to realise that they had to pay more attention to security problems outside the European Union (EU). The EU had to become more involved in peacekeeping, which involve postures that emphasise offensive power and power-projection capabilities; aspects contrary to NOD.⁵⁹ By 1992, the Russian Federation also started to emphasise the notion of “peacekeeping”. Russia accepted responsibility to keep the peace throughout the Commonwealth of Independent States, former successor republics, without international or UN involvement.⁶⁰ Russia’s doctrine called for a “rapid response force” for use in local conflicts, capable of offensive and defensive operations. Western Europe and Russia’s security priorities necessitated some moving away from NOD thinking.

Non-offensive defence ideas became prominent and developed in distinct eras. Its assumptions about the causes and prevention of war, originate from post-First World War debates. In the 1950s, the West German authors initiated the NOD debate and advocated the first NOD models of static defences with light infantry. In the 1960s, NATO’s escalation strategy with nuclear weapons was criticised. In the 1980s, the Nordic countries and peace researchers mainly promoted NOD and used the idea of common security with its non-state

centric views to suggest solutions to the security dilemma in Europe. The Warsaw Pact later accepted some of their ideas to demobilise its military. NOD lost its relevance by the end of the Cold War and was short-lived in Russia. Its relative success in Russia brought about its own decline. NOD has certain inherent assumptions: that war should be abolished, that the security dilemma and arms races cause war, that the defensive is the stronger form of warfare, and that security can not be achieved by states on their own. By taking these assumptions as ultimate truths, NOD proponents suggested a mix of solutions, which served as tools of critique about NATO strategy. Firstly, nuclear weapons should be eliminated, as well as reliance on them. Secondly, war should be abolished through disarmament and arms control. Thirdly, the security dilemma should be avoided with common security thinking and defensive weapons. Nuclear war and war escalation were thus the main concerns of NOD advocates.

2. THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF NOD

The meaning and origins of the concept of NOD still has to be explained in more detail. There are many concepts used interchangeably in defensive debates and some of these concepts will be discussed with reference to NOD. The assumptions of NOD proponents and the theoretical underpinnings of their ideas will also receive attention.

2.1 Non-offensive Defence and other Defensive Concepts

The term “non-offensive defence” was first used by Møller from the former Copenhagen Peace Research Institute as well as Boserup, in the middle 1980s, but there is some uncertainty about who used it first.⁶¹ Boserup defined NOD as a bilateral relationship in which “...both sides have forces that are stronger than those of the opponent...”, that is a situation in which both sides have “...ample forces for defence and, by implication, insufficient forces for attack”.⁶² Møller defines NOD as “...a form of defence possessing a minimum of offensive, but a maximum of defensive strength.”⁶³ He prefers to use the term NOD as a notion that explains various degrees of defensiveness. Møller does not distinguish between concepts such as NOD and non-provocative defenceⁱ (NPD), arguing that all these concepts show a preference for minimising offensive capabilities and maximising defensive strength.⁶⁴ All defensive concepts do not necessarily focus on minimising defensive

ⁱ Buzan argued that NPD best describes the range of defensive concepts (Wiseman, G, *Concepts of Non-Provocative Defence, Ideas and Practices in International Security*, New York: Palgrave and St Anthony's College, 2002, p 76). NPD avoids the extreme view that all military deployments should be defensive in nature.

capabilities and emphasise the lack of conceptual clarity when authors use defensive concepts.

Alternative defence thinking developed into an acceptable school of thought, but its advocates failed to unify the vocabulary and ideas.⁶⁵ The ideas were wide-ranging and not standardised. For example, there were over 12 different defensive concepts in the alternative defence debate.⁶⁶ Some authors also changed their models. This made it difficult to distinguish between the different defensive schools of thought. The debate was also politically charged and statements were difficult to analyse objectively in terms of advantages and disadvantages.

There are different alternative concepts for NOD, which do not include “models”, but highlight certain aspects of the concept.⁶⁷ NOD for instance emphasises little or no offensive capabilities; *structural inability to attack* (SIA) highlights that non-offensiveness is a function of the structure of the armed forces; *defensive defence* (DD) focuses on the defensive capabilities; *non-provocative defence*, (which is often used interchangeably with NOD) highlights the absence of offensive capabilities as meaning the avoidance of provoking other states; and *confidence building defence* emphasises that this contributes to establishing trust between states. *Non-threatening defence* (NTD) is another related concept, which is advocated by Butfoy.⁶⁸ It does not require defensive military restructuring, but supports defensive deployments and responsible nuclear custodianship. Møller argues that defensive proponents may disagree on the terminology and configuration of defence structure, but they envision the same ends, which include disarmament and arms control.

Theoretically, Møller distinguishes between pure models and mixed models.⁶⁹ Pure models refer to linear, stationary territorial defence, or defence webs, which involve tactical mobility, but no strategic offensive capability. Mixed models, on the other hand, entail combining stationary and mobile elements. Mobile elements are usually withdrawn from the borders so as not to present a threat.

There is a wide variety of NOD models and every country that applies NOD principles has some unique characteristics.⁷⁰ He adds that NOD models are only abstract defence models and should not be confused with actual defence planning. NOD models may only be considered to be guidelines and not substitutes for thorough defence planning.

The studies on NOD were mainly concerned with land warfare, while air and maritime defence received little attention.⁷¹ According to K. Booth, NOD thinking did not pay specific attention to maritime issues, because most of the thinking took place in continental Europe and was concerned with the Central Front.⁷²

The term non-offensive defence was first used by Møller and Boserup. NOD involves the minimum offensive, but maximum defensive military capabilities and strength to make invasion impossible for any state. NOD proponents consider it as a term that shares the objectives of other defensive concepts, which is to prevent war through arms control and disarmament. The variety of defensive concepts indicates a lack of conceptual clarity within the alternative defence school of thought.

2.2 Key Components of NOD Thinking

There are certain political-philosophical and practical components inherent to NOD thinking. The first four components deal with philosophical and political aspects, while the last four refer to defence and military-technical aspects.

2.2.1 Peaceful Political Ideas

The first component of NOD is that it should be conceived as a politico-military doctrine for durable peace and equal security for all states.⁷³ There is a close relationship between a country's political philosophy and its military doctrine. Political philosophy determines whether a country's doctrine is offensive or defensive. NOD advocates argue that peaceful political philosophies should be followed. The emphasis on common security thinking is an example of the peaceful political ideas inherent to NOD thinking.

2.2.2 War Prevention

Non-offensive defence proponents do not agree with the Clausewitzian assumption that war is an instrument of policy and it is argued that this presumption promotes strategic offensive doctrines.⁷⁴ NOD proponents question nuclear war as an instrument of policy in particular, and argue that no rational objectives could be achieved through such extensive levels of destruction. The role of armed forces for NOD proponents is rather to produce stalemate, which will prevent escalation towards nuclear war and allow political negotiation to settle disputes.

Offensive doctrines are deemed useless by NOD proponents by arguing that many countries that initiated wars during the 20th century actually lost those wars.⁷⁵ NOD supporters argue that if there is no possibility for one state to successfully attack another, both would be secure.⁷⁶ The second component is that NOD by definition is a war prevention politico-military doctrine.

2.2.3 Complete and General Disarmament

Non-offensive defence advocates are convinced that defensive strategies (such as NOD) are incomplete paradigms with little credibility, unless this becomes a universal approach.⁷⁷ If states accept the idea of NOD, the logical process (it is argued), would be progression and a dialectical process towards general disarmament. The third component of NOD involves the establishment of a transitional doctrine for complete and general disarmament. Proponents of NOD also argue that efforts to change the offensive capabilities of major powers to NOD should be part of a larger political and economical restructuring of the international system.

2.2.4 Confidence-Building and Alliances

According to Møller, NOD may be achieved through various avenues.⁷⁸ One avenue involves the implementation of confidence-building measures (CBMs), which is the fourth component. States could use political constraints, constitutional prohibition (as in Japan), political structures, civil control over the military and military capabilities to build confidence with other states about its defensive intentions. According to Borawski, CBMs are designed to promote stability by providing “tangible and verifiable assurances...regarding the purpose and character of military activities”.⁷⁹ CBMs are designed to control the use of forces, rather than the level of forces.

Non-offensive defence could be viewed as a form of confidence-building between states. A state that abstains from the means of attacking a neighbour by choice, inspires confidence.⁸⁰ Confidence-building may also be achieved by making defence preparations transparent, which could include formal understandings, the publication of military data, exchange inspections, bilateral and regional frameworks for dialogue. The revolutionary progress in information technology makes military postures more observable and the implementation of CBM's much easier than before.⁸¹

Non-offensive defence thinking assumes that states should be self-reliant for all their defence needs and capabilities.⁸² Military alliances are contradictory and unacceptable for NOD proponents. The advantage of this principle is that states can implement NOD unilaterally without posing a threat to other states.

2.2.5 Defensive Military Restructuring

One of NOD's aims is to reduce the fear of other states that they will be attacked.⁸³ NOD proponents argue that this may be achieved through defensive military restructuring, which is the fifth component. It is assumed that offensiveness could be derived from the structure of a defence force, and that the nature of military structures is able to influence inter-state relations directly.⁸⁴ NOD advocates argue that defensive military structures would prevent worst-case analysis about a state's intentions, and prevent military miscalculation, misperceptions, mistakes and accidental war.

Defensive military restructuring involves the lowering of the offensive potential of a country's military capabilities, to the extent that it poses virtually no military threat to others. Proponents of NOD argue that such restructuring can still ensure the defence of a country by making it "...hard to attack, expensive to invade and difficult to occupy".⁸⁵ NOD advocates accept the principle of deterrenceⁱⁱ by denial, but reject deterrence by retaliation.

Non-offensive defence is mainly concerned with the structure of defence forces, but the intentions, plans, training and activities in preparing for the future use of defence forces are also considered important.⁸⁶ Advocates of NOD argue that offensive structures emphasise mobility and range, which refer to power-projection capabilities and should be avoided. Defensive structures, on the other hand, emphasise firepower, as well as limited mobility and range. NOD entails a radical reshaping of a defence force and its military capabilities for purely defensive operations.⁸⁷

2.2.6 The Superiority of the Defence

The sixth component is that NOD is an effective form of defence, which is based on the assumption that defence is the stronger form of war.⁸⁸ The advantage of the defender was emphasised by Clausewitz in the 19th century and he argued that: "...the defensive is the

ⁱⁱ Historically, deterrence operated through denial until the advent of air power and later nuclear weapons in the 20th century, which introduced the dimension of deterrence through punishment (Singh, J, "Defensive Strategies", In: UNIDIR, *Non-offensive Defense: A Global Perspective*, New York: Taylor and Francis, 1990, p 27).

stronger form of conducting war...we must make use of it only as long as our weakness compels us to do so".⁸⁹ The logic behind this reasoning is that an opponent could be vulnerable when on the offensive, as his lines of communication and supply are extended. As an opponent advances he exposes his forces to observation and attacks, which could be conducted from well-prepared defensive positions. The defender has the advantage of operating on interior lines of communication and familiar terrain. NOD advocates argue that if these advantages are used correctly, the defence will be stronger than the offensive.

2.2.7 Defensive Weapon Systems

The seventh component is that defensive weapon systems should be used. Offensive weapons and the fear that such capabilities stimulate, are considered the central problem of military means.⁹⁰ NOD proponents do not share the assumption that weapons *per se* are the problem, but their thinking is closer to the arms control view that the problem relates to instabilities in the configuration of opposed forces.

The difference between offensive and defensive military capabilities and weapons has been debated at length and remains a theoretical debate.⁹¹ A practical distinction between weapon systems as either offensive or defensive is impossible, because any weapon system can be used for either offensive or defensive purposes. Weapon systems that are considered to be manifestly offensive by NOD proponents are nuclear weapons, long-range strategic bombers and long-range missiles. The question of the degree of offensiveness of weapon systems will always remain debatable. The strategic environment and context in which weapon systems are utilised, make a distinction between their offensive or defensive use easier.

According to Vreÿ, an analysis of a country's military capabilities to determine its offensive or defensive potential becomes more difficult as the focus of analysis moves from the strategic level towards the tactical and technical level.⁹² It is easier to analyse the offensive potential of a large force than an individual weapon system. A distinction between offensive and defensive military capabilities is, therefore, often impractical.

Proponents of NOD consider high technology weapons as important where they support defensive missions.⁹³ They want to exploit the technological advantages of weapons suited for the defensive. NOD models of the 1970s and 1980s put a particular emphasis on the efficient use of precision-guided munitions in countering air and armoured attack.⁹⁴ The

success of Egyptian anti-tank missiles against Israeli armour in 1973 created much optimism among authors, such as Mearsheimer and Boserup.⁹⁵

Non-offensive defence proponents argue that high-technology offensive weapon systems, such as bombers, aircraft carriers and tanks, are vulnerable to defensive precision-guided missile systems.⁹⁶ The emphasis is on acquiring defensive weapons, such as precision-guided anti-tank missiles, anti-aircraft systems and anti-ship missiles, instead of arming oneself with offensive systems. The use of passive defensive weapon systems also forms part of NOD thinking. NOD proponents support the use of especially anti-tank mines, which are considered to be useful obstacles in a defensive system⁹⁷, posing little harm to people.

2.2.8 Defensive Deployments

The last component of NOD is that the deployment of armed forces and their defences should be defensive in nature. Early NOD models already suggested the deployment of small and dispersed military units.⁹⁸ It is argued that units should rely on the advantages of local knowledge, defence in depth and concealment. Conventional NOD would further entail static defences with tank traps, fixed fortifications and mines. NOD can further involve militia resistance and civilian resistance. These defensive principles suit the military aim of NOD, which is to deny territory to an attacker and involves territorial defence.

Non-offensive defence thinking involves both politico-philosophical and military-technical components. The politico-philosophical aspects are: that NOD is a politico-military doctrine for durable peace and security; that it prevents war; that NOD should eventually involve complete disarmament; and that states should use CBMs to build confidence among each other. The military-technical components are that defensive military restructuring is essential to promote peaceful inter-state relations; that NOD is an efficacious form of defence with the defensive as the superior form of war; and that the fear of offensive weapons should be addressed through defensive military restructuring, defensive deployments and the use of defensive weapons.

2.3 Critique against NOD

There are four main points of criticism against NOD. The criticism deals with NOD's theoretical shortcomings, its limited applicability, impracticality and military deficiencies. The first point of criticism is that NOD is theoretically incoherent and deficient with regard to its various concepts and models. The divergent views and terminology among defensive

theorists is an indication of the incoherence of NOD thinking. NOD proponents also overstated what different NOD models could achieve,⁹⁹ which points out NOD's vagueness, its activist value and its lack of theoretical thoroughness.

Prins argued that NOD proponents often failed to perceive the conceptual level of application of their ideas.¹⁰⁰ In common with many Western scholars, NOD proponents failed to distinguish between the various levels of strategy and their ideas did not address important matters on each level to make NOD a presentable alternative to other strategies. NOD thinking developed with a focus on military-technical matters, which were offered as strategic solutions. This bottoms-up approach was not practical or logical for formulating sound strategy. NOD is clear about its ends and means, but unclear about its ways. NOD for instance lacks an operational strategic focus that explains how forces should actually operate in a theatre.

The second point is that NOD is an untested idea with limited applicability outside Europe and the Cold War bipolar context. This criticism is valid considering that despite the short-lived Russian interest in NOD, it was never adopted by any European country.¹⁰¹

Non-offensive defence proponents further apply theory universally in different time periods and countries.¹⁰² Non-offensive defence proponents follow an ahistorical approach with regard to proposals and models. The focus is too narrow on the problems created by a security dilemma, as if it applies to all countries, while it is only one of the security dimensions between states after the Cold War.¹⁰³ The security dilemma, however, only continues to be prominent between a few states such as Pakistan and India.

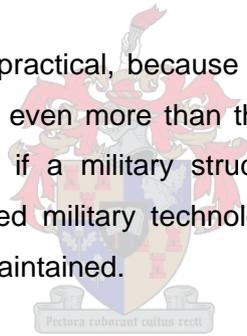
Non-offensive defence proponents also take the socio-political characteristics of Europe for granted and assume that other countries are similar.¹⁰⁴ Western European states are mostly strong, politically cohesive and democratic, which are characteristics not shared by all states. NOD is criticised for assuming that regimes that accept it, rule through popular consent rather than by force.¹⁰⁵ NOD requires large-scale participation of people who are also armed by their governments. Insecure regimes will not be in favour of such an option, which could contribute to their own overthrow. This point of criticism is especially relevant with regard to developing countries. Consequently NOD has little applicability outside the security dilemma and Western Europe.

The third criticism is that from a strategic point of view, NOD is a risky and impractical idea for most states. Laurenti remarked that NOD is often the only option for weak states close to

a strong state and that such states may have to accept the risk that stronger opponents may muster overwhelming force to invade them.¹⁰⁶ This view is often unacceptable to stronger powers who want to limit their vulnerabilities. Although NOD may be useful and even necessary to some weak powers, an NOD defence model does not guarantee that a country will not be invaded and overrun.

Similar views were forthcoming from Russia's military.¹⁰⁷ One of the main arguments was that the principle of no first use of nuclear weapons could benefit a potential enemy by allowing him the choice of the mode of combat and hand him the initiative. By strictly operating within own state borders, one allows an opponent to prepare or regroup for a large or subsequent attack. The Russians further argued that article 57 of the UN Charter stipulates that offensive military operations are legitimate in order to defeat an aggressor. It was further argued that NOD increased the danger of war and military conflict, since potential aggressors will not expect retaliation to be severe and will not be deterred from war.

Non-offensive defence is further impractical, because there is little economic reasoning to adopt it.¹⁰⁸ NOD policies may cost even more than the defence set-up it replaces. NOD postures tend to be cheaper only if a military structure already consists of NOD-type systems.¹⁰⁹ NOD relies on advanced military technology, while, expensive research and development functions have to be maintained.



The fourth main criticism is that NOD has several deficiencies from a military-technical perspective. NOD is criticised for assuming that the defence is the stronger form of war, especially considering examples of successful offensive strategies employed with *Blitzkrieg* (1940), the Six Day War (1967) and the Gulf War (1991).¹¹⁰

Non-offensive defence proponents were also overoptimistic about technology that favours the defensive, and the potential of precision guided missiles such as anti-tank missile systems.¹¹¹ For instance, during the 1980s many NATO precision-guided missiles were still under development and not readily available. NOD proponents further failed to see the narrow technical spectrum that anti-tank missiles could exploit; tanks have a broad range of counter-measures such as reactive armour, smoke, attack helicopter support, terrain and weather. Neither did NOD proponents realise the deficiency of anti-tank missile units on the operational level, where mass and momentum is of great importance. Light infantry units are unable to cover large areas because of local inferiority, and NATO's anti-tank missiles had insufficient rates of fire to deal with the large echelons of Soviet armour.¹¹² In addition, the

optimism about the potential of anti-tank missiles should be studied within the context of the principle of combined arms support.¹¹³ Considering the limitations of the defence and military technology within the context of NOD, the deterrence-through-denial potential of NOD can indeed be questioned.

3. SUMMARY

Defensive ideas relevant to NOD may be traced to the post-First World War era, when conclusions were made that arms races caused that war and that the defensive was superior to the offensive. Defensive ideas, such as disarmament and arms control, became prominent as proposed solutions to arms races and accidental war. These assumptions and ideas were later accepted and advocated by NOD proponents during the Cold War, to prevent nuclear and conventional war in Europe between East and West. The security dilemma was used to outline the political-military tension between these two alliances and focussed attention on the fact that even defensive measures could be interpreted by another state as offensive. NOD became a suggested solution to the security dilemma with an emphasis on conventional military restructuring. A wider, non-European application of NOD was not intended.

The West German author Bonin devised a defensive model, which created the basis for NOD. Bonin and subsequent defensive authors wished to ensure an adequate defence for West Germany and NATO, by proposing a conventional defence that involved territorial defence and structural inability to act offensively. This mainly entailed the use of light infantry units along an integrated border defence network with minefields. They protested against the presence of nuclear weapons, as well as NATO's reliance on it.

The term NOD is used by its proponents as an all-embracing term for most defensive concepts and entails minimising offensive military capabilities and maximising defensive capabilities in order not to threaten other states. There are various models of NOD which share the aims of arms control and disarmament to prevent war. Inherent assumptions of NOD are: that it is a war prevention politico-military doctrine that suggests durable peace and security for all states through general disarmament, CBM's, reliance on the defensive as the superior form of war; defensive military restructuring, defensive deployments and the use of defensive weapons.

Political neutrality and defensiveness was an established practice in Western Europe, but NOD was a relatively new idea of the Cold War era. Besides Russia's short-lived interest in

NOD for its military demobilisation, no other European country applied NOD thinking. The application of NOD principles by the Russians facilitated the end of the Cold War. This sealed the fate for NOD and its relevance as inter-state military tension subsided. Developments towards peacekeeping and military intervention in the 1990s, made NOD even more irrelevant in Europe.

Non-offensive defence is criticised for being theoretically incoherent, representing too many vague and wide-ranging models and concepts. NATO was uncomfortable with NOD and no West European country accepted NOD during the Cold War. NOD is still an impractical option for states that wish to limit their own vulnerabilities and deter enemies. It holds the risk of handing over the initiative to opponents to attack when it suits them. NOD conversion is also more expensive for countries with no existing NOD capabilities. NOD proponents may furthermore be criticised for focussing their ideas on the military-technical level and presenting it as overall strategic solutions. NOD lacks content on how forces should be utilised on the operational level. Its military-technical focus also involves optimism regarding defensive missile systems, which fails to consider the limited spectrum in which these systems can operate, especially when missile counter-measures are involved.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of the chapter was to describe the origins, development and use of NOD thinking in Western Europe. NOD ideas originate from three specific eras: Firstly, the early assumptions of NOD originate from the post-First World War era, when governments and academics tried to address the problem of war. The primary assumption was that war should be abolished through disarmament and arms control. Secondly, in the 1950s with the rearmament of Western Germany, and in an attempt to ease tensions between East and West, West German authors suggested the first pure defensive NOD-type model, based on a defensive web of light infantry. Thirdly, in the 1980s, NOD connected with the idea of common security thinking. Peace researchers from Nordic countries and the peace movement then used NOD to oppose reliance on nuclear weapons and aggressive military strategies in Europe. NOD ideas, therefore, developed in distinct eras and constantly connected to new ideas, which made it a “mix of policies”.

The primary ideas of NOD are: that arms races cause war; that offensive and defensive weapons may be distinguished; that the defensive is superior to the offence; that transparency could avoid misperceptions about military intentions; and that non-standing armies are ideal to prevent military tensions. Non-offensive defence ideas were used in

three ways. Firstly, it was used in an attempt to prevent nuclear and conventional war, as well as war escalation, by focussing attention on the security dilemma. Secondly, it was used to criticise NATO nuclear and conventional strategies and presented alternative defence options, rather than to provide workable defence solutions. Thirdly, NOD was used by the Russians for a brief period to demobilise their military.

No European country adopted NOD and it remains an untested theory with no practical example as a pure model. NOD lacks conceptual clarity with the variety of concepts and models it includes. It became more incoherent, as it connected with other ideas. Initially NOD was a state centric view, then it became a non-state centric idea, by connecting with common security. NOD overlaps with many ideas, but qualifies little, which makes it theoretically weak. Its weakness is also apparent with its military-technical focus and its lack of detail on how forces should operate on the operational level.

Non-offensive defence is a risky and impractical idea for most states. Restructuring to implement this is an expensive venture that may hand over the strategic initiative to an opponent and would limit a country's ability to stop a surprise attack. The emphasis of NOD on defensive missile systems disregards the wide spectrum of missile counter-measures and effect of combined-arms.

The connection of common security ideas to NOD was a significant development in terms of this study theme. Firstly, it created a potential for NOD to survive outside a state-centric context, such as the Cold War. Secondly, it added a development view towards promoting security. Within NOD thinking, defence was not considered to be only way to promote the security of a nation.

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CHAPTER 4

THE PROMOTION AND INFLUENCE OF NON-OFFENSIVE DEFENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the influence of non-offensive defence (NOD) ideas on South African defence policy-making since the early 1990s. In the first part of the chapter, the African National Congress' (ANC) weak defence policy-making capacity by 1990 will be described, as well as the way this capacity was established through the Military Research Group (MRG). In the second part, the way NOD entered the defence debate through MRG members and other role players, will be discussed with some elaboration on the nature of the NOD debate towards and during the drafting of the White Paper on Defence and the Defence Review. Thirdly, the principles of NOD that were accepted into defence policy will be discussed. In the last instance, the impact of NOD principles in South Africa's (SA) defence policy will be discussed.

1. THE LACK OF A DEFENCE POLICY-MAKING CAPACITY WITHIN THE ANC IN THE EARLY 1990s

In this section, the lack of an ANC defence policy-making capacity will be discussed, as well as the way this shortcoming was addressed by means of the establishment of a defence policy think-tank, the MRG. The way NOD was introduced to the ANC through the MRG will be discussed, as well as the reasons why it appealed to ANC politicians. The role of international and local role-players in promoting NOD will also receive attention. In the last part of this section, the impact of NOD on policy before the 1994 democratic elections will be described.

As South Africa entered a new political dispensation in the early 1990s, both the ANC and the incumbent defence establishment lacked an appropriate framework for a new defence policy in a democracy.¹ The ANC's defence thinking was traditionally Marxist, while the South African Defence Force did not have a tradition of functioning within a democratic framework under civil control or parliamentary oversight. Both, therefore, lacked the thinking to formulate defence policy in a new democracy. The power to determine a framework and formulate defence policy would eventually reside with the ANC as the majority and governing political party.² The ANC leadership had the political power to determine defence policy in the new South Africa, but initially had no clear framework to do so.

By 1990, the Marxist ideology underlying the ANC's policies was discredited.³ The ANC realised that the South African Defence Force (SADF) – and not Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) – would form the basis of the new national defence force. The ANC consequently had to make a paradigm shift in terms of defence thinking and policy.

The ANC's broad policy objectives in the early 1990s regarding defence were the following:⁴ developing a strategy for peaceful and co-operative security relationships with other countries in Southern Africa; integrating all armed forces into a national defence force and establishing effective democratic control over the military; lowering force levels and defence expenditure; end conscription and reduce involvement of the Citizen Force.⁵ Besides these objectives, the ANC paid very little attention to defence transformation and lacked the ability to analyse and formulate defence policy. The ANC lacked the capacity to formulate viable defence policy options and this became apparent at the IDASA (Institute for Democracy in South Africa) sponsored conference in Lusaka in 1990.

1.1 The Establishment of the Military Research Group

The ANC had few members who were able to formulate defence policy.⁶ Most MK members were line function oriented and the only part of the ANC where military strategic thinking took place was in MK intelligence. Few of these members had an intellectual background or understood what defence policy-making in a democratic transitional process entailed. The responsibility to formulate ANC defence policy fell upon an odd group of ANC operatives and academics.

With the realisation that the ANC lacked a defence policy-making capacity, ANC politicians and academics decided to establish the Military Research Group (MRG).⁷ The MRG held its first meeting at the ANC headquarters in November 1991, with Williams as the first convenor.⁸ The MRG was also established to enable the ANC to play a more active role in the South African defence debate and to counter the Institute for Defence Policy (IDP), which initially dominated the debate and was suspected by the ANC for being a front organisation of the SADF.⁹ The MRG was established to create a defence policy-making capacity and to counter the IDP.

The MRG consisted of academics (of whom many were ANC members and political activists), members from MK and ANC members in other departments, such as military intelligence.¹⁰ ANC membership was an unofficial prerequisite to be part of the MRG.¹¹ The

MRG's goal was to create a forum where "...researchers, academics and policy analysts could network...discuss issues of common relevance and prioritise future areas of co-operation".¹² The importance of the MRG was that it brought ANC policy makers and MK members in contact with academics and researchers to discuss defence policy issues. The MRG helped the ANC to expand the defence debate beyond the integration and rationalisation of the military.

The MRG conveyed its ideas by means of conferences, workshops, the publication of working papers, articles and a training programme.¹³ Such activities and the functioning of the MRG were funded mainly by pacifist organisations.¹⁴ For example, the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, which openly supports pacifism, the end of the arms trade, and the end of military service¹⁵, provided some money to the MRG.¹⁶ The MRG was reluctant to receive money from governments.¹⁷

In summary the ANC had the political power to dictate defence policy in the new South Africa. The ANC, however, lacked a clear defence policy by 1990 because of its deficient capacity to formulate and analyse defence policy. The MRG was established to fulfil this role and made policy recommendations on defence issues, which eventually became government policy. The MRG used networking, conferences, publications and training programmes to communicate its ideas, which were funded mainly by pacifist organisations.

1.2 The Military Research Group and ANC's Interest in NOD

The way NOD became part of the South African defence debate will be discussed by pointing out the role of both local and international role players. Although the roles of these actors are discussed separately, their roles were inseparable and considerable co-operation and interaction took place between them. The way NOD entered the South African defence debate through the MRG will be discussed, as well as its attractiveness to ANC politicians.

Members of the MRG followed security debates in Europe, which were relayed to South Africa, because there was no existing theoretical framework for ideas on transforming defence.¹⁸ The MRG studied policy options in the context of contemporary international debates and then promoted certain ideas within the ANC.¹⁹ Several MRG members obtained postgraduate degrees from European universities and were exposed to NOD thinking in the process. Nathan and Rupiya (from Zimbabwe) for instance, were familiar with Peace Studies after studying it through Bradford University in the United Kingdom (which is renowned for its Peace Studies) and later brought those ideas to MRG discussions.²⁰ MRG members

introduced NOD ideas to South Africa after studying it in Europe or following the relevant debates.

The MRG focussed its research activities on the needs expressed by ANC representatives and then made recommendations, which usually became ANC and later government policy.²¹ One of the MRG's research priorities was "...a common security regime in Southern Africa on the basis of non-offensive defence, collective security and demilitarisation...".²² The MRG paid attention to new developments in security thinking and "...sought to explore alternative approaches to security dilemmas, including non-offensive defence...".²³ It also studied various issues such as regional security, arms control and conversion issues, civil-military relations, and the integration of the armed forces. NOD was a particular research focus of the MRG.

Non-offensive defence appealed to ANC politicians for personal and political reasons. Firstly, the ANC wanted to change South Africa's role from being a source of instability in the past, to being a source of stability within the region. During the liberation struggle South African armed forces were involved in military attacks, bombings and assassinations across the region, for example in Maputu, Harare and Lusaka.²⁴ ANC members and bases in Southern African countries were often on the receiving end of such incursions during the *apartheid* era and this created a consciousness among ANC politicians about the destabilising effect of such cross-border attacks in neighbouring countries.²⁵ On a personal level, ANC politicians were aware of the destabilising effect of cross-border attacks.

There was also a realisation that political change in South Africa was not necessarily going to change the perceptions of other countries in the region.²⁶ From a foreign policy perspective, ANC policy-makers were determined to change South African foreign policy and military doctrine from a traditional offensive approach towards a defensive approach.²⁷ South Africa's technological advancement in military capabilities, made NOD even more attractive to the ANC.²⁸ Within the Southern Africa region, the ANC wanted to promote regional security and prevent the security dilemma. NOD represented a useful paradigm to change South Africa's foreign policy and military doctrine to improve relations with Southern African countries and to promote regional security.

Secondly, the driving factor behind the defence transformation agenda in South Africa was the ANC's aim to prevent the military from being a threat to democracy.²⁹ Although democratisation does not form part of NOD thinking, Peace Research ideas were used by the ANC to curb the role and power of the military in South Africa. During the *apartheid* era

the military enjoyed significant political and institutional influence without clearly defined civil control or oversight mechanisms.³⁰ There was no parliamentary committee that had clearly defined oversight over the military. The military also largely formulated defence policy, particularly the White Paper on Defence.³¹ The ANC argued that the military could pose a threat to democracy through extensive internal deployments in support of policing.³² It was feared that such deployments would politicise and discredit the military, and expose civilians to harsh treatment, which would transform the state into the problem, instead of being the solution to internal insecurity.

Thirdly, various sentiments within the ANC spurred a search for alternative, non-aggressive ways to approach defence in South Africa. Within ANC circles there was implicit anti-militarism, which was rooted in the Ghandian tradition.³³ Some ANC politicians for example questioned the need for a defence force in the new dispensation, especially in the absence of an external military threat.³⁴ Within the MRG, some members were pacifists.³⁵ Others, such as Nathan, came from the anti-war movement of the 1980s, which started at the traditional English-speaking universities through the End Conscription Campaign (ECC).³⁶ Most MRG members who became involved in the defence policy process were from the anti-war and anti-*apartheid* movement.³⁷ Anti-war, anti-militarism and pacifist sentiments were, however, not the only views within the ANC and restricted negotiation or compromise about defence policy issues. Within the ANC there were also opposing and more militarist views, especially from within MK. This variety of sentiments urged the ANC to search for defence alternatives in order to break away from past trends. Peace Research thinking and specifically NOD later became instrumental as the alternative approach to defence issues.

Fourthly, the MRG introduced the ANC politicians to the new security paradigm, which sidelined military security issues under a holistic approach to security.³⁸ This thinking came from Peace Research thinking and the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute in particular. The ANC accepted this approach, which also sought to demilitarise the concept of security³⁹. The ANC considered the concept of security as the inclusion of social, political and environmental issues, as well as the security of individuals and communities.⁴⁰ The new security paradigm within the ANC reinforced support for NOD thinking.

Lastly, NOD seemed to be an attractive and appropriate framework, which was politically correct, especially through terminology.⁴¹ NOD's framework and concepts to establish peace through negotiation were appealing to the ANC, for example: tolerance, common security, confidence-building, dialogue and transparency.⁴² Consequently NOD models and terminology, such as confidence-building, received significant attention in the defence policy

process, which had some utility from an intellectual and philosophical perspective, but had little practical value.⁴³ NOD, therefore, provided a promising framework to transform the political-military affairs of South Africa.

MRG members who studied Peace Research and followed European defence debates, introduced NOD to South Africa. NOD was promoted through specific individuals of the MRG. NOD became a research focus of the MRG to formulate policy options for the ANC. It appealed to the ANC because it presented foreign policy alternatives to stabilise relations with Southern African states; Peace Research thinking could be used to curb the power of the military and prevent it from threatening democracy; the ANC accepted the “new security” paradigm, which also sidelined military issues, and most MRG members were anti-war activists or anti-militarists. NOD thinking, therefore, suited the ANC’s goals.

1.3 International Role Players Promoting NOD

In this part, the role of international role players in promoting NOD in South Africa through local NGOs, such as the MRG, will be discussed. International funding and conferences that were aimed at promoting NOD, will also receive attention.

Peace researchers in Europe were surprised by the sudden developments that took place by the end of the Cold War, and by the disintegration of the Soviet Union in particular.⁴⁴ Møller noted that: “...there has been a significant general decline of interest in the topic (NOD), simply because the problem NOD was intended to solve (the threat of external attack) vanished into thin air with the collapse of the Soviet Union.”⁴⁵ The end of hostility between East and West negatively affected the availability of funding for Peace Research.⁴⁶

Although peace movement activism and interest subsided, the declining number of defensive scholars maintained their strong Peace Research connections and they tried to keep defensive concepts alive by establishing a transnational network of scholars and “second-trackers”, which refers to government officials discussing new policy ideas in a personal capacity.⁴⁷ This way of preserving NOD ideas through transnational networks rather than states, was an appropriate response to declining public and probably state support for their ideas. A group of analysts worldwide collaborated and shared ideas on NOD with one another, but also did some networking in South Africa, by interacting with NGOs, academics and policy-makers to facilitate local discussions on NOD.

Despite NOD's decline in Europe, NOD proponents tried to export the idea to East Asia, the Middle East, South America and South Africa. For example, in February 1995, a Global Non-Offensive Defence Network Seminar was held in Copenhagen by the Centre for Peace and Conflict Research, which was funded by the Ford Foundation.⁴⁸ This seminar gathered prominent scholars on the theme from all the above-mentioned regions, including Europe and the United States. The focus of the conference was the relevance of NOD for these regions. Cawthra and Siko, both MRG members, did a presentation on NOD with regard to South Africa and Southern Africa at this seminar. Networking on NOD thinking took place through international seminars and the MRG took part in the networking.

Non-governmental organisations, mainly from Europe, saw the period after 1994 as a "window of opportunity" to share their views on how to change military affairs in South Africa.⁴⁹ Some generous funding was made available from donor countries that wanted to help create a peaceful Southern African region. The most prominent donor countries were Denmark and Norway, especially since they supported the ANC prior to 1994. Donor money was aimed at establishing democratic values and transition in South Africa. Denmark played the most prominent role to introduce NOD ideas to South Africa, mainly through peace researchers from the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI). Denmark also provided some money to the MRG.⁵⁰ Nordic countries and NGOs played a significant role to introduce and fund projects that promoted NOD in South Africa.

The Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), which forms part of the Danish Foreign Ministry, funded several projects in South Africa.⁵¹ Denmark's motivation for funding these projects was to "...imprint its image on South Africa...help them become like us". DANIDA funded the projects of Møller (from COPRI) in South Africa, who had several meetings with the MRG to discuss NOD. DANIDA also funded the establishment of the Defence Management Programme in 1993 in co-operation with Cawthra at the University of the Witwatersrand, which later became the Centre for Defence and Security Management.

In 1994, the first course of the Defence Management Programme also became the first ever course attended by representatives from all the statutory, and non-statutory armed forces, Armscor and Denel.⁵² NOD was presented as a theme in the defence planning module of the programme and Møller facilitated it.⁵³ This course was not attended by people who were on the Joint Military Co-ordinating Committee (JMCC), or those who later became involved in the defence policy process, but rather by people from middle management levels in the

various armed forces.⁵⁴ DANIDA and COPRI were thus involved in introducing NOD ideas to the various armed forces in South Africa.

Denmark also sponsored several short study tours for South African politicians and members of the Department of Defence to Europe, including countries such as Denmark.⁵⁵ During these study tours South Africans were introduced to NOD ideas.

Other NGOs, such as the Commonwealth Institute, were also involved to promote NOD ideas in South Africa by writing papers on NOD, which involved authors such as Connetta and Knight.⁵⁶ The Study Group on Alternative Security Policy (SAS) was also involved in writing papers and interacting with policy-makers. Unterseher from the SAS had meetings with South African politicians and tried to convince them to accept the “spider in the web-model” of NOD.

Although NOD's relevance declined after the Cold War and funding for Peace Research decreased, NOD proponents maintained their transnational network connections and exported NOD ideas, among other to South Africa. The transition in South Africa was seen as a window of opportunity to promote NOD in South Africa. This was done in co-operation with MRG members working in NGOs and with funding provided by Nordic countries and Denmark in particular. Through COPRI, DANIDA provided funding for the MRG, international NOD conferences, study tours in Europe and local academic programmes that included NOD themes. The Scandinavian countries, therefore, mainly promoted NOD rather than strong powers and the former directed the new security idea and NOD in South Africa.

1.4 The Role of the Military Research Group to Promote NOD

Members of the MRG promoted NOD, because it suited their views on defence transformation, as well as the ANC's policy objectives. MRG members also had close links with European peace researchers and they co-operated to advance NOD.

The promotion of NOD in South Africa was a process of interaction between MRG members, local and foreign NGOs, with ANC policy-makers. ANC politicians were receptive for inputs on defence issues from NGOs, such as COPRI and the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR).⁵⁷ The MRG had close links with the ANC and the NGO community, which enabled it to organise conferences and seminars that could influence policy-makers.⁵⁸ The ANC was therefore receptive to NOD ideas conveyed through local and foreign NGO's.

Members of the MRG were also part of NGOs to run projects for donor countries,⁵⁹ since the latter were looking in particular for local NGOs to manage projects in South Africa. In March 1996 for example, Cawthra and Møller collaborated in organising the Conference on the Defence Restructuring of the Armed Forces in Southern Africa in Helderfontein, South Africa. This conference was organised by the Global Non-Offensive Defence Network and the Defence Management Programme, run by Cawthra at the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS).⁶⁰ The conference was funded by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ford Foundation. A group of analysts shared their views at the conference by presenting papers, and NOD received much attention.⁶¹ The conference was attended by SANDF officers, defence officials and academics from Southern Africa. MRG members were part of local NGOs that implemented projects with foreign donor countries and NGOs to promote (among others) NOD ideas within the ANC and the defence community.

Several members of the MRG were involved in introducing NOD to the ANC and the defence community namely: Cawthra, Williams and Nathan.⁶² Their motivation in this regard was to change the former offensive defence policy to a defensive approach, because they realised that South Africa had to build confidence among Southern African countries. They also considered NOD as a way to “...clip the wings...” of the SADF in South Africa.⁶³ It was a central pillar of the MRG aims to weaken the power of the SADF.

Cawthra, Williams and Nathan shared similarities that enabled them to influence ANC policy. All three had close political links with the ANC, took part in the struggle against *apartheid*, were connected to NGOs to receive overseas funding for projects on defence transformation, and they researched defence-related issues. Struggle credentials and interpersonal relationships formed during the fight against *apartheid* determined an individual's influence on the defence policy-process.⁶⁴ All three obtained postgraduate degrees from universities in the United Kingdom and introduced the new security paradigm to South Africa.⁶⁵ While they were studying in Britain they were invited to seminars on NOD, which promoted international networking on this debate.⁶⁶ A small group of MRG members was, therefore, able to influence ANC policy and the South African defence debate with NOD thinking, which meant that the debate was personality driven.

The MRG member who had the most significant influence on the South African defence policy framework was Nathan.⁶⁷ He was a well-known anti-*apartheid* activist and leader of the End Conscription Campaign in South Africa during the *apartheid* era.⁶⁸ Nathan was respected by ANC politicians for his legal expertise, his insight and hard work.⁶⁹ Since the early 1990s, Nathan became the unofficial advisor to Kasrils, who later became the Deputy

Minister of Defence.⁷⁰ Nathan became the most influential MRG member through his association with the Ministry of Defence.

Nathan acknowledged that, although he and other MRG members had strong sociological foundations, they were not defence experts at all.⁷¹ He and other members had to devote themselves to studying in order to obtain better knowledge on defence issues. At the end of the 1980s, Nathan enrolled for a doctorate in Peace Studies at Bradford University in the United Kingdom.⁷² His personal view about the military was to close it down.⁷³ Nathan's later advocacy of NOD could to some extent be considered as a departure from this view. Nathan's views were subsequently mainly influenced in this regard by the Palme Commission's report, the new security thinking of Buzan, the work of Booth⁷⁴, and Finan's notions, which suggested NOD and disarmament for South Africa.⁷⁵ It is fair to state that Nathan's knowledge on defence issues were influenced by NOD and Peace Studies.

Nathan's views and publications influenced ANC policy, the Interim Constitution of 1993 and the White Paper on Defence.⁷⁶ The sections on defence and security in the ANC's guidelines as the ruling party contained in *Ready to Govern* were largely based on Nathan's article, entitled "Principles of Defence in a Democracy".⁷⁷ *Ready to Govern*, called for a defensive orientation, posture and strategy.⁷⁸ The NOD principle of a defensive doctrine and posture also appeared in the Interim Constitution, which stated that the SANDF would be "...primarily defensive in the exercise or performance of its power and functions".⁷⁹ Nathan's views influenced the ANC's policy, the Interim Constitution and the White Paper on Defence, which later also determined the policy framework of the Defence Review.

Principles of NOD were promoted on the Transitional Executive Council's Sub-Council on Defence and the JMCC, which were both charged with drawing up a new threat analysis as the basis for defence policy.⁸⁰ The MRG advocated policies, such as common security and NOD through its involvement in these committees.⁸¹ Many of the MRG's ideas were accepted in the transitional process and were also apparent in the Joint Military Co-ordinating Committee (JMCC) agreement. This agreement encompassed all the armed forces, and their political principles contributed to the military integration process, which adopted the Interim Constitution's principles, including the principle of strategic defensiveness.⁸² In terms of the JMCC-agreement South Africa would promote common and mutual security in the region through mutual confidence and trust. It also stated that South Africa would adopt a "non-threatening" force structure in relationship to the region and that arms races would be discouraged. Basic NOD principles were, therefore, accepted by the JMCC and the Sub-Council on Defence.

The ANC was receptive to NOD ideas from local and foreign NGOs and the MRG played a prominent role to facilitate this. A few individuals in the MRG promoted NOD ideas in the ANC as an approach to neutralise the power of the military in South Africa. Nathan became the most influential MRG member in the defence policy process. His work influenced ANC policy, the Interim Constitution and the White Paper on Defence.

2. THE DRAFTING OF THE WHITE PAPER ON DEFENCE

The defence community in South Africa identified the need to draft a new White Paper on Defence after the 1994 general elections, which could create a framework for defence transformation.⁸³ In 1995, Modise, the Minister of Defence, presented plans to the Joint Standing Committee on Defence (JSCD) for the acquisition of ships and submarines for the SA Navy to replace its obsolete systems.⁸⁴ The JSCD rejected these proposals and insisted that the “..legitimacy of the defence force...be tested before new acquisitions could be approved.”⁸⁵ The White Paper on Defence had to provide the policy framework for the transformation of South African defence.

2.1 Efforts to Establish a Defence Policy Process

In early 1995, the Defence Headquarters submitted a draft defence policy paper to the Defence Secretariat and the Defence Headquarters staff in order to have a new force design approved, but the Secretariat rejected it as a unilateral product that had not been broadly consulted outside the military.⁸⁶ The Secretariat, which was just getting off the ground, then started to draft a Green Paper together with the IDP, which was rejected by JSCD on the basis that it was not approved by the Minister of Defence and was declared void.⁸⁷ Although the SANDF and Secretariat's draft documents entailed thorough strategic defence appreciations, they lacked a normative content, which were important to the politicians, especially considering their intentions to transform and integrate the various armed forces into the SANDF. The military's focus was on four aspects: the size and structure of the SANDF, development and training of personnel, the procurement process, and the defence budget.⁸⁸ On the other hand the normative foundation for the White Paper on Defence was of primary importance to the legislative.

The haphazard attempts from the SANDF and the Secretariat to formulate defence policy did not correspond with the Constitution. According to the Constitution, the Minister of Defence has to take responsibility for defence.⁸⁹ In addition, only a cabinet minister or a deputy minister may introduce a draft White Paper to the legislative.⁹⁰ The Constitution further

determines that a civilian Secretariat for Defence function under the direction of the Minister of Defence.⁹¹ Most of the SANDF and the Secretariat's leadership consisted of former MK or SADF officers, who had no policy analysis experience, and to make matters worse, there was no clarity about their respective roles. The SANDF and Secretariat's early attempts to establish a defence policy process failed.

The Minister of Defence then came under pressure to promote a new and appropriate defence policy for South Africa.⁹² According to Kasrills (former Deputy Minister of Defence), the purpose of this policy was not only important to transform the SANDF: "...establishing this policy, and defence capability, will provide the certainty upon which other states can base their interaction with us...the clarity of our message will create certainty in the minds of others as to our motives and intentions, and will eliminate the possibility of miscalculations...".⁹³ Preventing miscalculations indicates the security dilemma logic associated with NOD thinking. The formulation of a new defence policy had to be an extension of foreign policy to establish peaceful interstate relations and the underlying thinking in this regard clearly reflected NOD.

The Minister instructed the Deputy Minister of Defence to personally attend to a speedy finalisation of a White Paper on Defence.⁹⁴ The Deputy Minister had to supervise the whole process. The Deputy Minister then approached Nathan and offered him the post as lead drafter for the White Paper.⁹⁵ Nathan agreed to accept it on the condition that his article *Principles of Defence in a Democracy* would serve as the basis for the draft.⁹⁶ The defence policy principles contained in this article enjoyed the support of Defence Minister Modise, since it appeared in 1992.⁹⁷ This article was later published in the *South African Defence Review* under the title "Beyond Arms and Armed Forces: A New Approach to Security".⁹⁸ In this article Nathan argued that NOD and CSBM's (confidence and security building measures) should be implemented to reorientate the military's doctrine and structure.⁹⁹ Nathan insisted that his publications, which also advocated NOD, serve as a basis for the White Paper.

The Ministry of Defence accepted Nathan's terms. The CCR was then contracted by the Department of Defence¹⁰⁰ to consult government on defence policy and Nathan, as a member of the CCR, was officially appointed as drafter for the White Paper process.¹⁰¹ This was a historic appointment and the first time that a civil society organisation became involved in the defence debate.¹⁰² It was also the first time that the military did not formulate policy on its own. The responsibility to draft defence policy shifted from the military to the Ministry and an NGO.

A democratic policy framework for defence transformation was of the utmost importance to government. The Defence Ministry supported Nathan's normative ideas in publications that also supported NOD. This was reflected in the Ministry's intention to prevent miscalculations (the security dilemma) regarding defence policy. Nathan was appointed as the drafter of the White Paper, which meant that the responsibility to formulate defence policy devolved to an NGO (CCR).

2.2 The Influence of *The Changing of the Guard*

A significant part of Nathan's book on defence policy, *The Changing of the Guard* (1994) appeared in the final White Paper on Defence.¹⁰³ This book was the culmination of his earlier work to establish a coherent framework for a new defence policy. Nathan's suggestions in this book were largely based on views shared by ANC Members of Parliament.¹⁰⁴ Many of the views expressed in this book also emerged from MRG debates.¹⁰⁵ *The Changing of the Guard* was supported by ANC members and created a framework for the White Paper on Defence.

In this book, Nathan pronounced himself in favour of common security and NOD as alternatives to the "offensive defence" approach of the SADF during the Cold War.¹⁰⁶ He argued that "...South Africa will undermine its own security if its doctrine and posture invoke insecurity in the states around it."¹⁰⁷ He argued for the acceptance of NOD in South African defence policy, but added that "...non-offensive defence in South Africa need not to be as complex as that suggested for countries in heavily armed regions." In the absence of a clear military threat in Southern Africa, Nathan argued for the downscaling of South Africa's offensive capabilities and made the following suggestions based on NOD:

- a. The reduction of armed forces to levels commensurate to neighbouring states;
- b. A volunteer reserve that should be the bulk of the fighting force and can only be mobilised over a long period, ruling out its use for surprise attack;
- c. Limiting the number of predominantly offensive weapons such as tanks, heavy and medium infantry fighting vehicles, long range bombers, ground-attack aircraft and ballistic missiles;
- d. Neighbouring states should be given adequate notice of major training manoeuvres and could be invited to send observers to these exercises; and

- e. Undertaking CSBMs, which provide for greater transparency.

All these principles were later accepted in the White Paper on Defence¹⁰⁸, although suggestions for disarmament in the White Paper did not make specific reference to downscaling certain weapon systems, as suggested in sub-paragraph C (above). Consequently not all of Nathan's force design suggestions in *The Changing of the Guard* became policy.¹⁰⁹

Being the official drafter of the White Paper, Nathan's publications, in which he advocated NOD, served as a basis for the Draft White Paper. Several NOD principles in his work became policy, for instance: the downsizing of the military, a small volunteer force, warning of exercises and confidence and security building measures.

2.3 The Formal Drafting of the White Paper

In June 1995, the first draft of the White Paper, which was drafted by Nathan, was published and citizens and Parliament were invited to comment on it.¹¹⁰ This first draft was largely based on Nathan's earlier publications.¹¹¹ Over 90 submissions were received from political parties, NGOs, defence analysts, the SANDF and the public.¹¹² After considering these submissions, three further drafts were produced with inputs from the JSCD, the Portfolio Committee on Defence, the SANDF and the Secretariat.

After the first draft was distributed, substantial amendments were incorporated.¹¹³ During personal sessions between Nathan and the Chief of the SANDF with his staff officers, an extensive process of inputs, feedback, debating and redrafting took place.¹¹⁴ In some cases matters were discussed with the Minister for closure. The White Paper process was characterised by intensive debating about almost every paragraph between the drafter and the military. Many of the SANDF's inputs were, however, not included in subsequent drafts.¹¹⁵

The JSCD held four special sessions to obtain inputs with regard to the Draft White Paper. The MRG was influential with the JSCD and some of the JSCD's members were also active members of the MRG.¹¹⁶ The JSCD went through every paragraph of drafts, to achieve multiparty support for the document.¹¹⁷ The JSCD's main concerns were the transformation and demobilisation of the military, and not the technical aspects of defence. The posture of

the SANDF was, however, a major debate in which NOD principles featured, but the term “non-offensive defence” was deliberately avoided by those who were familiar with it.¹¹⁸

Non-offensive defence principles featured in the JSCD’s debates about military posture, but MRG members deliberately refrained from using the term “non-offensive defence” during these debates.¹¹⁹ There was a realisation that NOD principles would not be accepted by all parties by using this term. NOD principles were promoted in a subtle way and the focus was on common security and CSBM principles, rather than a structural inability to attack.¹²⁰ Although NOD principles were emphasised, Nathan and other MRG members did not argue for a pure NOD model to be followed. NOD principles were promoted in a subtle way among the JSCD.

There was some intensive debate about Nathan’s argument to remove manifestly offensive weapons in which the JSCD and the military took part.¹²¹ Defining “manifestly offensive” weapons was a matter that the SANDF constantly commented on. In this debate the principle of having a power projection capability was quite a contentious issue and the SANDF made a major effort to emphasise the necessity of a strategic capability.¹²² Manifestly offensive weapons was a contentious issue in the defence debate.

Nathan and Kasrils controlled the process of amending every version of draft policy, after receiving inputs and demands from Parliament, the military and the public.¹²³ The Minister mostly paid attention to the principles and the broader layout.¹²⁴ Although drafts were published for comment, it was largely a closed process without national consultation.¹²⁵ The final authority to make revisions for a draft rested with Kasrils, yet in all (but a few cases) he followed Nathan’s recommendations, which indicates that the process was personality driven in a closed loop.¹²⁶ It should be added though, that Nathan formulated his policy inputs in such a way that Kasrils would accept it.¹²⁷ Nathan, as the appointed drafter of the White Paper on Defence, had a primary influence on the drafting of policy, but he drafted it according to the Ministry’s preferences and policy positions. The Ministry (the executive) had the power to determine the content of the White Paper on Defence.

Lobbying usually involves “... direct efforts by representatives of pressure groups to influence public officials to act as the groups wish”.¹²⁸ A prerequisite for successful lobbying is access, and the usual techniques of persuasion are: formal presentations, threats about re-election and bribes. From a lobbying perspective, the CCR’s direct access to and involvement in the Ministry of Defence through Nathan, could be viewed as a form of “ideal”

lobbying, which made the usual lobbying techniques unnecessary. Nathan's success to predetermine the content of draft defence policy may be viewed as unconstrained lobbying and the privatisation of policy-making.

Intensive debate took place between the drafter, the SANDF and the JSCD about almost every paragraph of draft policy. The military was not able to determine policy as in the past. Several MRG members on the JSCD were well positioned to promote common security and CSBM principles of NOD in a subtle way. The drafting of policy was controlled by Nathan and Kasrils, although Nathan had to reflect the Ministry's preferences. As a member of an NGO, Nathan's influence on the White Paper could be viewed as unrestricted lobbying and an example of the privatisation of policy-making. Considering that all role-players, including Nathan, could not entirely determine policy, the defence policy-making process was a competition of ideas between groups on the one hand and between individuals on the other.

2.4 A Compromise Between Realism and Idealism

While the policy-makers supported idealist principles, such as NOD, the SANDF supported a realist view of security¹²⁹. The SANDF accepted that it had to perform secondary roles, but emphasised its primary role within the Constitution, which entails the protection of the country's territorial integrity and its people.¹³⁰

The Chief of the SANDF, Meiring, maintained the traditional and a geo-strategic approach towards the defence of South Africa. Although he acknowledged the non-military security problems in Southern Africa such as poverty, illiteracy, disease, overpopulation and drought, he nevertheless argued for the maintenance of a strong military.¹³¹ In the SANDF annual report of 1994/1995, Meiring argued that as South Africa entered into a new phase of relations with neighbouring states, new security challenges could only be addressed by establishing a strong military balance of power.¹³² During the White Paper process, he also argued that an analysis of the strategic environment should serve as the point of departure for the process.¹³³ This argument was not accepted and a normative framework was rather used. The policy-makers supported a normative approach to defence policy-making, while the SANDF supported a realist approach.

The JSCD considered the so-called "soft-issues" – such as civil-military relations, civic education, affirmative action and environmental issues – as the top priority, rather than the SANDF's concerns for "hard issues", such as military roles and functions.¹³⁴ In addition the JSCD was also committed to understand the posture of the military, its roles and functions,

capabilities and operational concepts. The JSCD and the SANDF leadership had different priorities and perspectives regarding matters that had to be addressed in defence policy.

The opposing views within the defence debate were made possible by the broad view of security within the South African Constitution. The Constitution focuses on both the security of the individual and the nation as a whole.¹³⁵ Some compromise had to be reached between these extreme views in order to achieve consensus. According to Bachelor, "...the contradictions between the traditional and new approaches to security which exist side by side in the White Paper have come about as a result of a process of compromise between the old and new, which is an essential feature of the 'negotiated revolution'."¹³⁶

The military accepted much of the new framework for defence policy. Although the SANDF debated all issues, it did not argue with politicians about the essence of the White Paper.¹³⁷ The SANDF accepted many of the political changes and transformation that had to occur in the military. The SANDF was not interested in determining the political framework of the White Paper, but it rather wished to be enabled to have a major input regarding the planning process.¹³⁸ The posture of the SANDF and maintaining a balanced defence force primarily for defence, were important issues for the military. The SANDF wanted to maintain a strong military and it had to aim to achieve a compromise with policy-makers on almost every policy decision to promote its interests in this regard.

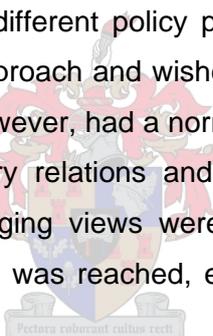
The SANDF's argument for a strong military was met half-way through a compromise with policy-makers, which entailed the idea of a Core-Force. The Core-Force idea was also a compromise for the military.¹³⁹ The potential for this compromise with policy-makers was reflected in the ANC's submission and feedback regarding the draft of the Defence White Paper, which stated: "While we embrace this principle [disarmament and demilitarisation] this however does not mean that our offensive capacity must be blunted".¹⁴⁰ The Core-Force concept in the White Paper was a compromise between the military and policy-makers.

The inclusion of the Core-Force idea in the White Paper was the result of informal discussions and correspondence between Nathan and the SANDF's then Director Strategy Le Roux (a former Air Force general).¹⁴¹ Le Roux explained the Core-Force concept in an informal letter to Nathan as the "...immediate ready first line of defence for short term contingencies as well as those elements of the Defence Force that will serve as the basis for growth to meet longer term, more predictable contingencies".¹⁴² The content of this letter appeared almost verbatim in the White Paper.¹⁴³ The White Paper explained the Core-Force as: "...the ability to expand the size of the Defence Force to appropriate force levels within a

realistic warning period should the threat situation deteriorate significantly...it does not require a large standing force. Instead, the SANDF will comprise a relatively small Regular Force and a sufficiently large part-Time Force".¹⁴⁴ The informal communication between Nathan and Le Roux had an influence on the inclusion of the Core-Force concept in chapter 4 of the White Paper.¹⁴⁵ In the event the military was able to significantly influence Chapter 4 of the White Paper, which discussed the SANDF's roles and functions.

The White Paper on Defence was approved by Parliament in May 1996, after three special sessions of the JSCD and its approval by the cabinet.¹⁴⁶ Prior to this, in July 1995, the Minister of Defence Modise, appointed the first Defence Review Work Group, with Le Roux as the convenor, to commence planning for a comprehensive Defence Review process on the basis of the government policy and the Defence White Paper. Initially this committee only consisted of members in the Secretariat, the SANDF and the Ministry, but was later expanded to include other interest groups and civil society before the formal drafting began.

The SANDF and policy-makers had different policy priorities and world-views on defence matters. The military had a realist approach and wished to maintain a strong and balanced defence force. The policy-makers, however, had a normative approach and considered non-military issues – such as civil-military relations and transforming the SANDF – as the pressing policy issues. These diverging views were the result of a broadly formulated Constitution and the compromise that was reached, entailed the establishment of a Core-Force capability.



2.5 The Military's Unfamiliarity with NOD

The White Paper on Defence underlined the already strong support for a defensive posture. Although the White Paper emphasised the concept "defensive posture", it did not explain how it should be implemented.¹⁴⁷ The White Paper merely highlighted that operations should be conducted within the guidelines of international law and that the adoption of a defensive and non-threatening military posture would contribute to promoting confidence and positive relationships in Southern Africa. The policy-makers of the White Paper left the strategic and technical implications of the constitutional provision of the SANDF's primarily defensive posture for the Defence Review process. The NOD principle of a defensive posture had to be operationalised, but the SANDF was unfamiliar with NOD.

According to Meiring, "non-offensive defence" was an unknown term in military circles during the White Paper process.¹⁴⁸ The MRG members refrained from using the term NOD during

discussions with the SANDF, because they knew that the military would not consider NOD principles under this label.¹⁴⁹ Senior officers of the SANDF were only introduced to the idea of NOD during the Conference on Defence Restructuring of the Armed Forces in Southern Africa in Helderfontein, early in 1996, when the White Paper process was almost finalised.¹⁵⁰ NOD was a new idea to former SADF members and this notion was not studied at the military colleges.¹⁵¹

Le Roux, who attended the conference in Helderfontein, was influenced by NOD thinking and supported certain NOD principles.¹⁵² He later became instrumental in the Defence Review process as a member of the second DRWG and he also saw to it that NOD became part of the debate. Some of his staff officers who later became involved in the drafting of the Defence Review, also attended the Helderfontein conference.¹⁵³ Although NOD thinking did not significantly alter their views about defence, they understood the usefulness of certain principles, which they filtered through into policy debates and the final Defence Review, which included the inclusion of Option 4 and the term “confidence-building defence”.¹⁵⁴ SANDF members who became involved in the Defence Review process supported certain NOD principles and included it in the debates.

Non-offensive defence was an unknown term in military circles and senior SANDF officers on the DRWG were introduced to its meaning only in 1996. These officers subsequently supported certain NOD principles and brought it into the Defence Review debates. The military did not necessarily oppose NOD, but rather accepted its language as part of its force posture.

3. THE DEFENCE REVIEW PROCESS

The policy framework of the White Paper on Defence was used as the basis for the Defence Review and its underlying assumptions were not open for discussion.¹⁵⁵ The motivation behind the Defence Review was to ensure that the Core-Force capability (emphasised in the White Paper) was affordable, and to establish a future force design for the SANDF.¹⁵⁶ The White Paper served as the given policy framework for the Defence Review, which had to establish a force design for the SANDF.

3.1 The Defence Review Work Group

The MRG member who played a key role in the Defence Review process, was Williams.¹⁵⁷ Williams was an academic who served as an MK commander, integrated into the SANDF,

and then moved to the Defence Secretariat where he served as Director Defence Policy. The Deputy Minister of Defence appointed Williams as a member from the Secretariat to convene the second Defence Review Work Group (DRWG), which was expanded to include three members from the JSCD, a representative from the Part-Time Forces, a representative from the defence industry, representatives from NGOs and academics.¹⁵⁸ Another MRG member who played a significant role during this process was Cawthra, who worked as a consultant on various sub-committees and served on the DRWG.¹⁵⁹ Other members of the DRWG who played prominent roles were: Le Roux as the Director Strategy (and representative of the Chief SANDF) and Sendall, the administrator of the DRWG.¹⁶⁰ Nathan was also a member of the DRWG, but was not much involved except when the DRWG reported to the JSCD at Parliament in Cape Town.¹⁶¹ The drafting of the Defence Review, like the White Paper, was largely co-ordinated by an MRG member.

The DRWG established sub-committees that took responsibility for every chapter of the Defence Review.¹⁶² As part of the consultative process, the Secretariat distinguished between stakeholders and interest groups.¹⁶³ The most important group was the stakeholders, which consisted of Public Service departments, trade unions, the SANDF, the defence industry and Parliament. The DRWG focussed its efforts on achieving consensus among the stakeholders. The views of interest groups, which consisted of academics, NGOs, research institutes and civil society organisations were taken into account and representatives from such groups were invited to serve on the sub-committees. Interest groups on gay rights for example, served on the Human Resources sub-committee. Although the DRWG focussed on reaching consensus within the defence community, it broadly consulted civil society and interest groups too.

Since the White Paper process was a relatively closed process, the DRWG wished to ensure that the Defence Review process would be a more open debate, involving civil society.¹⁶⁴ The DRWG obtained inputs through discussions with other departmental governing bodies, and also held national as well as consultative conferences in all the provinces. After the final national consultative conference, The JSCD held a series of public hearings, before the Defence Review was finally presented to cabinet and Parliament for approval.

The DRWG worked in virtual isolation from the top echelons of the SANDF to complete the Defence Review, which was a Ministerial project, but received little administrative and moral support from the formal channels of the SANDF.¹⁶⁵ The hardliners in the SANDF tried not to support it, which largely isolated senior officers on the DRWG. For instance, there was no budget for the Defence Review process and the DRWG had no budget manager. Some

consultants were appointed to hold workshops and drafted contracts, but their contracts were not managed properly, to the extent that some were never paid for their services. Only when the Minister became aware of the non-payments of services, was there some improvement, but the Minister was powerless to improve the whole situation. There was little interest from the SANDF to become involved in the process, until the force design aspects became debated.¹⁶⁶ The DRWG received little support from the hardliners in the SANDF, which had little initial interest to support the drafting of the Defence Review.

The aim of the Defence Review was to create an affordable Core-Force design for the SANDF. A DRWG was established in 1997 to draft this policy and in common with the White Paper process, it was co-ordinated by an MRG member. The Defence Review process was more consultative to involve civil society than the White Paper process, but consensus in the defence community was a priority. Initially the DRWG worked in virtual isolation from the support of formal SANDF channels.

3.2 The Drafting of the Defence Review

Since an initial reluctance of the SANDF leadership to attend the first consultative conference of the DRWG, progressive senior officers became actively involved with the DRWG and many chaired some of its sub-committees.¹⁶⁷ Progressive officers provided expert inputs in the defence debates and spent much time debating issues with the JSCD and civil society at regional conferences. Those officers' involvement in the policy-process was essential for the broadening of policy-makers' understanding of defence issues and they contributed towards the content of the policy itself.

During the drafting of the White Paper, politicians and their advisors had a primary influence on the content of the White Paper. During the Defence Review process however, the SANDF started to play a more prominent role with the drafting of chapters, especially Chapters 4-8, which deal with more technical military matters.¹⁶⁸ Outside the SANDF there was little expertise to draft the Defence Review chapters dealing with these details. SANDF officers, therefore, chaired most of the sub-committees. Le Roux played a prominent role as chair of the sub-committees that were engaged with Chapters 1-8, entitled: the introduction, defence posture and doctrine, self-defence and the peace-time force, regional security co-operation, international peace support operations, co-operation with the South African Police Service, non-military tasks, while Chapter Eight related to the force design options. Chapter 9 on force structure was driven by Uys (a Navy Admiral), Chapter 10 on human resources was chaired by Van der Poel (former Army general), Chapter 11 on the part-time force was

headed by Bakkes (a Navy Admiral), Chapter 12 on land and the environment was guided by Sendall and Cordier (a retired general), and the chapter on the acquisition management process was chaired by C. Shaick and Sendall.

One sub-committee was engaged on both force posture and force design under the chairmanship of Le Roux, and he played a significant role to draft these two chapters.¹⁶⁹ The committee consisted (among others) of Colonels Wilcock (Air Force), Golis (Army), Navy Captains Higgs and Christian, three parliamentarians who included Kota, Motlekane, Marais, as well as Cilliers and Sass (both from the Institute for Security Studies). This sub-committee and its military members in particular, did most of the planning and drafting of the chapters on force design and posture, but its contents as a whole was debated and scrutinised by the JSCD. The parliamentarians could not attend all sub-committee work sessions, but they were kept up to date with progress and their approval was always necessary to make submissions.¹⁷⁰ During the Defence Review process, the military played a prominent role in drafting, although all inputs were scrutinised by the JSCD.

All SANDF arms of service were represented on the force design and posture sub-committee. To a large extent the SA Navy and SA Air Force drove the intellectual defence debate about force posture, doctrine and force design.¹⁷¹ The locus of power was almost deliberately removed from the SA Army, which was traditionally more conservative than the other Arms of Service. The Navy and Air Force played a leading role in the defence debates about posture, force design and doctrine.

All drafts produced by sub-committees were presented to the Defence Command Council of the SANDF and the Defence Secretariat Board for approval.¹⁷² Only when these two bodies reached consensus, the sub-committees could submit drafts to the JSCD and the Council on Defence, which consisted of the Minister, the Chief of the SANDF and the Secretary for Defence for further approval. The legislature, and specifically the JSCD (with an ANC majority), played a strong role throughout the Defence Review process by discussing drafts with the DRWG and civil society, but also within the ANC's National Executive Committee. Whenever there was no consensus about certain issues, the Minister made final decisions and he took such matters to cabinet for approval. The progress and finalisation of chapters was, therefore, a fragmented process. The ultimate power to determine defence policy lay with the executive, although the legislature played a prominent role.

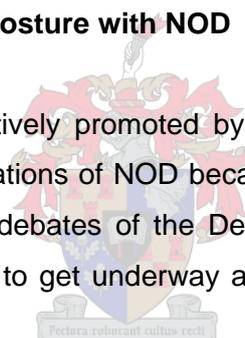
Lobbyists did not play a significant role in the Defence Review process.¹⁷³ Their views, arguments and concerns were heard, but they did not have much of an impact on policy.

Professional lobbyists, such as Terry Crawford-Browne, however, succeeded in shaping the debate. His arguments and questions helped the SA Navy to formulate its motivations and arguments for new vessels in a better way. Although lobbyists did not significantly influence defence policy, individuals helped to shape the debate.

Compared to the White Paper process, the military played a more prominent role during the Defence Review process, especially on technical matters. Progressive SANDF officers for instance chaired most sub-committees. Although parliamentarians were part of the force posture and force design sub-committee, SANDF members did most of the planning and drafting. This was driven largely by Navy and Air Force representatives. Drafts were cleared with parliamentary members on the committee before submissions. Before draft chapters were scrutinised by the JSCD and the Council on Defence, the Defence Command Council and the Defence Secretariat Board had to approve these. Lobbyists had little impact on policy-making. The ultimate power to formulate policy lay with the executive.

3.3 Explaining the Defensive Posture with NOD

Non-offensive defence was not actively promoted by the MRG after the White Paper on Defence was finalised.¹⁷⁴ The limitations of NOD became apparent to MRG members. Yet NOD thinking was instrumental in debates of the Defence Review process. NOD set the framework for the Defence Review to get underway and Williams saw this as NOD's main usefulness.¹⁷⁵



The debate regarding NOD was an important part of the policy process to establish ways for policy-makers and defence officials to launch the debate. It served as a tool to unlock debate between the MRG members and the progressive senior officers with a military technocratic background.¹⁷⁶ The NOD debate established a theoretical common ground between the “doves” and the military,¹⁷⁷ and it provided a neutral framework to discuss defence issues and, therefore, served as a catalyst.¹⁷⁸

The Defence Review had to explain the “defensive posture”, which was highlighted in the White Paper in much more detail, as well as the force design. During the Defence Review process, attempts to explain the practical meaning of a primarily defensive posture entailed an examination of the concept “non-offensive defence”.¹⁷⁹ Many principles of NOD were “borrowed” in order to broaden this concept.¹⁸⁰ The terminology used in the Defence Review did not refer explicitly to “non-offensive defence”, and the content of policy documents often

served as a better indication. The term “non-offensive defence” was avoided and the notion served to give substance to the principle of a defensive posture.

In its original form NOD did not receive support from within the SANDF, as it posed a major challenge to its existing force structures and operational doctrine.¹⁸¹ A pure NOD model would have impacted severely on certain defence capabilities held dear by the Arms of Service chiefs, for example long-distance fighters, air refuelling, tanks and submarines.¹⁸² As the SANDF’s traditional doctrine was challenged, it took the offensive during defence debates and the Defence Review process in particular. The SANDF identified those threats that would require military preparedness. The most likely threat scenario identified was the overflow of regional conflict and it was considered to be the most likely threat to national security. The SANDF argued that South Africa could be pulled into a regional conflict as a result of refugees and illegal immigrants fleeing to the Republic. The SANDF did not support pure NOD models.

Direct reference to the term “non-offensive defence” was deliberately avoided during the Defence Review process because of its unpopularity among the more senior generals on the Defence Command Council.¹⁸³ These senior mostly ex-SADF officers were sceptical about NOD and its ideas were regarded as philosophies of the “anti-militarists”. The understanding of NOD principles by most of the SANDF representatives taking part in the Defence Review process, was also limited and frequently based on misperceptions. This limited the SANDF’s ability to debate these issues. The principles of NOD were nevertheless incorporated into defence policy within the concepts of “confidence-building defence” and “a primarily defensive posture”.¹⁸⁴ This assisted in avoiding “resistance in principle” to the NOD principles that were essential as a basis for developing the concept of a primarily defensive orientation and posture.

The SA Navy was the one Arm of Service that paid particular attention to the NOD debate in South Africa. Its interest in this debate was to ensure that its proposal for the acquisition of patrol corvettes and later also submarines, was in line with the SANDF’s primarily defensive doctrine.¹⁸⁵ A few well-respected senior naval captains were assigned to take part in the Defence Review process to promote the Navy’s interests, namely: Higgs and Christian.¹⁸⁶ With these representatives, the Navy participated in all possible policy processes and defence debates from which it could argue for new vessels.¹⁸⁷ The Navy became interested in the NOD debate as one of the avenues to argue for acquiring new vessels.

Higgs wrote a chapter for the book published after the Defence Restructuring conference in Helderfontein, which was entitled: *Defence Restructuring for the South African Navy: Uncharted Waters*.¹⁸⁸ He wrote the chapter from an NOD perspective, emphasised the strategic defensive roles of corvettes and submarines and argued that the profile of these vessels complemented the SANDF's primarily defensive doctrine.¹⁸⁹ He wrote this with the approval of the Chief of the Navy.

In the final analysis the Navy managed to obtain public sentiment for new naval equipment, after much effort.¹⁹⁰ Higgs was of the opinion that the SA Navy's success to gain support for the acquisition of corvettes and submarines also made it possible for the SA Air Force to purchase new fighter aircraft.

Although MRG members did not actively promote NOD during the Defence Review process, NOD ideas nevertheless served as a catalyst to launch the defence debate and to explain South Africa's defensive posture in more detail. Many NOD principles became policy, but pure NOD models were avoided, including the term "non-offensive defence". The SA Navy played an active role in the NOD debate in South Africa in order to obtain support for new corvettes and submarines. NOD ideas were used to explain the strategic defensive role of these vessels, and it was, therefore, instrumental in more than one way in these defence debates.

3.4 Non-offensive Defence as a Force Design Option

The SANDF became much more interested in the Defence Review process when the force design debates commenced.¹⁹¹ This was coupled with more financial support from the SANDF when this debate opened, especially for the funding of Project Optimum.

The auditing firm of Deloitte and Touche developed a quantitative computerised modelling programme (Project Optimum) for this analysis, which could also determine force design and estimated costs, with relative accuracy.¹⁹² The programme was used to generate four design options that were presented to the JSCD, Parliament and the Minister.¹⁹³ Many outsiders did not comprehend Project Optimum which gave rise to some scepticism. The advantage of this expensive programme was that it offered cost implications for selected force designs, which removed some pressure from the military to make proposals, and gave policy-makers a range of options in terms of force design.¹⁹⁴

The methodology of the DRWG was to commence with a primary threat analysis by identifying a wide range of potential conflict scenarios that South Africa could face in future.¹⁹⁵ Approximately 93 contingencies were identified, which were separately examined and ways to counter them were determined through operational analysis. There was a calculated risk factor for every contingency, which was assessed in terms of probability and impact on the state. This was a joint task undertaken by all Arms of Service.

One of the four options debated and simulated, was an NOD-based model (Option 4), with significant air power capabilities.¹⁹⁶ Le Roux's personal interest in NOD thinking contributed to the inclusion of this defensive option in the Defence Review, which he also formulated.¹⁹⁷ He was of the opinion that NOD was theoretically attractive, but much work had to be done to make it more applicable to the South African situation. Policy makers did not choose this option, who – despite their intent to change the SANDF's pre-emptive strike doctrine to a more defensive one – also wanted to maintain a military capability that could give decision-makers the option to utilise military power. NOD was useful as a very defensive option and benchmark in the force design debate, but had little applicability for the South African setting.

Few people actively promoted NOD during the Defence Review process.¹⁹⁸ MRG members on the DRWG understood the SANDF's argument that South Africa's foreign policy already made provision for peaceful coexistence with other countries (common security) and that it could not base its force design on NOD, because in future it would be called upon to perform peacekeeping duties in Africa, which requires certain power projection capabilities. NOD was also too expensive to implement in South Africa. The costing estimates about the NOD option indicated that it would be too expensive to implement.¹⁹⁹ NOD was R 900 000 000 more expensive than Option 1, which was eventually chosen. It is revealing that when the NOD force design was used in war-gaming, it was found inadequate and in the event could not provide any deterrent capability. As the defence debate progressed and political realities became clear, NOD became a less important feature.

In May 1997, the DRWG submitted the four design options to cabinet, which passed the document on to the JSCD in October 1997.²⁰⁰ Both bodies approved Option 1, subject to the availability of finances.²⁰¹ Option 1 entailed: a rapid deployment force consisting of a mechanised brigade and a parachute brigade; a special forces brigade; 26 infantry battalions and two medical battalion groups.²⁰² The table below is a summary of the main systems that were approved for the force design:²⁰³

Table 1: The SANDF Force Design

WEAPON SYSTEM AND ARM OF SERVICE	QUANTITY
SA Air Force	
Light Fighter	16
Medium Fighters	32
Combat Support Helicopters	12
Maritime Helicopters	5
Transport Helicopters	96
SA Navy	
Submarines	4
Corvettes	4

Sources: The Public Protector, Auditor General and National Director of Public Prosecutions, *Joint Investigation Report into the Strategic Defence Procurement Packages*, November 2001, p 5; and Defence Review of South Africa, *Department of Defence*, Pretoria:1 Military Printing Regiment, 1998, p 47-48.

The force design planning was done by using quantitative modelling which provided cost implications. An NOD-based model was one of the force design options that was debated. Although this option was not accepted by policy-makers because of its irrelevance and high cost, it served as an important benchmark for the debate.

3.5 Non-offensive Defence Principles in SA Defence Policy

South Africa has accepted several principles of NOD in its defence policy, which was facilitated by the adoption of civil control over the military, accepting a defensive posture and predominantly defensive military structures. South Africa's defensive orientation is reinforced through executive and parliamentary control over the employment of the SANDF.²⁰⁴ South Africa has accepted significant elements of NOD, which also appear in the Defence Review document:

- a. Commitment to use force only within the context of international law,
- b. Being strategically defensive,
- c. Having no weapons of mass destruction (WMD),
- d. Having no manifestly offensive weapon systems,
- e. Having limited power projection capabilities,
- f. Support for the principle of territorial defence, and
- g. Having a small professional force and a large reserve that will take a considerable time to mobilise.²⁰⁵

The South African Constitution and White Paper on Defence committed South Africa to its obligations under international laws and treaties.²⁰⁶ The SANDF is, therefore, compelled not

to contravene any law relating to aggression and situations of armed conflict. South Africa is bound to adhere to the United Nations Charter, which states that members shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

South Africa has stated that strategically it will have a defensive posture and that its military structures will only be sufficient to protect "...military and economic assets against offensive actions by an aggressor".²⁰⁷ This also suggests that South Africa is not interested in power projection capabilities for offensive strategic action. In-flight refuelling and tank transport capabilities, which provide strategic reach, have nevertheless been retained.²⁰⁸ Other NOD principles that were accepted in South African defence policy entail transparency and confidence-building measures.²⁰⁹ South Africa has openly stated in its published defence policy that it does not have aggressive intentions towards other states.²¹⁰ This policy also states that South Africa will pursue a "...common security regime, regional defence co-operation and confidence- and security-building measures in Southern Africa".²¹¹

The pure NOD principle of structural inability to attack did not appear in the Defence Review.²¹² The Defence Review does, however, emphasise that "...SANDF doctrine requires an emphasis on defensive rather than offensive force elements...".²¹³ This clause indicates the presence of NOD principles in defence policy and was aimed particularly at removing manifestly offensive weapons.

Manifestly offensive weapons have been excluded from the force design of the SANDF.²¹⁴ The absence of weapons of mass destruction and overtly offensive weapons, such as long-range missiles and bombers, in the force structure of the SANDF, are an indication of the above. South Africa has also signed most of the treaties on weapons of mass destruction, including the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and the Biological and Toxins Weapons Convention.²¹⁵ South Africa stated that it abolished its nuclear weapons programme and signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1992. It also became an active sponsor of the African Nuclear Free Zone Treaty.

South Africa has accepted the principle of deterrence through a "credible defence capability" to prevent future conflict.²¹⁶ It is argued that conventional deterrence can prevent armed conflict and will deter potential aggressors. This is similar to the NOD principle of deterrence through denial. The Defence Review also states that the defence capabilities of the SANDF should be strong enough to reverse the effects of foreign offensive action and be able to drive an opponent from own territory.²¹⁷ The Defence Review supports the NOD principle of deterrence by denial.

The Defence Review set guidelines for operational doctrine, which state that the SANDF should be able to "...halt, contain and roll back such actions...";²¹⁸ which requires the appropriate offensive capabilities at the operational level such as deep interdiction. This may be viewed as deviating from pure NOD models. The SANDF will follow a counter-force approach, which entails deterrence that threatens to destroy enemy forces and capabilities rather than civilian institutions and populations.²¹⁹ According to Williams, the SANDF's operational strategy reflects a synthesis of defensive and offensive components.²²⁰

The non-threatening deployment of forces is underlined by SA defence policy, which states that the force design of the SANDF should allow for the dispersion of forces, which will contribute towards confidence-building in the region.²²¹ NOD entails deployments that are not threatening in manner or location. Where practically and financially possible, mobile and offensive forces of the SANDF will be drawn from border areas to deeper internal bases.

The location of South Africa's network of light infantry battalions across the country and mobile forces more towards the interior, demonstrates similarities with the 'Spider in the Web' model of NOD.²²² The SANDF is an infantry-based defence force and the dispersion of its infantry units is an effective way to promote non-threatening deployment in terms of location, and shares similarities with NOD's territorial defence in this regard. It may consequently be concluded that South Africa's defence is largely based on a mixed model of NOD. This is clearly reflected in the SANDF's operational doctrine, which provides for interdiction capabilities, as well as territorial and mobile defence elements.

Several principles of NOD became policy namely: the use of force within the context of international law, strategic defensiveness, having no WMD or manifestly offensive weapons, limited power projection capabilities, territorial defence, and having a small professional force and a large reserve. Structural inability to attack did not become policy, because certain operational, counter-attack and deterrent capabilities were deemed important. The SANDF's operational strategy, therefore, encompasses both offensive and defensive elements, which makes it comparable with mixed NOD models.

3.6 Implications of NOD Principles

Non-offensive defence principles in South African defence policy had no significant impact on the force design and structure of the SANDF.²²³ There is also no real application of a pure NOD model in South Africa. The small force-to-space ratio in South Africa prevents any

NOD model from being viable. South Africa needs a defence force that is able to protect its extensive borders and for this purpose strategic reach is needed.

Although pure NOD principles are not applied in South Africa, it did however have other implications. Firstly, the normative content of the White Paper on Defence and the Defence Review coincides with the Peace Research School of Thought, from which NOD derives.²²⁴ South African defence policy, therefore, corresponds to the normative thinking associated with NOD. Secondly, NOD had a significant influence on the force posture chapter of the Defence Review and promoted confidence-building in the Southern African region²²⁵ in enabling South Africa to take a leading political role in the region, without posing a threat to other states.²²⁶ Thirdly, with regard to South Africa, NOD principles in defence policy eroded South Africa's strategic lift capabilities and its ability to sustain operations over long distances.²²⁷ Those capabilities now have to be re-established with South Africa's involvement in peacekeeping in the Great Lakes region. Although NOD principles gave substance to normative policy ideals and also promoted confidence-building in the region, it seriously eroded the SANDF's strategic lift capabilities.

4. SUMMARY

By 1990, the ANC as the future governing party in the new South Africa, lacked both a clear defence policy, and the capacity to formulate and analyse defence policy. This deficiency was addressed with the establishment of the Military Research Group, which consisted of ANC academics, politicians, intelligence and MK operatives. The MRG made policy recommendations on defence issues, which usually became government policy. The MRG used networking, conferences, publications and training programmes to communicate its ideas, and was funded by pacifist organisations.

Non-offensive defence thinking became part of MRG debates through its members who studied Peace Research and it became a specific research focus, from which policy options were formulated for the ANC. NOD appealed to the ANC as a framework that could normalise relations with states in the region and lessen the military's power in a democratic South Africa.

After the Cold War, NOD advocates in Europe tried to keep NOD alive by maintaining their transnational connections and exporting NOD to (among others) South Africa, which entered a phase of transformation. They promoted NOD mainly through COPRI and the MRG with Nordic funding, by hosting international conferences, workshops and study tours. A great

deal of co-operation took place between the MRG and COPRI to promote NOD in South Africa.

Williams, Cawthra and Nathan mainly promoted NOD ideas in the ANC. Nathan became the most influential MRG member during the defence policy process. The ANC accepted his policy proposals regarding defence, which influenced the Interim Constitution and the White Paper on Defence. Nathan's views also enjoyed the support of the Ministry of Defence, which appointed him as drafter of the White Paper. Nathan used his publications, which promoted NOD as the framework for the Draft White Paper. Several NOD principles became policy, for instance: the downsizing of the military, a small volunteer force, regional warning of exercises and confidence and security building measures.

During the drafting of the White Paper, the SANDF and the JSCD (which had several MRG/ANC members) debated almost every paragraph of draft policy. The JSCD played a prominent role in policy-making and the military was unable to determine policy as in the past. The drafting of the White Paper was controlled by Nathan and Kasrils, although Nathan was restricted to the Ministry's preferences that largely formulated the policy.

The SANDF and policy-makers had different policy priorities and world-views on defence issues. The military maintained a realist approach and wanted to maintain a strong and balanced defence force. The policy-makers, however, had a normative approach and considered non-military issues and transforming the military as the pressing policy issues. A compromise was reached by accepting a Core-Force capability.

Although MRG members on the JSCD promoted NOD principles, such as common security and CSBM-principles, during the defence policy-process, NOD was an unknown term in military circles. After senior SANDF officers on the DRWG were introduced to the meaning of NOD, they supported certain principles and made it part of the Defence Review debates.

The aim of the Defence Review was to create an affordable Core-Force design for the SANDF. A DRWG was established in 1997, to draft this policy and similar to the White Paper process, it was co-ordinated by an MRG member (Williams). The Defence Review process was more consultative to involve civil society than the White Paper process, but consensus within the defence community was more important.

During the Defence Review process the military started to play a more prominent role in defence policy-making, because they had the expertise on technical military matters.

Progressive SANDF officers chaired most sub-committees, whilst the SA Navy and Air Force representatives largely drove these military debates. Drafts still had to be cleared by parliamentarians on these committees. Lobbyists had little impact on policy-making and the power to formulate defence policy was with the executive.

Realising the limitations of NOD, the MRG did not promote this during the Defence Review process. The military drafters' interest in NOD, however maintained NOD as part of the defence debate and these ideas stimulated the defence debate in explaining the country's defensive posture in more detail. Pure NOD models and the term "non-offensive defence" were avoided, but an NOD-based model was introduced by Le Roux as one of the force design options. Although this option was not accepted because of its irrelevance and high cost, it served as a benchmark in the force design debate. The SA Navy utilised the NOD debate and perspectives as part of its efforts to obtain support for new vessels, by explaining the strategic defensive roles of those vessels.

Several principles of NOD became policy namely: the use of force within the context of international law, strategic defensiveness, having no WMD or manifestly offensive weapons, limited power projection capabilities, territorial defence, and having a small professional force and a large reserve. Structural inability to attack did not become policy, because certain operational, counter-attack and deterrent capabilities were deemed important. The SANDF's operational strategy, therefore, has both offensive and defensive elements, which makes it comparable with mixed NOD models.

Pectora roburant cultus recti

5. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this chapter was to explain the influence of NOD in the defence policy-making process in South Africa since the early 1990s. The main influence of NOD was its utility as a theoretical tool for interest groups, particularly the ANC and the military, to influence defence policy according to their preference, although there was an absence of full confidence in all NOD's principles.

Non-offensive defence was a theoretical tool in South Africa to influence defence policy in three ways: Firstly, it was used by the MRG to lessen the influence of the military in South Africa and to disarm it. Secondly, NOD was used by Nathan to change South Africa's military posture towards the defensive. Lastly, it was used by the DRWG to stimulate debate about force design options, especially by the SA Navy, which used it to promote support for new vessels.

The main way that NOD was promoted was through the MRG and its partners, such as COPRI. The MRG was established by the ANC to fill its void to formulate defence policy. With the help of the ANC and its leadership, especially the subsequent Deputy Minister of Defence, Kasrils, the MRG was involved on every single defence policy-making forum since the early 1990s and it promoted NOD in a subtle way on all those forums through every documentary stage. NOD principles also appeared in all the policy documents. NOD's principles, especially the defensive posture, appeared in the Interim Constitution, the JMCC-agreement, the White Paper on Defence and the Defence Review. NOD was promoted by the MRG on every forum of defence policy-making and some of its principles appeared in every policy document.

Neither the military nor the policy-makers supported a pure model of NOD for South Africa. Structural-inability-to-attack was not a viable force structure option for South Africa with its extensive borders and low force-to-space ratio. NOD is also too expensive to implement. As in Europe, NOD had little relevance to South Africa, except some usefulness to improve inter-state relations in Southern Africa. In this sense NOD added some content to the ANC's policies in support of a strategic defensive posture and doctrine.

The study also pays attention to the nature of policy-making in South Africa and some conclusions should be made in this regard. During the White Paper process, the power to formulate policy resided mostly with the Ministry of Defence and Nathan as the drafter, which made it personality driven and largely a closed process for civil society. Nathan's influence can also be seen as a form of lobbying. The JSCD played a prominent role and like the SANDF, it debated almost every paragraph of the Draft White Paper. The Ministry, however, dominated this process.

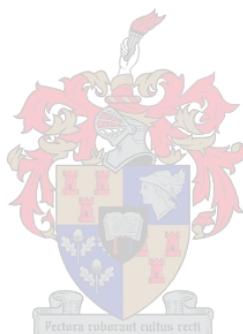
The Defence Review process was much more consultative and provided more opportunities for civil society to take part, although lobbying groups had little impact on policy. During the Defence Review process the military started to play a more prominent role in formulating policy, especially on technical matters. A shift had, therefore, taken place since the military's marginalisation during the White Paper process. The JSCD was still involved, but the military now did most of the drafting and planning on sub-committees. The power to formulate policy during this process remained with the Ministry.

The realist and idealist paradigms of the military and the policy-makers respectively, made compromise necessary during the policy-process. Eventually this made policy ambiguous

and impractical. The military wanted a strong defence force, while the policy-makers and the ANC in particular, wished to weaken the military. The following are examples of compromises that were made:

- a. Instead of a strong military, a Core-Force capability was approved with a small standing force, but a large Part-Time Force.
- b. A deterrent capability with interdiction capabilities, but also emphasis on defensive capabilities, no manifestly offensive weapons and relocating bases to the interior.

With the declining defence budget and no intended down-sizing, the Core-Force was unaffordable and the almost non-existence of the Part-Time Force made it impractical. The existence of both deterrent and defensive ideas in policy makes it ambiguous.



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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to describe the nature of defence policy-making in South Africa since 1994, by describing how non-offensive defence became prominent. Defence policy involves decisions and compromises made by various interest groups, within the framework of a state's Constitution, legislation, clearing houses and bureaucracy. The aim of this concluding chapter is to describe the processes, role players and institutions that shaped South African defence policy since 1994.

The first part of this chapter contains a summary of the main findings regarding the nature of defence policy-making in South Africa by revisiting the theoretical and descriptive chapters. The second part will cover the promotion of NOD in South Africa and its significance with regard to a better understanding of defence policy-making. The last part is a conclusion of the main findings.

1. DEFENCE POLICY-MAKING IN SOUTH AFRICA

This section commences with a short overview of what public policy and defence policy entails within a pluralist framework of analysis. The second part summarises the defence policy processes in South Africa according to the Constitution and established practice. The last part will pay attention to the role and influence of various role-players in the making of South African defence policy.

1.1 The Nature and Boundaries of Policy-making

Public policy involves a series of decisions about what should be achieved (policy intent), and what is implemented. Defence policy forms part of public policy, and could be defined as those decisions that affect the provision, deployment and use of military resources to protect and pursue the national interests of the state. Defence policy exists in two worlds, namely the external dimension of international politics and the internal dimension of domestic politics. It is shaped by public and private actors, as well as their beliefs and attitudes. The variety of interests involved lead to compromise, rather than intellectual choices.

The pluralist or interest group theory was used to demarcate the formulation of defence policy from other political aspects. This theory is useful to explain role-players and alliances

in policy-making, and is applicable to South Africa's constitutional principle of consultative policy-making.

South Africa's defence policy-making in the post-1994 period exhibited the following characteristics: Firstly, various organised interest groups were involved: civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) - such as the CCR (Centre for Conflict Resolution) and ISS (Institute for Security Studies) -, lobbyists such as Terry Crawford-Browne, the legislature, government, the ANC (African National Congress) and the SANDF (South African National Defence Force). All the various interest groups tried to influence defence policy, which made it a competitive process. Secondly, defence policy did not only involve rational or intellectual decisions. The involvement of various interest groups gave rise to compromise. Thirdly, interest groups such as the MRG (Military Research Group) served as a source of expertise on defence thinking.

South African defence policy-making was not pluralistic, as purists would understand it. The assumption that political power is distributed fairly even between interest groups does not occur in South Africa. The ANC used its majority in the legislature, the Sub-Council on Defence, and the JSCD (Joint Standing Committee on Defence), to offset the possibility of a power balance. The involvement of the ANC leadership in party, parliamentary and government structures created a natural alliance with certain "interest groups". The involvement of the ANC's MRG on every defence policy-making forum made the ANC the most influential interest group, and it also made MRG members the most influential role-players. Therefore, the ANC alliance, with its majority, structured the defence policy process rather than the institutions of the state. The Department of Defence (DoD) did not have the expertise to significantly steer defence policy-making and the eventual expertise of the Defence Secretariat, came from the MRG.

1.2 The Process of Formulating Defence Policy: A Focus on Three Actors

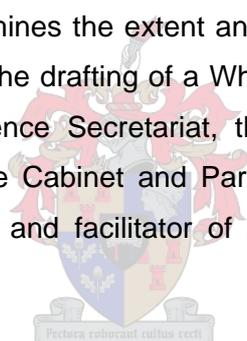
The domestic political process in South Africa determines the nature of defence policy-making. Both Government policy and legislation are subject to the Constitution. The latter determines that the legislative authority is vested in Parliament and the passing of legislation requires a majority vote from the National Assembly, which provides a great deal of influence to the ANC as the majority party.

In reality, the ANC's party structures, such as the NEC (National Executive Council), formulate policy and government turns it into legislation. The National Assembly and its

committees have to facilitate public involvement in policy-making through public hearings, but they rarely introduce policy and when they do, it's usually about matters pertaining to the legislature. The ANC party structures largely initiate and determine public policy.

The tendency in South Africa is that the executive usually takes responsibility for developing legislation and policy. The Constitution stipulates that the Cabinet is responsible to initiate, prepare, develop, and implement policy and legislation. Only Cabinet Ministers or Deputy Ministers may introduce legislation to the National Assembly. The Constitution states that the Minister of Defence is charged with taking responsibility for defence matters and that a civilian Defence Secretariat should support him with policy-making.

The established practice in South Africa is that within the executive, the Ministry of Defence takes responsibility for the commencement of formal defence policy processes, by presenting a draft White Paper to the public and other departments for inputs. The appointed drafters of the policy then receive written submissions from various interest groups. The Minister largely determines the extent and process of further consultation and the content of subsequent drafts. The drafting of a White Paper involves consulting various clearing houses such as the Defence Secretariat, the Defence Command Council, the Council on Defence, the JSCD, the Cabinet and Parliament. The JSCD usually plays a prominent role as a clearinghouse and facilitator of public hearings, as well as national conferences.



The ANC party structures largely initiate and formulate public and defence policy. The executive then takes responsibility to make it government policy and legislation. The JSCD and Parliament then approve it.

1.3 The Role of the Legislature

The international tendency is that legislatures are generally weak in terms of formulating policy. This is also the case in South Africa. Members of Parliament (MPs) rarely take part in public debates. In addition, Parliament has limited research, technical and administrative support. During the defence policy processes, MPs were not much involved in the drafting process, even when they served on sub-committees. Opposition parties have little impact on public policy-making, because of poor organisation and policy suggestions. In general Parliament is weak compared to the executive.

Parliamentary committee chairs, however, do yield significant political power. The JSCD played a significant role as a clearinghouse, by scrutinising every paragraph of draft policy and ensuring multi-party approval. The chair of the JSCD has a critical role to facilitate the legislature's involvement in policy-making.

The purpose of the parliamentary committee system is to contribute to policy-making and to oversee the work of the executive. In general, the ANC ensures that it holds the political power on parliamentary committees with its majority representation. For instance, the ANC undermined the functioning of the Portfolio Committee on Defence, which was chaired by a non-ANC member, by boycotting its meetings. Eventually the Portfolio Committee ceased to exist and the JSCD under an ANC chair became the only defence committee of the legislature. It should be added, however, that with the functioning of the JSCD, the principle was maintained that defence is not a party political matter.

The world-views of policy-makers have an impact on the way they perceive problems and aim to solve them. Policy-makers in South Africa consider policy-making as a way to correct the wrongs of *apartheid*, which makes their policy approach normative, idealistic and impractical. Peace Research ideas and NOD in particular appealed to the policy-makers as a way to change South Africa's former pre-emptive, offensive military doctrine to a defensive approach that could promote confidence building in the region. The lack of defence expertise also limits policy-makers to move beyond normative proposals.



The legislature in South Africa is weak compared to the executive in terms of formulating defence policy. The ANC's tight control of parliamentary committees such as the JSCD aggravates this. The legislature lacks the capacity and the freedom to play a significant role in defence policy-making or to oversee the executive authority.

1.4 The Role of the Executive

In South Africa, there is a tendency that the executive takes main responsibility to develop and implement policy. The executive authority consists of the President and members of the Cabinet, which is in turn a central agency in public policy-making and is closely linked to the ANC's national leadership.

The President appoints a Minister of Defence and a Deputy Minister of Defence to take responsibility for initiating and developing defence policy and legislation. The Minister of Defence has the most power of all individual role-players to influence defence policy. In

practice however (during the 1990s), Minister Modise devolved much of that power to his deputy, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, who then devolved his responsibility to MRG members.

Minister Modise gave little defence policy direction, but oversaw the overall layout and principles in defence policy. He also made some rulings on contentious issues during the drafting of policy. Deputy Minister Kasrils was much more directly involved in the drafting of policy, especially with Nathan. They jointly controlled the process of amending the Draft White Paper on Defence. Kasrils usually followed Nathan's recommendation in all but a few cases, since the latter drafted policy according to the Ministry's preferences. During the Defence Review process, Kasrils appointed Williams as the convenor of the Defence Review Work Group (DRWG). During this process, the DOD started to play a more prominent role through the Secretariat. The technical policy issues that had to be addressed also necessitated a more involved role by the military.

In South Africa, the executive formulates defence policy. The Ministry of Defence, however, devolved much of that responsibility to MRG members. During the Defence Review process, the military started to play a more prominent role in making defence policy.

1.5 The African National Congress Party Leadership

Together with the Cabinet, the ANC's national leadership structure forms the strongest policy-making body in the South African political system. Most public policy documents originate from the ANC's National Executive Council (NEC) or National Working Committee, as well as the Cabinet and consultants. This seems to be in line with the way defence policy developed in South Africa. Nathan's publication *The Changing of the Guard*, which served as a basis for the White Paper, was discussed with ANC Members of Parliament, as well as members of the executive, and received their support. It was also discussed with MRG members, which formulated ANC defence policy. The ANC party leadership and its consultants were consulted and involved in the making of defence policy.

The ANC receives policy inputs from various party structures: NEC sub-committees, parliamentary study groups, permanently appointed policy units, or departments at the ANC headquarters. The ANC also pays attention to the policy inputs from the Congress of South African Trade Unions. ANC party structures, therefore, make policy and government turns it into legislation. It follows that the ANC's party structures play a decisive role in defence policy-making.

The ANC party leadership and its advisors, which are closely linked to the Cabinet, is the strongest policy-making interest group in South Africa. Thus the ANC dominates defence policy-making.

1.6 Lobbying Groups

Lobbying is a relatively new development in South African politics. It involves direct efforts by the lobbying group to influence public officials to act as they wish. Since the Constitution required Parliament to facilitate public involvement in policy-making, a broad range of interest groups became involved in lobbying government. Lobbying has grown ever since, but remains unregulated.

There are various categories of lobbying groups, but in the making of defence policy, civil society organisations and professional lobbyists are mostly involved. Some of the prominent civil society organisations involved in defence policy were: the Public and Development Management Department at the University of the Witwatersrand, the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), the ISS and the CCR.

The location of civil society organisations in Cape Town had a significant influence on defence policy-making and lobbying in this regard. Nathan as a member of the Cape Town-based CCR, played a prominent role during the White Paper process, but when the Defence Review was drafted by the DRWG in Pretoria, Nathan was unable to play an active role on the DRWG.

Conventional lobbying did not play a significant role in the making of South African defence policy. As part of the process of broad consultation their views were heard, but not adhered to. Terry Crawford-Browne as a professional lobbyist (from Economists Allied for Arms Reduction) helped to shape the defence debate. His viewpoints and questions helped the SA Navy to formulate its arguments for new vessels.

Lobbying is usually considered as attempts from pressure groups to influence the behaviour of policy-makers through formal presentations, threats and bribes. Nathan's direct involvement in the defence policy process as part of the civil society organisation CCR, could be considered as lobbying. He had direct access to the Ministry of Defence as the personal advisor of the Deputy Minister and the drafter of the White Paper on Defence and he was able to directly inculcate defence policy with NOD ideas in this manner, without having to revert to conventional lobbying techniques. The CCR's involvement in the drafting of the

White Paper may, therefore, be viewed as unconventional, unrestricted and “ideal” lobbying. According to this argument, the CCR played a significant role as a lobbying organisation in defence policy-making.

International consultants and aid organisations had a major part in the defence policy process. Their presence and influence in South African public policy-making are present in almost every Public Service department. Foreign aid organisations usually fund consultants and NGOs from donor countries to undertake work in South Africa. Foreign governments – such as Norway and particularly Denmark – became involved in South African defence policy debates. The Danish Foreign Ministry, through the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), lobbied South African politicians (among others) regarding NOD ideas. DANIDA funded peace researchers such as Møller (from the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute-COPRI) to discuss NOD with parliamentarians who proved to be receptive for these inputs from COPRI. DANIDA also funded the attendance of NOD conferences for South Africans in Europe and locally. The Study Group on Alternative Security Policy (SAS) also lobbied parliamentarians on defence issues. Unterseher from the SAS tried to convince policy-makers to accept the “spider in the web model” of NOD.

1.7 The Military Research Group

By 1990, the ANC's Marxist policies became discredited as South Africa moved towards democratisation. The ANC, therefore, had to rethink its policies on defence and formulate a framework to transform defence in South Africa, but it lacked a defence analysis and policy-making capacity. The MRG was established to fill this deficiency, to counter the IDP (former Institute for Defence Policy, now ISS) in debates, and enable the ANC to play a more active role in the defence debate.

The MRG mostly consisted of ANC academics and intelligence operatives, many of whom came from an anti-*apartheid* activist background. MRG members were not defence experts and, therefore, several enrolled for postgraduate courses in Europe (among other Peace Studies) to get a better understanding of security issues. MRG members' exposure to Peace Studies and following European security debates, created an interest in NOD ideas, which were introduced to the ANC as policy principles to transform South African defence, particularly its offensive doctrine. NOD was a specific research focus of the MRG, and the MRG also promoted it.

The ANC relied on MRG members to formulate its defence policy, but also positioned them on forums to see to it that it became government policy. MRG members served on literally every formal defence policy-making forum since 1990. They served on the Transitional Executive Council's Sub-Council on Defence, the JMCC (Joint Military Co-ordinating Committee) and later also the JSCD. The drafter of the White Paper on Defence was an MRG member, the convenor of the DRWG also convened the MRG, and several MRG members served on the DRWG. By placing MRG members in vital policy-making positions and forums, the ANC ensured that it dominated the making of South African defence policy.

The MRG enabled the ANC to dominate and formulate defence policy-making in South Africa. MRG members served on every defence policy-making forum and were also involved in drafting policy.

1.8 The Armed Forces and the Secretariat

During the *apartheid* era, the military traditionally drafted all White Papers on Defence, but they lost this power under the new Constitution. Nevertheless the military and the Secretariat continued attempting to play an active role in policy formulation. Their attempts to launch a White Paper process in 1995, failed for two reasons. Firstly, they did not consult the correct clearinghouses and secondly, their policy ideas only focussed on maintaining a strong military and not on the political aspects of defence transformation. Thus, the policy proposals of the DoD deviated from political realities and came to nought.

When the drafting of the White Paper was finally tackled, the military took an active part in debating all issues. It accepted the framework of the policy-makers, but wished to maintain a strong, balanced defence force. The military seriously debated the definition of "manifestly offensive weapons" in order to maintain its power projection capabilities. However, few of the military's policy proposals were accepted. It was consequently forced to reach compromises with policy-makers and was only able to significantly influence the White Paper with the inclusion of the Core-Force concept in Chapter 4 of the 1996 White Paper on Defence.

The DoD started to play a more prominent role in defence policy-making with the drafting of the Defence Review. This was facilitated by the appointment of more capable individuals at the Defence Secretariat and the need for more military-technical input in policy from the SANDF. The military chaired most of the sub-committees that drafted specific chapters.

Progressive senior officers from the SA Navy and Air Force drove these debates and they included the notion of NOD in these debates.

During the initial White Paper process, the military and the Secretariat played a limited role in policy-making because of a lack of policy-making expertise and adequate policy suggestions. With the Defence Review, they played an increasingly active role on technical policy matters.

1.9 The White Paper on Defence and the Defence Review

The legislature responded in three ways to the political challenges with regard to defence in South Africa. Firstly, it insisted that a White Paper on Defence had to be finalised to give legitimacy to the SANDF within a democratic framework. Secondly, the White Paper had to communicate South Africa's new peaceful foreign policy, as well as its defensive military doctrine. Lastly, the legislature intended changing the military in terms of civil-military relations, integration, as well as affirmative action. This involved a normative framework of liberal internationalism or idealism.

The drafting of the White Paper was largely a closed, personally driven process with limited consultation of civil society. Intensive debating did, however, take place between the military, the drafter and the legislature. These debates indicated the contrasting world-views involved. The military had a realist view, which included a geo-strategic outlook on defending the country and having a strong military. Policy-makers had a more idealist outlook, which involved the downsizing of the military. These opposing views were made possible by a broadly formulated Constitution, which did not prioritise the security of the state or the individual as more important. Compromises were eventually reached between these extreme views, which are characteristic of defence policy-making in general, but also in South Africa.

The Defence Review process was a much more open and consultative process than the drafting of the White Paper. Significant efforts were made to involve the public in the policy process. The sub-committees that drafted the Defence Review also consisted of various civilian interest groups. The SANDF chaired most committees on mainstream military and technical issues, such as force design, posture and doctrine. The military and particularly the SA Navy and Air Force, took the lead in most of these debates, although parliamentarians served on the sub-committees. In the event lobbyists played a much more subdued role during this process, although they helped to shape the debate.

Defence policy-making involved compromise as a result of idealist versus realist views on defence. The Constitution enabled this state of affairs, since it does not emphasise state or individual security. The White Paper process was largely a closed process with little consultation and was dominated by policy-makers. In contrast the Defence Review was a consultative and open process, in which the military played a more prominent role in debates and drafting.

2. THE PROMOTION OF NON-OFFENSIVE DEFENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

This section relates to NOD and the significance of its promotion in South Africa. It will firstly cover the origins, ideas and promotion of NOD in Europe. The second part refers to the promotion of NOD in South Africa and conclusions about defence policy-making in this regard. Lastly, NOD's impact on defence in South Africa will be discussed.

2.1 The Rise and Decline of Non-offensive Defence

Non-offensive defence ideas developed during the Cold War to prevent a third world war in Europe. The main characteristics of NOD were the following: Firstly, there had to be general disarmament for all states. Secondly, states had to build confidence through transparent defence policy and defensive deployments. Thirdly, defence forces had to be restructured to conduct only defensive operations. Fourthly, it was assumed that the defensive is superior to the offensive and, therefore, only defensive weapons systems had to be used. Lastly, states had to rely on non-standing armies. All these ideas were promoted by West Germans, peace researchers, the peace movement and leftist opposition parties in Europe. They used NOD to protest against nuclear weapons deployment in Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (NATO) reliance on these arms, as well as to criticise NATO's conventional strategy. The overall aim was to prevent some accidental nuclear and conventional war between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Peace researchers from Denmark, – COPRI in particular, became involved in developing the term “non-offensive defence” with ideas such as common security. NOD ideas became an integral part of the peace movement and peace researchers' attempts to achieve their goals. COPRI communicated and promoted NOD at conferences, in publications and the public media. The Palme Commission and NOD proponents promoted NOD with the Russians, who accepted NOD principles for a short period to demobilise its military subsequent to the dissolution of the Soviet Union..

After the Cold War, proponents of NOD tried to keep Peace Research and NOD ideas alive by promoting them in countries undergoing transition. DANIDA and peace researchers from COPRI specifically saw a window of opportunity to promote NOD in South Africa. They played an active role to lobby policy-makers in South Africa through conferences and funding local NGOs.

Non-offensive defence was a Cold War idea. It was an untested theory with no wider applicability than a strategic context of looming war between industrialised powers. Nevertheless NOD proponents still promoted this notion in South Africa.

2.2 The Promotion of NOD

The ANC was introduced to NOD thinking mainly through MRG members who promoted it. The ANC became interested in NOD for several reasons. Firstly, the ANC saw NOD as a useful paradigm to change its foreign policy and improve relations with Southern African countries. ANC politicians were personally aware of the destabilisation that SADF attacks caused in the region and also wanted to inculcate South Africa's military doctrine with certain NOD principles. NOD was an attractive framework with useful terminology such as common security, transparency and confidence building, which supported South Africa's new foreign policy. Secondly, NOD complemented the ANC's domestic policy goals with the new security paradigm. The ANC accepted the new security paradigm to focus on socio-economic issues and NOD underscored this by relegating defence to a lower priority. NOD, therefore, suited both the ANC's domestic and foreign policy priorities.

Non-offensive defence was promoted mainly by the MRG and COPRI through conferences and discussions with ANC politicians. Nathan promoted NOD principles in his publications, which served as the basis of the White Paper, while the SANDF made NOD part of the defence debate by incorporating it into a force design option to stimulate debate.

2.3 The Impact of NOD in South Africa

Non-offensive defence influenced South Africa in three significant ways. Firstly, the ANC used NOD instrumentally as a framework to justify and explain its initial objectives to drastically transform the military. The ANC's use of NOD as a tool to change the military was successful, because South African military capabilities have been scaled down significantly, especially in terms of power-projection capabilities. NOD totally changed the SANDF's operational strategy to only defend the country against attacks. It enabled South Africa to

build confidence with its neighbours and to play a leading role in Southern Africa. NOD ideas became part of the framework of South African defence policy and doctrine. Secondly, NOD was used as a defensive idea to emphasise the difference between the ANC's peaceful foreign policy and the destabilising policies of the *apartheid* government. Thirdly, the terminology used with NOD ideas complemented the language of the new security paradigm. NOD terminology suited the new security paradigm, because they originate from the same school of thought.

3. CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions could be made about the promotion of NOD in South Africa. Firstly, the tendency in South Africa to investigate models from industrialised countries, is an indication that policy-makers are open and receptive for ideas from abroad. In common with other models from developed countries, NOD has limited applicability for South Africa. It is a Cold War defence model for preventing the security dilemma, arms races and war. The absence of an external threat to South Africa makes it largely irrelevant. Its focus on an integrated defensive network with light infantry is also unsuitable to South Africa, which needs mobile capabilities to protect its extensive borders. Secondly, models can be used in various ways as tools to influence policy. NOD was used as a theoretical tool by the MRG and the military to influence defence policy according to their preferences. The MRG used it to disarm the military; Nathan used it to change the military's posture towards the defensive; the military used it to stimulate debate about force design options; and the SA Navy used it to promote support for the purchase of its new vessels.

Certain characteristics of South African defence policy-making should be mentioned. Firstly, conflicting world-views of idealism and realism about defence are made possible, because the Constitution does not prioritise the state or the individual's security as more important. Defence policy, therefore, tends to involve some compromise between these views. Secondly, policy-makers tend to focus on civil-military relations and human resource issues (so-called "soft issues") as important, while the military tend to focus on military technical and force design issues (so-called "hard issues"). Thirdly, the military have the expertise to be more involved in the details of policy-making such as force posture, structure and doctrine; while policy-makers will be more involved in the decisions about defence spending, the role of the military and its transformation.

With the making of defence policy, the ANC controlled both the policy-making process and the formulation of policy. This was done in several ways. The ANC established the MRG as

a think-tank to formulate ANC policy on defence, which became government policy. MRG members were represented on every defence policy-making forum, including the JSCD, and MRG members controlled the drafting of policy. The Ministry of Defence ensured that MRG members did the drafting. The ANC undermined the functioning of the Portfolio Committee on Defence and used its majority to dominate through the JSCD. The ANC, therefore, largely controls defence policy-making through the Ministry of Defence and the JSCD.

The involvement of the CCR in defence policy-making, and Nathan's promotion of NOD, indicate two aspects about South African public policy-making. Firstly, this was an example of the privatisation of public policy as a result of the lack of policy-making expertise. Secondly, Nathan's promotion of NOD was a form of lobbying, which influenced the thinking and behaviour of legislators, as well as Ministers. This amounted to extensive, unrestricted and unregulated lobbying. MRG members, however, never carried responsibility for policy.

The ANC party leadership largely formulates public policy in South Africa through its majority representation in Cabinet, Parliament, and parliamentary committees. The party makes policy and government turns it into legislation. The ANC enforces its policies by putting political pressure on MPs to conform to party policy. MPs who deviate from it, become soft targets. The ANC restricts its MPs in terms of formulating policy, which also prevents parliamentary committees, such as the JSCD, from effectively overseeing the executive. This makes the legislature weak compared to the executive. Parliament is consequently merely a rubber stamp for ANC policy, which means that South Africa is in practice a one-party governed state.

Although the Constitution makes provision for public participation in policy-making and therefore also for pluralism, there is no equal distribution of power for interest groups to influence policy. The ANC uses its power as the majority party on all policy-making forums to prevent such a balance. The making of defence policy in the 1990s serves as an example.

Finally: The following themes may be considered for further studies about defence policy-making in South Africa: Firstly, a shift occurred from an internal focus on defence during the Mandela era, towards an external focus on promoting peace in Africa. A review of this shift could well be considered further. Secondly, a study of the various views about how the SANDF should conduct different kinds of conventional operations, specifically in Africa, may constitute a valuable research area.

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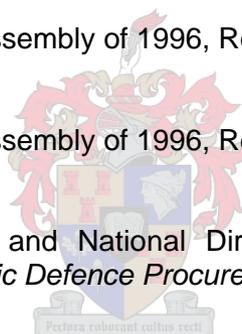
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